Policy of Occupation Powers in Latvia

1939-1991

State Archives of Latvia

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A collection of documents

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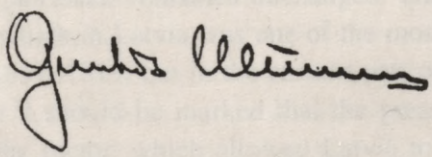
The 20th century is the time of the State of Latvia.
That is the time, when the independence of the state has been acquired, lost and again recovered, however, there are so many facts and evidences about the important events for the State of Latvia, which still need finding out and studying.

For Latvia the years 1939–1991 were tragic ones and full of controversy. For long years the history of Latvia was written in ideological signs. Therefore each initiative, aimed at impartial evaluation of our past, is welcome.

On the eve of the 80th anniversary of the independence of Latvia, our historians undertook a difficult and important task – to study the fate of Latvia during the totalitarian regimes. The publication of the book of evidence, documents and studies adds to the studies of history, as well as gives impulse to new scientific contributions. This book will help everybody who wishes to get acquainted with the historical evidence of the time full of controversy.

The work of historians allows us not only to judge the past events, but it can also give the conviction that the past can unite a society for the development of the state of welfare and democracy. Going through our history, let's think about our future.

GUNTIS ULMANIS, President of the Republic of Latvia



INTRODUCTION

The history of the Latvian people has been an uninterrupted struggle for preservation of itself against the pressure of bigger and stronger neighbours, striving to take part in political and cultural processes of Europe, particularly in those of the Baltic Sea area.

Latvian ancestors, who belonged to the group of the Baltic tribes of the Indo-European language family and who came to this land more than forty centuries ago, met the Slav expansion from the east, as a result of which the territories inhabited by the Baltic tribes shrank a number of times. Since the 12th century, the Baltics became the object of German expansion. During the Crusades, German Crusaders, who by fire and sword conquered the local Balts and Finno-Ugrians and at the same time liquidated their dependence on Russian princes (those of Novgorod, Pskov and Polotsk), invaded the territory of the present-day Latvia and Estonia. The Christian faith was forced upon inhabitants of this territory, which was called Livonia then. Livonia was cut off from the Slavonic Byzantine influence and included into Europe's Catholic (later – Protestant) orbit of civilization and culture, though it was situated in periphery of this civilization.

During the following centuries, the territory of the present-day Latvia was crossed by many wars, and the land inhabited by Latvians was split by borders of foreign (Polish, Swedish and Danish) masters. Starting from the Livonian War in the 16th century, there had been several unsuccessful attempts of the Russian rulers to invade this country. At last Peter I and Cathrine II succeeded in the 18th century. Thus Latvia and the whole Baltic area came under the rule of the Russian Empire, and it achieved the desired access to the Baltic Sea.

Masters of the land changed, however, privileges of the successors of German invaders – feudal lords and patricians remained unchanged. Thus Latvians had to suffer a double yoke. Serfdom, which in Latvia was one of the most inhuman ones in Europe, was abolished only in 1817–1819, but in the eastern part of Latvia – Latgale, only in 1861. At the same time it should be marked that the presence of the local Germans (Baltic Germans) was the factor, which allowed Latvia to preserve its link with the West European culture while being within the Russian Empire. The situation in Latgale was different, since for a long time it had been under the rule of Poland (Rzecz Pospolita): here the Polish Catholic culture dominated, but not the German Protestant one.

In the 60s of the 19th century, as the echo of Europe's revolutions of 1848, the first Latvian national awakening period started, when for the first time Latvians acknowledged themselves as a nation. The attempts of Latvian national awakening did not receive the expected support from the Tsarist government though, and at the end of the century the Baltics experienced a strong russification wave. Yet the awoken nation,

which had ardently started to develop and take care of its culture rooted in peasant traditions, could be neither germanised nor russified any more.

The social tension in Latvia, which was intensified by the national oppression, reached its culmination in the 1905 revolution, thus proving the fact that the Latvian people was turning from the object to subject of history, from an anvil to hammer. There followed the dreadful punitive expeditions of the Russian army, which were supported by the German landlords. Already in the first decade of the 20th century, the Latvian people got to know mass death penalties, tortures, shootings "on escape", deportations to Siberia, and exile.

Ten years later, Latvians had to take arms again. Soon after the beginning of World War I (in 1915), regiments of the Latvian riflemen were formed to defend their motherland against the invasion of German troops. Both the oppression of Russifiers and lashes of punitive expeditions were forgotten, and again Latvians' hope was renewed for brighter future "under the wings of the double-headed Russian eagle" after the war.

Disappointment came soon – and many riflemen joined up with the Russian left-wing extremists – Bolsheviks[1], who promised immediate and just peace "without annexations and contributions". The people had to go through one more period of illusions, which was connected with the national nihilism. At the same time, peoples' rights to self-determination declared by the Allied Countries opened the way to freedom also for the Latvians, announcing the second awakening, which on 18 November 1918 resulted in proclamation of the Republic of Latvia – the first independent state in the history of the Latvian people.

The new country had to defend its independence in armed struggle from the German military, as well as the Russian monarchists and the Bolshevik Red Army (it included also the so called Latvian Red Riflemen, part of whom were overwhelmed by Utopian communist ideas, but the other part was misinformed. However, it should be pointed out that the Red Riflemen played a decisive role in the struggle against the monarchic chauvinistic Russian "White Guards", who were even more hostile than Bolsheviks against small nations' attempts towards independence). The Allied Countries supported the struggle of Latvia for independence, which ended in victory – on 11 August 1920 a peace treaty with Soviet Russia was concluded. The treaty provided that **"Russia without objection recognizes the independence, existence and sovereignty of the Latvian state and willingly and for time eternal renounces all sovreign rights which Russia has possessed with respect to the Latvian people and territory both with respect to the existing juridical order of the state and with respect to any and**

[1] The left–wing radical stream of Russian Marxists have called themselves Bolsheviks since 1903. In 1917–1952, this designation was included also in the name of the party formed by the adherents of the above trend (Russian Social Democrat Workers' (Bolshevik) Party, later Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Russia and All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party). The notions "bolsheviks" and "communists" were used as synonyms in the USSR.

all international agreements which with respect to the aforementioned purpose are hereby declared null and void for all time henceforth. The people and territory of Latvia have no obligations with respect to Russia in connection with their previous state as a territory of Russia."[1] The treaty defined just borders between Latvia and Russia. Although Soviet Russia (later – the USSR) actually did not fulfil a number of the peace treaty's provisions (instead of 30 million gold roubles meant as the compensation for the war losses inflicted to Latvia, it paid only 4 million gold roubles, gave back only part of industrial equipment and values of culture, which had been taken away from Latvia to Russia during World War I, etc.), yet the treaty created a stable basis for the development of normal interstate relations.

Stability in relations with neighbouring countries was very important for Latvia since there was enormous amount of things to do – it had to achieve international recognition of the state[2] and to renew the national economy destroyed by the war. During twenty years of peaceful development and independence really much has been done, and with regard to the economic level, Latvia approached that of the developed European countries. Thus already in the early 30s Latvia's average rye harvest (12.5 centners per ha) exceeded that of France (11.5 centners per ha), the same could be said if the harvests of potatoes were compared (France – 110.6 centners per ha, Latvia – 124.6 centners per ha, Great Britain – 164.7 centners per ha). In the end of the 30s, as to the exported amount of butter per one inhabitant Estonia and Latvia were the second and the third in Europe – straight after Denmark. During the same period, in Latvia food consumption per inhabitant was one of the highest in the world: in a year one inhabitant of Latvia used 85 kg of meat (in the USA – 62 kg, Germany – 50 kg, France – 34 kg, Italy – 16 kg), in its turn, milk consumption comprised 566 litres per inhabitant in Latvia (in the USA – 368 litres, Germany – 362 litres, France – 315 litres, Italy – 105 litres). Industrial enterprises of Latvia produced quality production – radio sets, photo cameras, as well as assembled cars, small airplanes, etc. Remarkable success was achieved in the field of education and culture. In the middle of the 30s, Latvia was the first in Europe as to the number of university students, but in regard the number of printed books per 100,000 inhabitants it lagged behind only Denmark.[3]

Certainly, during twenty years it was impossible to build the society of general welfare in the country devastated by war, however, the radical agrarian reform of the 20s eliminated the social tension in the countryside of Latvia; extensive measures were taken to socially protect employees in towns. The minorities (Russians, Jews, Germans, Poles a.o.), the proportion of which comprised about one fourth of the total population of Latvia, enjoyed wide cultural autonomy. Minorities had their own parties, deputies

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[1] The Occupation and Annexation of Latvia: 1939–1940: Documents and materials. – Riga, 1995. – pp. 72–73.

