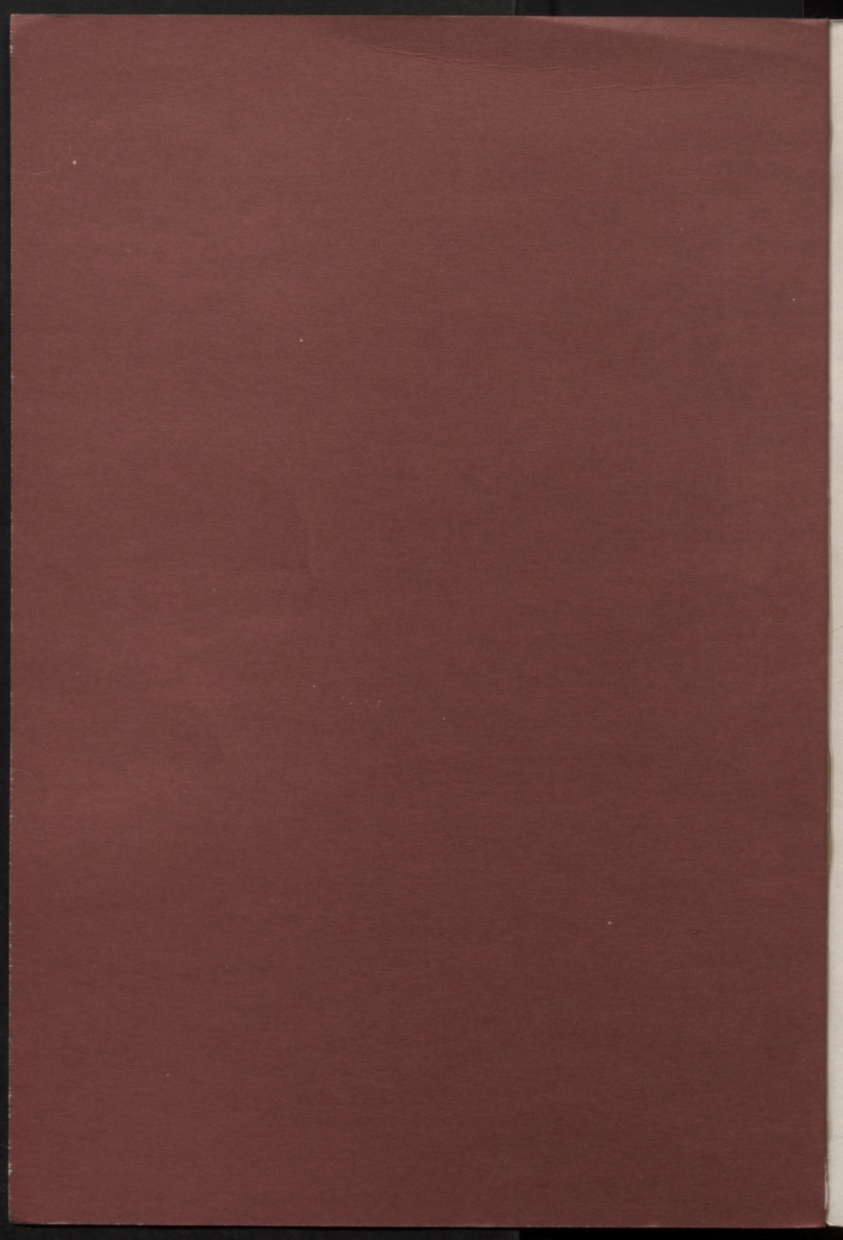


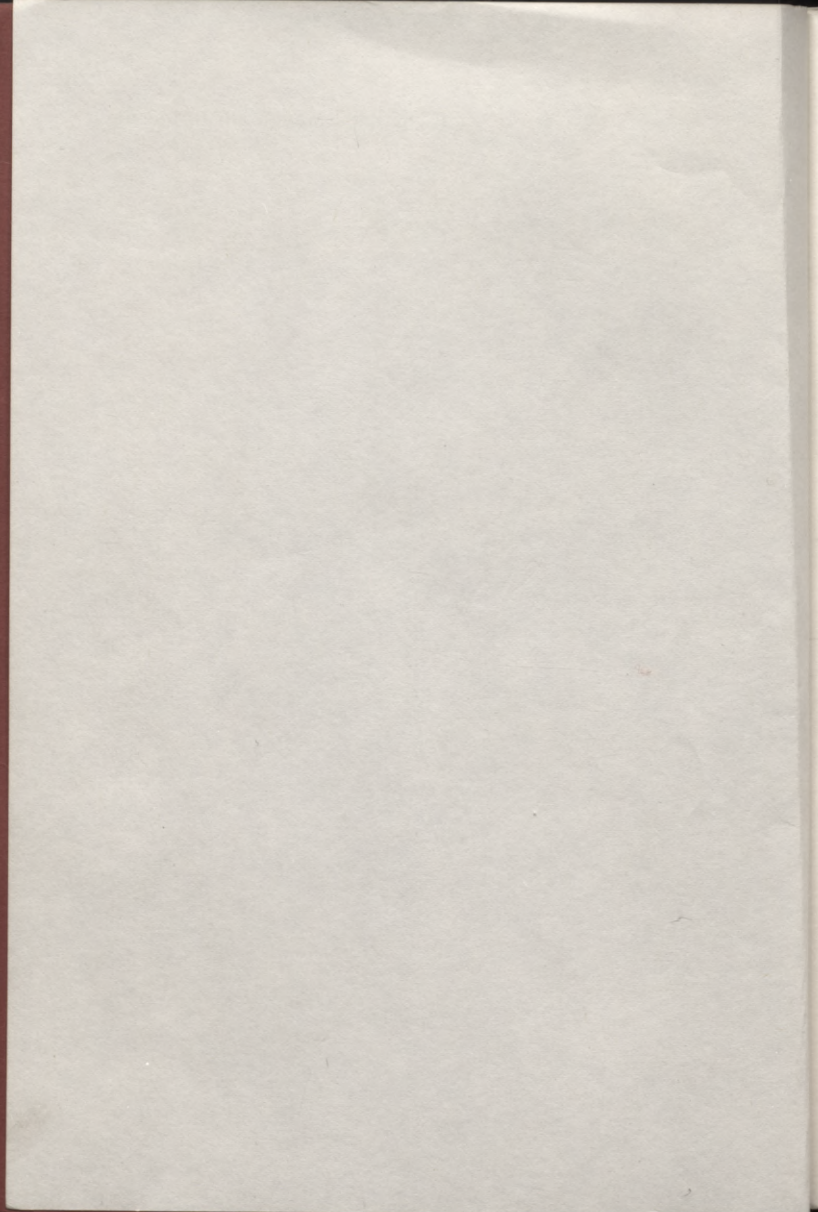
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Resistance Movement in Latvia



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Resistance Movement in Latvia

by Mag. iur.

Ādolfs Šilde

supplemented by

LATVIA BEFORE THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT

(1962 - 1975)

by Gunārs Rode



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1. LATVIA AMONG THE EUROPEAN NATIONS

Developments in European political life have always taken place in the context of continuous social and national democratic conflicts. The end of WW II, however, which led to a realignment of Europe through the Soviet occupation of Eastern and Central Europe, marks a high point in this continuous series of conflicts.

In the arena of social conflicts, the worker and farmer became the center of attention. The working class was most seriously affected by the sudden drop in real salary. The worker had to focus all his efforts towards subsistence. The farmer, in turn, was banished from the land, which he had worked all his life. Those who opted not to leave the land they themselves and their ancestors had farmed, were arrested and deported to the Siberian tundra. This was especially true of the Baltic workers and farmers.

Nationalpolitical conflicts arose parallel to these social conflicts. The Baltic states lost their independence and democratic systems of government, and the imperialistic Soviet empire expanded into Eastern and Central Europe. The principal of national sovereignty was ignored. Moscow attempted to justify its aggression by claiming to have shown solidarity and come to their fellow workers' aid.

The uprising of Polish and German workers in 1953 was repressed with the help of Soviet tanks. The same happened in Hungary in 1956. The barricades of freedom-fighters were destroyed after bloody battles once again by these same Soviet tanks. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia received the same help in 1968 to restore order in that country.

These events captured the attention of the whole world and have not been forgotten even today.

The same cannot be said of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

The valiant resistance movement in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia did not become a cause célèbre in the Western world. The resistance movement waged an eight-year long war and for many years after World War II the Soviet Union was not in complete control of these countries. Similar to the situation in Afghanistan today, the people of these countries were united in their opposition to the Soviet intruders. The exact nature of this resistance is the subject of this study, and it is clear that freedom and inde-

pendence were the goal of this armed resistance. It was also a protest against the exploitation of the workers, who, if he was deported, was relegated to the status of a slave.

Even though the oppression of nations has now come to be accepted as a normal effect of Soviet expansionism, the right of individuals and nations to freedom and independence is still considered a basic human right. The resolution concerning the Baltic states ratified by the European Parliament in Strasbourg on January 13, 1983 is clear proof of this. This resolution demands the recognition of human rights and independence for the Baltic states. The resistance of these peoples and their yearnings for independence has not remained unnoticed.

There exist three different kinds of resistance in Latvia: 1) armed 2) passive and 3) spiritual resistance. This book contains descriptions of all three kinds of resistance in Latvia.

2. ARMED RESISTANCE

The occupation of Latvia by the Red Army in 1940 was quick and smooth. The Latvian government strictly observed its treaties with Moscow and almost desperately sought to avoid anything that the Soviets might regard as provocation. The second Soviet invasion — in 1944/45 — took place under radically different conditions.

The Latvians had first seen what Soviet-type communism means in 1919/20 when their newly-formed national army fought for independence against Soviet forces. Two decades later, during the first year of Soviet occupation, known as the Dire Year (June 17, 1940–July 1941), a rule of terror reigned in Latvia. Executions and deportations took a toll of 35,828 or 1.75 percent of the country's population. These Soviet actions were neither spontaneous nor accidental, they had been planned well in advance of Latvia's occupation.

This experience had convinced the Latvians that Moscow's ultimate goal was the elimination of the smaller nations and therefore they decided to attempt to thwart the advancing Soviet troops. Latvian forces, usually referred to collectively as the Latvian Legion, tried to defend their country on the Eastern Front. As their fight drew to a close, patriotically-minded Latvians began to form armed groups in the rear of the Red Army in the autumn of 1944. Later, especially after May 8, 1945, the movement of armed resistance spread all over the country. We shall refer to the men engaged this movement as *Latvian guerillas* or *partisans*.

Armed resistance groups of patriots were also organized in Estonia and Lithuania and the area of guerilla operations came to extend from Narva in the North to Klaipeda and Vilnius in the south — over a territory with a population of six million. Moscow had designated the constituent parts of this region as the Socialist Soviet Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Contrary to the will of the Baltic peoples, their independent countries had been turned into federal republics of the U.S.S.R., formally enjoying wide autonomy, but actually having no more say, even in their internal affairs, than, for instance, a *département* in strongly-centralized France. The fight of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian guerillas is *the* proof that this had been done against the will of the population. The partisans received support from their coun-

trymen. Without it, their prolonged struggle would indeed not have been possible.

It would do well to recall that communist ideas were not popular in free Latvia. While during the final phase of World War I, before Latvia had seceded from Russia, quite a number of Latvians had sided with the Bolsheviks for various reasons, the establishment of independent Latvia in 1918 initiated a decisive change. In 1939 the Latvian Communist Party had no more than 400 members.¹ As a result, when the country was occupied by the Red Army, most Party functionaries and administrative officials were sent to Latvia from Russia.

The communist rule had been imposed by force and therefore a wide-spread resistance movement arose in Latvia.

The Western World has taken little notice of the fact that the Latvian armed resistance against the Soviet regime went on from 1945 to 1952, locally even before 1945 and sporadically even after 1952. The struggle of the Latvian guerillas thus continued for at least eight years and many resistance fighters continued the struggle for twenty years. This is an extraordinary fact, considering that neither climate nor topography favor guerilla warfare in Latvia and that no outside support was either received nor could be expected.

Uprisings, riots and other open expressions of popular unrest in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia lasted a few weeks or months. It is clear that these outbursts of a nation-wide discontent each had a different character and are hardly comparable. Still, the firmness and endurance of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian partisans are worthy of admiration. All the more so, as they fought against overwhelming odds and their enemy knew no mercy.

Experts of partisan warfare and strategy will point out that the armed resistance against the Soviet regime in the Baltic countries had no chance of success from the very outset. Indeed, whatever illusions the Baltic guerillas may have had when starting their struggle, it was and remained a desperate undertaking. In the eyes of the Latvians, the Soviet system meant an end to their national existence one way or other, and this is why the partisans took up their fight.

Foreign occupation places a nation before the alternative: collaboration or resistance. The Latvians chose resistance.

The activities of the Latvian guerillas had no military effect. Yet they caused considerable damage to the Soviet regime. During the period of armed resistance, the Soviet administrative apparatus could not work undisturbed. The partisans presented their de-

mands to local executive committees and, especially, Party officials, threatening them with reprisals in case of non-compliance. Fear compelled the Soviet officials to comply.² Those who refused to accept the demands of the guerillas lived in mortal danger and many of them met with death.³ In general, overzealous supporters of the Soviet power had to reckon with severe reprisals. They could feel themselves secure neither in their offices, nor at any other place which the partisans deemed suitable for exacting retaliation. A characteristic description of a daring attack on Soviet officials is contained in a documentary report published in 1970 in Riga by Jānis Vēvers, Chairman (having the rank of a cabinet minister) of the State Security Committee of the Latvian SSR. Writing about a funeral ceremony in the rural commune of Raņķi (Kuldīga district), he says: "A large crowd had gathered in the cemetery, including the chairman of the communal executive committee, Roberts Vāne, partorg Jānis Baumanis and militia commissioner Juris Grīnbergs. On that day the Freimanis bandits killed seven persons and wounded four.⁴ Some time later the Freimanis' band wrecked the post-office and school at Jaunmuiža and shot to death Viktors Babris, a member of the executive committee of the Lutriņi rural commune, Fricis Zaldāts, a member of the Oši hamlet council, and his son Leons R. Miglāns, a secretary of the Communist Youth Organization".⁵

In 1945 and the following years Soviet officials in Latvia could feel secure only in the larger cities and towns. The political and economic measures they took were unpopular and ran counter to Latvian national traditions. This was particularly true of the enforced collectivization of farms, in the course of which individually owned and managed farms were abolished and the farmers compelled to form "kolkhozes". The rural population opposed it.

As a result of the agrarian reform of 1920, there were no large estates left in Latvia. In their place there had been created 54,000 "new farms" which, like other Latvian farms, were of small or medium size. As the holdings were relatively small, little hired labor was needed and all farm work was usually done by the owner and his family members. The Soviets destroyed this system for political reasons, not economic necessity. The farmers were, in a way, reduced to the level of serfs. Without the permission of the Soviet authorities — which was seldom granted — they could not move away from the kolkhozes. As serfs, they had become "attached to land" that was not theirs.

Throughout the centuries the Latvian farmer had clung to his plot of land. His farm meant to him much more than an object

of economic value. It gave a meaning to his life, being an inseparable part of age-old rural traditions and moral values. When his farm was taken away from him, it meant to him not the loss of "private property" in the Marxist sense, but a grievous encroachment upon his personality and the destruction of his natural environment. Many Latvian farmers therefore joined the ranks of the guerillas. So, the first tide of partisan movement that swept over the country in 1945, was followed by a new one in 1948 and 1949, during the final stage of farm collectivization.

People belonging to various social and political groups of the population fought in the ranks of the Latvian partisans. A considerable number of soldiers of the Latvian Legion refused to surrender on May 8, 1945 to the Russians. In the course of time they were joined by former members of the various patriotic organizations. However, as can be seen from lists of partisans captured by the Soviets, these freedom fighters also included many workers, craftsmen, railwaymen and intellectuals. One can therefore say that all social classes were represented in the Latvian resistance movement.

This fact was indirectly acknowledged by Soviet officials. They frequently spoke of the Latvians as a "nation of counter-revolutionaries".

Many became partisans because they had lost a close relative in the executions and deportations of 1941. Sons sought revenge for their fathers or mothers, husbands for their deported wives, brothers for their brothers or sisters, deported or murdered by the Soviets. There was a strain of fatality in their motives, which can only be understood by those who have suffered a similar loss. However, a personal tragedy was certainly not the only reason for joining the guerillas. Many refused to accept the loss of national freedom and the elimination of the independent Republic of Latvia, established at the cost of such heavy sacrifices. The Soviet communists had turned back the wheel of history, again subjecting the Latvians to the rule of a bitterly hated foreign power. The invading Red Army brought to the Latvians the loss of human rights and individual freedom. In this respect their situation was even worse than under Czarist autocracy. As early as 1917, the newspaper *Dzimtenes Atbalss* (Homeland Echoes), voicing the Latvians' craving for freedom, had exclaimed: "Down with a state whose subjects are not granted even the most elementary rights of man!"⁶

The ideology of the Latvian guerilla movement reveals a certain dualism in that it was directed against the Soviet regime and



Map of Latvia, showing areas in which the Latvian guerillas operated in 1945-1952 (prepared by A.Šilde on the basis of documentary evidence). Legend: Black dots — centres of guerilla activities; cross-hatchings — zones of guerilla operations; parallel lines — areas of sporadic actions.

Russification. The Soviet power represented not only a political ideology and government system — totalitarian dictatorship — that was unacceptable to members of the resistance movement, but it also meant the negation of the existence of Latvian people and a Latvian state. Hence, the partisans say their actions as a manifestation of the will for independence. Their views were in agreement with the well-known principle of international law, according to which "a state does not perish as long as its citizens continue to oppose annexation".

Unity and morale were not undermined by the partisans varying motives. One can discern some elements of the general resistance movement even in the strong stand taken by the Latvian national communists, particularly in 1958 and 1959, against the Moscow-dictated Russification policy. The brunt of the struggle, however, was certainly borne by the Latvian guerillas.

Guerilla warfare flared up spontaneously in the summer of 1944, when the Eastern Front was torn wide open and the Red Army penetrated into Latvia. Soviet publications claim that at that time,

under orders from the military command, special groups were trained for operation behind the Red lines. Even if this had been so, the allegedly planned sabotage and other actions would have ceased after May 8, 1945, since no military front line existed after that day. As for Latvian guerillas, they continued to fight long after May 8, 1945. The arguments advanced in support of the Soviet thesis are not convincing. Their purpose was to conceal the true causes of popular resistance. For obvious reasons the Soviets would not admit that the Latvian people did not want to submit to foreign masters.

The Latvian armed resistance movement arose, as has been stated, spontaneously. This meant that individual groups of partisans operated in areas chosen by themselves and that they had no central leadership. Still, *NKVD Major General J. Vēvers* asserts that there had been what he calls associations of guerilla units on a regional basis, each having their own commanding staffs.⁷ He mentions the following: *Latviešu nacionālo partizānu apvienība* (LNPA — Latvian National Partisans Association), *Tēvzemes Latvijas aizstāvju apvienība* (Association of Defenders of the Latvian Fatherland) and *Latviešu nacionālie partizāni* (Latvian National Partisans).⁸ It is known, moreover, that a *Latviešu partizānu sakaru stābs* (Latvian Partisans Communications Staff) operated in Riga until 1947.⁹

The number of partisans is not known. However, the fact that they operated all over Latvia indicates that it was considerable, at least several thousand men. Even Soviet sources, including the publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR, do not deny the large scope of Latvian armed resistance to the Soviet regime.¹⁰

Factual material, collected during the course of many years, enables one to present a list of areas in which Latvian guerillas are known to have fought. The pertinent information has been supplied by persons who have left Latvia after World War II, by non-Latvian prisoners of war and civilian internees who had met Latvian partisans and their supporters in Soviet forced labor camps, and, finally, by Soviet publications.

We have grouped the areas of guerilla operations by the four territorial regions of Latvia: Kurzeme, Zemgale, Latgale and Vidzeme.