[2] The Supreme Council of the Allied Countries recognized the independence of Latvia *de iure* on 26 January 1921.

[3] Latvija citu valstu saimē – Rīga: Zinātne, 1990. – pp. 38, 40, 46–48, 58–60.

elected from them represented the interests of these minorities in the Parliament of Latvia – Saeima. There were no serious national conflicts in the state. Yet the lack of political experience and democratic traditions caused instability of the governments: from the proclamation of Latvia until the coup of 15 May 1934 they changed 18 times – every ten months on the average. The lack of stability caused concern that extremely radical streams supported by foreign countries could use such a situation in their favour. Under such conditions, K. Ulmanis, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia, in accordance with the authoritarian tendencies, which dominated in the part of Europe then, decided upon violation of the Constitution (Satversme): he suspended it, dismissed the Saeima, closed the political parties and taking the post of the President of the State and the Prime Minister himself concentrated the whole power in hands of the Cabinet of Ministers. Yet after the coup of 15 May 1934, K. Ulmanis did not take revenge on his political opponents, and the atmosphere of fear charasteristic of the authoritarian period is known as the brightest time of economic and intellectual growth. There exists information that K. Ulmanis had intended to create a new constitution of the Presidential Republic, yet this work was not accomplished until the loss of the country's independence.

In the late 30s, the country had already brought up a proud and patriotic new generation, which loved its independent state and believed in its eternity, although darker and darker clouds of Nazism and Bolshevism were growing in the West and East. In Latvia, the national socialist ideology was propagated by an insignificant group of Baltic Germans – the rest of the public, among them also the right-wing part of population, were hostile towards Hitler's regime in Germany. There were more sympathizers of the Communist ideology – particularly among the minorities. However, in the democratic elections to the Saeima, no more than 6–7 deputies of the 100 in total were elected from the list of communists, yet more than 90% of electors gave their votes to parties, which were loyal to the Republic of Latvia.

There are no grounds to think, that during the authoritarian period of K. Ulmanis, when the elections to the Saeima did not take place, this proportion could have changed in disfavour of the patriotic part of population, which was loyal to the independence of the state, – more to the contrary. It was not the people of Latvia that sentenced its country to the death penalty, but the totalitarian leaders in Moscow and Berlin. The practice of genocide, which the bolshevik and Nazi criminals had mastered in their countries, was implemented by them also in the territory of Latvia, which they had occupied, dooming the citizens of the Republic of Latvia to humiliation, sufferings and perishing.

* * *

Authors of this collection of documents have set before themselves the following task – to select and publish documents, which would characterize the most essential aspects of the policy realized by the communist and national socialist occupation regime

during the whole period of Latvia's occupation. Important impact to the work gave the recent contribution of historians and archivists in the field of preparation and publication of document collections. It should be pointed out that after the restoration of independence in 1990, the historiography of Latvia has already been supplemented by several document collections on separate periods of occupation: "The Occupation and Annexation of Latvia: 1939–1940: Documents and materials" 1995; "Latvijas Republikas Ministru kabineta sēžu protokoli, 1940. gada 16. jūnijs – 19. jūlijs" (Protocols of the Meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, 16 June – 19 July 1940), Rīga, 1991; "Neatkarības atgūšana: Atmodas laiks dokumentos" (Regaining of Independence: Awakening Period in Documents), Rīga, 1996.

About various aspects of the policy implemented by the occupation power: J. Riekstiņš, ""Kulaki" Latvijā (1940.–1953. gads)" ("Kulaks" in Latvia, 1940–1953), Rīga, 1996; J. Riekstiņš, "Ekspropriācija (1940.–1950. gads)" (Expropriation, 1940–1959), Rīga, 1998; "Izpostītā zeme: PSRS okupācijas armijas nodarītie zaudējumi Latvijas kultūrvidei" (The Devastated Land: Losses caused by the USSR Occupation Army to the Cultural Environment of Latvia), Rīga, 1995; "Izpostītā zeme: PSRS okupācijas armijas nodarītie zaudējumi Latvijas laukiem (The Devastated Land: Losses caused by the USSR Occupation Army to the Countryside of Latvia), Rīga, 1997; "Izpostītā zeme: PSRS militāristi Rīgā" (The Devastated Land: the Military of the USSR in Riga), Rīga, 1998.

On the fate of definite military units: "Latviešu leģions: Varoņi, nacisti vai upuri?" (Latvian Legion: Heroes, Nazis or Victims?), Rīga, 1998; political organisations: "Latvijas Centrālā Padome – LCP: Latviešu nacionālā pretošanās kustība (1943–1945)" (The Central Council of Latvia – Latvian National Resistence Movement (1943–1945)), Rīga, 1994; "Tauta. Zeme. Valsts: Latvijas Nacionālā neatkarības kustība dokumentos" (The People. Land. State: The Latvian National Independence Movement in Documents), Rīga, 1995; about the individual person – ex-President of Latvia during the occupation: "Kārlis Ulmanis trimdā un cietumā: dokumenti un materiāli" (Kārlis Ulmanis in Exile and Prison: Documents and Materials), Rīga, 1994.

Soon after the restoration of Latvia's independence, a collection of documents "Latvijas suverenitātes ideja likteņgriežos: Vācu okupācijas laika dokumenti, 1941–1945" (The Idea of Latvia's Sovereignity in Turning Points: documents of the German occupation period, 1941–1945) had been prepared and issued in 1990, there appeared also a small document collection on activities of the "Helsinki-86" group and the Popular Front of Latvia. The above document collections, as well as studies on the different aspects of the policy of occupation power published in books and included in periodicals, have essentially eased the work of authors both in methodological and the source studying aspect. An important source of references can be found also in collections of documents published in exile, as well as in several collections, which have been

published in the occupied Latvia (it's understandable that in them documents have been commented from the occupation power's point of view).

In the sense of chronology, the offered collection of documents embraces the period from 23 August 1939, when the non-aggression pact (the so called Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) between the USSR and Germany was signed in Moscow, which created political preconditions for the occupation of the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), until 21 August 1991, when all state links between Latvia and the occupying country – the USSR have been broken. The text of the collection has been divided into 14 chapters, of which 8 (Chapters 6–13) are of thematical character, but 5 (Chapters 2–5 and 14) – the chronological ones, besides Chapter 1 can be looked upon as the introductory chapter, the text of the author and included documents of which characterize the essence of the USSR totalitarian, repressive regime in the period before World War II and the occupation of Latvia. Such a structure of the collection was determined by the necessity to reveal the long–term policy of the occupation power, as well as to give more profound characterization to the events in the years of the change (1940–1945, 1987–1991) of Latvia's modern history, when the power changed hands several times in Latvia.

Each chapter is introduced by a text, which explains the author's point of view about the discussed question, as well as introduction is given for the understanding of the included documents. In the author's text, numbers in square brackets are the numbers of order of the published documents. The authors have refrained from giving broad comments, considering that the documents themselves sufficiently clearly characterize the epoch and regime, in which they have appeared. It should be marked that because of the extensiveness of the theme and restrictive volume of the collection, several negative aspects of the occupation powers have not been reflected, e.g., the irrational use of natural resources, environmental pollution, problems connected with the supply of inhabitants, etc. Since many documents are quite voluminous and contain less important information, only excerpts of these documents (the most essential parts for the theme) have been included in the collection. The appendices of the documents, which are of no essential importance for the theme, have not been published either.

In the collection, altogether 297 documents and texts or their fragments have been included and grouped in themes and indicated subthemes of the chapters. At the end of the collection, three documents have been added, which are not included in the chapters and which declare the attitude of the Republic of Latvia Saeima, the Congress of the United States of America and the politically repressed citizens of Latvia towards the fact of Latvia's and other Baltic States' occupation and the consequences of occupation. Many of the included documents are being published for the first time.

The major part of the included documents pertain to the policy of the USSR communist occupation power. Such a distribution proceeds from the time proportion of the

communist and national socialist occupation periods – 47 years and 4 years. Besides it has to be considered that the crimes of the German national socialist regime have already been rather widely and exhaustively documented in the materials of the Nurenburg Trial of the International War Tribunal (of which quite a big number refer to the Baltics), as well as in many publications, which in the post-war years and also lately have come out both in Germany and other Western countries, as well as in the former USSR and its satellite states. In difference from the national socialist (Nazi) regime, crimes of the USSR communist (bolshevik) regime have not been assessed sufficiently yet, as well as have not been condemned on the national or international level. On the whole, they are also less known to the world public, therefore the USSR home policy and foreign policy either intentionally or unintentionally is being idealized still.

However, the above in no respect means the justification of the national socialist regime and its policy. In difference from the occupation regime of communists, under the influence of external conditions, the national socialist occupation regime did not manage to fulfil the plans intended in relation to Latvia and its people. Yet the documents of this collection give evidence to the fact that, if realized, these plans would have caused extremely tragic consequences. Genocide and holocaust, plunder and subjugation of the state, making it an outlawed occupied territory, humiliation of the Latvians' self-respect and language – these are only a few traits of the Nazi rule in Latvia.

The authors explicitly reject any kind of direct or indirect justification of the policy implemented by any occupation regime in historic perspective, describing this regime as "a lesser evil" in comparison to some other occupation regime. To our opinion, the justification of any totalitarian regime lacks critical attitude, is non-productive and immoral, and threatens democracy, the rights of individuals and peoples, prepares soil for the rebirth of such a regime in the same or transformed form.

This collection of documents is directed against no people and no contemporary state. Both the published and other documents show and prove that the totalitarian regime inevitably inflicts enormous evil not only upon peoples of the occupied or in other way subdued countries, but also upon the peoples, in the name of which it officially or actually acts. Thus the totalitarian, imperialist policy causes suffering to all peoples, which come across it. The basic interests of all these peoples create the necessity to understand the essence of totalitarianism, to overcome its consequences and eliminate possibilities for the rebirth of such a regime in future.

Documents of the collection prove that there are the representatives of different peoples both among the realizers of the totalitarian regime's policy and its victims, therefore there is no ground to blame a whole people for committing these crimes. The above still more refers to those peoples, which during the period of committing the crimes did not have their national statehood or had it already lost, that is why these peoples could not sufficiently influence the course of events.

The majority of documents included in the collection are the documents of the former Party Archives of the Institute of History of the Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, which are deposited in the Department of Historic Political Documents of the State Archives of Latvia (Latvijas Valsts arhīvs, LVA). Documents, which come from the funds of the former Party Archives, are indicated by the letters PA after their numbers. The collection contains also documents deposited in other departments of LVA, separate documents from the State History Archives of Latvia (Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs, LVVA), the archives of Russia, Germany and Great Britain, counter-espionage data basis of the Latvian SSR Committee of State Security (KGB), which now is kept in the Centre for the Documentation of the Consequences of Totalitarianism of the Constitution Pretection Bureau, and personal archives. The collection is supplemented with documents and texts, which have been published in books and periodicals.

When choosing documents for publication from the whole wide range of them, the priority is given to the documents, which most openly and clearly characterize the essence of the regime regardless of the time they have appeared. It should be marked that the formal liberalization of the communist occupation regime and refusal from mass repressive measures after J. Stalin's death in 1953, affected the style of documents – their way of expression became seemingly more tolerant, formulations more approximate and inconcrete. Rather often it is difficult to follow the real processes in the society by these documents. Besides it has to be taken into consideration that during the totalitarian regime many essetial instructions were given and decisions adopted only verbally – they were intentionally not fixed in documents. Many documents which give evidence of the policy of occupation powers in Latvia, cannot be found in Latvia, but are in Moscow and – on the period of the Nazi occupation – in German archives. More complete inclusion of these documents into the scientific turnover, still is a question for researchers to solve.

When using the documents of the collection, one has to take into consideration the aspects, which are connected with the peculiarities of the concrete period. For instance, in the 40s sometimes also such offences were attributed to the accused persons in the court verdicts, which they could not be blamed of. Participants of the armed struggle against the occupation power were called bandits. Also in different reports and other documents of the Communist Party, particularly in relation to propaganda, canvassing and its results, quite often the desirable was reflected as the reality.

The state authorities, governmental and party bodies, repressive institutions, etc., which have functioned during both the communist and national socialist occupation period, as well as administrative territorial units have the names of the concrete period that in no respect means their legitimation from the legal aspect, yet proceeds from the general rules of the publication of references.

The published documents have got archeographic finish. Within the whole collection, documents have a united numeration, each of them has been given the so called editorial heading, in which the document's author, time of drawing up (if it is possible to state) have been indicated, as well as the content characterized. In parallel, the original heading of the document has been preserved, the unchanged form (the relevant case, indicating the concrete addressee, etc.) of which has been given under the editorial heading before the document's text. If the document does not mention the time of its drawing up, but it is possbile to state it according to the content or other information, it is mentioned in square brackets then.

Notes "secret", "top secret" have been preserved in documents, sometimes when indications are given with regard to the number of copies, the number is mentioned, etc. Two dots in brackets (..) in the text means that a less important part for the theme has been omitted. The missing parts of words (if the generally accepted ones or those of the supplemented List of Abbreviations are not used) or words of the original are written in square brackets. In the collection, the underlinings of the documents are given in italics or bold-face type. Maximum attention has been devoted to the preservation of lexis and the style peculiarities, grammatical mistakes have been corrected. If the document contains a signature, the family name (in italics) of the person who has signed the document is indicated. If the document has no signature, the family name of the person, who should have signed it, is given in brackets.

If in the original of the document (on margins, across the typed text, etc.) there were handwritten notes, which could help to understand its essence or included additional information on the published subject, in the collection they have been preserved and shown (by a reference N o t e s i n t h e d o c u m e n t) after the document's text.

Documents and texts of the chapters are divided into subthemes (their titles are in bold-face type and italicized, ordinal numbers of the subtheme's documents are put in square brackets), thus helping readers to orientate themselves in the wide range of reflected problems and events.

On the bottom of each page of the collection, where it is necessary, there are references and notes – explanations of misundestandable parts of the text, misspellings, less known historic facts of the text, etc.

At the end of the collection, there are several apendices. In the appendix "Document References", information is summarized concerning the documents' authenticity, whereabouts (situation, translation, etc.). Index to Persons summarizes all persons mentioned in the collection's documents and introductions of chapters, as well as information on these persons available to the authors. The List of Abbreviations gives all abbreviations of the names of public authorities and organisations mentioned, as well as abbreviations of the words, which are less familiar to the wider range of readers, presently used less frequently or in different form.

Introductions to chapters have been written under the scientific supervision of Elmārs Pelkaus. The authors of the chapters' introductions have also selected the documents and prepared them for publication. The archeographic finish of the collection has been done and the archegraphic part of the introduction written by Līga Vītola. The author of the collection's introduction, introductions to Chapters 1, 12 and 14, as well as of the afterword is Elmārs Pelkaus; the author of introductions to Chapters 2 and 6 – *Dr. hist.* Irēne Šneidere; introductions to Chapters 3, 7, 8, 9 and 10 have been written by Jānis Riekstiņš; to Chapters 4, 5 and 13 – *Dr. habil. hist.* Heinrihs Strods; to Chapter 11 – Indulis Zālīte and Aldis Bergmanis.

This collection is meant for the widest range of readers – for all, who are interested in the history of Latvia. The book has been already published in the Latvian language[1] and is translated also in Russian[2].

The authors of the collection would like to express their gratitude to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia for its support throughout the creation of the English version of the book.

Creators of the collection have intended to continue the publishing of documents pertaining to the communist and national socialist occupation period of Latvia's history and would be very grateful for each advice given which could favour the implementation of this work.

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[1] Okupācijas varu politika Latvijā. 1939–1991: Dokumentu krājums. – Rīga: Nordik, 1999.

[2] Политика оккупационных властей в Латвии. 1939–1991: Сборник документов. – Рига: Nordik, 1999.