KURZEME

1. Aizpute, 2. Alsunga, 3. Ārlava, 4. Brocēni, 5. Dunalka, 6. Dundaga, 7. Dzedruciems, 8. Ēdole, 9. Engure, 10. Gaiķi, 11. Gavieze,

12. Kabile, 13. Kandava, 14. Kuldīga, 15. Labrags, 16. Laidze, 17. Lībagi, 18. Liepāja, 19. Lutriņi, 20. Matkule, 21. Mērsrags, 22. Nīca, 23. Okte, 24. Padure, 25. Piltene, 26. Plānīca, 27. Po-pe, 28. Pūņi, 29. Puze, 30. Raņķi, 31. Remte, 32. Rucava, 33. Sa-bile, 34. Saka, 35. Saldus, 36. Sārņate, 37. Snēpele, 38. Skrunda, 39. Stende, 40. Talsi, 41. Ugāle, 42. Upesgrīva, 43. Valdemārpils, 44. Vāne, 45. Vārme, 46. Ventspils, 47. Zebre, 48. Zentene, 49. Zlēkas, 50. Zvārde.

ZEMGALE

1. Aizupe, 2. Aknīste, 3. Asare, 4. Bārbele, 5. Bauska, 6. Beb-rene, 7. Code, 8. Dignāja, 9. Dobeles, 10. Dviete, 11. Dzirciems, 12. Elkšņi, 13. Gailīši, 14. Gārsene, 15. Iecava, 16. Ilūkste, 17. Ir-lava, 18. Jaunjelgava, 19. Jaunsaule, 20. Jēkabpils, 21. Jelgava, 22. Jurģi, 23. Kaplava, 24. Laši, 25. Lestene, 26. Mēmeles pa-gasts, 27. Misa, 28. Nereta, 29. Paņemune, 30. Rubene, 31. Sau-ka, 32. Sece, 33. Sēlpils, 34. Subata, 35. Sunākste, 36. Suseja, 37. Šķībe, 38. Taurkalne, 39. Tērvete, 40. Viesīte, 41. Zalve, 42. Zasa, 43. Zemīte.

LATGALE

1. Balvi, 2. Baltinava, 3. Barkava, 4. Bērzgale, 5. Cibla, 6. Dau-gavpils, 7. Gaigalava, 8. Gostiņi, 9. Kaunata, 10. Kazukalna ciems, 11. Krievu purvs, 12. Krustpils, 13. Liepna, 14. Liksna, 15. Līvani, 16. Ludza, 17. Makašēni, 18. Medņi, 19. Nautrēni, 20. Pastari, 21. Polkorona, 22. Preiļi, 23. Rēzekne, 24. Robež-niekj, 25. Rudzēti, 26. Rugāji, 27. Sakstagala, 28. Šķaune, 29. Šķilbeni, 30. Stirniene, 31. Tilža, 32. Varkava, 33. Vecumi, 34. Vidsmuiža, 35. Viļaka, 36. Zilāni, 37. Žīguri.

VIDZEME

1. Ādaži, 2. Aiviekste, 3. Allaži, 4. Aloja, 5. Alūksne, 6. Annas pagasts, 7. Ape, 8. Beja, 9. Bilska, 10. Birzgale, 11. Birzuli, 12. Burtnieki, 13. Cēsis, 14. Cesvaine, 15. Cirsti, 16. Drusti, 17. Dzelzava, 18. Ērgļi, 19. Ēvele, 20. Galgauska, 21. Gatarta, 22. Gaujiena, 23. Graši, 24. Grundzāle, 25. Inčukalns, 26. Jēr-cēni, 27. Jumurda, 28. Ķemeri, 29. Kosa, 30. Kraukļi, 31. Kū-dums, 32. Launkalns, 33. Liezere, 34. Līgatne, 35. Lilaste, 36. Limbaži, 37. Litene, 38. Lubāna, 39. Madona, 40. Mālupe, 41. Mārsneni, 42. Meirāni, 43. Mēdzula, 44. Ozdiena, 45. Ogre, 46. Ozoli, 47. Palsmane, 48. Pededze, 49. Piebalga, 50. Pļaviņas, 51. Puiķule, 52. Rāmuļi, 53. Ranka, 54. Rauna, 55. Rencēni, 56. Rīga, 57. Rudbārži, 58. Rūjiena, 59. Saulkrasti, 60. Sigulda,

61. Sinole, 62. Skujene, 63. Sloka, 64. Strenči, 65. Taurene, 66. Valka, 67. Valmiera, 68. Vestiena, 69. Vijciems, 70. Zaube, 71. Zeltiņi.

Note: In listing the major areas of guerilla operations counties are not given, therefore, for example, Aiviekste and Misa are not to be understood as the rivers but the respective counties.

It follows from this enumeration, prepared on the basis of documentary evidence, that the Latvian partisans operated in at least 201 areas. Since complete information is not available, it is safe to assume that their actual number was higher (authentic material on Latgale is relatively scant, although it is known that the armed clashed there between the partisans and their enemies had been particularly hard).

Proof for the intensity of the resistance battles can be found in the casualty statistics. In the Jelgava region the resistance fighters killed more than 200 communist functionaries and in the Cēsu region casualty reports for 1945 and 1946 show that the resistance fighters also absorbed heavy losses. 15 guerilla divisions were destroyed and over 300 taken capture. 308 were forced to discontinue their guerilla activity. In the Dundaga forests of Northern Kurzeme over 100 men were active in 1945. Their leader, Evalds Pakulis, was known as "the Sherif". Pauls Joksts was immortalized for his daring. He engineered and led an armed attack on Bauska in 1947, inflicting heavy losses on the communist side."

Areas with wooded tracts (Dundaga, Taurkalne) and marshes and swamps (Lubāna, Aloja, Līvāni) were relatively well suited for guerilla activities. There the partisans had their hiding places — dug-outs and, in the summer, huts built of fir or pine twigs and branches. Caves, haystacks, haylofts, barns, board-covered holes under farm buildings, fishermen's huts and, in rare cases vacant church buildings. Flats and cellars in the cities were also used by the partisans as hide-outs.

The partisans frequently carried out specific assignments masked and in disguise. Some donned Red Army uniforms or women's dresses. They used various means to escape detection. In winter they would leave their dug-outs during snowstorms or drag behind them pine branches, so as to leave no clear traces. They treated their boots with kerosene, or some other chemical substance to mislead police dogs. The "combing of forests", undertaken by the Soviets from time to time, gave poor results. Militia (Soviet police) and specially-trained groups of *istrebiteli* (meaning "exterminators"



Map of a section of the western coast of the Gulf of Riga. (Rīgas jūras līcis – Gulf of Riga). Upper circle shows *O k t e* where, in the winter of 1950, the Latvian partisans fought one of their major engagements, inflicting heavy losses on a task force of Soviet "exterminators". Arrow on the left points to *Valdemārpils*, that on the right – to *Mērsrags* and *Roja*, another area of guerilla operations in the course of which the Soviet forces suffered serious casualties. – Middle circle encloses *Z e n t e n e* whose forested tracts saw much of guerilla fighting. Left-hand arrow points to the town of *Talsi* in the area of which the Latvian partisans operated for many years. Arrows on the right point to *Engure* and *Tukums* names which have also been frequently mentioned in connection with the partisans. – Lower circle shows *K a n d a v a* on the river *Abava*, likewise frequently mentioned in Soviet reports.

in Russian) carried out these actions. In some cases they were even aided by regular Army units and NKVD-men from Moscow. The partisans tried to avoid clashes with army detachments. On the other hand, they often provoked skirmishes with militia and NKVD-units. Operating from behind an appropriate cover, the partisans, in such cases, inflicted heavy losses on the attackers.¹² Their groups, seldom comprising more than 15 men, retreated quickly after an engagement, covering in a single march distances of up to 50 kilometers.

A highly dramatic encounter took place in February 1950 near *Okte*, a Kurzeme hamlet which lies isolated amidst forests and marshes. Partisans first appeared there in 1945. Their nucleus con-

sisted of some 50 men, divided into smaller groups which joined forces for major actions. Soviet efforts to liquidate this group had failed for a long time. In the winter of 1950 the Soviet security forces decided to deal them the decisive blow. As hard resistance was anticipated, even military units, including light artillery detachments, were concentrated in the area.

The guerillas had little time to work out their strategy, after it had become clear that they faced a vastly superior enemy and that a battle was imminent. They occupied carefully chosen positions, having put on their white frocks which made their detection in the snow-covered terrain difficult. Their own scouts and the local population kept them informed on the enemy's movements.

The first column of the Soviet task force passed the partisans without noticing them. The second column, however, discovered them and opened fire. The positions selected by the partisans gave them an advantage over the attackers who advanced across an open field. At this moment, the partisans opened fire on the first column, thereby causing confusion. The men of this column mistook for partisans the men of the second column, who, like these, wore white frocks, and Soviet bullets killed a considerable number of their own men. Meanwhile, an exchange of fire had begun between the partisans and the second Soviet column, in the course of which the partisans also suffered casualties. Three of their snipers were shot down from their stands on trees. The rest retreated in haste. The casualties of the Soviet *istrebiteli* were particularly heavy, as they had come under the fire of both other Soviet units and the partisans. Farmers living in the neighborhood had seen several military transport lorries, laden with dead bodies. The nearest hospitals were crowded with wounded.

Another episode of guerilla fighting has been told by eye-witnesses from Dzedruciems, a fishermen's hamlet on the Gulf of Riga. There, too, the partisans were active until 1950. Since the "combings" of the area, undertaken by the Soviet security police, had not yielded satisfactory results, they changed their tactics and tried to trap individual members of the local partisans' group. It was common knowledge that some of the partisans occasionally helped farmers do urgent field work in the summer by way of gratitude for the support they had received. One of the Dzedruciems partisans was surrounded by Soviet *istrebiteli* in the summer of 1950. He saw no chance of escape but refused to surrender. Hiding on top of a haystack, he killed three, before a Soviet bullet struck him. Mortally wounded, he fell from the haystack. One of the *istrebiteli* then kicked him in the chest and insulted him. On the

following day this Soviet henchman was shot in the breast by a comrade of the fallen hero. After these skirmishes, all inhabitants of this Kurzeme fishermen's hamlet had to leave their homes under Soviet orders, as it was clear that they sympathized with the patriotic partisans.

In Roja, one of the larger Kurzeme fishermen's villages, the guerillas killed seven supporters of the Soviet regime, including the chairman of the local executive committee. One of them had actively participated in the Soviet terroristic actions during the "Dire Year". In 1941 he had left his country with the retreating Russians but had returned when the Red Army re-invaded Latvia.

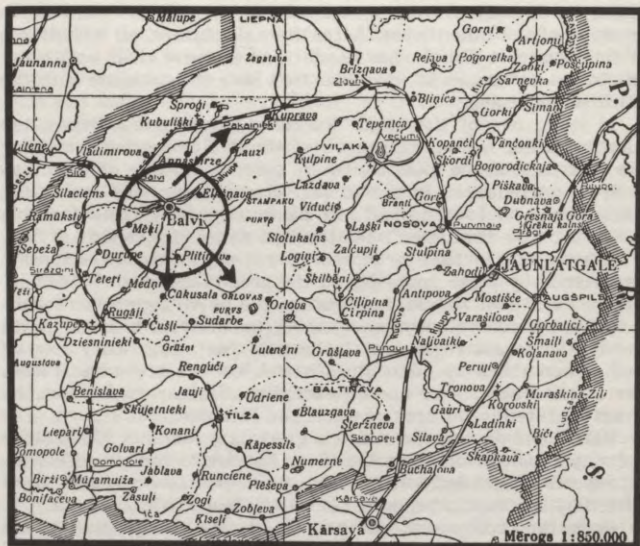
Among the partisan groups of Kurzeme, particular attention was earned by those operating in the area of Dundaga-Valdemārpils-Talsi and near Kabile. In Vidzeme, the Latvian guerillas fought in an area which extended along the Estonian frontier in the north and in the forest regions of its central part. Legendary renown was gained there by Jānis Rusovs and his two brothers. Rusovs was a first-class sniper and an exceptionally fearless fighter. His group operated in the area of Cēsis and Piebalga.

NKVD Major General Vēvers grudgingly admits: "The State Security People's Commissariat of the Latvian SSR received alarming reports almost daily. We got reports of ever new misdeeds committed by the Rusovs band. Yet it was difficult to liquidate it."¹³

From the copious material gathered by NKVD agencies in Latvia on the patriotic guerillas there also emerge the names of other exceptionally daring fighters, such as Ludvigs Štagars in Latgale and Jānis Veide in Kurzeme.¹⁴ The names of many partisans have not been mentioned by Soviet sources and even if they have become known by a restricted number of persons, they are omitted here for obvious reasons.

We have chosen the foregoing brief descriptions of partisan fighting more or less at random. We shall conclude them by relating an encounter which took place in Zemgale in the late autumn of 1944. Information about it reached the West, by way of a punitive labor camp in Mordovia, as late as 1970.

A detachment of Latvian soldiers found themselves surrounded by Russian forces, as the front line moved westwards. They refused to surrender and became partisans. The rear of the Red Army in that specific area was not considered safe as long as this Latvian group was not destroyed. Thirty-nine truck-loads of Russian *istrebiteli* were sent against them. As soon as the commander of the Latvian unit was informed of the enemy's approach, he sent 16 of his men to meet the Russian force, ordering the rest to retreat



Map of a section of Latgale, Latvia's eastern province. The surroundings of the town of B a l v i (in the circle) served as a base for continuous guerrilla actions in the directions of Vilaka, Tilža and Ludza ever since the beginning of Soviet occupation. Patriotic partisans also fought elsewhere in Latgale - in the areas of Rēzekne, Krustpils, Līvāni and Daugavpils.

speedily. The partisans' outpost, provided with automatic weapons, entrenched themselves on a low hill-top. Seeing a vastly superior Russian force advance towards them, they tried to reach a nearby thicket. This retreat proved disastrous. Eight of the partisans were killed, the rest continued to flee in panic. At this critical stage, one of them — one U. — managed to bring his comrades to reason and ordered them to take up a position at an appropriate place, at intervals of 50 meters. The automatic guns, which the partisans used to call "bone saws", this time proved their efficiency. The enemy lost 270 men in killed and wounded. The Russian casualties were so heavy because — having seen the partisans'

group flee and many of them fall — they mistakenly believed that the whole group had been destroyed and, accordingly, advanced without taking any precautions.

Similar battles were fought along the Lithuanian border, where on one occasion, a force of 2,000 NKVD men was sent against the guerillas.¹⁵

The resistance fighters coordinated their actions with paratroopers. Military action against the resistance fighters was coordinated by Russians.

At the time, in addition to Red Army divisions, a special anti-guerilla force was situated in Latvia and Lithuania. A special task force was formed from Party members and activists, who played an active role in the persecution of resistance fighters. Through their combined efforts they succeeded to surround the resistance fighters. Though the army performed the actual combat duties, the secret police coordinated their strategy.¹⁶

The leadership of the occupying forces did not only commit specially trained forces in their battle against the resistance forces. They also mobilized a great number of members of the Communist Youth League, boys and girls from 15 to 22 years of age. Teachers were instrumental in recruiting these boys and girls for this youth organization. The regional administrators of the Youth League decreed that these youths be sent into armed battle to capture resistance fighters. Untrained and unprepared, many were killed when the resistance fighters fired upon them.

The Latvian daily "Padomju Jaunatne" (Soviet Youth) in its February 24, 1984 issue (nr. 38) contains information about these youth battalions. 40,000 were mobilized for this action and 1,660 fell within the borders of the Latvian Republic. Jānis Dzintars, the author of the above mentioned article, states that the total number of casualties was significantly higher. The number of "anti-Soviet" troops, and therefore oppressors of the Latvian nation, according to this same Dzintars, totalled 9,000. At the same time, he does not deny that these 9,000 received the support of all the people up to 1949. He even reveals that one division was responsible for 404 attacks on Soviet officials in five regions from May, 1945 to January 1946. The scope of activity of this division was probably equaled by other divisions as well.

The Communists explain their limited success with the resistance forces by their numerical inferiority! This is in contradiction to their official figures. The resistance forces were superior not numerically, but in their conviction to regain independence for their country and freedom for its citizens.

In some cases the partisans operated in groups of two or three and some of the assignments were carried out single-handedly. It was especially difficult to trap them. Taken together, the guerilla actions created an "invisible front line" which helped the Latvians preserve their national spirit and constantly interfered with the endeavors of Moscow to consolidate the Soviet regime in Latvia.

When joining the patriotic partisans, the Latvian freedom fighters usually took the following oath:¹⁷

"Before God and my people I swear to devote all my efforts and all my strength to the fight for my people."

Religious Services were sometimes held before major guerilla operations. Clergymen were invited to perform funeral rites at the grave of a fallen partisan. They had to come, whether they wanted to or not. However, to spare them, as far as possible, of harassments by Soviet authorities, their eyes were bound when they were taken to and from the partisans' hiding place. The same was done with physicians who were called to aid wounded guerillas. In this way, they could divulge very little, even if the Soviet police were to question them. Moreover, they could say that they had acted under compulsion.

Those partisans who fell into the hands of the Soviet police were denied a Christian burial and their graves were kept secret by the Soviet authorities. Before they were interred, they were kept exposed on market places for several days in way of warning to and intimidation of the local population.

The guerillas, whenever possible, buried their fallen comrades in the woods and cared for their graves. When the NKVD men discovered such graves, they levelled them with the ground. In Kurzeme, they demolished a partisan's grave three times, as the comrades of the fallen fighter restored it to its original shape. Faced with such stubbornness of the NKVD men, the partisans finally connected a land mine with a wreath they had placed on the grave. When the wreath was removed, the mine exploded, killing one of the profaners.¹⁸

Many fighters did not receive full burial. Similar to the "unknown soldier" in time of war these resistance fighters came to be "the unknown soldiers of the unknown war". The Polish poet, Czeslaw Milosz writes: "The best patriots remain unknown. They appear only for a brief moment: to storm and die on the barricades."

The moral code of the partisans demanded that their actions should cause the least possible harm to the local population. For a number of years farmers supplied them with food. Later, when

the Soviet police and its informers closely watched the farmers, the guerillas decided to obtain food by breaking into Soviet cooperative stores, warehouses and kolkhoze granaries. In the same way, they tried to get arms and munition from their enemies. For this purpose they would even derail trains.¹⁹

In the deep forests the partisans not only had their usual dug-outs, but also arms workshops with skilled armorers, and printing offices which put out newspapers, appeals and leaflets. In some places there even were small infirmaries. The Soviet reports on their actions against the Latvian partisans also speak of secret short-wave radio stations.²⁰

The guerillas mostly used Russian arms, particularly automatic pistols for which it was relatively easy to obtain ammunition. Russian automatic pistols were an ideal weapon for the partisans. In some cases they even used light machine-guns. The leaders of the guerilla groups saw to it that they had an adequate supply of automatic weapons.

The leadership of the group was assumed by one with military experience. There was no lack of experienced officers among the partisans.

Valdis Rēdelis, an expert of guerilla tactics and strategy, has stated: "Two things are needed to make the partisans successful: leaders possessing will-power, vision and an idea worth fighting for, as well as sympathy of the people. In other words, cooperation between its leaders and the masses of the population is the true basis of any partisan movement".²¹

The personality and qualifications of Latvian guerilla leaders can only be fully appreciated by members of the groups they headed in the fight against an enemy that was vastly superior, both in numbers and in equipment. We, who have watched their struggle from afar, cannot. However, some help in this respect is given by Soviet writers.

In his collection of stories, entitled *Smagās sirdis* (Heavy Hearts), Vladimirs Kaijaks describes a Latvian partisan leader who having lost all his men in action continues to fight single-handed.²² The fight against the enemies of the Soviet regime is best depicted by Soviet Latvian authors in their novels and stories. These narrations are partly based on material found in the archives of Soviet State Security organs and on the experience of individual functionaries. Frequently these literary works mention places in which the partisans actually fought.²³ Outstanding fighters against the Soviet regime have been taken as prototypes by the Soviet writers who, in such cases, describe the actual circumstances in

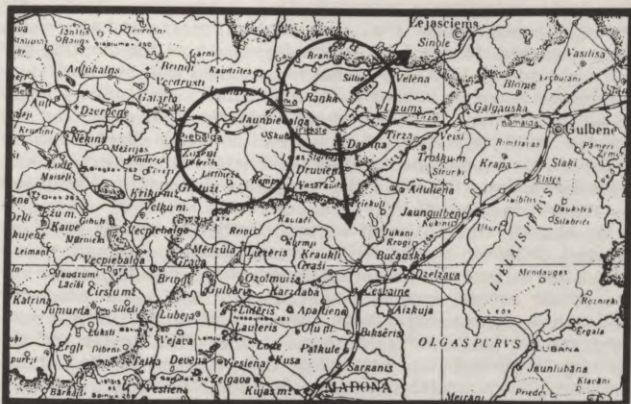
accordance with the tenets of socialist realism.