CHAPTER 1

Repressive regime in the USSR

Latvijas Nacionālā
BIBLIOTĒKA

In order to understand the policy implemented by the Communist or Soviet occupation power in Latvia, it is necessary to look into the development of Soviet Russia and the USSR, established in 1922, during the period from 1917 to 1940. This period commences with the 1917 October Coup in Russia, realised by the left-wing radical Utopians – Bolsheviks. In the major part of the former Russian Empire, extremely ideologized totalitarian one-party regime was created and strengthened during the next couple of decades. It carried out unseen scale repressive measures against the inhabitants of the country, realized extremely extensive social experiments and intentionally opposed itself to almost all other world in its foreign policy .

Both the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia and the October Coup of the same year were rooted in the dissatisfaction of the wide layers of people with war and economic difficulties caused by it, as well as with the unsolved social problems. Both the February Revolution and the October Coup took place under conditions, when the state power had become weak and had catastrophically lost prestige in the eyes of people.

However, the February Revolution was a spontaneous opposition of wide masses against the obsolete system of the absolute monarchy, but the October Coup – opposition against democratic republican system, which had not managed to become strong yet. The latter was realised by a rather small, yet quite well organised community of the left–wing extremists and several thousands of soldiers and the Red Guards, who supported them.

The October Coup was realised as an improvisation. V. Lenin, L. Trotsky and other ideologists of the Bolshevik Party had no clear idea about the development of the society after the coup. However, Bolsheviks immodestly promised everything to everybody and at once: land – to peasants,bread and control over production – to workers, and just peace – to soldiers. The reality turned out to be quite different. Peasants lost even the land what they had, and were turned into outlawed serfs in the collective farms – kolkhozs and state farms – sovkhozs, workers lived in constant need, and they were ruthlessly used by the militarized state. Russia (later the USSR), ruled by Bolsheviks, was either warring uninterrupetdly or arming itself feverishly and preparing for the war.

After the October Coup, "the proletarian dictatorship" was established in Russia, which in reality was the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party. The Bolshevik Party started to call their power "the Soviet power", although in reality soviets (councils) of different

levels for the major part had only a representative role, but the real power was in hands of the Committees of the Party.

On 5 January 1918, the Constitutional Assembly, which had been elected in the most democratic elections in the Russian history, came together, but already on the next day Bolsheviks dissolved it, since the parliament refused to give its authority to the Bolshevik government. The dissolution was motivated by the "tiredness of the military guard" who guarded the Constitutional Assembly. Thus in the Bolsheviks' Russia, armed guard had become a higher institution than the parliament.

The increased dissatisfaction among intellectuals, workers and peasants was announced as wrecking or "sabotage" by the leaders of the Bolshevik Party. They started to implement the policy of "the war communism", the characteristic traits of which were nationalization of property, peasansts' deprivation of food (food apportionments) and labour corvee. V. Lenin and his companions understood well that these measures would dispose even larger layers of people against the Bolshevik dictatorship. To V. Lenin's opinion, the majority of people had not to be convinced, but compelled [1], motivating this compulsion by "the class struggle". This compulsion was carried out mainly by the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Struggle against Counter-revolution and Sabotage, established on 7 (according to the new style – 20) December 1917. This institution that has to be blamed for persecution, torture and killing of millions of people, has changed its name and structure several times during its existence, yet in the whole world it is known by the name – "Cheka"[1] or the "KGB".

Soon after the establishment of Cheka, the network of extraordinary commissions covered the whole Russia. These commissions got unlimited rights to arrest, question, try and to execute sentences. On 5 September 1918, the Soviet of People's Commissars (SPC) issued a decree on the beginning of "the Red Terror". With this decree, the first wave of terror ran high in Russia, the period of mass massacres of "the White Guards' and bourgeoisie's" hostages and of concentration camps started (it should be marked that the notions of political hostages and concentration camps were not known until the October Coup in Russia). The world knows the truth about the concentration camps of the Nazi regime, yet in chronological respect, the Bolshevik regime has doubtless priority in this sphere (in the beginning of this repressive practice, special "merits" belong to L. Trotsky).

People were sentenced to death not only by the extraordinary commissions, but also the revolutionary tribunals, local soviets, etc. To V. Lenin, who, during his period of underground activities and emigration, had been an opponent to the individual terror, propagated by the socialists-revolutionaries (esers), mass terror seemed to be acceptable and necessary. Being the chairman of SPC, Lenin had Cheka under his control. Thus

[1] Abbreviation from Russian "Всероссийская чрезвычайная комиссия".

already in the first months after the October Coup in Russia, a country of a new type – the totalitarian one started developing under direct leadership of V. Lenin. Behind the seemingly severe laws, in reality complete arbitrariness ruled in it – the Soviet power itself, respectively, the Bolshevik regime determined whether a person was or wasn't the so called enemy of the Soviet power.

During the 1918–1920 Civil War of Russia, the Red Terror became one of the decisive factors for the Bolsheviks' victory. The terror embraced whole social groups, in some cases (e. g., in relation to the Cossacks), this terror had the traits of the genocide. In 1920–1921, in their struggle against peasants' uprisings, Bolsheviks started to use such methods as the shooting of the wives and children of participants of these uprisings, and deportation of the suspected families.

However, the collapse of the economy and famine, which came as a result of the utopian policy of "the war communism", as well as peasants' uprisings and the dissatisfaction of workers forced the leaders of Bolsheviks to change their policy and turn to reality temporarily – the New Economic Policy (NEP[1]) was announced. With the liberalization of the economy, strikes broke out; in oppressing them, the terror turned towards workers, in whose name the Bolsheviks realised their dictatorship. During the same years, with the purpose of intimidation, demonstration trials against the "counter-revolutionary" intellectuals were organised, too.

Yet the Bolshevik system was not suitable for the development of normal market economy. This administratively bureaucratic system was orientated towards the creation of crises to make it possible to use primitive, yet efficient under the conditions of crisis, means – orders, intimidation and terror. That is why in the late 20s the Bolshevik Party refused from NEP and started to implement the policy of industrialization, based on the five-year plans. During surprisingly short time, enormous enterprises of heavy industry were built. Resources, necessary for the industrialization, were obtained by ruthless exploitation of inhabitants, refusing from the import of many utterly necessary goods and making use of the maximum wide export of raw materials and food, which the country needed so much. The official propaganda praised results of the five-year periods in different ways, but J. Stalin, who after V. Lenin's death had gradually become an absolute leader of the Bolshevik Party, attributed all failures to the sabotage of "the capitalist elements" [2]. That gave way to a large number of trials on "the sabotage".

The enormous wave of reprisals was associated with the so-called collectivization of agriculture in the early 30s. The deportation of peasants – the so-called kulaks and their sympathizers[2] – carried out according to the Party's directives [3], may be considered

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[1] Abbreviation from Russian "Новая экономическая политика".

[2] The main feature of "the class enemies" "kulaks" was considered to be the use of wage labour. In order to apply repressive measures to the poor peasants, who didn't correspond to this feature, the designation "kulaks' sympathizers" was introduced.

the first socialist genocide according to the class feature [4]. As a result of "the great leap" of collectivization, the peasants' farms were destroyed, the total volume of agricultural production decreased radically, and famine broke out in many regions of the country, which brought to death several millions of people. Peasants, who managed to survive, were doomed to endless labour corvee in kolkhozs, and often they received no compensation for it. Yet the non-fulfilment of the fixed minimum of work days could cause heavy consequences. Practically, the small private farms, the size of which was strongly restricted [5] and on which heavy taxes and duties were imposed too, were their only source of subsistence. Thus the countryside of "the first country of socialism" saw the rebirth of the deformed serfdom, where each peasants' step was controlled by chekists, who worked in the political departments of the state-owned Machine and Tractor Stations (MTS). Threatened by merciless punishments, workers were forbidden to change the work, but peasants could not leave kolkhozs, since passports were not issued to them.

These traits of the feudal absolutism of as if communist country manifested themselves clearly in the complicated system of privileges, which in the early 30s was gradually developing in the USSR. At the lead of the country, there was J. Stalin, the endowed with unlimited power and divinized "leader, father and teacher", under whom in strong hierarchic order there were other Party and state officials. Eeach of these officials, in accordance with the position in this hierarchy, had fixed guaranteed privileges, which disappeared with the loss of the position. Under the conditions of famine and poverty, the officials panically feared to lose these privileges, that was why such people became easily controllable executors of the "Party's will" and often also accomplices of crimes.

These crimes and mass reprisals got unseen scale after the killing of S. Kirov, Secretary of the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee, on 1 September 1934. That was done on J. Stalin's order, – the dictator feared S. Kirov as a possible rival and used his death as the pretext to strengthen terror against all undesirable and suspected persons. The reprisals of 1937 [6] were the peak of "the great terror", the bloody "high tide" raved also in 1938. During this period, the terror wasn't directed towards some individual social groups, as it had been during the collectivization of agriculture, – but affected the whole society. No one could be saved from perishing, including the highest functionaries of the Party and state: also many chekists – realisers of the previous repressive measures, got lost into the mills of reprisals. All this dreadful campaign was led and torture of the arrested persons sanctioned by J. Stalin personally [7].

With the strengthening of J. Stalin's absolute dictatorship, the ruling ideology of the USSR changed essentially – communism was replaced by a sort of national communism – a mixture of the Great Russians' imperial chauvinism and Marxism. The most characteristic manifestations of this chauvinism were the close–down of the minorities'

press issues, as well as the institutions of education and culture, persecution campaigns with traits of genocide, directed against the Germans [8], Poles [9] and many other national minorities, including the Latvians. In 1959, J. Vēvers, Chairman of the Latvian SSR Committee of State Security (KGB) then, admitted that "(..) in the late 1936 and 1937, there followed the instructions of Yezhov on mass repressive measures to be taken against the persons of German nationality, but later against the persons of Polish, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian nationality (..) Persons of the above nationalities (according to the feature of nationality) were blamed for being the agents of the Polish, German, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian secret services, who carried out espionage and subversive activities in the territory of the USSR (..)"[1]. In the end of the 30s, all educational institutions where the Latvian language was used in tuition were liquidated in the territory of the USSR, Latvian clubs and theatres were closed, newspapers and magazines in Latvian ceased to appear. Latvian intellectuals, who lived in the USSR, were affected by Stalin's terror most heavily – most of them were killed, but altogether several tens of thousands of the USSR Latvians perished during the reprisals. Unfortunately the authors don't have the document available, on the basis of which these mass reprisals were carried out, yet it is known that it very much resembled the document, according to which reprisals were used against the Poles. Besides the relevant institutions were alert not to allow any of the representatives of minorities – the Germans, Poles, Greeks, etc., to escape their fate by personating themselves as Russians or Belarussians and by personating their children as Russians or Belarussians, thus trying to save them [10]. In "the land of freedom and happiness" of the triumphant socialism, women and children had to go through the full range of torment and humiliation because of their relatives declared as the people's enemies [11]. Every year tens and hundreds of thousands people were shot down, and put into prisons and concentration camps [12, 13], but the Stalinist propaganda heralded that life in the Soviet Union was becoming more and more magnificent and joyous. The words of the unofficial anthem of the USSR: "And among the hundreds of lands, I don't know a country where a man could be so free..." resounded the country, overflooded with blood and tears, like jeering at martyrs. And rather many Western public figures and those of culture did believe these words. They had well understood inhuman essence of Hitler's National Socialism, but in their naiveness that was hard to explain, praised Stalin's National Communism, and looked upon the Soviet Union as the future model of their own countries. In their turn, the public of other countries as a whole (including that of Latvia) knew rather little about life in the USSR. Irregular information about the poverty, oppression and raving reprisals, which ruled there, was often mistrusted, taking it for "the bourgeois propaganda".

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[1] Latvijas Valsts arhīvs (LVA), PA-101. f., 21. apr., 85. 1., 68. lp.

During the first years of Bolsheviks' rule, the world revolution was declared the goal of the proletariats' dictatorship. In the early 20s, hopes for it were gradually disappearing and it was announced that socialism would be built in one country – the USSR (the underdeveloped USSR vassal countries – the People's Republic of Tuva and the People's Republic of Mongolia were not really taken into consideration in this respect). It was also announced that the USSR was "the motherland of all workers", and the defence of it was the task of all parties united in the Communistic International (Comintern) and the world proletariat.

In the Soviet Union, there was a generally accepted opinion that the war between the USSR and "the capitalist world" was inevitable. Fascism (this notion was attributed to all regimes and social movements, disliked by the USSR, relations between Bolsheviks and the real fascists in Italy were quite polite) was called "the assault force of capitalism" by the official propaganda of the USSR, the pointed end of this propaganda was directed towards the "social fascists", i. e., social democrats. Hatred against social democrats and democracy in general drew the right-wing and left-wing extremists – the Nazi and Bolsheviks closer (A. Hitler used to say that a communist can become a good national socialist, but a social democrat – never). The activities of German communists were not an important obstacle for getting closer, since in reality J. Stalin didn't want the communist system to be established in this industrially developed country, because he feared to lose the hegemonic power in the world communistic movement. Destruction of the Versailles post-war system and the revision of borders in Europe became the goal of both dictators; in order to fulfil these tasks, J. Stalin considered strong Germany as a desirable ally, and A. Hitler had already managed to develop such a country.

The strategic goals set before the foreign policy of both empires of evel turned out to be close or identical, and that ushered the biggest tragedy in the history of mankind – World War II.

[1-2] Justification of terror realised by the "proletariat dictatorship"

[1]
V. Lenin:
the word dictatorship is a cruel, stern, bloody and painful one (1919)

(..)

We are marching into battle - this is the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Gone is the time of naive, utopian, fantastic, mechanical and intellectual socialism, when people imagined that it was sufficient to convince the majority, that it was sufficient to paint a beautiful picture of socialist society to persuade the majority to adopt socialism. Gone, too, is the time when it was possible to entertain oneself and others with these children's fairy-tales. Marxism, which recognises the necessity for the class struggle, asserts that mankind can reach the goal of socialism only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The word dictatorship is a cruel, stern, bloody and painful one; it is not a word to play with.

(..)

[2]
J. Stalin:
capitalist elements organize acts of sabotage, mass theft and plundering in the USSR (1933)

(..)

As a result of the realisation of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of industry, agriculture and trade we have established the principles of Socialism in all spheres of the national economy and have expelled the capitalist elements from them.

What should this have led to with regard to the capitalist elements; and what has it actually led to?

It has led to this: the last remnants of the dying classes – the manufacturers and their servitors, the merchants and the henchmen, the former nobles and priests, the kulaks and their toadies the former White officers and police officials, policemen and gendarmes, all sorts of bourgeois intellectuals of the chauvinist persuasion, and all other anti-Soviet elements – have been thrown out of their groove.

Thrown out of their groove, and scattered over the whole face of the USSR, these "have-beens" have crept into our plants and factories, into our government offices and trading organizations, into our railway and water transport enterprises, and, principally, into the collective farms and state farms. They have crept into these places and concealed their identity, donning the mask of "workers" and "peasants", and some of them have even managed to make their way into the Party.

What did they carry with them into these places? Of course, they carried with them a feeling of hatred towards the Soviet government, a feeling of burning enmity towards the new forms of economy, life and culture.

These gentlemen are no longer able to launch a frontal attack against the Soviet government. They and their classes made such attacks several times, but they were defeated and dispersed. Hence, the only thing left to them is to do mischief and harm to the workers, to the collective farmers, to the Soviet government and to the Party. And they are doing as much mischief as they can, stealthily sapping and undermining. They set fire to warehouses and break machines. They organize sabotage. They organize wrecking activities in the collective farms and state farms, and some of them, including certain professors, go to such lengths in their zeal for wrecking as to inject the germs of plague and anthrax into the cattle on the collective farms and state farms, help to spread meningitis among horses, etc.

But that is not the main thing. The main thing in the "activities" of these "have-beens" is that they organize mass theft and plundering of state property, cooperative property, and collective-farm property. Theft and plundering in the factories and works, theft and plundering of railway freight, theft and plundering in warehouses

and commercial enterprises – particularly theft and plundering in the state farms and collective farms – such is the main form of the "activities" of these "have-beens". Their class instinct, as it were, tells them that the basis of Soviet economy is public property, and that it is precisely this basis that must be shaken in order to do mischief to the Soviet government – and they try indeed to shake public property, by organizing mass theft and plundering.