Arvīds Grigulis, a writer enjoying the favor of the Party, tells in one of his "reporter's novels" the story of a captain of the Latvian Army, who becomes a partisan under the Soviet regime. According to Grigulis, this man knew how to deal with young people and formed a patriotic youth organization at the agricultural high-school of Kazdanga. This organization known as "Intercession", published an underground newspaper. "The organization", Grigulis writes, "was soon unmasked and destroyed, yet its founding was claimed by Bankovs (this is the name given to the partisan leader) as a merit and among the bandits (read: Latvian partisans, Šd.) he even gained the reputation of a skilled propagandist."²⁴ The Soviet author also writes: "Bankovs was the first to try to establish radio contact with foreign countries, under instructions from Fredis Launags (the real name of a member of the resistance movement, Šd.). Launags had gotten hold of a transmitter, abandoned by the German Army, and Bankovs installed it on a sled; during the whole winter, driving through forests, he sent SOS signals abroad".

In this as in the previous cases the partisan leader is presented as a villain, as required by the Party. The central figure in Grigulis' novel is an NKVD colonel, Kalnozols. Still, the author has to follow the truth in so far as he proposes to show how extraordinarily difficult the fight had been against the elusive enemy; in doing so, he has to admit that the "pacification actions" were without success for many years. Grigulis states: "In some cases one did not succeed in liquidating all the members of a bandits' group; one could only thin out their ranks. Small as they were, the groups were often reduced to two or even one man. As the number of the bands dwindled and their membership diminished, the tiny groups merged to form larger bands (i.e. units of patriotic partisans, Šd.). The fight against these proved more difficult."²⁵

Another Soviet writer, Anna Brodele, describes the relentless anti-partisan actions and the farmers' opposition to the establishment of kolkhozes in her novel *Ar sirdi un asinīm* (With Our Heart-Blood). She has a militia man pick up a piece of paper, lying by the wayside near the dead body of a partorg. Written on the paper: "Such fate awaits all the Reds who want to turn Latvia into a commune!"²⁶

The lack of support to the Communist Party and the countless difficulties besetting the consolidation of the Soviet regime are revealed in the novel *Pret Kalnu* (Uphill) by Anna Sakse, a prize-winning Soviet Latvian author. This work, too, mainly serves the



Map of section of central Vidzeme, Latvia's north-central province. Left-hand circle shows *Jaunpiebālgā* on the river Gauja. Right-hand circle encloses *Rānka*, one of the base-areas of Latvian partisans. Upper arrow points to *Sinole*, the lower one — to *Madona*. Partisans operated in both directions between *Madona* and *Ranka*.

purpose of describing the early years of Soviet rule in Latvia. Anna Sakse who lacks genuine literary talent uses the rather cheap trick of presenting opponents of the Soviet regime as caricatures, not as persons of flesh and blood.²⁷

Vilis Lācis, a laureate of the Stalin Prize, treats the same subject. Yet from his works there emerges a realistic picture of the rural population's resistance to the foreign invaders, and he convincingly speaks of the patriots' ill-founded and naive hopes for delivery from the foreign yoke by the West. In his novel *Uz jauno krastu* (Towards the New Shore), he draws typical pictures of the partisans, showing them as resourceful and resolute men.²⁸ We also find there a general plan, including daily tasks, of a guerilla group. Its leader, Pīkols, tells his comrades: "I need regular reports on what you see and hear. Note any negative fact coming to your attention. Try to find out who among the local inhabitants listens to BBC and "Voice of America" broadcasts and what they think of them: some of these people may prove useful to our cause. Make a list of families, including distant relatives, that have suffered

from Soviet measures — nationalization, special taxes on kulaks,²⁹ court sentences and the like. They are our reserve and we cannot leave it unused. Find out, on which days and how the monthly pay is brought to the MTS³⁰ personnel — we could well use that money, since we cannot expect to receive from abroad all we need. We must know how the work of the fire-brigade is organized and how the *istrebiteli* squad is armed and how it is alerted. That's all for the time being. Be careful, avoid attention, and act without undue haste. Later we will have to operate differently, I shall tell you about it in due time".³¹

As already stated, Soviet writers partly based their works on material collected by the NKVD. Their novels and stories therefore often reflect the prevailing mood of the population and relate actual events. Indeed, Soviet literary works and academic publications do not differ with regard to their factual content. For instance, in the novel *Jokdaris un lelle* (The Jester and the Doll) by Visvaldis Lāms, we read of the activities of the Latvian partisans: "In our rural commune, Soviet activists had been assaulted, someone had shot at the partorg, buildings had been set on fire here and there, some of the fires had not yet been extinguished. There was no security, no calm anywhere."³²

More or less the same is told, though in different words, by the History of the Latvian SSR, published by the Soviet Latvian Academy of Sciences:³³ "Kulaks and bourgeois-nationalist elements opposed and interfered in various ways with the process of farm collectivization. During the period of time in which the collectivization was prepared and carried out, class warfare hardened. It took the form of acts of wrecking and sabotage, setting fire to and plundering kolkhoze property, as well as murdering of active kolkhoze officials, attacks by bandits and other hostile actions".

The Soviet publications, speaking of this warfare, present the NKVD men as heroes³⁴ and the guerillas as reactionaries or criminals.³⁵

Soviet historians have later tried to describe the establishment of Soviet rule in Latvia as the result of a "socialistic revolution".³⁶ Their assertions can only be qualified as a deliberate distortion of the actual course of events.

The Latvian Communist Party was one of the weakest in Europe. As we already saw, at the time of Latvia's occupation by the Red Army, in a population of two million it had recruited 400 members. In the parliamentary elections of 1928 and 1931 not more than six to seven percent of votes, including those of all kinds of malcontents who cared very little for the dogmas of Marx, Eng-

els and Lenin, supported the communists who appeared under the name of one of their front-organizations. The Latvian people had turned its back on communism and on Moscow's experiments in socialism and farm collectivization. This was clear beyond any doubt and therefore all Soviet efforts to create the legend of a "socialistic revolution" only deserve contempt. In 1940 as in 1944/45 the Soviet rule crept forth from under the caterpillar chains of Red Army tanks. It brought slavery to the Latvians, and therefore it was opposed by the Latvian guerillas. Their long dauntless fight commands deep respect. Thousands of Latvian patriots died on the field of honor, thousands were deported and pined away or were turned into physical wrecks in the Soviet forced labor camps. The feeling of having been abandoned and the lack of hope made the Latvian partisans discontinue their fight for the freedom of their people. When the Hungarians rose against the common enemy in 1956, alarm was sounded in Riga.³⁷ Latvian patriots were ready to join the great fight against Moscow. The crushing of the Hungarian uprising alone prevented them from taking up arms again. Beginning with 1957, armed resistance was replaced by a wide-spread passive resistance movement which, in fact, had come into being much earlier.³⁸

3. PASSIVE RESISTANCE

The Latvians had rejected collaboration. Armed resistance could not go on forever. "The third way, left open to an oppressed people in its struggle for liberation, is resistance without the use of violence".³⁹ This is what Martin Luther King said once, speaking on methods of boycott. The classical pattern of passive resistance had been developed by Mahatma Ghandi as early as the beginning of our century. He advanced the thesis that passive resistance could fully replace armed revolt.⁴⁰

Analyzing manifestations of passive resistance to the Soviet system in Latvia Rasma Kārklīņa speaks of two basic forms: 1) general endeavours to preserve the values of national culture, coupled with demonstrations of patriotic spirit and 2) national communism.⁴¹

We shall first treat the expressions of the general passive resistance in Latvia. It is directed against the Soviet system as a whole — its ideology, administrative acts, regulations and symbols of power — and against foreign domination and Russification. In the course of time opposition to Moscow's Russification policy has become its dominant feature.

Latvian youth took an active part in the early actions of resistance. During the first Soviet occupation (1940/41) they made no secret of their patriotic feelings. On November 18th — the Latvian national day — many of them came to school in formal dress, marking the importance of the day in other ways as well. In cases, considered serious by the Soviet authorities, the young boys and girls were arrested. At times entire school classes were subjected to reprisals.⁴² School youths were reluctant to sing the "International", the Soviet anthem. Only massive threats could make them sing this and other Soviet songs. In the same way as before World War I, the pictures of the Russian Czar were wrecked, Stalin's portraits would be smashed. As late of 1966, the slogan "Down with the Communists!" appeared on a class-room blackboard.⁴³

Soviet flags, displayed on the anniversary of the October Revolution, the Day of Soviet Constitution and on May First, have been pulled down.⁴⁴ On the other hand, on Latvian national holidays the red-white-red Latvian flag has been hoisted in protest. On one occasion it even waved on top of the Riga radio tower.

Demonstrations at Lenin's and Stalin's monuments have been organized in Riga and in the provincial towns. Anti-Soviet slogans appear on the walls of houses and stair-case halls and even in factories. Occasionally underground leaflets have been distributed, for instance, on the day after the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968.

A dramatic expression of protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia was the attempted self-immolation of a Riga student, Ilja Rips, in 1969. Carrying a poster reading: "I protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia", he came to the Statue of Liberty in Riga, poured gasoline on his body and put fire to it. Fortunately enough, his life was saved. For his protest, he had chosed the method that before him had been used in Prague by Jan Palach.

It can be mentioned here that there were several cases of self-immolation in Lithuania in 1972. On the funeral day (May 18, 1972) of the first victim — Romas Kalanta — riots broke out in Kaunas, the former capital of Lithuania. Thousands of young people marched in the streets, chanting "Freedom for Lithuania". The unrest could only be ended on the following day by special units of the Soviet armed forces.

In June, another case of self-immolation occurred in the town of Varena, 80 kilometers south of Vilnius. Another Lithuanian sprang burning from the roof of a four-story house to the street. Later there was a third case of protest by self-immolation in Lithuania.

The sporadic demonstrations on certain holidays and in connection with political developments, are not the only ones. There are patriotic manifestations that take place every year, for instance, at the Forest Cemetery and the Military Cemetery — which is a national shrine — in Riga. Latvian national flags have been hoisted there on the last day of November, when many people come to these cemeteries. The annual pilgrimages to the tombs of Jānis Čakste, first President of free Latvia, Zigfrīds Meierovics, one of the most popular political leaders of the independent Latvian state, and of the heroes of the Latvian War of Independence, General Pēteris Radziņš and General Jānis Balodis have the character of mass demonstrations. All Souls' Day is celebrated by the Latvian Lutherans on one of the Sundays in the latter part of November. This means that it follows closely November 18th, the Latvian National Day. As this day cannot be overtly observed, the Latvians indicate that they have not forgotten it by putting flowers and lighting candles on the graves of President Čakste and other patriots on All Souls' Day.

An eyewitness has stated: "Every year thousands of Latvians come to the tomb of Čakste on All Souls' Day. They lay flowers on it. People bring with them so many candles that it is impossible to place them on the grave and therefore they are burned in a pile as a big bonfire. Tribute is thus paid in an impressive manner to the memory of President Čakste. To prevent such demonstrations, big trees were planted before Čakste's monument in 1968. They grew well, but one night someone had cut them down. Smaller trees were then planted in their place. However, they withered away, although elsewhere the same kind of trees grew well. People in Riga commented ironically that the Forest Cemetery had very poor soil, especially around Čakste's grave. Actually, some visitors had poured salt and herbicides on the roots of these trees. Then the Soviet authorities tried something else. When the next All Souls' Day was approaching, they had a barrier of benches placed around the tomb, so as to keep people away from the monument and the grave. However, an opening was made in the barrier and tens of thousands, coming from behind, could once more march by the President's monument. The Forest Cemetery lies far from the central part of Riga and the Soviet authorities, on that particular day, reduced the number of streetcars on the line leading to the cemetery. This proved of no avail, people walked on foot ten kilometers and more to get to the tomb of President Čakste.

"For having lit candles on Čakste's grave, students of the graduating class of a Riga secondary school were barred from the final examinations and expelled from the school. Pupils of lower classes received milder punishments. The headmaster of this school was dismissed on charges of having educated the young people in a spirit that was not acceptable to the Party. No All Souls' Day has passed in Riga without consequences. The NKVD even had an office installed in the mortuary chapel of the cemetery."⁴⁵

A section of the Riga Forest Cemetery was placed under the care of *Tautas Palīdzība* (People's Aid)⁴⁶ in 1942 as the resting place of those victims of Soviet terror that had been found in mass graves. In 1970 this section of the cemetery was razed to the ground by the Soviets, because people frequently laid flowers on the graves of these Latvian martyrs. A lone pine stands there and flowers are now laid at its foot, keeping the memory of the martyrs alive.

Great tenacity was needed to obtain permission to place a memorial plaque on the tomb of General Jānis Balodis, the Commander-in-Chief of the national forces during the War of Independence. The monument of his predecessor, Colonel Oskars Kalpaks, at Airītes near Skrunda in Kurzeme, has been demolished by the

Soviets; on the day following the demolition one of the men who had taken part in it was found killed.

The central figure of the monumental architectural and artistic design of the Riga Military Cemetery is the statue of Mother Latvia. The sign of the cross, engraved on its pedestal, has been deleted under orders from the Soviet authorities. While in this case the protests of Latvians did not help, they continue to oppose an order under which one is not allowed to engrave on memorial stones either the sign of the cross or oak leaves, religious and national symbols which seem unacceptable to the Soviet regime. Bouquets, presented by Latvians to their artists, usually contain red and white flowers, red-white-red being the colors of the Latvian national flag.⁴⁷

In earlier years, attempts were made to discredit Party functionaries by addressing letters of thanks to them for support allegedly received in the struggle against Russian domination. Cautious remarks and boos at times accompanied speeches by these Soviet officials. Students of universities and secondary schools used to ask their teachers provocative questions, indirectly stressing the advantages which free Latvia had offered to its citizens. Students usually have low marks in Russian and in such subjects as Marxism-Leninism and the Short Course of the Party. They study these subjects just enough to pass the prescribed examinations.

In the streets, in busses and trains people do not conceal their animosity against the Russian intruders. From time to time it comes to clashes with them. Even young people show this spirit of opposition, and the hatred for the Russians has grown, not diminished in recent years. Resistance to the Russians and their policy of domination in Latvia has even been shown by Latvian nationally-minded communists. The course of deliberate resistance to Russification, initiated by Eduards Berklāvs in 1958, continued for two years. At that time he was Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR. He was supported by a considerable number of other Latvian communists. Berklāvs tried to save Riga and other cities of Latvia from a mass influx of Russians. For this reason he opposed the stepped-up industrial development measures which were not based on economic considerations but furnished a pretext for a mass immigration of Russians that threatened and still threatens Latvian national culture and the very existence of the Latvian people. Moscow was surprised by the firm stand taken by Berklāvs and his followers. His policy known as Latvian national communism was viewed with approval by Latvia's population and had many supporters in the Latvian Commu-



Group of deportees, including several Latvian partisans.

nist Youth Organization. Its top leaders were therefore dismissed in 1959. As a matter of fact, Berklāvs had started his career as a leader of this organization. He was exiled from Latvia and a purge was instituted in the ranks of the Latvian Communist Party. One of Berklāvs closest associates, Pauls Dzērve died at that time under mysterious circumstances.⁴⁸ Still, as we shall see later, the opposition of Latvian national communists was not entirely crushed. In 1971 they again made themselves heard.

State-Church relations have also created serious difficulties for the Soviet regime. The two main religious denominations in Latvia are Evangelical Lutherans and Roman Catholics. Baptists play a significant role in the country's religious life under the oppressive Soviet rule. Followers of the Mosaic creed have built up again their diaspora after the horrors of German occupation. Faced with the hateful attitude of the Soviet authorities, the Churches of Latvia had to defend themselves, leaning on the unswerving loyalty of the believers, and claiming rights that are guaranteed by Stalin's Constitution but often violated by the regime.

Upholding age-old Christian traditions, the Latvians continue to observe Christmas, Easter and other religious festivals.⁴⁹ When these days were declared normal working days by the regime, believers attended religious services held late at night. Throughout the long years of Soviet occupation churches were usually crowded at Christmas. Children and teenagers have stayed away from school at Christmas. Parents, too, observe the traditional rules of the church. A great many of them have their children baptized. If, for reasons of precaution, this cannot be done in their own parish, they travel at times a long distance to ask a clergymen of another congregation to perform the baptismal rites. The same is true of confirmations. The young boys and girls — the normal confirmation age in the Latvian Lutheran Church is between 15 and 18 years — arrange with their parents for confirmation in another parish. A negative consequence of this practice is the fact that the pre-confirmation course of religious instruction cannot be conducted in the proper way. True, clergymen are even in general forbidden to give religious instruction. Some pastors disregard this prohibition, and a number of them have been arrested. Since 1945 (in the same way as in 1941) at least twenty Lutheran and Catholic priests have been deported or have spent time in Soviet prisons. The Greek Orthodox Church, compared with others, enjoys minor privileges, but relatively few Latvians belong to this creed. Most Greek Orthodox believers in Latvia are Russians and Ukrainians. Even in the Soviet forced labor camps Latvian clergymen have continued to care for the believers as ministers of the so-called *catacomb church*. Religious services have been secretly held in coal mines or at some other hidden place. The Holy Scriptures have also been distributed clandestinely.

Soviet chicanes and harassment have not prevented the believers from gathering for the great traditional church celebrations, such as the Feast of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin on August 15th, at Aglona in Latgale. On that day many Latvian Catholics would simply disregard work assignments, given them by industrial plant and kolkhoze managers, and make their pilgrimage to Aglona, in some cases even using means of transportation belonging to the kolkhozes.⁵⁰

Soviet Latvian authorities, including the Academy of Sciences, spend much time and money on atheistic propaganda. Believers have protested against the so-called militant atheism and the establishment of "atheist clubs". Meetings, organized by atheists, are at times loud and noisy. The Soviet Russian publication *Sovetskaya Molodyozh* has reported a characteristic incident, involving

open protest of Riga students against blasphemy.⁵¹

Believers have continued to attend religious services even when the Soviet authorities started to prepare lists of young church goers. Young people have been photographed as they entered the church and later blacklisted, along with other church goers.⁵² Clergymen are subject to a particularly close watch. Written notes are taken of passages from their sermons which arouse suspicion. Some priests have been repeatedly deported to Siberia. The Soviet school tries to counteract religious tendencies, by questioning children about their parents' attitude towards religion and church. The Soviet measures have, however, failed to break the Latvians' spiritual resistance and loyalty to their church.

Latvian *legal concepts*, based on Roman and Germanic laws and reflecting Western ways of life, are incompatible with the Soviet legal system which lacks equity and the necessary element of common sense. The Soviet system, imposed by force, contains norms that are alien to the Latvians and conflict with their moral principles. This creates uncertainty in the legal field and leads to constant conflicts between the population and the Soviet courts and administration.

Under the Soviet dictatorial regime the Latvian farmers were deprived of their plot of land and their traditional means of subsistence and turned into kolkhoze peasants. Unable to earn a living within the collective farming system, they had to subsist on the produce of the tiny plots of land, assigned to them individually. If one of them would cut some handfuls of grass, growing along ditches on kolkhoze land, for his cow or goat, this was qualified as sabotage and plundering of socialistic property. Although he was the victim of robbery, the Soviet regime would treat him as a criminal or counterrevolutionary. As late as 1971 the Soviet Latvian newspaper *Cīņa*⁵³ reported on what it described as "the struggle against private poultry raising; a "private poultry raiser" was prosecuted as a criminal and the chicken food he had procured with great difficulty was confiscated. In the same way, a great many shoemakers, tailors and other craftsmen have been tried and received court sentences, for taking private orders and working after the normal hours. They were charged with "parasitism" in the same way as the Russian writer Andrey Amalrik who had engaged in literary activities on his own.⁵⁴ Nobody understands and approves of such persecution of farmers, artisans and intellectuals. It arouses rightful anger. People likewise consider it grossly unjust that in cases of automobile accidents drivers are held personally liable for any damages (even if the accident oc-

curred when they were carrying out official assignments given by their employers) and have to pay indemnities all their life.⁵⁵ In these and similar cases the Soviet rules lead to financial ruin of people whose income already is very low.