(..)

[3]

Excerpts from the Decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party [AUC(B)P] on Expropriation of "Kulaks"

TOP SECRET
30 January 1930

On kulaks: The draft recommendations of the Political Bureau's Commission with changes shall be approved (see Appendix No. 2)

TOP SECRET
Appendix No. 2
to p[aragraph] 36
PB Pr[otocol] No. 116

I

On measures taken to liquidate kulaks' farms in the regions of all-round collectivization

(..)

3. Simultaneously, in order to finally destroy kulaks' influence in several layers of poor and middle–class peasants and to doubtlessly suppress any attempts of counter-revolutionary opposition realised from the side of kulaks against measures taken by the Soviet power or kolkhozs, the following measures shall be taken against kulaks:

a) category **one** – the most active counter-revolutionary members of kulaks shall be liquidated immediately by putting them into concentration camps, not evading from the use of even the highest repressive measures against the organizers of the acts of terror, counter-revolutionary operations and revolts;

b) category **two** shall include other most active elements of kulaks, especially the rich kulaks and owners of half a manor, who shall be deported to the remote districts of the Union of SSR and remote regions within the relevant territory;

c) category **three** includes kulaks, who are left within the district's limits, locating them on reassigned plots of land outside the collective farms.

(..)

II

On deportation and resettlement of kulaks

The following measures shall be taken in the nearest period of time:

1. To recommend the OGPU[1] to subject kulaks of category one and two to repression within the nearest four months (February-May), on the basis of approximate estimations – 60,000 kulaks shall be sent to **concentration camps** and 150,000 kulaks – **deported** to remote regions; to see to it that all measures are caried out so that until 15 April they are accomplished for no less than a half of the indicated number. The speed of these measures shall depend on the speed of collectivization in separate regions of the USSR and shall be agreed with the AUC(B)P regional committees.

2. **Family** members of the deportees and kulaks imprisoned in the concentration camps may, if they wish it and with consent of the region's executive committee, temporarily or constantly stay in the previous region (territory).

3. Taking into consideration the local data, to determine the following distribution of persons, subject to imprisonment in [concentration] camps and deportation, **among regions:**

	Concentration camp	Number of persons to be deported
The Central Volga area	3–4 thous.	8–10 thous.
The North Caucasus and Dagestan	6–8 thous.	20 thous.
The Ukraine	15 thous.	30–35 thous.
CCR[2]	3–5 thous.	10–15 thous.
The Lower Volga area	4–6 thous.	10–12 thous.
Byelorussia	4–5 thous.	6–7 thous.
The Urals	4–5 thous.	10–15 thous.
Siberia	5–6 thous.	25 thous.
Kazakhstan	5–6 thous.	10–15 thous.

To commission the OGPU with the task to work out, in agreement with the relevant [AUC(B)P] regional committees and CC of AUC(B)P, an analogous draft in relation to other regions.

4. To deport: 70 thous. families to the regions of the Northern Territory, 50 thous. families to Siberia, 20–25 thous. families to the Urals, 20–25 thous. – to Kazakhstan. Places of deportation shall be uninhabited or sparsely populated areas, in order to

[1] The State Political Directorate. That is how the Cheka (KGB) was called in 1923-1934. In July 1934, the OGPU was renamed as the Main State Security Directorate (GUGB) and included in the newly established People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the USSR.

[2] The Central Chernozyom (Black Earth) Region.

employ the deportees in agricultural works or forestry operations, fishery and other works.

In these regions, the deported kulaks shall be dislocated in small villages, headed by appointed commandants (superintendents).

5. After the **confiscation** of the deported and dislocated kulaks' property, only the necessities of life, some elementary production tools that would fit the character of work in the new location, and the minimum food reserve for the initial period shall be left to them. Money resources of the deported kulaks are being confiscated, too, leaving them with minimum sum (up to 500 roubles per family) in cash necessary for moving and resettling.

6. As to the kulaks' farms which are **left at the same place** by alloting them the new plots of land outside the fields of collective farms, the following shall be based on:

a) territorial executive committees shall allot the places of location so that settling in the foreseen regions could be allowed only by forming small villages, which are headed by special committees (troikas) or commissioners appointed by regional executive committees and approved by territorial executive committees;

b) minimum production means for hosekeeping in the reassigned plot are being left to the deported kulaks of this category;

c) deportees are being charged with production tasks in agriculture and the obligations of goods' supply for the state and cooperative bodies;

d) territorial executive committees shall urgently work out the question concerning the use of labour of the deported kulaks in special labour brigades and colonies for work in forests, in road construction, land amelioration, etc.

(..)

III

On confiscation and the use of the confiscated property

1. Confiscation of the kulaks' property shall be carried out by **special commissioners** of the region's executive committees with compulsory participation of the v[illage] council, chairmen of kolkhozs, goups of farm labourers and poor peasants, and farm labourers' committees.

2. The confiscated property shall be precisely **distrained and estimated**, v[illage] councils shall be made responsible for full maintenance of the confiscated property.

3. RECes[1] shall hand over the confiscated from kulaks production means and property to kolkhozs as an instalment of poor peasants and farm labourers, by including the confiscated property **into the indivisible fund of kolkhozs**, discharging the confis-

[1] Regional executive committees.

cated property of any obligations (debts) towards the state and cooperative bodies, which have been left after the liquidation of kulaks' farms.

4. The kolkhozs, which receive land and the confiscated property, shall secure the complete **sowing** of the land they have taken over, and the delivery of the whole **production of goods** to the state.

5. Dwelling constructions, confiscated from kulaks, shall be used for the social needs of v[illage] councils and kolkhozs or as hostels for farm labourers who join kolkhozs and who haven't their own abode.

6. **Savings books and** public **bonds** shall be taken away from the kulaks of all three categories and registered in a list, delivering a receipt acknowledging their deposition with the relevant bodies of the People's Commissariat of Finance. Any payments from deposits in savings banks, as well as the delivery of the bond-guaranteed loans to deportable kulaks' farms in regions of all-round collectivization shall be stopped without reservation.

7. **Shares and instalments,** belonging to the kulaks of all three categories, in cooperative societies shall be transferred to the collectivization fund of poor peasants and farm labourers, but their owners shall be expelled from any kind of cooperation (cooperative societies).

(..)

[4]

Excerpt from the Protocol of 26 January 1932 of the Political Bureau's Commission of CC of AUC(B)P on Special Deportees

26 January 1932
Appendix
to p[aragraph] 22
in PB pr[otocol] No. 86
(s[pecial] f[ile])

L i s t e n e d:

1. On sanitary condition and services of social culture of special deportees[1].

D e c i d e d:

1. To state the unsatisfactory sanitary condition in places of special deportation that is caused by the fact that the economic bodies do not carry out the necessary construction of flats and auxiliary institutions (bath houses, laundries, medical institutions, disinfection cameras, wells), as well as because of the unsatisfactory work of health protection institutions.

As a result of the above, extremely big focals of infection (spotted fever, real pox, a. o.) have been created in several locations, to point out the Northern Territory (Konosh-Velsk), Kazakhstan (Kartalstroy, Karaganda), and the industrial areas of the Urals' Region.

2. So far used anti-epidemic methods have been insufficient and have not brought to desirable results. The increased infectious morbidity and unadaptedness of the special deportees' contingent to severe conditions of uninhabited regions (Kazakhstan, Narim, Northern Urals, Northern Territory, etc.) have caused the essential increase of the death rate.

3. The death rate is especially high among the children of younger age (up to 8 years) that in some areas has reached 10% of their total number within a month. The death rate of these children depends not only on general negative sanitary, social, and climatic conditions, but also on **the insufficient amount of food and its unsatisfactory quality**.

(..)

[1] Persons included in "kulaks'" category two of this Chapter's Document 3 are meant here.

[5]

Excerpts from the Decision of 27 May 1939 "On Measures Taken To Protect Kolkhozs' Public Land from Defalcations" Adopted by the CC of AUC(B)P and the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars (SPC)

27 May 1939

(..)

CC of AUC(B)P and the USSR SPC r e s o l v e:

(..)