Passive resistance occasionally follows quite unusual patterns. One of them is the citing of the provisions of the Soviet Constitution in support of demands for national independence and freedom. In 1959, at the time when Nikita Khrushchev cracked down on the Latvian national communists, a young man went around asking people to sign a document demanding the withdrawal of Latvia from the U.S.S.R. He cited Art. 15 of the Constitution of the Latvian SSR, which states: "The Latvian SSR reserves for itself the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". A similar provision is included in Stalin's Constitution as Art. 17.

The young man (by the name of Rijnieks) thought that this article of the Constitution was good and should be applied in Latvia's case. As stated, he started to collect signatures in favor of Latvia's secession from the Soviet Union. He had had time to collect only 200 signatures, when he was arrested. In court, he cited the provisions of the two Soviet constitutions mentioned above and pleaded not guilty. This did not help him. The public prosecutor demanded capital punishment. The fact that he had just completed his compulsory service in the Red Army where he, it was stressed, had received both military and political training and still conceived such an evil scheme was considered an aggravating circumstance. He was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment, to be spent in the Potma forced labor camp, in the swamp region of Mordovia.⁵⁶

Soon thereafter a number of other young Latvians, including intellectuals, were detained and tried on charges of involvement in an organization which advocated the formation of a Baltic federation.⁵⁷ The members of this underground organization later repeatedly participated in hunger strikes in the Soviet camps. Their names were mentioned in 1971 and earlier years.

A Swiss journalist, Ulrich Indermaur, visited Latvia in the summer of 1972. His report appeared in July in the newspaper "Tages-Anzeiger". He writes: "I was told in a very cautious manner that there exists in Latvia a resistance movement. On November 18th, the national day of the Latvian Free State, the former national flags and leaflets are said to appear. On the wall of a house I saw two inscriptions in English: 'We shall be released' and 'We shall live in peace'. . . . Anyway, it seems clear that Baltic nationalism

creates serious problems for Moscow".

In 1968 the Soviet police arrested 38-year-old Jānis *Jachimovičs* (in English transliteration *Yakhimovich*). He had been an active member of the Communist Youth Organization and was long a fervent communist. His nearest relatives were communists, some of them had fought with distinction in the Red Army. Yet one day he found himself ranked among the opponents of the Soviet rule. Under Art. 183 of the Penal Code he was charged with the "spreading of false rumors" which allegedly endangered the Soviet state and social system. "As a kolkhoze chairman", *Jachimovičs* wrote at the time of his arrest "I had neither a kitchen garden, nor a cow, nor a sheep, not even a hen. I lived on my salary. I had no house of my own, no car, no savings account. My only capital consisted of books and my three children. One might possibly think that I did not work or that I did not work enough for the cause of socialism. If this were so, for the good of which system I have been working all these years?"

What made this man lose faith in communism of the Soviet type? He tells it himself in plain words in an open letter: "Comrade Alexander Dubchek! When seven persons marched on August 25th to the Red Square in Moscow with the slogans "Leave Czechoslovakia alone!" and "For Their Freedom and Ours!", they were beaten up and called dirty Jews and anti-Soviet elements. I could not be with them then, but I was and shall remain on your side as long as you faithfully serve your people. Be strong, the sun will rise again . . . Who else can help the workers, if not the workers themselves? One for all, all for one!

"Comrade Grigorenko, comrade Yakir!⁵⁸ You have experience in the fight for freedom. May life preserve you and uphold you in your righteous struggle!

"Crimean Tartars! He who has deprived an entire people of their homeland, he who has slandered a whole people, old and young, is the mortal enemy of all nations. Long live your homeland, your Autonomous Crimean Tartar SSR! Long live your sons and daughters who suffer in prisons! Long live your rights that are being tread under foot!

"I appeal to the Latvians whose country has become my homeland and whose language I speak since childhood along with Polish and Russian Do not forget that thousands of your kin pine away in the labor camps of Mordovia and Siberia! Demand that they be repatriated to Latvia! Follow closely the fate of every man and woman who has been deprived of freedom for political reasons."⁵⁹

Jachimovičs letter very clearly reflects the feeling that all the oppressed non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union have a common fate. The letter is a protest against Soviet tyranny and a call for joint actions of resistance and for a solidarity among the people that have nothing in common with the "brotherhood of peoples", invented by Soviet propaganda and is diametrically opposed to the insidious policies of the Great Russian chauvinists.

In the early months of 1972 the Western mass media widely commented on a document that had come from Riga. It was a message of protest by 17 Latvian communists. Having witnessed the sufferings of the Latvian people, they gave first-hand information on political developments in Soviet-ruled Latvia. Their message was addressed to the leaders of the French, Italian, Austrian, Spanish, Yugoslav, Rumanian and other communist parties as well as to two French communists — the poet Louis Aragon and the philosopher Roger Garaudy. It has also been received by the leader of the Swedish communists, C.H.Hermansson.

The message of these 17 Latvian communists gained worldwide attention as a protest that came from the ranks of active communists. The statements made by its authors tally with the opinions voiced in 1958 by the Latvian national communists. However, the new document is based on broader factual material and longer experience. It shows more clearly the duplicity of the Soviet ruling class and supplies new evidence of the fact that the elimination of the Latvian nation is one of Moscow's ultimate aims.

The original of this document — 482 type-written lines — is in Russian. The following extracts have been translated from an authentic Latvian text (Published by the aforementioned Latvian Social-Democratic monthly *Brīvība*, nr. 1/1972).

LETTER TO LEADERS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

(Please forward copies to CP leaders in Rumania, Yugoslavia, France, Austria and Spain, as well as to parties in other countries at your discretion. Please forward personal copies to Comrade Aragon and Comrade Garaudy in France).

DEAR COMRADES: We are seventeen Latvian communists seeking your help. We write you because we see no other way of influencing certain actions and events that cause great harm to the communist movement, to Marxism-Leninism and to our own and other small nations.

The concern we are expressing in this letter has been voiced by many communists in their local Party organizations, and some of them have appealed to the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Reprisals have been the only result.

We would like to say a few words about ourselves in order to enable you to understand us correctly. We are not opportunists, nor are we "rightists" or "leftists". We are communists and most of us became communists 25 to 35 years ago or even earlier. We wish socialism, Marxism-Leninism and the whole mankind all the best.

All of us were born and have lived in Latvia, and most of us have personally experienced the deficiencies of a bourgeois regime. We joined the Party at a time when it was still underground. We endured repressions, were confined to prisons, and suffered under the yoke of bourgeois Latvia. The struggle to establish Soviet power and socialistic order was our main goal in life. We all studied Marxism-Leninism. During the last World War, we were members of the Soviet armed forces or partisan groups and fought the Nazi aggressors. During the postwar years, we all actively participated in building socialism in our land.

With a clear conscience, we did everything in our power to carry out the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. However, it became painfully clear to us that with each passing year their ideas became more distorted, that the teachings of Lenin are used here as a cover for Great Russian chauvinism, that deeds no longer agree with words, that we are complicating the work of communists in other countries, that we are impeding this work instead of enhancing it.

Originally we believed that this was due simply to the errors of a few individual local officials who did not realize the harmful effects of their attitudes. With time, however, it became apparent to us that the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party had deliberately adopted a policy of Great Russian chauvinism and that the forcible assimilation of the small USSR nations had been set as one of the most immediate and important domestic policy goals.

Latvia is a small country, and its history, geography and economy are hardly known to many people abroad. For a better understanding of what will be said below, we shall therefore, now give a brief description of our fatherland.

Already 2000 years ago the Indo-European tribes of Kurši, Sēļi, Zemgaļi and Letgaļi inhabited the east coast of the Baltic sea. Since they lived on the shores of sea gulfs and estuaries and along

navigable rivers, such as Daugava, Vistula and Venta, their lands attracted the attention of their larger eastern and western neighbors, primarily the Germans and the Russians. The Old Latvian tribes were conquered by German crusaders, carrying the cross and the sword, as early as the 13th century. Some 700 years the Latvians lived under the yoke of German knights and barons.

The Russian czars likewise always dreamed of capturing the ice-free Baltic ports of Liepāja, Ventspils and Tallin, and Riga as well. Czar Peter I succeeded in realizing this dream and so our ancestors came under Russian domination. Some parts of the Latvian territory have been under Swedish and Polish rule for a certain time. All these conquerors tried to assimilate the local tribes, but without success. In time, these tribes merged to form a Latvian nation which gained political independence in 1918, after World War I, along with the Estonians and Lithuanians.

The territory of Latvia covered 66,000 square kilometers, with 2,000,000 inhabitants, 76% of them Latvians, Latvia established a democratic bourgeois government with a multi-party system. A political class struggle took place and, according to the strength of the various groups, the system was more or less democratic. The trade unions and the Social Democratic Party from 1918 to 1934 functioned legally, but the Communist Party was underground from 1919 to 1940.

Before World War II the Soviet Union forced Ulmanis, the head of the Latvian bourgeois government, to sign an agreement permitting the stationing of large garrisons of the Red Army in Latvia. In 1940, with the help of the Red Army, the bourgeois government was overthrown and Latvia was annexed by the Soviet Union.

During the democratic bourgeois rule, Latvian economy and cultural life achieved significant progress. Latvia, along with Denmark and the Netherlands, supplied World markets with high-quality butter, cheese, eggs, bacon, lumber and flax. It also exported electrotechnical equipment, optical goods and other industrial products. It had a national university with 9 faculties, 4 other institutions for higher education, an opera, musical and dramatic theatres and many groups of performing artists.

During World War II, approximately 40,000 people were evacuated to the interior of the Soviet Union. Two Latvian divisions fought in the ranks of the Red Army. The rest of the indigenous population remained in Latvia. Part of the people that had remained in Latvia were annihilated by the German fascists. Some died on the front in battle against the Red Army, and at the end of the war, another part emigrated to Western countries (West

Germany, Sweden, Australia, United States, etc.).

Having decided to establish a permanent foothold in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the CC of the CPSU initiated a policy of forced settlement of Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians in the Baltic area, combined with the forced assimilation of Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians (as well as other smaller peoples of the Soviet Union), although this policy is in clear contradiction with the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

You may think — because we cannot sign this letter — that what we have said is not true, that we have exaggerated certain shortcomings that are unavoidable in any endeavor. No, this is not so. Let the facts speak for themselves.

Let us begin with the truthful statements, contained in a resolution, adopted by the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU on June 12, 1953 (it was the only truthful resolution of its kind).

Reporting on this resolution at the Plenary Session of CC of the Latvian CP, on June 22, 1953, Jānis Kalnbērziņš, the then First Secretary of the CC of the Latvian CP, CC member and candidate-member of the Presidium of the CPSU CC, stated:

"The Presidium of the CPSU CC adopted a resolution, in which it was said:

- 1) All Party and State organs shall substantially correct the situation in the national republics, they shall put an end to the perversion of the Soviet nationality policy.

- 2) They shall organize the training, education and promotion to leading positions of persons of local nationality on a large scale and discontinue the practice of selecting cadres from among persons not belonging to the local nationality; nomenclature officials (i.e. officials whose appointment needs approval by Party leadership, Transl.) who do not have the command of the local language, shall be recalled and placed at the disposal of the CPSU CC.

- 3) All official business in the national republics shall be conducted in the local, native language . . . "

Kalnbērziņš went on to report what the aforesaid resolution harshly, but correctly stated in regard to the Latvian SSR, specifically that the Latvian CP CC and Council of Ministers (compelled by Moscow, to be sure) had grossly violated the principles of the Leninist nationality policy. Kalnbērziņš further said that many Party, Soviet and economic executives, guilefully referring to security considerations and expressing their distrust against local cadres as such, selected for leading positions mainly non-Latvians. These people do not know Latvian and are not familiar with local

conditions. As a result of such attitude towards local cadres, only 42 percent of members of the Latvian CP CC and only 47 percent of the secretaries of the Party's city and *raion* (regional) committees are Latvians. Moreover, among these Latvians many do not know Latvian and are Latvians in name only, having spent many years or even their entire lives in Russia.

Since the new course had been ordered from above, submissive to Moscow as Kalnbērziņš had always been, he also correctly stated on that occasion that the situation as regards local cadres was especially unsatisfactory in the Riga Party organization. He said that there were no Latvians among the division chiefs of the City Committee and that of a total of 31 instructors only two were Latvians.

The cadre policy and the growth of Party membership are determined by officials of the organization divisions in the raion committees and secretaries of local Party organizations, yet there are very few Latvians among them. There is only one Latvian in the organization divisions of each raion committee, and only 17 percent of secretaries of the local Party organizations are Latvians.

As a result of such unfounded mistrust of Latvian workers, farmers and working intelligentsia, combined with the state of Party cadre membership, only 18 percent of communists in Riga are Latvians.

The gross distortion of the nationality policy and the discrimination against Latvians was even admitted by a great-power lackey *par excellence* — Arvīds Pelše, the then Propaganda Secretary of the Latvian CP CC, now member of the Politbureau of the CPSU CC and Chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU CC. Referring to the resolution of the CPSU CC, he said in his speech at the aforesaid Plenary Session of the Latvian CP CC:

"The resolution gives clear and unequivocal instructions — first of all, to improve the situation in the Republic in its very essence, to end the perversion of the Soviet nationality policy . . . to train, educate and appoint to leading positions Latvian cadres in the near future, on a large scale".

These statements show that at that time — in 1953 — it was (for the first time since Lenin's death) officially acknowledged that the Marxist-Leninist nationality policy had been grossly perverted (and is still being perverted) in our country.

Was the perversion of the nationality policy discontinued after this session? No. The new course was followed "at the summit" only for a short time. Then, although the resolution of the Presi-

dium of the CPSU CC was never formally repealed, all planned measures were halted and everything remained as it had been before. Conditions even became worse. A deliberate programme of forced assimilation of the smaller nations in the national republics came to be conducted with even greater consistency and purpose than before.

What are the principle characteristics of this programme and how is it enforced? Its primary objective is to transfer from Russia, Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine to Latvia (and the other Baltic republics) for permanent settlement as many Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians as possible.

How is this primary task being carried out?

The CPSU CC did not trust the CP CC of the national republics. Accordingly:

1. In the same way as in the other federal republics, an "Organization Bureau (Orgbureau) of the CC of the CPSU for Latvian Affairs" was set up within the CC of the Latvian CP. Its task was to control and direct the work of the Latvian CP CC and the political activities of the republic in general. One Shatalin was appointed chairman of the Orgbureau, later to be replaced by one Ryazanov.

2. Moscow sent Ivan Lebedev to take up the position of the 2nd Secretary of the Latvian CP CC and Fyodor Titov to serve as Latvian CP CC Secretary in charge of cadres. These positions have been and still are reserved for Russians from Russia. At present, the post of the 2nd Secretary of the Latvian CC CP is filled by Belukha, a Russian sent to Riga from Leningrad.

3. The Orgbureau and Moscow's "high-commissars" shaped the cadre policy of the republic and saw to it (and still do so) that all leading positions, especially those of heads of cadre divisions of all Party, government and economic bodies, went to the Russian immigrants. In their turn, these officials give preferential treatment to other newcomers from other republics as regards registration for permanent residence in the cities, allocation of apartments and procurement of well-paid jobs.

4. With the purpose of promoting a massive influx of Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians, various all-Union (federal), inter-republican and zonal bodies were moved to or established in Latvia. Without any economic reasons at all, there was initiated a

programme of industrial expansion, in the course of which new plants were built and the existing ones enlarged. Builders needed for the new projects were systematically recruited outside the republic's territory, raw materials were brought from the Urals or the Donets Basin (i.e. over distances of 3,000 to 4,000 kilometers); in the same way, industrial labor and specialists were imported from the other republics, while the production was shipped in the opposite direction.

A diesel plant, a motorcar electrical equipment plant, a hydro-meteorological apparatus plant and a turbo-mechanical plant have thus been built in Riga. A large synthetic fibre plant has been erected in Daugavpils; the builders and workers of this factory live now in a fair-size town with practically no Latvian inhabitants. A large knit-wear factory has been set up in Ogre.

There is hardly a raion capital city without a new large industrial plants — either completed or under construction. Their builders, labor force and specialists come from outside the Latvian republic, while their production is being distributed all over the Soviet Union.

Although Latvia had an adequate network of power plants and there are many harnessable rivers in Russia, a new hydro-electric plant was erected on the Daugava river at Pļaviņas by imported construction workers. To house them, a new town, known as Stučka, was built and a new raion established.

5. Although cutting has exceeded reforestation during every postwar year, forests were barbarically exploited. As a result, large areas were turned into swamps and local furniture factories had to import wood for their production. In recent years lumberjacks have been brought to Latvia from Russia, Carpathian Ukraine and Byelo-Russia. The depletion of forest reserves continues and the imported lumberers settle in the republic for good.

As a result of this policy, between 20,000 and 25,000 immigrants become permanent residents of Riga every year. The city's total population has grown more than twice, but the share of Latvians among its inhabitants was reduced to 45 percent in 1959 and 40 percent in 1970. In all of Latvia, ethnic Latvians constituted 62 percent of the total population in 1959 and 57 percent in 1970.

What ultimate consequences this policy will have, has been clearly shown by the fate of the Karelian SSR. This federal republic has ceased to exist. It has been liquidated, because the share of native inhabitants in its total population was reduced to less than a half. A similar fate awaits the Kazakh SSR and Latvia.

6. The submergence of local population under the masses of Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian newcomers is also furthered through the stationing in Latvia of large garrisons of soldiers and border-guards and the establishment of large sanatoriums, rest homes and tourist centers, intended for patients and tourists coming from all over the Soviet Union. Rīgas Jūrmala (the Riga sea-side) has thus been turned into a so-called all-Union health resort, with only a few local residents left.

This policy has been followed during all the postwar years. It was even intensified during the last decade. There are now in our republic many large industrial plants with practically no Latvians left among their workers, engineers and management (e.g. "REZ", the Riga diesel plant, the hydro-meteorological apparatus plant) and there are other factories (e.g. the Popov radio factory, the Riga Railway Car Plant, the motorcar electrical equipment plant and "Rīgas Audums") where most workers are Latvians but the management staff does not know Latvian.

There are government agencies whose personnel includes only relatively very few Latvians. For instance, the Ministry of Interior has about 1,500 employees in Riga, only 300 of whom are Latvians. More than a half (51 percent) of the people employed in the goods distribution system do not know Latvian and only 29 percent of the managerial positions are held by Latvians.

There are very few Latvians engaged in the building trade. Some 65 percent of physicians working in the municipal health services do not know Latvian and therefore make serious mistakes in diagnosis and in prescribing treatment.

This state of things causes rightful indignation among the local population.

Along with efforts to achieve the first basic aim — an increase of the share of non-Latvians in the total population in our republic — conditions have been created for the realization of the second basic objective, namely, a gradual Russification of all walks of life in Latvia, by assimilating the Latvians. With this aim in mind, the following measures have been and still are being taken:

1. The newcomers' demands for an increase of the Russian-language radio and television broadcasts have been met. Currently, one radio and one tv programme are broadcast in Russian only and the other in Latvian and Russian. This means, that two-thirds of the Republic's radio and tv broadcasts are in Russian. The director of the Riga Broadcasting Center, Jeļinskis, who opposed the newcomers' demands, was dismissed.

2. Although all Soviet central newspapers, magazines and books are readily available in Latvia, approximately 50 percent of periodical publications appearing in Latvia are printed in Russian. Despite the fact that there is a lack of paper for the publication of Latvian literary works and school books, literary works and school books in Russian are being put out in our republic.

3. All business in the Republic's, municipal and raion organizations, in most local organizations and in all economic enterprises, is being conducted in Russian.

4. With the exception of such collectives as the staffs of Latvian-language newspapers and magazines, Latvian theatres and schools, and, partly, the kolkhozes, the Russian language is used at all meetings and gatherings. There are collectives with an absolute Latvian majority; however, when only one member of the collective is a Russian, he would insist on the use of Russian at the meetings and his demand will be complied with. If it is rejected, the collective is accused of nationalism.

5. In the cities and rural districts there have been set up the so-called "intergrated" schools, kindergartens and children's homes. This means, in practice, that nothing has been changed in kindergartens, children's homes and schools in which instruction is given in Russian. On the other hand, within Latvian-language schools, etc., there have been organized groups and classes which are being taught in Russian. Once this is done, all business is conducted in Russian at the meetings of the pedagogical councils, teachers and pupils, and at the gatherings of the Red Pioneers. With the exception of rural districts of Kurzeme, Zemgale and Vidzeme, very few Latvian-language schools, kindergartens and children's homes are now left in Latvia.

6. Russian-language classes have been organized within all specialized secondary schools and institutions of higher education.

7. Friendship with the Russians is being continuously preached at meetings, in the press and radio and tv broadcasts. Wide publicity is given to cases of intermarriage between Latvians and Russians.

8. Everything typically Latvian has been eliminated in the production of consumer items. Formerly Latvia, as any other coun-

try, had its national meals and special brands of cigarettes, chocolate and sweetmeal. At present, only so-called all-Union brands, such as "Belochka", "Lastochka", "Kara-Kum", "Kazbek", and "Belomor-Kanal", are available. In cafeterias and restaurant food is prepared according to all-Union (Russian) recipes; Latvian meals have become a rarity.

9. The Latvians have a magnificent popular festival, known as "Līgo svētki" which had been freely celebrated at Midsummer time for centuries, even under the German fascist occupation. Until last year its observance was expressly forbidden. Even this year it is not included in the list of official holidays, although its celebration is no longer banned.

10. There are two different approaches to the so-called literary heritage. While the works of Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, Gogol, Pushkin, Lermontov and other Russian classics appear in ever new editions, of Latvian pre-Soviet writers only Rainis, Paegle and Veidenbaums are officially accepted; to some extent this is also the case of Aspazija, Blaumanis and a handful of other writers.

11. Riga is divided into six administrative raions, but none of them has a locally-derived name. They carry the following names: Lenin, Kirov, Moscow, Leningrad, October and Proletarian.

12. Riga has streets which now carry the names of Lenin, Kirov, Sverdlov, Pushkin, Lermontov and Gorky. Even the czarist governor Suvorov has a street named after him. On the other hand, such street names as "Aspazijas bulvāris" (Aspazija is the most popular Latvian poetess) and "Krišjāņa Valdemāra iela" (Kr. Valdemārs was an untiring promoter of the Latvian national awakening) have been eliminated.

13. In addition of Lenin's Memorial House, there is also one of Czar Peter I, the conqueror of the Baltic area, in Riga.

14. As is known, Latvian soldiers, known as "strēlnieki", played an important role at the time of the October Revolution. At a critical period Lenin gave them the task of guarding the Kremlin and himself. During World War II two Latvian divisions and a special aviation regiment heroically fought in the ranks of the Red Army. Yet today all Latvian military units have been disbanded.

Latvian youths performing military service are not even assigned to Russian units stationed in Latvia, but are deliberately scattered all over the Soviet Union, as far away from Latvia as possible.

15. The repertoires of Latvian professional and amateur theatres, musical groups, orchestras and choirs are not officially approved, unless they include Russian plays or songs, while there are practically no Latvian plays and songs in the repertoires of Russian performing collectives.

We could go on citing other similar facts and developments. All of them point in the same direction: Everything national, peculiar to the Latvians, is being suppressed; a forcible assimilation takes place, and nations, cultures and traditions do not have equal rights.

One can, of course, ask: Why are the Latvian communists and the Latvian people silent?

They were not silent. There were attempts to oppose the policy outlined above.

For example, the former 1st Secretary of the Riga City Committee of the Party, who later became Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR and member of the CC Bureau of the Latvian CP, E. Berklāvs, used every opportunity to speak out against it, and for a time he was supported by several other members of the CP Bureau of the Latvian CP and members of the Republic's government. However, when this support grew to include the majority of members of the CP Bureau, the then 1st Secretary of the CPSU CC, Comrade Khrushchev came to our republic and despatched to Riga the then Secretary of the CPSU CC Mukhitdinov. As a result, Berklāvs was removed from the office of Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, excluded from the CC and the CC Bureau of the Latvian CP and exiled from Latvia.

For supporting the policy of opposition to Great Russian chauvinism and to perversion of Marxism-Leninism, the following persons were also removed from their posts:

K. Ozoliņš, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR and member of the CC Bureau of the Latvian CP;

Straujums, 1st Secretary (after E. Berklāvs) of the Riga City Party Committee and member of the CC Bureau of the Latvian CP;

A. Pinksis, Chairman of the Republic's Trade Union Council and candidate-member of the CC Bureau of the Latvian CP;

Pizāns, editor of the central organ of the Latvian CP, the newspaper "Cīņa" and candidate-member of the Bureau of the Latvian CP.

E. Mūkins, Deputy Chairman of the Republic's State Planning Committee;

V. Kreituss, 1st Deputy Chairman of the Riga City Executive Committee;

Bisenieks, Secretary of the Latvian CP CC and member of its Bureau;

V. Krūmiņš, 2nd Secretary of the Latvian CC PP;

P. Dzērve, Director of the Economic Research Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR;

V. Kalpiņš, Minister of Culture and member of the Latvian CP CC;

P. Cerkovskis, Deputy Minister of Culture;

Prombergs, Deputy Minister of Public Health;

A. Nikonovs, Minister of Agriculture;

Vallis, Deputy Minister of Agriculture;

Darbiņš, editor of the Riga City official newspaper;

Ruskulis, 1st Secretary of the CC of the Latvian Communist Youth Organization;

Valters, Secretary of the Latvian Communist Youth Organization;

Brencis, editor of "Padomju Jaunatne", the official publication of the Latvian Communist Youth Organization;

Zandmanis, Chief of the Cadres Division of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR;

J. Kacēns, Chief of the Administrative Bodies Section of the Latvian CP CC;

E. Liberts, Minister of Motor Transportation and Highways;

E. Ērenštreite, Senior Advisor to the Council of Ministers;

P. Plēsums, Chairman of the Party Control Commission of the Latvian PC CC;

J. Ģībietis, Chief of Public Education Section of the Riga City Executive Committee and member of the Riga City Party Committee;

M. Vernere and Duškina, head masters of secondary schools, and many other persons.

All leading positions are now in the hands of non-Latvians or Latvians who have spent their entire lives in Russia and who have come to Latvia after World War II. Most of them speak no Latvian at all or very poorly. This is borne out by facts that speak for themselves.

At present, the following persons work as secretaries of the Latvian CP CC:

A. Voss, 1st Secretary, a Latvian born in Russia; as a rule, he does not speak Latvian in public;

Belukha, 2nd Secretary, a Russian born in Russia; knows no Latvian at all;

A. Drīzulis, Propaganda Secretary; a Latvian born in Russia;

R. Verro, Secretary for Agricultural Affairs; an Estonian born in Russia; does not know Latvian;

E. Pētersons, Secretary for Industry; a Latvian born in Russia; speaks poor Latvian.

In the Council of Ministers, its Chairman J. Rubenis, a Latvian born in Russia, speaks poor Latvian, and its Deputy Chairman, I. Bondaletov, a Russian from Russia, speaks no Latvian at all.

The Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Latvian SSR, V. Rubenis, a Latvian born in Russia, has a poor knowledge of Latvian and does not speak Latvian in public.

As a rule, leading positions are reserved for persons having no principles, no views or opinions of their own, to careerists and sycophants. Men of principles who hold opinions of their own and do not conceal them have no chance.

Such are the conditions prevailing in Latvia, such is the situation in which the native population finds itself in its respective republic, in their own country.

As regards Lithuanians, Estonians, Jews, Germans, Poles and other ethnic minorities (except Russians), residing in Latvia, their distinctive national individuality is not respected at all. Until 1940 (before the establishment of the Soviet rule) they had in Latvia their own elementary and secondary schools at which they studied in their own languages. They published newspapers, magazines and books in their own languages; they had their own clubs, theatres and other cultural and educational institutions. Today, in disregard of the well-known pertinent principles of Marxism-Leninism and despite statements by Soviet leaders that the nationality problem in the Soviet Union has been solved and that all Soviet nations and peoples enjoy full freedom and equality everywhere, the ethnic minorities have nothing of the kind. In all the republics, the Russians have everything, the native population still has something in their own particular republic, while all the others have nothing at all.

In the Soviet Union there are 3.5 million Jews. One newspaper and one magazine appear in their mother tongue only in their Autonomous Region. They have been deprived of the right of having

their own cities where tens of thousands of them reside.

Esteemed comrades! In this letter we have briefly described conditions in the Soviet Union from one viewpoint only — that of the nationality problem. Yet just as grossly are being perverted here the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on human rights and freedoms, freedom of speech, Leninist style of work and other basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Why do we write you about these problems? Why did we not write earlier? What do we ask you to do and what do we propose?

As stated at the beginning of this letter, we became Communists a long time ago. When we worked in the Communist underground or suffered in the prisons and forced labor camps of bourgeois Latvia, we only had a theoretical knowledge of what a socialist government means and of the Marxist-Leninist teachings as a whole, and we unreservedly believed in the ideals of those teachings. When we met with the reality of the socialist country (the only one in existence at that time) we immediately noticed the difference between theory and practice.

However, we firmly believed that the errors committed were a temporary phenomenon and that one could overcome them by fighting against them. At first we failed to see their seriousness.

Only gradually, as time went on, our practical experience made us realize that official statements, spoken and written, are just meant for display, that they are tendentious distortions of facts or outright lies, that all Party conferences, congresses and meetings are carefully prearranged shows, convened for the sole purpose of creating an illusion of intra-Party democracy. These gatherings have to endorse what has been ruled "at the top" — in the last analysis, by Nr. 1 in the governmental hierarchy (i.e. a single man).

Any attempt to object is regarded as opposition to the Party and Leninism; those who dare to object not only lose their positions, but they are also deprived of freedom and often end up in prisons and camps of inhuman regime; they can be deported and in some cases they disappear for good without a trace.

It goes without saying that under such conditions there are no and there can be no discussions at Party congresses and meetings and at the sessions of the councils of workers' deputies. In this way an appearance of unity is achieved.

We suppose that you have heard of the situation here and know a few things. However, official sources and short visits alone are not enough to give you a deeper insight of what is going on in the Soviet Union. This is why we write you and why we want you to

know the facts.

We understand that no Communist Party has the right to interfere with the internal affairs of another Communist Party. However, for the very purpose of upholding this principle we must jointly restrain whoever violates it. You now know the facts. Moreover, people all over the world judge communists and socialism in general in the light of our successes, failures and errors here. Whatever the Soviet Union does, facilitates or hampers even your work.

This is why we feel that you should know the truth about us and we believe that you will find it necessary to influence the leaders of the CPSU. We know that this will not be easy. They are not used to listening to what others have to say. They act from positions of strength and only acknowledge force. However, your Party plays an important part in the international communist movement and your views cannot be disregarded.

We have no intention of suggesting any method you might use to influence the leaders of the CPSU. Still, we believe that the prestige of Marxism-Leninism cannot be upheld, if distortions of its basic principles in the Soviet Union are ignored.

If the leaders of the CPSU refuse to stop the actions described above, they must be mercilessly unmasked and boycotted. The current policies of the leaders of the CPSU are fatal to the international communist movement.

With communist greetings,

17 Latvian communists.

The foregoing documentation of Soviet reality should be treated with the greatest respect. Yet we cannot fail to point out a paradoxical phenomenon. Like these 17 Latvian communists, many of their predecessors had been staunch adherents of Marxism-Leninism, in other words, of Soviet-type communism. As such we can mention here Jānis Rudzutaks, one-time member of the Soviet Politbureau, and other close associates of Lenin — Jēkabs Alksnis, Eduards Bērziņš, Reinholds Bērziņš, Jānis Bērziņš-Ziemelis, Jūlijs Daniševskis, Osvalds Dzenis, Jānis Hermanis, Vilhelms Knoriņš, Mārtiņš Lācis, Kārlis Landers, Valerijs Mežlauks, Jēkabs Pēterss and Ivars Smilga. Although they served the cause of communism with absolute loyalty and helped to build the Soviet empire, they and many other Latvian communists were executed as "enemies of the people". Since the October Revolution — which actually was a Bolshevik-staged *coup d'état* — the number of victims of Soviet communism has constantly grown. Millions of people, in-

cluding entire national groups, have been persecuted and exterminated in the name of the so-called proletarian dictatorship. Indeed, this dictatorship constitutes the very core of Marxian dogmas, as interpreted by Moscow. Based as it is on dictatorship, the Soviet system can be neither social, nor humane. It is characterized by a symbiosis of Great Russian chauvinism and communist dogmas.

It is therefore natural and understandable that common sense made the Latvians oppose the communist ideology and the Soviet rule. Passive resistance is one of the ways of defending the vital interests of a nation and its very existence.

Although banned under the Soviet system, a few strikes have occurred in Latvia after 1945. They have been staged for purely economic rather than political reasons. On the other hand, sabotage and similar acts pursued, as a rule, political objectives. Manifestations of patriotic feelings are viewed by the people with greater sympathy than any other form of passive resistance.

Despite the existence of the Soviet police state and the steady stream of repressions, the level of resistance has not decreased during the entire period of Soviet rule in Latvia. Among youth resistance has increased. Proof for this fact can be found in the Soviet labor camps. During the rule of Khrushchev the number of Latvian youths exceeded those of other nationalities.⁶⁰

One must also remember the organized protest actions against the brutality of the communists and the gulag system of slavery. Latvian political prisoners took part in the organized strikes and unrest in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Kingir and Karaganda. The number of Latvians executed during and after these protests by the NKVD and MVD is rather great.

Any summary of the resistance movement in the Baltic region would be incomplete without mention of the role played by exile Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians living in the Western world. Their number is substantial. Approximately ten percent of all Latvians, for example, reached the West. They are citizens whose human rights have not been violated and who have exercised their right to the freedom of speech. The members of the resistance regard these exiles as an extension of the resistance movement. They are unified in their objective - to regain freedom and independence for the three Baltic states. They are working both behind the Iron Curtain and in the West for the creation of an independent, democratic Latvia.

Latvians, however, are not alone, but unified with Lithuanians and Estonians in their endeavor. Not only during the years of ac-

tive resistance but also during the years of passive resistance have members of these three nations displayed a unity with regard to goals and method.

V. Stanley Vardys has provided an insightful description and explanation for this phenomenon. The resistance to the Soviet regime in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania is not a recent development. The beginnings of this resistance lies in the cultural and political history of these three countries. Since they have national sovereignty as their end goal, their aspirations are more clearly mirrored in the dissident movements in the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and other repressed nations within the Soviet empire than with that in Russia. Baltic dissidents share only the spiritual and philosophical principles of the resistance with Russian dissidents. That their goals and methods do not always overlap is an important fact in a review of the passive and spiritual resistance of the Baltic peoples.⁶¹

4. SPIRITUAL RESISTANCE

In some cases this type of resistance has differed little from passive resistance. The principle element of spiritual resistance has been defined by the Italian writer Ignazio Silone. In his words, *a man can remain free, if he preserves the will to be free.*

To be free under the Soviet rule? If we would try to gain a deeper insight into the mental and emotional processes of an individual who has resisted the regime's endeavors to squeeze him into the rigid and uniform framework of mass existence, we would see that he has preserved the autonomy of his inner life. He may enjoy individual sovereignty. He lives in harmony not with the outer world, but with himself. This can give him strength in various situations. Highly remarkable seems to us the case of Rita Jaunzeme, who grew up in rural surroundings, spent long years in labor camps and finally managed to come to the West. She has stated that spiritual strength and unshakable morals saved her from succumbing. She said: "When I was too weak and fell, I still forced myself to get up and march on; when the guard struck me in the back with the butt of his rifle, I only felt physical pain, it caused no psychic suffering. I loathed these men so intensely and they seemed to me so base that their brutish behavior failed even to offend me".⁶²

Soviet every-day life in itself causes a feeling of oppression and even those Latvians who have escaped deportation have to seek spiritual comfort in their isolated inner world. Artists and writers try to compensate the restraints and the soulless regimentation imposed on them by creating works that for the time being belong only to them. It is known that driven by an irresistible impulse of free creation painters have produced works that do not comply with the demands of the Party and the prescription issued by their own official organizations. These paintings bide their time at some inconspicuous place. They give satisfaction and consolation to the artist and allay the feeling of guilt caused by production of works by order and by treating subjects that are alien and even repugnant to him.

Composers have written music that has no chance of being performed under the prevailing conditions and is not even intended for immediate use. Some of them, while complying with the

official prescriptions in a general way, have tried in a subtle manner to use motifs that are close to the Latvian heart at a time of national plight.

Especially difficult is the situation of Latvian writers whose work can be easily controlled by the official Soviet censorship. The only way to be admitted to the official writers' organization and to have one's works published is to start one's literary career by paying tribute to the Soviet regime. However, once this is done, some writers cannot resist an inner compulsion to at least sometimes tell the truth and be honest. Ingenuity, subtle allusions and remarks, and the language of symbols are certainly needed in such cases. The reader is quick to grasp what the writer means and appreciates it. A spiritual harmony is thus established between the writer and the reader, an atmosphere of mutual encouragement and stimulation which means much to both. Poetry is in a better situation than prose in this respect. Poetry possesses a potential force which can penetrate into the innermost regions of the human soul. A spark struck by a poet can become a bonfire. Poetic symbols and allegories can have greater effect than a carefully conceived political manifesto. When Vizma Belševica, living under Soviet rule, in her poem "Annual Rings", in no more than three lines speaks of her wish "to ascend to heaven and cry out against the injustice done my people"⁶³ and, in fact, denounces genocide, then it is a protest that is understood as such by her readers and does not leave them indifferent.

At the side of prose and poetry that is sanctioned or at least tolerated by the authorities, there is what can be described as illegal or underground literature — poems, diaries, and secret manuscripts. Although it is more or less a hidden treasure, its very existence is a significant fact. Moreover, it is not necessarily so carefully concealed that a few tens or hundreds of peoples would not know about its existence. Manuscripts are circulated by hand, people seek and find ways to get them. And therefore one can say that many Latvian poets, writers and chroniclers of current events have become a permanent part of the *invisible front*. The number of poems written in Siberia alone is so large that sooner or later Latvian literary historians will have to deal with them. Not all of this literature is lost, quite a few verses and prose works have been preserved and, in the same way as our older folklore, they have had a wide circulation and in some cases have been handed down to the younger generation.

Hence we can say that in the darkest of nights Latvian poetry and art have made stars shine so bright that no clouds could ec-

lipse them. True to their people, the Latvian writers and artists have lent expression to the national longing for freedom.

Science found itself in a more difficult situation. Leaving aside physics, chemistry and other exact sciences, to which the Party cannot readily apply its Procrustean measures, we see that a number of other disciplines, especially history and philology were and are subject to the severest restrictions. In their case, it is not possible to defend their interests by means to which poetry and art have had recourse. However, scholars can act as critics. Within fairly narrow bounds this method has been followed by several Latvian scientists. The reputed philologist Professor Dr. Jānis *Endzelīns* deliberately used quotations from the novels of Vilis Lācis, Stalin Prize laureate, when he wanted to show the students of the Latvian State University examples of poor Latvian language. On the day after the mass deportations of 1941, he publicly declared in the university: "I am a worker. I have worked all my life and have earned enough to be able to pay for the ticket to Siberia, allow me to pay my way myself."⁶⁴

Heinrichs *Strods*, a historian who studied and started his career under the Soviet regime, reviewed in 1962⁶⁵ a study entitled *Materialy po istoriyi meditsiny i zdravookhraneniya Latvii* (Materials on the History of Medicine and Public Health in Latvia), published by the State Publishing House in 1959. Strods criticizes the Russian authors (K. G. Vasilyev, F. Grigorash and A. A. Kraus) of the book for their incompetence and unfamiliarity with Latvia's problems. He remarks dryly that Soviet historiography does not use — as the authors do — the term "reunion" when speaking of Latvia's incorporation into the Russian Empire in the 18th century. He goes on to say that this term can be applied to the historical processes that led to the merger of Western Ukraine and White Ruthenia with the Ukraine and White Ruthenia proper, but is incorrect in the case of Latvia.

Several professors of the Latvian Agricultural Academy severely criticized the collectivization of Latvian agriculture, pointing out that various factors preclude a satisfactory functioning of the collective farming system in Latvia.⁶⁶

The Latvian national spirit continues to derive strength from the fact that Latvians have had their own free state. The twenty-two years of national independence which brought progress in many fields make every Latvian feel that he has a valid claim to the restoration of national independence and that he belongs to a cultural sphere of its own. Moscow's efforts to reduce Latvians to the status of second-rate citizens — a status they had under the

Russian czars — meets with resistance. The Latvian of today is not only nation-minded, but also state-minded. In other words, he considers himself to be a member of a nation that has a right to independence. The free Republic of Latvia is to him a spiritual value which he continues to cherish. The Soviet endeavors to obliterate the memories of the period of national independence fail to produce any results even among the young Latvians.