3. Each attemp to diminish the public land of kolkhozs in favour of collective farmers' private farms, as well as each increase of plots of land in personal use above the size fixed in the Agricultural Artel's Statutes, will be looked upon as a criminal offence, and offenders will be called before court.

(..)

4. It shall be stated that the secretaries of the regional Party Committees and chairmen of regional executive committees, as well as other employees of the Party and soviets, who allow defalcation of kolkhozs' public land above the norms fixed in the Statutes, will be dissmissed from their positions, expelled from the Party and brought to trial as law-breakers.

(..)

8. The land of fields, which is in use of individual pesants' farms, in irrigable cotton regions shall be limited to ten hundredths of a hectare, in non-irrigable cotton regions – to a half of a hectare, in horticulture, and vegetable– and sugar beet-growing regions – to a half of a hectare, in all other regions – to one hectare, but the plots of land, which are in use of individual peasants' farms, including the land on which the buildings are situated, shall be limited to ten hundredths of a hectare in irrigable regions, but in all other regions – to twenty hundredths of a hectare.

All remaining pieces of land which exceed the fixed norms in regard both the fields and plots of land in personal use, shall be allotted to the land of kolkhozs and used mainly to supplement the kolkhoz's fund of personally used plots.

(..)

14. Taking into consideration the fact that in kolkhozs there are not only honest working people who work out from 200 to 600 and more work days a year and who are the great majority of collective farmers and the basic power of kolkhozs' movement, yet there is also a certain part of able collective farmers who work out not more that 20–30 work days a year, yet are still counted as collective farmers and sit on the kolkhoz's neck, – it shall be considered useful to fix for each able male and female collective farmer the minimum of compulsory work days per year starting from 1939:

a) 100 work days in cotton-growing regions;

b) 60 work days in the Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanovo, Yaroslavl, Gorky, Kalinin, Vologda, Tula, Ryazan, Smolensk, Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, Kirov, Perm, Sverdlovsk, and Chita Regions, the Khabarovsk and Primorye Territories, the Karelian, Komi, Mari and the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics (ASSR), and in high mountin regions of grain farming and cattle-breeding according to the list of the USSR People's Commissariat of Agriculture;

c) 80 work days in all other regions of the USSR.

To recommend kolkhozs to decide that all able male and female collective farmers, who have worked out less than the above fixed norms, shall be considered as such, who have discontinued their membership in the kolkhoz and have lost the rights of collective farmers[1] (..).

J. Stalin,
Secretary
of the Central Committee of the AUC(B)P

V. Molotov,
Chairman of the USSR
Soviet of People's Commissars

[1] If people were included in this category, it nearly always meant that reprisals would be used against them immediately.

[6]

Order No. 00447 "On Beginning of Mass Repressions" of 30 July 1937 by N. Yezhov, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR

Moscow, 30 July [1937]

ORDER No. 00447
On repression operation against former kulaks, criminals and other anti-Soviet elements

In investigation materials of anti–Soviet formations, it has been stated that a considerable number of former kulaks, and previously repressed persons, who are evading repressions, have escaped from the camps, deportation and labour villages, have settled in the countryside now. Many previously repressed servants of the cult, sectarians, and former active participants of anti-Soviet military attacks have settled too. In the countryside, many important members of anti-Soviet political parties (the esers, gruzmeks[1], dashnaks[2], mussavatists[3], itikhadists[4], etc.), as well as former active participants of bandits' uprisings, the Whites, participants of punitive expeditions, repatriants and the like have remained untouched.

A part of the above elements, when moving from the countryside to towns, have got into industrial enterprises, transport and construction.

Furthermore, in the countryside and towns, even up till now there are dangerous criminals still – thieves of cattle and horses, thieves recidivists, burglars a.o., who have served the sentence, escaped from the places of imprisonment and are evading repressions. The insufficient struggle against this criminal contingent has allowed them to remain unpunished that fosters their criminal activity.

As it has been stated, all these anti-Soviet elements are the main initiators of all kinds of anti-Soviet crimes and acts of sabotage in kolkhozs and sovkhozs, as well as in the transport and some branches of industry.

The next task of the state security bodies is to crash all this gang of anti-Soviet elements in the most merciless manner, to protect the Soviet working people from their counter-revolutionary intentions, and finally and for ever stop their mean subversive activity against the foundation of the Soviet state.

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[1] Georgian Social Democrats - Mensheviks (lessers).
[2] Members of the Armenian Party "Dashnaktsutjun".
[3] Members of the Azerbaijan Party "Mussavat".
[4] Members of the Azerbaijan Party "Itihad".

In accordance with the above, **I o r d e r – from 5 August 1937, repression operation against former kulaks, active anti-Soviet elements and criminals shall be started in all republics, territories and regions.**

In the Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadzhik and Kirghiz SSR the operation shall be started on 10 August this year, but in the Far East and Krasnoyarsk Territories and the East Siberia Region – on 15 August this year.

When organising and implementing the operation, the following shall be based on:

I
CONTINGENT OF PERSONS SUBJECT TO REPRESSION

1. Former kulaks, who have returned after serving the sentence and are continuing active anti–Soviet sabotage.

2. Former kulaks, who have escaped from camps and labour villages, as well as the kulaks, who have escaped expropriation and are continuing anti-Soviet activity.

3. Former kulaks and socially dangerous elements, who have been members in formations of rioters, fascists, terrorists and bandits, have served the sentence, evaded repressions or escaped from prisons and resumed their criminal activity.

4. Members of anti-Soviet parties (the esers, gruzmeks, mussavatists, itikhadists and dashnaks), former Whites, gendarmes, civil servants, participants of punitive expeditions, bandits, supporters of bandits, helpers of illegal border crossers, reemigrants, [persons] who have evaded repressions, escaped from the places of imprisonment and are continuing active anti-Soviet activity.

5. The most hostile and active participants of the White Guards' and Cossaks' uprising organisations, which are subject to liquidation now, participants of the fascict, terrorist, sabotage and counter-revolutionary espionage formations, who have been unmasked by investigation materials and proved materials of agencies.

The elements of this category, who presently are in custody, the investigation of whose cases has been finished, but the cases have not been reviewed in court yet, are subject to repression, too.

6. The active anti-Soviet elements of former kulaks, participants of punitive expeditions, bandits, the Whites, activists of sectarians, servants of the cult and the like, who are in prisons, camps, labour villages and colonies now and are continuing active anti-Soviet sabotage there.

7. Criminals (bandits, burglars, thieves recidivists, professional smugglers, swindlers recidivists, thieves of cattle and horses), who are carrying out acts of sabotage and are connected with the criminal environment.

The elements of this category, who presently are in custody, the investigation of whose cases has been finished, but the cases have not been reviewed by the court yet, are subject to repression, too.

8. The criminal elements, who are in camps and labour villages and who are carrying out acts of sabotage there.

9. All persons of the above contingent, who are in the countryside now – in kolkhozs, sovkhozs, and enterprises of agriculture, and in towns – in industrial and commercial enterprises, transport, Soviet institutions and construction, are subject to repressions.

II
ON PUNISHMENTS AND THE NUMBER OF PERSONS SUBJECT TO REPRESSION

1. All kulaks, criminals and other anti-Soviet elements subject to repression are being divided into two categories:

a) to category one belong all most hostile of the above elements; they shall be arrested immediately and, after reviewing their cases by troikas[1], – **shot down**;

b) to category two belong other not so active, but still hostile elements; they shall be arrested and imprisoned in camps for the term of 8 to 10 years, but the most malicious and socially dangerous of them shall be put into prisons for the same term in accordance with the troika's decision.

2. The following number of persons subject to repression is being fixed according to the registration data submitted by the people's commissars of the republican NKVD[2] and the chiefs of territorial and regional departments of NKVD:

(The data only on the Russian Federation.)

Information on 1–8, 14 has not been received from the FSS[3].

	Category one	Category two	Total
9. The Bashkir ASSR	500	1500	2000
10. The Buryat-Mongolian ASSR	350	1500	1850
11. The Dagestan ASSR	500	2500	3000
12. The Karelian ASSR	300	700	1000
13. The Kabardin Balkar ASSR	300	700	1000
15. The Komi ASSR	100	300	400
16. The Kalmyk ASSR	100	300	400
17. The Mari ASSR	300	1500	1800
18. The Mordov ASSR	300	1500	1800
19. The Volga Germans' ASSR	200	700	900
20. The North Osset ASSR	200	500	700
21. The Tatar ASSR	500	1500	2000

[1] Repressive institution consisting of three persons.
[2] People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.
[3] Federal Security Service. The note is given in the first edition of the document.