When a school teacher, complying with the strict prescriptions of the curriculum, speaks in derogatory terms of the Latvian freedom era and praises Leninism, one of the pupils would simply say: "You don't really believe what you are telling us. That's pure nonsense".⁶⁷ Today, after 40 years of Soviet rule, there is no lack of new evidence of the patriotic and anti-Soviet views held by the Latvian youth.⁶⁸ Information received from Latvia also speaks of their Western orientation.

The Latvians have vigorously opposed Soviet efforts to change their national traditions and customs. Midsummer (Līgo svētki - St. John's) Day caused a serious conflict. Since time immemorial it has been an inseparable part of Latvian life. In the distant past it was associated with old popular beliefs relating to the summer solstice. In modern times it has come to be observed as a national festival with bonfires, age-old special songs and other elements of folklore. After Latvia's occupation by the Red Army, the Soviet bureaucrats banned the Midsummer Day celebrations. It was declared a normal working day and people were warned that absence from work on that day would be qualified as sabotage. (In the Soviet Union, sabotage is considered to be a counterrevolutionary crime). Why did the Soviets prohibit the observance of Midsummer Day?

Since Midsummer Day is observed in truly countless places, it was clear to the Soviet security agencies that they could not possibly send their men to all those places and that most of the gatherings would thus remain outside their control. In view of the anti-Soviet moods of the population, such a situation was deemed unacceptable. Suspicious as it is, the Soviet regime feared that Midsummer Day might be used for anti-Soviet demonstrations or even something worse.

However, the Soviet plan failed. The Latvians continued to observe this day as they continued to celebrate Christmas which atheistic Soviet communism tried to suppress. The regime finally gave in. The unanimous and resolute popular resistance this time could not be broken. It is noted that occasionally the Latvian national anthem and other patriotic songs have been sung on Mid-

summer day,⁶⁹ thus proving that the Soviet suspicions have not been entirely unfounded.

Spiritual resistance, too, has its momentum. A classic example of such resistance was given by the Finnish nation under the autocratic czarist regime. Now its abode is found in Latvia and the two other Baltic countries. An observant eye will detect evidence of national feelings everywhere, they continue to glow under ashes. This is all the more remarkable as a whole generation has grown up since these nations took up what can be described as a "hedgehog's position".

The Muscovite aggressors prepared detailed plans for mass deportations of Latvians as early as the autumn of 1939. They knew what they had to expect in Latvia. They knew that decrees and police measures alone would not overcome the resistance of the population and therefore they decided to use methods of genocide. And yet — despite all horrors experienced, despite NKVD torture cellars and prisons, mass graves and death-trains, solitary cells and special punitive labor camps, despite all the wily Soviet system — the backbone of the Latvian people has not been broken.

A people devoted to freedom, justice and honor deserves all our respect.

Do the Latvian people receive any outside support? Within the limits of their possibilities, some support has been given by Latvian exiles who emigrated westwards for political reasons in 1944 and 1945 and constitute some eight percent of all Latvians. Since the first years of exile they have had representative organizations and a press of their own. While loyally observing the laws of their countries of residence, they fight for the interests of the Latvian nation. The World Association of Free Latvians (*Pasaules Brīvo Latviešu Apvienība* — PBLA) which speaks in the name of 150,000 free Latvians declares in Art. 1 of its by-laws; "The principle objective of the World Association of Free Latvians is the restoration of independent Latvia and the freedom of the Latvian people". The European Association of Latvian Youth (*Eiropas Latviešu Jaunatnes Apvienība* — ELJA) has stated its views and aims in the so-called "Ettlingen Declaration" (Ettlingen is a town in West Germany). We quote: "1. We stand for the restoration of an independent and democratic Latvian Republic. 2. The Latvian people shall wield power in re-established Latvia. 3. A parliament, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret vote, and a government shall represent the will of the Latvian people. All political groups shall have the right to participate in the elections with separate lists of candidates. 4. The freedom of opinion, coalition and press

shall be guaranteed by law in Latvia.

The Latvian National Foundation (*Latviešu Nacionālais Fonds*) in Stockholm publishes documentary reports on the crimes committed by the Soviet regime in Latvia. Press conferences have been organized to inform the international news media about conditions in Soviet-occupied Latvia.

Latvian diplomatic representatives have prepared memoranda, reminding the Western nations of the arbitrary rule established by the Soviets in Latvia, and have furnished evidence of the new system of imperialism and colonialism which in the 20th century is being imposed by Moscow on a part of Europe that has fallen under its sway. It is a system which deliberately aims at the elimination of the smaller nations. Their very existence is now threatened and not by their own fault or because of any decline in their national culture. The great upheaval, caused by World War II, has had catastrophic consequences for the Baltic States and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and, at the same time, it also means a danger for all of Europe. As convincingly shown by the Latvian statesman and jurist Dr. Miķelis Valters,⁷⁰ the Baltic republics were a *factor of order*. Latvia and the two other states ensured peace and security on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. Their elimination has created insecurity in the Baltic area and in northern Europe where Moscow now sees new possibilities of expansion, as the Soviet covetousness knows of no limits.

As we have seen, the Latvian people have not become reconciled to the imposed foreign rule and continues to oppose it. The determination and longing for freedom of this small nation reminds one of Wilhelm Tell's dogged fight for the liberation of his people.

A former German prisoner of war⁷¹ who returned to Germany from Soviet punitive camps where he had met, for the first time in his life, Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians has stated:

"If the big nations had opposed Bolshevism in the same way as the Baltic peoples have done, the Soviet system would have collapsed".

NOTES

1 This figure is given by a Soviet scholar, E. Žīgurs, in *Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis* (Annals of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR), 1965, no. 8/217, p. 7. Earlier Soviet sources quote an even lower figure. See also: Ā.Silde, *Bez tiesībām un brīvības* (Deprived of Freedom and Rights), Copenhagen 1965, pp. 27-38, and V. Hāzners, Who Is in Power in Latvia, *Baltic Review*, no. 24, 1962.

2 As testified by Roberts V., who lived in Latvia after 1945 and in 1970 returned from a forced labor camp in the Potma area. His report refers to incidents that took place in 1947 in the Sauka rural commune in Zemgale. LSK (Latvian Red Cross) Archive, testimony no. 0465/70.

3 As testified by Ernestīna Z., who was deported to the Omsk punitive region. LSK Archive, testimony no. 0311/63. Cf. *Ar sirdi un asinīm* (With our Heart-Blood) by Anna Brodele, p. 17.

4 J. Vēvers, *Indīgas saknes*. (Poisonous Roots. Documentary Report by a Cheka Official). Published by *Liesma*, Riga 1970, p. 54.

5 Soviet executive committees have replaced former communal and municipal boards. They carry out Party directives and orders in the rural communes and cities.

A *partorg* is a Party official who is in charge of organizational matters and who directs the political work of the Party within a territorial area, at a factory, etc.

The Soviet news media and publications invariably describe the Latvian patriotic guerillas as "*bandīts*", although the partisans acted only against Soviet officials and some of their unscrupulous fellow-travellers. After the partisans had set fire to the offices of some executive committees (where lists of prospective deportees were kept), the Soviet officials moved to schools, etc.

6 *Dzimtenes Atbalss*, no. 28, 1917.

7 J. Vēvers, op. cit., pp. 46-47. The Soviet governmental agency in charge of State security has repeatedly changed its name (Cheka, NKVD, MVD, KGB). To simplify matters, we shall refer to it as NKVD.

- 8 Ibidem and pp. 64-79.
- 9 Ā.Šilde, op. cit., p. 159.
- 10 *Latvijas PSR vēsture. Saīsināts kurss*, (History of the Latvian SSR. Abridged Course), (Zinātne Publishing House, Riga) pp. 552-553.
- 11 Andris Trapāns, *Bruņota pretestība Latvijā*, (Armed Resistance in Latvia) Magazine, 1983, no. 4. Also: Viktors Kalniņš, *Neredzamā fronte* (The Invisible Front Line), *Latvija šodien*, 1980, n. 8.
- 12 J. Dzintars, *Neredzamā fronte* (The Invisible Front Line), (Zvaigzne Publishing House, Riga), pp. 240-241, and *Istoriya Latvijas SSR* (History of the Latvian SSR), vol. 3, p. 644.
- 13 J. Vēvers, op. cit., pp. 27-35, specifically p. 30.
- 14 Ibidem, pp. 47, 76 ff.
- 15 As testified by Roberts. V. LSK Archive, testimonies no. 0465/70 and nr. 0466/70.
- 16 Andris Trapāns, *Bruņota pretestība Latvijā*, (Armed Resistance in Latvia), Magazine, 1983, no. 4.
- 17 Ā. Šilde, *Važu rāvēji* (Breakers of Fetters), p. 55.
- 18 As testified by Adolf and Frieda W. LSK Archive, testimony no. 0395/64.
- 19 J. Vēvers, op. cit., p. 30. Cf. J. Dzintars, op. cit., p. 241.
- 20 Ibidem, pp. 96 and 101.
- 21 Valdis Rēdelis, see his article in the *Daugavas Vanagu Mēnešraksts* (periodical publication of the Latvian veterans' organization "Daugavas Vanagi"), 1969, no. 2, p. 22. For a general understanding of the partisan movement, see his essay *Partisanen-Krieg* (Guerrilla Warfare), Kurt Vowinckel Verlag, Heidelberg 1958.
- 22 Vladimirs Kaijaks, *Smagās sirdis*, published by "Liesma", Riga 1969, pp. 115 and 160-162.

23 Although these works can be considered reliable in this respect, they have not been used for our list of areas of guerilla fighting.

24 Arvīds Grigulis, *Kad lietus un vējš sitās logā*, (When Rain and Wind Knocked against the Window), LVI (Latvian State Publishing House), Riga 1965, p. 471. — This novel also appeared in the Soviet propaganda newspaper *Dzimtenes Balss* (Homeland's Voice).

25 Ibidem, p. 527.

26 Anna Brodele, *Ar sirdi un asinīm*, p. 17.

27 Anna Sakse, *Pret kalnu*, Latgosizdat (Latvian State Publishing House), Riga 1950.

28 Vilis Lācis, *Uz jauno krastu*, Latgosizdat, Riga 1953. See pp. 359, 369-372, 394, 403-408.

29 A kulak (or *budzis* in Latvian) is a well-to-do farmer in the Soviet parlance.

30 MTS stands for "Machine and Tractor Station". Such stations were established in Latvia by the Soviets in connection with farm collectivization.

31 Vilis Lācis, op. cit., p. 407.

32 Visvaldis Lāms, *Jokdaris un lelle*, published in *Karogs* (Standard), monthly periodical of the Writers' Union of the Latvian SSR, 1971, specifically no. 5, p. 52.

33 *Istoriya Latvīyskoy SSR* (History of the Latvian SSR), vol. 3, pp. 545-546. Cf. *LPSR Mazā enciklopēdija* (Short Encyclopaedia of the Latvian SSR), Part II, pp. 42-43.

34 *Padomju Latvijas Komunisti* (Soviet Latvian Communist), a monthly publication, 1967, no. 12, pp. 21-22.

35 Miervaldis Birze, *Pie Melnā medņa* (The Black Woodcock), a dramatical report. Cf. *Cīņa* (The Struggle — the official organ of the Latvian Communist Party), no. 123, May 27, 1965.

36 The Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the

Latvian SSR even published in 1965, a 544-page book, entitled *Socialistiskās revolūcijas uzvara Latvijā* (Victory of the Socialistic Revolution in Latvia).

37 As testified by Dr. Lilija Zariņa. LSK Archives, testimony no. 0220/57.

38 The Bulletin of the Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR (1958, no. 2) indicates that "cases of banditism" became scarcer every year and that since 1957 no such cases have been tried by the courts of Soviet Latvia. "This means", the official publication goes on to say, "that crimes of this category are no longer committed in our republic". See p. 35. "Banditism" is the term applied by Soviet institutions and courts to the actions of Latvian guerillas.

39 Th. Ebert, *Ziviler Widerstand, Fallstudien aus der innenpolitischen Friedens- und Konfliktforschung*. (Civilian Resistance. Case Studies-Research on Inner Political Peace and Conflicts), Bertelsmann Universitaetsverlag, Duesseldorf 1970, p. 7.

40 Ibidem.

41 Ibidem, see his study "Formen der Widerstandes im Baltikum 1940-1968" (Forms of Resistance in the Baltic Countries in 1940-1968, p. 231-2.

42 LSK Archive, testimony no. 344/56.

43 LSK Archive, testimony no. 0467/68.

44 LSK Archive, testimony no. 0436/67.

45 LSK Archive, testimony no. 0468/69 and other similar testimonies.

46 An organization whose tasks included aid to family members of Soviet-deported Latvians.

47 Archive of the Latvian National Foundation in Stockholm.

48 For information on Latvian national communists, see Ā. Šilde, *Bez tiesībām un brīvības* (Deprived of Rights and Freedom), pp. 48-59, 72, 91-92, and 96.

49 Hearings before the Select Committee to Investigate the Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. House of Representatives. Eighty-third Congress. First Session. Under Authority of H. Res. 346, Part 1. See testimony of Dean Jēkabs Kullītis before the U.S. Congress, pp. 247-248. Cf. Leons Čuibe, *The Lutheran Church of Latvia Under Soviet Russian Occupation*, Stockholm 1948, and Leons Čuibe, *The Lutheran Church of Latvia in Chains*, Stockholm 1963.

50 *Padomju Latvijas Komunisti* (Soviet Latvian Communist), 1963, no. 8, p. 4.

51 *Sovetskaya Molodyozh*, of November 23, 1960.

52 *The Catholic Church of Latvia Under Bolshevik Torture*, p. 13.

53 *Cīņa*, April 14, 1971, no. 86.

54 Andrey Amalrik, *Unfreiwillige Reise nach Sibirien* (Involuntary Voyage to Siberia), p. 95.

55 *Cīņa*, October 21, 1971, no. 245. See the article entitled *Pret tautas tiesas spriedumu* (Against the Verdict of the People's Court).

56 LSK Archive, testimony no. 0470/70.

57 *Brīvība* (Freedom), Latvian Social Democratic monthly, published in Stockholm, Sweden, 1971, nos. 9 and 10.

58 In August 1968, when Czechoslovakia was occupied by the Red Army, Alexander *Dubchek* was the leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. General Pyotr *Grigorenko* and historian Pyotr *Yakir* have become known as fearless fighters for human rights in the Soviet Union. Grigorenko was reduced to the rank of a private and interned in a mental asylum for having defended the cause of the Crimean Tartars. Yakir is the son of Yona Yakir, one of the outstanding Soviet military leaders during the period of the Russian civil war, executed by orders from Stalin.

59 The full text of Jachimovičs' open letter was published by the West German liberal weekly *Der Spiegel* and other periodicals. We have quoted extracts from his letter.

- 60 Viktors Kalniņš, *Neredzamā fronte* (The Invisible Front Line), "Latvija šodien", 1980, no. 8, p. 10.
- 61 V. Stanley Vardys, *Die Frage der Menschenrechte in Estland, Lettland und Litauen* (The Problem of Human Rights in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), *Acta Baltica* XXII, pp. 182-197.
- 62 Quoted from the written testimony by Rita Jaunzeme (born 1906 in Gulbene, Latvia) on October 24, 1971. LSK Archive, testimony no. 0464/71.
- 63 See her collection of poems, published by *Liesma* in 1969 in Riga.
- 64 As stated by Mrs. O. Trauciņa, who at that time studied philology at the Latvian University, in an interview with the author.
- 65 *Zinātņu Akademijas Vēstis* (Annals of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR), 1962, no. 176, pp. 143-148.
- 66 Ā. Šilde, *Bez tiesībām un brīvības*, p. 169.
- 67 According to a report which reached the West in 1967.
- 68 Young Latvians who arrived from Riga in a Western country in 1971 spoke in complete agreement of the wide-spread opposition of the Latvian youth to Soviet communism and Russification.
- 69 As testified by Ansis L., LSK Archive, testimony no. 0346/63.
- 70 Dr. M. Valters, *Lettland, seine Entwicklung zum Staat und die baltischen Fragen*, (Latvia, Its Rise to Statehood and the Baltic Problems).
- 71 Dr. Siegfried Müller whom a representative of the Latvian Red Cross met in the autumn of 1955 at the Friedland transit camp for returnees (near Göttingen). LSK Archive, testimony no. 0095 -- Grenzdurchgangslager Friedland.

On August 23, 1979, forty-five Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians issued a protest in Moscow against the continuing Soviet occupation of the Baltic States. This event marked the 40th anniversary of the infamous Soviet-Nazi "friendship pact" of 1939. A translation follows:

A PETITION BY CITIZENS OF ESTONIA,
LATVIA AND LITHUANIA.

To: The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany
The Government of the German Democratic Republic
The Governments signatory to the Atlantic Charter
Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations

In Soviet jurisprudence the term National Sovereignty refers to a nation with all its rights, with political freedom, with a real possibility to determine fully its own destiny, and primarily the potential for self-determination, including the ability to form its own independent state. National sovereignty is characterized by political, territorial, cultural and linguistic independence - manifesting itself in a state with full sovereign rights in all social aspects, with a guarantee of their full realization.

National sovereignty cannot be bestowed nor taken away; it can only be damaged or restored.

In 1919 Lenin acknowledged the de facto existence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which had recently seceded from imperial Russia. In 1920 Soviet Russia concluded peace treaties with these nations, extending to the Baltic States de jure recognition as well. In the name of the Soviet government, Lenin renounced in perpetuity all sovereign rights to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. But nineteen years later Stalin and Hitler infringed on the sovereignty of these nations. August 23rd of this year marked the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, implementation of which meant the end of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian independence.

On the 23rd of August, 1939, Germany and Soviet Russia signed a non-aggression treaty, including a secret protocol on the division of Eastern Europe into so-called spheres of influence. The point of the secret Molotov and Ribbentrop talks was to decide the fate of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Bessarabia

and Northern Bukovina. Finland, Estonia and Latvia were to go to the Soviet Union and Lithuania to Germany.

On September 28, 1939, the Soviet Union and Germany signed a treaty of friendship and demarcation. The pact amended the secret protocol of August 23, so that now Lithuania as well was to go to the Soviet Union, with the exception of the left shore of the Sesupe River, which in case of necessity would be occupied by the German armies.

Between the 15th and 17th of June, 1940, on orders of the government of the U.S.S.R., the Red Army effected this by occupying the territories of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, including that part of Lithuania which was to have gone to Germany.

On January 10, 1941, the German ambassador to the Soviet Union Dr. von Shulenburg, on the one hand, and Chairman Molotov of the Committee of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on the other, signed a new secret protocol in which the object of negotiation was the aforementioned district in Lithuania. The German government renounced in favor of the Soviet Union its claims to the territory west of the Sesupe River in return for monetary compensation in the sum of 7.5 million dollars in gold or 31.5 million Reichsmarks.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact turned out to be the conspiracy of the two greatest tyrants in history, Stalin and Hitler, against peace and humanity, which laid the basis for the Second World War. We consider the 23rd of August a day of infamy.

On August 14, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the U.S.A. and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain signed the so-called Atlantic Charter, consisting of six points. Point 2 proclaimed that the U.S.A. and England "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned." Point 3 recognizes "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." The Soviet Union signed this Charter on the 24th of September, 1941.

In the declaration by the U.S.S.R., it was stated that in foreign affairs " . . . the Soviet Union will follow the principle of national self-determination . . . the U.S.S.R. favors the right of each nation to national independence, territorial integrity, and the right to decide its own social system and that form of government which the people would judge to be necessary for their country's economic and cultural development."

It would be well to recall that according to international law,

it is impossible for a nation to practice self-determination if its land is occupied by a foreign army. This is also emphasized in Lenin's Declaration on Peace, which states if a nation "has not had the opportunity for free elections, without the presence of foreign forces or the influence of an occupying power, the joining of their territory to another country is annexation; namely, it has been taken over by force."

The results of the well-known Munich pact of September 29, 1938, were abrogated by the very fact of Germany's defeat in the war. The government of the Federated German Republic, under pressure from public opinion in Czechoslovakia, admitted the Munich pact to be invalid from the very moment of its signing.

However, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact seems juridically to be still in effect. We consider that the silence of the world on this matter supports aggressors - past, present and future.

We request:

- that the Soviet Union publish the full text of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, including the secret protocols. We wish to recall that Lenin's Decree on Peace, declared that the Soviet government renounce secret diplomacy. We also ask for declarations that the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact was invalid from the moment of its signing;

- that the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic declare the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact null and void from the moment of its signing, and we ask them to assist the Soviet government to nullify the consequences of that pact: namely, to withdraw foreign troops from the Baltic States. In order to accomplish this, it would be fitting to create an appropriate commission, to be made up of the representatives of the Moscow, Bonn and East Berlin governments, to nullify the results of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

We ask the governments signatory to the Atlantic Charter, on the basis of their moral responsibility to denounce the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its consequences. We would like to call attention to the fact that an action is not an internal affair when it essentially endangers peace and security, trampling accepted international norms. The principle of self-determination of peoples and nations recognizes any method in the struggle against colonialism, which is an international crime. That is why it is just that people around the world support wars of liberation. Furthermore,

in accordance with the Declaration on International Law, every state is obliged to work for and support the realization of the principles of equality and national self-determination.

We remind the Secretary General of the United Nations that this international organization is the successor of the League of Nations, of which Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania were full and active members until the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact went into effect. Consequently, upon you rests the juridical responsibility for the fate of the Baltic States.

We request - that in the next General Assembly of the UN, the consequences of the nullification of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact be taken up. We wish to mention that the principle of self-determination is confirmed in present international law; for instance, such significant documents as the United Nations Constitution (paragraphs 1, 13, 55, 76), and the Declaration of Independence for Colonial Territories and Peoples, which was voted in the General Assembly on December 14, 1960;

- in the resolution of December 20, 1965, the General Assembly, recognized the rights of colonial areas to independence; in the International Convention against all forms of racial discrimination passed by the XX session of the General Assembly, December 21, 1965; the International Declaration on Human Rights passed by the XXI session of the General Assembly, December 16, 1966; and the principles of International Law, passed during the 25th Jubilee Assembly, October 24, 1970. These and other United Nations international instruments affirm the rights of peoples to equality and self-determination.

This means:

- The right of all nations to determine their own destiny; that is under conditions of complete freedom to choose internal and external political status without interference, and to realize, in accord with their own wishes, their political, economic, social and cultural development;

- The right of each nation to decide on the disposition of its own resources;

- The obligation of each state to foster the principles of equal-

ity and self-determination, as presented by the United Nations Charter;

- That equality and self-determination have been proclaimed as the main principles in international law in the final documents of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

You know, Mr. Secretary General, that the above-mentioned international documents, which are binding, are being transgressed by some members of the United Nations. We request that the next session of the General Assembly take up the matter of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, since the peoples of these nations have been deprived of their rights and the opportunity to determine their own destiny.

August 23, 1979

Romas Andrijauskas
Stasé Andrijauskiené
Alfonas Andriukaitis
Edmundas Bartuška
Vytautas Bastys
Vytautas Bogušis
(Rev.) Vladas Bobinas
Romas Vitkevičius
Jonas Volungevičius
Jonas Dambrauskas
Liutauras Kazakevičius
Leonas Laurinskas
Rimas Mažukna
(Rev.) Mocius
Mart Niklus
(Rev.) Napoleonas Narkūnas
Sigitas Paulavičius
Angele Pauskiené
Keseutis Povilaitis
Jadvyga Petkevičiene
Julius Sasnauskas
Leonora Sanauskaité
Algis Statkevičius

Kestutis Subacius
Enn Tarto
Antanas Terleckas
Erik Udam
Ints Cālītis
Petras Čidzikas
Arvydas Čekanavičius
Jonas Eišvidas
Rimas Žukauskas
Ivars Žukovskis
Alfredas Zeideks
Juris Ziemelis
Jonas Petkevičius
Jonas Potusevičius
Sigitas Randis
Endel Ratas
Henriķas Sambore
Vladas Šakalys
Jonas Šerkšnas
Zigmas Širvinskas
Mecislovas Jurevičius
(Rev.) Virgilijus Jaugelis

We can be sure that as long as the Latvian nation bears and raises just one upright and diligent son, this one son will do his utmost to guarantee that his nation's honor and well-being are preserved.

Atis Kronvalds

To the Latvian nation living abroad!

Today, November 18th, we are commemorating Latvia's independence day for the 61st consecutive year. Even today, the vision of the founders of the Latvian nation and the fateful events of that critical juncture in Latvian history are a source of inspiration for us.

With sadness we must look back today at the suffering of the last forty years. The Latvian nation has endured a great deal since it lost its independence, the securing of which had required a heroic struggle and many losses. These forty years have, in many respects, been catastrophic for Latvia: the Latvian people have:

- 1) suffered physical and mental torture;
- 2) helplessly witnessed the depreciation and destruction of Latvia's cultural history, and the effects of a planned policy of Russification.

The present economic and political situation has deteriorated so markedly that Latvians are forced to reminisce about better times. Behind the facade of technical progress and the improvements in the overall standard of living one sees the Latvian government's dependence and uncritical subordination to Moscow. Those who best perceive the course of history are forced to be silent.

It is difficult to imagine how Latvians, who once exulted over its independence, now must restrain their tongues, thoughts, and will-power.

We do, however, believe that the internal strength of its people can raise a new Latvian state out of ruin and transform it into a respected partner in the community of European states.

Dear Latvian abroad! Represent the Latvian state in an international forum. Do not be tentative! Display openly your protest

against the Soviet state's unlawful occupation of the Baltic States and its policy of Russification. Demand independence for Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia.

Be united in your quest. Do not let differences of secondary importance stand in your way. In unity there is power. In power there is unity.

Youth - you are especially vital for Latvia. The battle for independence must become your calling!

Members of all churches must remember their responsibility before their fatherland and God. The church has been and must remain in the future a foundation for our fatherland.

Latvians in Latvia today are carefully following the developments of the Madrid Conference, especially the work of the Latvian delegation. We hope that our submitted statement and supporting materials will aid our cause.

We are eager and willing to work with you until the Latvian nation will once again be able to gather under its own flag on the shores of the Daugava.

The Baltic States for the Balts!

Latvian Independence Movement

Riga, November 6, 1980

LATVIA BEFORE THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT
(1962-1975)
by Gunārs Rode

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The downfall of the resistance organization "Baltia" in 1962 turned out to be a turning point in the persecution of dissident groups in Latvia. It is not known to the author whether any groups, equally large or larger, were brought to trial in the 60's and 70's.

One can say that the Committee for State Security (KGB) developed a new policy for suppressing dissident groups. Under its previous policy, the KGB, upon discovering an already organized resistance group or one in its initial organizing stages, did not immediately attempt to liquidate it. Rather it meticulously followed the group's development and infiltrated agents among its members. By pursuing such a policy the KGB was able not only to apprehend active members, but also learn about sympathizers with the group in question. In this way the KGB tried to uproot the organization. Towards the end of the 1960's, the KGB, in accordance with its new policy, intervened at a much earlier stage, when the seeds of resistance were just beginning to sprout, and thus attempted to avoid arrests in large numbers. It also showed restraint. If arrests appeared to be warranted, only those were arrested who 1) had transgressed the Criminal Code of the Soviet Union, by, for instance, removing a Soviet flag and replacing it with the flag of the independent Latvian Republic, or 2) already had been arrested previously for anti-Soviet activity and after detainment continued this activity.

Most often and, of course, there exist no statistics, these "lost sheep" were summoned to the KGB for "consultations". From the rather few accounts of these "consultations", the following procedure can be reconstructed.

These "consultations" take place in front of a group of KGB officers. The 3-5 members present frequently change the tone and manner of the proceedings. There exists a set agenda for these "consultations", with room for variation in each particular case.

These "consultations" can be considered as psychological tests in which the KGB members attempt to intimidate the victim. The methods used do not, however, seem to be tailored to each specific case. Rather there exist rigid patterns which are followed. A previously devised psychological portrait of the summoned person is used as background information. If it becomes clear during the

"consultations" that the methods are not fruitful, a new set of methods are employed, which can be diametrically opposed to the preceding ones.

The methods of psychological intimidation vary. Occasionally even pharmaceutical drugs are used to heighten the effect of intimidation. The goals of this intimidation are rather clear. In the best case, the KGB hopes to gain a new agent, a new informer. If it becomes clear that this is unrealistic, it hopes to intimidate the subject to such a degree that he or she will abstain from anti-Soviet activity. This procedure was codified by the Supreme Soviet's decree of December 25, 1972. According to this decree, a person warned about the possible consequences of his or her behaviour and activity, must acknowledge this warning in writing.

The Latvian Chapter of the KGB has a special "Prophylactic section" (Counterintelligence section), which was headed in the 70's and 80's by Lieutenant Colonel Alberts Kondrātovs.

The new policy of the KGB described above was especially successful in preventing the founding and expansion of anti-Soviet organizations. It was more successful than a reign of terror. An inexperienced, naive person very often was convinced that he or she had not clearly understood the nature of Soviet society. He also became isolated from other potentially dangerous citizens. This new policy, however, was a heavy blow to resistance groups. Its effectiveness was clear proof that the KGB was so sure of itself that incarceration and arrests were no longer necessary, but that it sufficed to inform the activist of his guilt in the presence of several KGB officers and to issue a stern warning.

Another reason for the lack of larger resistance groups can be found in the re-settlement policy of the Soviet Union. The younger generation of Latvians was re-settled to the "New Lands" regions. During the Khrushchev era, the steppes of Kazakstan, Middle-Asia and Altai were opened and began to be farmed. This transplantation was so massive that it can only be regarded as forced assimilation and a tool in the more effective colonization of Latvian territory.

This policy of transplantation began in 1956 before the removal of the contingent of nationalistic Latvian communists headed by Berklavs. It is clear that this colonization was the first step in the attempt to liquidate the Latvian population as an ethnic entity.

This colonization has been described inaccurately by many a historian. It was not voluntary. Those who were forced to move, did not do it for the sake of adventure. Those who refused to move,

were not admitted to the university and were refused the right to work. This was usually accomplished by expulsion from the Communist Youth Organization. With such a bad record it was impossible to look forward to a brighter future.

The political prisoners who were assigned to camps in Mid-Asia occasionally had a chance to meet some of these "voluntary" settlers from Latvia. These settlers were still children, most of them starving. Girls would offer themselves sexually to the prisoners in exchange for half a loaf of bread. The prisoner could select whichever girl he wanted.

Here follows a testimony of conditions in these re-settlement regions: In the beginning those who re-settled did not have any housing facilities, only tents. The winters can be extremely harsh on the steppe. The temperature can drop to -40°C and the snowstorms, — purgas — are known for their ferocity. The children from Latvia were given work assignments here together with deported criminals, who took with force the daily rations, murdered and raped. They had a free reign since there existed no military police forces who could insure order. The criminals ruled — it was up to them whether one lived or died.

The testimony of a victim's mother: My daughter fled back to Riga after one and a half years. She had come barefoot the entire way, always on guard against criminals and the police. When the "voluntary" settlers were gathered in a detention center in Riga, they were forced to surrender their passports so that no one would dare to flee. The daughter's testimony reveals the despicable conditions in which the arrested lived. Though she had contracted tuberculosis and was unable to work, she had not received permission to return to Latvia. When she finally fled to Latvia in order to die in her homeland, she was arrested and deported once again. She died during her second arrest on the steppe.

Even though this author does not possess exact statistics about the number of young people who died building a brighter future for communism and fulfilling the goals of the Soviet colonial policy, the results were devastating for the Baltic states. Already during the summer of 1969 the Soviet Russian newspaper *Literaturnaja Gazeta* (Literary Newspaper) published a demographic survey which revealed that the population of Latvia was not renewing itself, that the birth rate had slipped below the magic "1,00" mark.

The same study and other articles in the aforementioned newspaper and other Soviet Latvian publications disclose, without providing statistical proof, the second negative demographic trend in Latvia: the aging of the population. When a nation ages, the post-

child-bearing age group grows steadily, thereby throwing out of balance the pre-child bearing, child-bearing and post child-bearing age groups.

The policy of re-settlement inflicted a serious blow to the re-generative potential in Latvia, but it was only one of many blows that the Latvian nation suffered after the Soviet occupation of June 17, 1940.

This author believes that Latvian historians have not yet fully perceived the consequences of a policy of a re-settlement policy. If an average family has three children, the removal of 3 men and 3 women of child-bearing age means that one must also strike two pairs, the parents, from the post-generative group and nine members from the pre-generative group, of unborn children. The result of a re-settlement program thus reveals that for every 6 dislocated, the nation loses a total of nineteen.

This relocation to "All Union Projects" takes place even today. Today a specialized work force is recruited (also from Latvia), as well as young specialists from technical high-schools and colleges for seasonal work. The living conditions at these "All Union Projects" has improved, if one can believe the reports in the Soviet press. For more primitive tasks, criminals are recruited who receive reduced sentences if they sign up for the high-priority projects where the pace of work is accelerated. These criminals are transferred to special built camps nearby the projects.

Official sources, most notably the 1st Secretary's of the Communist Party Youth Organization Mārīte Rukmanes speech at its 22. Congress (March 25-26, 1982), reveal that during the period 1978-1982 over 1500 young people were sent to 60 All Union High-priority building projects with the purpose of settling and living there.

The author of this article believes that the aging phenomenon was of great importance to the resistance movement during the period 1962-1975, and believes that this fact is a key to understanding the developments in Latvia in the succeeding years. The decline of the broad resistance movement during this time period can be explained by a change of generations.

Many young upper-high school students and recent graduates joined the movement. Most of them were not in any way connected to the previous generation of the resistance movement. They lacked experience, and their activity was spontaneous and emotional.

That this new generation did not automatically follow the path laid down by previous generations led to new resistance and pro-

paganda methods, more suited to the spirit of the times.

Another explanation for the disappearance of large resistance groups can be found in the steadily deteriorating economic situation at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's. The result of this was unrest due to the worsening economic situation which diverted attention from the national resistance movement. Even non-Latvians, who had resettled in Latvia, participated in these unruly demonstrations, though not to a very high degree.

2. ECONOMIC RESISTANCE

STRIKES: Due to the fact that the author of this article was incarcerated in Central Soviet Union, that is in Russia and Moldavia, he does not possess any documentation about strikes. News of these strikes did spread beyond the Latvian borders, especially those in the following factories: Rigas Railway Factory, the Popow Radio Factory, the plywood factory "Latvian Birch", and the rubber products factory "The Red Square". Outside of Riga, news of strike actions came from Rezeknes Dairy-Machine Factory, and Valmieras Glass Fiber Factory. Scanty reports about violent strike action against the factory leadership came from the Daugavpils Tractor Repair factory. Longshoremen in Ventspils refused to load wheat on ships bound for Cuba.

From the fragmentary information one can surmise that economic issues were the most pre-eminent. Often strikes were called to protest a wage decrease for a certain job, a decrease in real income.

Such a decrease usually followed a pattern: a new production plan called for the decrease of production costs, which could be accomplished through rationalization and upgrading and modernizing the technology. Seldom were such measures taken. More frequently factories increased production quotas without a corresponding improvement in technology. Wage categories of certain trades were degraded and other trades were completely eliminated. With such an elimination, the production process lost a significant amount of time.

In conjunction with strike actions, the workers usually raised the issue of food shortages in Latvia. Since the factories that had strikes were generally quite large (this author does not have news of strikes in medium or smaller factories), the Party and government reacted quickly. The workers' demands were met, even though

strike actions were followed by month-long secret police actions, which had as their aim the determining of the strike leader.

SILENT STRIKES: Smaller factories were struck by silent strikes. The workers did not press for a confrontation with the leadership, but pretending to work, did nothing or next to nothing. The result of these actions was that daily production goals were not met. The factory leadership took quick action to prevent a full-sized strike.

This author received news of these kinds of strikes accidentally from a former neighbor Ernest Brikmanis. Brikmanis described such a strike at his place of employment, a small business, and could relate news of similar strikes at other businesses of a similar size. There is no proof that this type of action was very widespread, but one must also remember that news of such actions at small factories usually did not spread extensively.

3. UNDERMINING OF THE CORRUPT SOVIET SYSTEM

Parallel to strikes, there appeared another form of work-action — that of undermining the corrupt Soviet system. Neither of these two forms can be regarded as conscious and open forms of national protest, but since the goal of both was the undermining of the Soviet economic and social structure, they must be included in any survey of the resistance movements.

In the corrupt Soviet system, an individual is forced to transgress "the moral commandments" which Soviet television, radio, press, public advertisements and propaganda authorities propagate every day. By transgressing, the individual also influences his closest circle, namely, his family. As a result, the Soviet citizen, by breaking "the moral commandments", very quickly becomes immune to the propaganda that he confronts daily.

The gamut of the various types of corruption is immense. The most widely known is that of bribing. For his efforts, the doctor and plumber receives a tip, presumably for alcohol. The director of a business, in turn, leaves a monthly payment for the anti-corruption force of the militia or for various Party functionaries. This corruption spreads beyond the private sector. There exists a network of illegal private businesses, underground factories, and often and in large quantities goods, machines, energy, raw products, and even members of the work force are stolen from

the public sector for illegal use.

Corruption in Latvia is very widespread and is an integral part of the economic system. Latvia is one of the leading nations in this regard. This corruption severely paralyzes the political powers, as well as its operations. Slowly the government no longer is able to carry out its function. There also arises a new class, that of the underground millionaires, who purchase hard currencies or gold in order to guarantee a continued high price for their possession. They also invest in paintings and antiques. The effect of this kind of monetary policy on the part of the millionaires severely handicaps and sabotages the State Bank. Finally, corruption, by making the Soviet citizen, even an officer of high rank, immune to Soviet propaganda and by enabling the illegal market to have a greater and better selection than the official market, leads to the following results: 1) there develops underground amusement and pornography leagues, with their own Western sex and violence films, and 2) the demands of Soviet citizens begin to exceed the limits of the Soviet system and develop a new aesthetic direction. As a result there arises a longing for Western goods. Pop music is a prime example of this. The Western pop-music industry was instrumental in deafening the ears of youth in Latvia to official propaganda.

4. GENERAL POLITICAL OPPOSITION

FEIGNED IGNORANCE: With this slightly peculiar term one can describe the attempts of the younger generation to exclude everything Russian from their physical and intellectual spheres, as well as everything that reminds them of Soviet morality. They wish to demonstrate their opposition to Soviet society.

By excluding themselves from Soviet society, they exclude from their world everything intellectual that has a connection with the Soviet world, including books, plays, radio broadcasts, and periodical publications. They turn instead to Western publications, plays and broadcasts and attempt to establish close contacts with this new world. The security apparatus regards this as one of the most dangerous developments in recent years. Whenever an apartment is searched, Western literature is confiscated. The reading of such literature and its distribution commonly serves as the basis for the official charge in political trials in Latvia.

The younger generation also imitates Western hippies, but sel-

dom do they bother to assume the values and worldview of the hippies. In Russia there exists a widespread Yoga and Hindu movement, but such a movement has not spread as rapidly in Latvia. Political incarcerates were responsible for introducing this and other similar movements into Latvia. The "flower power" movement must also be mentioned in this same context.

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE WEST. As mentioned above, a very common trait of this period was the simultaneous rejection of the Soviet system and an embracing of everything that came from the West. The first signs of this tendency appeared in 1951, at the end of the post-World War II guerilla war. Latvian sailors sold Western cigarettes for profit. Smoking them openly became a protest of sorts. Clothes from abroad had not yet attained the social value they have today. Many still had foreign-label clothes, purchased during the pre-war years.

From 1962-1975 this Westward orientation became more pronounced:

1. One tried to play Western music at dances. Attempts to substitute Soviet music were fruitless. The public left the dance halls and went to ones which played Western music. The organizers suffered financial losses.

2. Western fashions became more prominent during the 1960's. This was especially true of attire on weekends. Everyday garb showed a slower and less pronounced increase of Western influence.

3. One demonstratively chewed gum or smoked Western cigarettes.

4. Western attributes were more visibly seen: T-shirts, with silk-screen pictures and texts, jeans, sunglasses, plastic shopping bags, which had a Western logo or text, or by design alone could be identified as a Western product.

5. Developments in Western interior design were immensely popular. With great creative energy, but limited resources, one tried to create a Western atmosphere in his/her apartment, even if it was just a single room.

At times, one could but smile at the way some had decorated their apartments. Few had ever been in the West, and thus the interior designs were clearly figments of imagination, of how one furnished his/her apartment in the West. Most people were also well aware that, without great political changes, they did not have the slightest chance of visiting a Western nation. Upon seeing these apartments, one wanted to ask, how did they arrive at a con-

cept of what a Western apartment looked like? Most likely they had seen a film, a picture in a Soviet or Western magazine, in rare cases, a photograph from relatives living in the West.

OPEN PROTESTS: An open protest in a tyrannical political system can be compared to suicide. For this reason this later very popular way of demonstrating one's dissatisfaction with the regime and affirming one's political and nationalistic stand, was very uncommon during the early years. It is very possible that such protests did take place during the Stalin tyranny, but that they were quickly quelled. The protester was killed and accurate records of the "criminal case" (the Soviet term in political trials) now lie in the archives of the Secret Police.

This type of response on the side of the regime opened the door for armed resistance. No sane person would under these circumstances express his protest in an open letter, if he knew that he would be quietly liquidated and that no one would receive any information about the contents, nature or the fact of the protest. One was faced with a clear choice: to protest anonymously and hope to remain unidentified or to protest openly with arms. Seldom did one commit suicide after an open protest. This can be explained rather simply. It is never clear whether the protest action is of such value that it warrants such a sacrifice. Secondly one could expect, during the Stalin years, that the nearest of kin would be subject to severe reprisals if the victim could be identified.

Therefore, an open form of protest (letters, public demonstrations, speeches) served its purpose only if the following conditions were met:

- 1) one had to be sure that the protest would receive publicity;
- 2) one had to be sure that the addressee would receive the letter or would be aware of the protest;
- 3) one had to be sure that news of the protesters' fate would become known to the Western world, especially the news media.

The first, concrete open protests took place in conjunction with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. This wave of open protests increased after the signing of the Helsinki Treaty, but stopped almost completely after the Madrid Conference. With the Madrid Conference, the Helsinki era came to an end in the Soviet Union and in Soviet relations to the West.

The major themes of the protests were the following:

- a) protests against Soviet occupation of Latvia and the Baltic States in 1940;

- b) protests against Soviet internal and foreign policy;
- c) protests against conditions in prisons and camps;
- d) protests against Soviet policy that ignored the International Human Rights Declaration and the Helsinki Accord;
- e) protests against genocide, ethnocide, and Russification in Latvia.

Before the Helsinki Conference (1975) only two major themes had surfaced:

- 1) protests against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968;
- 2) protests against persecution of independent and free thinkers (an example of this kind of protest is best exemplified by the case of J. Jachimovičs, described more fully below).

PROTEST AGAINST THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was clear proof for the inhabitants of Latvia that their chance of regaining freedom and independence had diminished significantly, and that little hope could be placed in reforms accomplished through parliamentary means. The invasion was a heavy blow to the national communist movement, which had foreseen developments in their country, similar to those of the Prague Spring. Therefore, all nationalistically inclined Latvians denounced this invasion, especially Latvian communists who now began protesting openly for the first time.

It is hard to say how many were brought to trial and sentenced, and how many received stern warnings. Those who protested against the invasion were either placed in psychiatric hospitals for rehabilitation or brought to trial.

Here follows an account of three different protest actions:

Jānis Jachimovičs, a Polish communist, and the director of the kolkhoz The New Guard in the Kraslava administrative region of Latvia, sent a letter of protest to the Soviet government concerning the invasion of Czechoslovakia. He also forwarded letters of protest to other agencies and government departments about the injustices done to free thinkers. Jachimovičs was arrested in August 1968. In addition to his protest, he was accused of publishing books privately and of possessing them. At the end of the same month he was placed in a psychiatric hospital for tests. In 1970 he was brought to trial that lasted four days (April 15-18). The verdict of the court was to commit Jachimovičs to a psychiatric hospital. He was released in 1971.

Ivars Žukovskis was also brought to trial in connection with the

invasion of Czechoslovakia. A professional journalist, Žukovskis had been in Czechoslovakia and befriended a Czech colleague. Depressed by the invasion, he sent a private letter to his friend in which he denounced the Soviet action and expressed his condolences.

He was soon called to the Committee for State Security (KGB). There he was presented the letter. When asked about the right to correspond freely, the chief interrogator explained that black ink had been spilled over his letter by a careless postal official and that both the address and return addresses had become illegible. Hoping to find some clue about the sender, the letter had been opened. It was then that the anti-Soviet content of the letter had been discovered and the letter forwarded to the KGB. The KGB officials, of course, had no difficulty in reading the name of the sender despite the black ink, and called him to a briefing. He was accused of sending anti-Soviet propaganda and sentenced to five years in the Dubravlag hard-labor camps in Mordovia.

The 20 year old Jewish Student Iļja Rips, in his final year of studies at the Department of Mathematics at the University of Latvia, openly demonstrated at the Freedom Statue in central Riga with a placard: Freedom for Czechoslovakia. He then removed his raincoat and set fire to this clothes, which had been drenched in benzine. Several sailors came to his aid and put out the fire, but after doing so, beat him up. Under the surveillance of officials from the KGB, he was brought to a hospital and later to a clinic in Moscow. Having convalesced, he was brought back to Riga where a panel of doctors found him to be psychiatrically unstable.

On October 2, 1969 the Supreme Court of the Latvian Socialist Republic reached a verdict — he was committed to obligatory psychiatric rehabilitation for his crime, the distributing of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation (Criminal Code § 65). Rips was institutionalized in the Riga Psychiatric Hospital and kept there until April 1971.

It would seem quite clear that Rips acted on his own behalf, but the KGB sought accomplices. The Dean of this Section at the University of Latvia, the chairman of the Department of Algebra, Dr. Plotkin was removed from his job.

PROTESTS IN INCARCERATION. This form of protest appeared rather early. During the second half of the 1960's this form of protest became a more effective tool of demonstrating one's nationalistic feelings than protests outside prisons, and therefore, was

viewed by authorities as a very dangerous development. All of the previously named types of protest were utilized by those incarcerated.

THE "PROVOCATIVE QUESTION" METHOD. This method of protest first appeared in the late 60's but blossomed in the 70's. The protester would ask difficult questions at Marxist-Leninistic propaganda meetings or other gatherings at work or in schools. The lecturers usually could not answer, and the questions revealed the untrue, if not ridiculous, information being disseminated. The beginnings for this type of protest are to be found in schools and universities, but spread quickly elsewhere. Those incarcerated asked such questions at special rehabilitation lectures. Very quickly these questions became very common in everyday life. Foreigners from other republics of the Soviet Union were the fiercest opponents for the protesters, since they realized that their immigration into Latvia was a result of Soviet Union's imperialistic policies. They threatened the "provocators" physically and seldom were punished for their actions. They, of course, also were the ones who reported the first signs of nationalistic, anti-occupation and anti-Soviet protests to the KGB.

5. NATIONAL OPPOSITION

PATRIOTIC MANIFESTOS. Patriotic manifestos can be found already in the very first days of the Soviet occupation and in the guerilla war which began in the summer of 1944.

These manifestos became more numerous and more effective when armed resistance had been quelled. During a period of armed conflict, even the author of manifestos was regarded as guilty of treason and was shot as any armed resistance fighter. Therefore, it was almost as productive to take up arms as the pen. Latvians, however, soon came into closer contact with the occupying nation, and it was necessary to show one's mettle. The manifesto also increased in importance as the occupation lengthened and became an effective tool to express the following:

- that one does not recognize the occupation of Latvia;
- that one still believes that Latvia will regain its independence;
- that one has not tired of resistance;
- that one gains proof that the number of people loyal to Latvia is not diminishing, but increasing;

- that one finds the manifestos a source of inspiration, conviction and power;

- that one can present to this children who were born during the Soviet occupation information about Latvia during its years of independence.

These patriotic demonstrations were often accompanied by the laying of flowers or lighting of candles on days which had been of special importance during the years of independence, and on the graves or memorials of freedom fighters, leaders of the independent Latvian State, and those who had been killed by the occupying forces.

There is a great variety in the types of political manifestos and therefore difficult to give a comprehensive survey of them. The first group includes those which are secret and for which the aim is the manifesto itself. Examples of this type: the displaying of the Latvian flag, and anti-Soviet slogans.

The second group consists of manifestations which take place in public, but where the instigators remain anonymous. The burning of flags is a typical example here. Flags are displayed in front of houses the evening before Soviet holidays. The pure cotton material is flammable. One can easily light such a flag with a cigarette lighter. In a few seconds the flag becomes a flaming torch and burns to its end. Several flags are lit at once. Evidence of the burnt flag must then be removed and a new flag put up in its place.

The third group, that of open manifestos, can be divided into two sub-groups: one in which the demonstrator assumes the risk of arrest, the other in which such a risk does not exist. If a man does not remove his hat or remains seated during the playing of the Soviet national anthem, he runs the risk of being arrested. If, however, someone presents the leader of a Latvian folkdance troupe a bouquet of the red-white-red national colors he does not run the risk of being arrested.

One must introduce some remarks about terminology used. Manifesto and demonstration are used almost synonymously. A manifesto usually is shorter and has a declaratory element: Latvia is for Latvians, Latvians believe in a free Latvia despite the long years of occupation. A demonstration is any form of protest against the occupying power.

NATIONAL COMMUNISTS. For those who have not immersed themselves in the political developments of Latvia it might seem that Khrushchev eliminated the National Communist Movement once and for all in 1959. But that is not the case. It had suffered a set-

back by losing its place in the governmental apparatus and an arena for their views of its members who had died from accidental causes, deported or transferred to other jobs.

Khrushchev and his followers did not/could not know or rather elected to ignore the fact that behind the group of leaders for this movement there stood a great many Party members at the local level.

The Krushchev purges were a clear sign to the followers of Berklāvs (the leader of the National Communist Movement) that decentralization and increasing autonomy would not grant Latvia an independent "de facto" status. The National Communists did not, at the time of their downfall, demand "de iure" autonomy. Despite the purges, many Latvian communists remained loyal to the idea of a communistic Latvian state, but one not subordinate to Russian domination.

After Khrushchev's purge of Berklāvs and his associates, the national communists lay low. It suddenly seemed as if the Latvian Communist Party was monolithic, but still today there exists quite a number of silent opponents to the Party leadership from Russia and the Latvian career politicians. There is no way of ascertaining the number of national communists, but one could surmise that their number today is just as large as the Latvian communist underground in 1939/40, that is approximately 500-600 members. One can arrive at such a number by marking the similarity in conditions for national communists at both junctures. The number of national communists has not increased significantly during the period, since they stood on the fringe of the Party and were oppressed more brutally than the Party as a whole during the end phase of the independent Latvian state.

By lying low, the national communists avoided new waves of repressions. During this period of silence, between 1959-1968, the members of the movement subjected themselves to a rigorous self-analysis. Several factors prevented the total disintegration of the movement.

1. There still existed naive idealists who believed that the present set of events was an anomaly, that Lenin never would have pursued such a policy, and that under his leadership the situation would have been radically different.

2. The arts, especially literature and music, enjoyed a renaissance during the 60's and 70's, and as a result, there was greater freedom for nationalistically inclined artists.

3. There developed movements towards greater independence in the Soviet satellite countries.

Despite the continued existence of a national-communist element in the Party, one cannot talk of a new, rejuvenated, and growing independent political group. Rather it was a small bloc, which, because of its attempt to form and merge with larger groups, was still in the process of development as an independent party.

Only a few communists raised their voices in connection with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, but those who did were bold in their statements. The invasion severely tested the loyalty of Party members. It is not inconceivable that Latvian communists, like those in other parts of the Soviet Union, turned in their membership cards.

The Letter of 17 Latvian Communists addressed to the leaders of the Western Communist Parties witnesses that the national communist bloc had gained new strength and had solidified its position. This letter is of extreme importance. It clearly is an incriminating document against the colonization and Russification of Latvia and the first to reach the West in the pre-Helsinki era. This document also marks the beginning of the parliamentary era in the history of the resistance movement.

THE PRAISING OF LATVIA AND THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE.

At a time when the official policy of the Soviet Union is based on the favored status of the Russian nation, which is ascribed special, superior qualities, it is natural that non-Russians tend to express pride about their own land and tradition. This was a direct response to the anonymity that non-Russian, in this case Latvian artists, athletes, scientists, inventors were subjected to. Now their belonging to the Latvian national was stressed.

Even though a popularity campaign does not bring any direct results, it does, however, provide valuable information to non-Latvians and makes them aware of the Latvian nation and its history. Unfortunately, the Western mass media has not been very consistent. Very often they continue to call Latvians Russians, not aware of the way they are aiding Russian chauvinistic aims. Every time the Latvian community in the West has responded to false identification, there has followed a nervous reaction on the part of the Soviets.

OPEN ANTI-RUSSIAN DEMONSTRATIONS. These demonstrations are a protest against Russians who have settled in Latvia but ignore the rights of Latvians, fail to learn the native language, and regard with scorn the Latvian people, its history and historical

sites. The fact that there is an immigration policy as such, is a cause of protest.

The anti-Russian demonstrations tend to be small. They involve one or a few demonstrators. Mass demonstrations occur very seldom. This does not mean that the demonstrations are not effective. Mass demonstrations often involve many who are quite ignorant of the circumstances surrounding or the cause of the demonstration. Occasionally the younger generation is more capable of forming larger scale demonstrations.

The anti-Russian sentiment is expressed in the following ways:

- a) one refuses to talk Russian,
- b) pupils refuse to study Russian,
- c) people publicly discuss the loud and uncivilized behaviour of Russians, and their tendency to exaggerate praise,
- d) pupils divide up into Russian and non-Russian groups and engage in brawls.

The Baltic Student Song and Dance Festivals provide a good illustration. This author, as a student of the Riga Pedagogical Institute, had the opportunity of taking part in this festival in 1957. Besides students from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, a selected number of Russian students from Leningrad and Königsberg also took part. The Russian students voiced their dissatisfaction with the fact that they were ignored by the others. Newspaper coverage about the 8th such Festival (1981) reveals that little has changed. To the chagrin of the Moscow regime, there was a very pronounced anti-Russian sentiment and several actions were carried out against the Party headquarters [Latvija Šodien (Latvia Today, 1981)].

FOLK ENSEMBLES. Folklore is a part of one's national heritage. To preserve one's identity, it is necessary to preserve, cherish, and develop folk traditions. It therefore comes as no surprise that with the increasing ethnocidal tendencies, there developed a greater interest in folklore. The founding of the first folk ensembles at the end of the 50's coincides with the removal of Berklāvs from power. This removal led to extreme russification. Officially, the first folk-song ensembles were founded in 1965. Instrumental ensembles, which utilized the Latvian national instrument - the kokle - existed earlier.

Official statistics do not reveal the exact number of ensembles. The exact number is hard to determine since there exist many small, unregistered ensembles. In the eastern part of Latvia there exist over 12 folkdance and two kokle ensembles, and this fact

alone is a clear proof of the movement's broad popularity.

These ensembles do not only perform, but also research folklore and archeological data to determine whether their instrument, costumes and performances are authentic. Parallel to the activity of the folklorists, there also exist weaving and ceramics groups, as well as those which file amber and reproduce jewelry.

FLOWER-POWER MOVEMENT. This movement received its impulses from the "back to nature" movement of the 1960's in the West. In Latvia, this movement has its beginnings in the late 1960's and the early 1970's and its followers advocated a return to the Latvian agrarian lifestyle and worldview. Many of the "flower-children" used their savings to purchase old Latvian homesteads from the kolхозes. They moved into these homesteads, even if they continued holding jobs in cities. The Committee for State Security has begun to pay a great deal of attention to this movement. Its members have been harassed and apprehended for belonging to this movement.

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION. Even though the majority of Latvians belong to the Lutheran Church there does not seem to be a Lutheran resistance movement. The Baptist and the Roman Catholic Churches do seem to have played an active part in the resistance movement, though this author lacks substantiating evidence besides the religious press *Hristiana*.

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS HRISTIANA. This publishing house was founded in 1971 in Cēsis, and its production was so impressive that the KGB did its utmost to uncover it. It succeeded in 1974. There exists very scanty information about this publishing house and, therefore, it has been impossible to answer two important questions: 1) to which religious confession the founders of this press belonged, and 2) under what circumstances was this press finally discovered.

One had to assume that *Hristiana* had some tie to the Baptist Church. Faced by countless failures in their attempt to discover the press, the KGB decided to introduce into the market radio-active paper. The Christians purchased their paper supplies in stationery stores, but in such small quantities that it was not possible to build a strong case against them. It was observed, however, that the quantity of paper bought at the respective stores had increased substantially during the time of the press's operation. Eventually the KGB succeeded to trace the paper to the press.

Reliable sources (including the Russian Chronicle of Current Events) inform that those involved with Hristiana were sentenced in 1975.

During the time period from 1962-1975 non-Latvian religious groups also were active. The most prominent of these groups is the Jewish one, which championed the right of its members to emigrate to Israel. The activity of this group reached its culmination in 1970 when Kuznechov, Dimschics, Murzenko, and Zalman-sone hijacked an airplane. Another important event was the trial of the Baltic Naval officers. These officers were linked with the Russian, Ukranian, and Baltic Democratic Program accused of taking part in the Baltic Naval Officers' Organization For Political Rights, and of publishing the underground newspaper "Demokrat". The members of these movements did not stand for the liberation of Latvia from Soviet domination and for the founding of a independent Latvian state, and therefore, their activity is discussed summarily here.

In conclusion to this survey of the resistance movement in Latvia from 1962 to 1975, it is worth mentioning three important elements which characterize the various movements during the post-World War II period:

- 1) the protests against the Soviet authorities begins to develop into armed resistance;
- 2) the foreigners living in Latvian territory begin to become an ever more important political factor;
- 3) the isolated divisions of the occupying forces begin to develop into a anti-Soviet stronghold.

To illustrate the third element, one must turn one's attention to a group of students in the Naval Academy in Riga who refused to swear loyalty to the Soviet Union in the 1940's and 1950's. The exact number of this group is not known, but it probably consisted of five to twelve members. They were all arrested and incarcerated. The majority of them were Latvians, but only one of their names is known: Voldemars Briedis from Kundzinsala in Riga. Though this last form of resistance does not fall into the time period under discussion here, it is mentioned here for illustrative purposes.

GUNĀRS RODE - BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

- May 15, 1962: Arrested by the Committee of State Security for membership in "Baltia" (an umbrella organization of several anti-Soviet groups that had as its cause the struggle for an independent Latvian nation) and participation in its activities.
- Dec. 28, 1962: Sentenced by the Supreme Court to 15 years in a hard labor camp. From 1963 in the 7th and from 1966 in the 11th Mordavian camp.
- Jan. 26, 1966: On trial for refusal to work, possession of anti-Soviet propaganda and unofficial suspicions of complicity in sabotage at the camp. Sentenced to two years in Vladimir prison (Jan. 1966-Jan. 1968).
- 1968 - 1970: At the 11th Mordavian camp. After its liquidation, at the 17th camp.
- March 19, 1970: On trial for instigation of anti-Soviet activity and for provocative questions. Sentenced to three years in Vladimir prison.
- 1970 - 1973: At Vladimir prison. Acquaintance with Vladimir Bukovsky at the beginning of 1973.
- 1973 - 1974: At the Mordavian isolation camp 17A.
- April 23, 1975: On trial for the third time for the distribution of anti-Soviet propaganda, the corruption of youth and the organization of strikes. Sentenced to finish his term in prison instead of at the hard labor camp.
- Jan.-Feb. 1976: At the Latvian Committee for State Security. Was offered the opportunity to submit a letter requesting a pardon. Offer refused.
- Feb. 1976: Returns to Vladimir prison.
- Beginning of 1977: Transferred from Vladimir prison to the Latvian KGB's Isolation Chamber. Released on May 13, 1977 the end of prison sentence.
- Feb. 14, 1978: Marries Ieva Strauberga a Latvian with a Swedish passport.
- April 1978: Summoned to KGB. Informed that no longer can honor Soviet laws and therefore is recommended to emigrate to Sweden on grounds of "family reunification".
- May 28, 1978: Arrives in Stockholm where lives even today.
- April 1980: As a punishment, revoked Soviet citizenship on the grounds of anti-Soviet activity abroad.

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