22. The Udmurt ASSR	200	500	700
23. The Chechen-Ingush ASSR	500	1500	2000
24. The Chuvash ASSR	300	1500	1800
25. The Azov-Black Sea Territory	5000	8000	13000
26. The Far East Territory	2000	4000	6000
27. The Western Siberia Territory	5000	12000	17000
28. The Krasnoyarsk Territory	750	2500	3250
29. The Ordzhonikidze Territory	1000	4000	5000
30. The Eastern Siberia Territory	1000	4000	5000
31. The Voronezh Region	1000	3500	4500
32. The Gorky Region	1000	3500	4500
33. The Western Region	1000	5000	6000
34. The Ivanovo Region	750	2000	2750
35. The Kalinin Region	1000	3000	4000
36. The Kursk Region	1000	3000	4000
37. The Kuibyshev Region	1000	4000	5000
38. The Kirov Region	500	1500	2000
39. The Leningrad Region	4000	10000	14000
40. The Moscow Region	5000	30000	35000
41. The Omsk Region	1000	2500	3500
42. The Orenburg Region	1500	3000	4500
43. The Saratov Region	1000	2000	3000
44. The Stalingrad Region	1000	3000	4000
45. Sverdlovsk Region	4000	6000	10000
46. The Northern Region	750	2000	2750
47. The Chelabinsk Region	1500	4500	6000
48. The Yaroslavl Region	750	1250	2000

(the figure 7500,
indicated in the original, is incorrect)

The fixed numbers are approximate. However, the NKVD people's commissars of the republics and heads of the NKVD territorial and regional departments have no rights to exceed them unwarrantedly. Any unwarranted increase of the numbers is not allowed.

In cases, when conditions will cause the necessity to increase the fixed numbers, the NKVD people's commissars of the republics and heads of the NKVD territorial and regional departments shall submit to me a relevantly motivated appeal.

Decrease of the numbers, as well as transfer of persons subject to repression from category one to category two and vice versa is not allowed.

4. Family members of the repressed persons of category one and two usually are not subject to repression.

There are the following exceptions:

a) families, the members of which are capable of active anti-Soviet activity; members of such family shall be sent to camps or labour villages in accordance with a special decision by the troika;

b) family members of those repressed persons of category one, who live in the frontier area, shall be transferred from the frontier area to the interior of the republic, region and territory outside the frontier area;

c) families of the repressed persons of category one, who live in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi, Baku, Rostov-na-Donu, and Taganrog, and the Sochi, Gagra and Sukhumi Regions, shall be deported from these places to other territories on their choice, except the frontier areas.

5. All family members of the repressed persons of category one and two shall be registered and consistently observed.

III
PROCEDURE OF THE OPERATION

1. The operation shall be started on 5 August 1937 and finished within four months.

In the Turkmen, Tadzhik, Uzbek and Kirghiz SSR the operation shall be started on 10 August this year, but in the Eastern Siberia Region, Krasnoyarsk and Far East Territories – on August 15 this year.

2. The contingent of category one shall be subject to repression first.

The contingent of category two shall not be repressed until a special instruction is issued.

If the people's commissar of the republic's NKVD, the chief of the NKVD administration or of the regional department, when finishing the operation in regard the contingent of category one, considers it possible to start the operation in relation to the contingent of category two, prior to its actual beginning, he shall apply for my sanction, and only after its receipt the operation may be started.

Information on the arrested persons, who will be sentenced to different terms of imprisonment in camps or prisons, shall be passed to me in course of announcing the verdicts, indicating how many people have been sentenced to imprisonment in camps and prisons and to what terms. Having received this information, I shall give instructions as to how and to which camps the convicts shall be sent.

3. In accordance with the situation and local conditions, the territory of the republic, region and area shall be divided into operative sectors.

In order to organise and carry out the operation, the operative group shall be formed in each sector, which is headed by a responsible employee of the republican, territorial or regional NKVD administration, who is capable to handle the entrusted serious operative tasks.

In some cases, the most experienced and capable heads of districts and towns may be appointed leaders of the operative groups.

4. The operative groups shall be completed with the necessary number of operative executives, and means of transport and communication shall be attached to them.

Depending on the demands of the operative situation, the army or militia units shall be attached to them.

5. Heads of the operative groups shall be responsible for the registration of persons, subject to repression, heading of investigation, approval of indictments and the execution of the troikas' judgements.

The head of the operative group shall be responsible for the organisation and execution of the operation in the territory of his sector.

6. Detailed characterising data and compromising materials shall be collected on each repressed person. On the basis of the above materials, lists of arrestees are made, which are signed by the head of the operative group, and in two copies sent to the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, head of the NKVD administration or regional department for reviewing and approval.

The People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, head of the NKVD administration or regional department reviews the list and gives his sanction for the arrest of persons of the list.

7. On the basis of the approved list, the head of the operative group carries out the arrest. The warrant is drawn up of each arrest. Thorough search shall be carried out during the arrest. The following shall be withdrawn[1] obligatory: weapons, munition, military equipment, explosives, toxic substances, counter–revolutionary literature, precious metals in coins, bullions and articles, foreign currency, copying equipment and correspondence.

Everything that has been withdrawn[2] shall be fixed in the statement of the search.

8. The arrestees shall be concentrated in places, indicated by the People's Commissars of Internal Affairs and the heads of the NKVD administration or regional department. The concentration centers shall have fit premises for accommodation of the arrestees.

9. The arrestees shall be strictly watched. Measures are being taken to prevent escape and different excesses.

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[1] In the original: "изымаются".
[2] In the original: "изъятое".

IV
INVESTIGATION PROCEDURE

1. A case investigation shall be mounted against each arrestee or group of arrestees. All criminal connections of the arrestee shall be detected during the investigation process.

2. On completing the investigation, the case shall be sent to the troika for reviewing. The case shall be supplemented by: the warrant of arrest, materials withdrawn during the search, personal documents, inquiry form of the arrestee, agency's registration materials, protocol of interrogation, and abridged indictment.

V
ORGANISATION AND WORK OF TROIKAS

(Personnel lists of the USSR NKVD troikas have not been discovered by FSS)[1]

(..)

2. Meetings of troikas may be attended by the prosecutor of the republic, territory or region (if he isn't included in this troika).

3. The troika functions either at the location of the relevant NKVD, administration of the NKVD or the NKVD regional department, or visits locations of the operative sectors.

4. Troikas review the submitted materials of each arrestee or group of arrestees, as well as of each family subject to deporation separately.

Troikas may, depending on the character of materials and social dangerousness of the arrestee, transfer persons, who are subject to repression according to category two, to category one, and persons, subject to repression according to category one, – to category two.

5. Troikas shall record their meetings, the verdict of each convict shall be fixed in the record.

The record of the troika's meeting shall be sent to the head of the operative group for execution of the verdict. Investigation cases shall be supplemented by excerpts from records on each convict.

[1] The note is given in the first edition of the document.

VI
EXECUTION OF VERDICTS

1. Verdicts are executed by persons, appointed by the chairmen of troikas, i.e., the People's Commissars of Internal Affairs of the republics, heads of the NKVD administrations or regional departments.

The certified excerpt from the record of the troika's meeting, which contains a summary verdict on each convict, and special instruction, signed by the troika's chairman, which is handed over to the person, who executes the verdict, serve as the basis for execution of the verdict.

2. Place and procedure of execution of category one verdicts are determined in accordance with the instruction of People's Commissars of Internal Affairs, and the heads of the NKVD administrations or regional departments. Place and time of execution shall be obligatory kept strictly confidential.

Documents on execution of the verdict are added to the investigation materials of each convict in a separate envelope.

3. Convicts of category two are sent to camps in accordance with warrants issued by the MDCLC[1] of the NKVD.

VII
SUPERVISION OF THE OPERATION AND REPORTING

1. I entrust the general leadership of the operation to my deputy – the head of the General Department of State Security – corps' commander c. Frinovsky.

For works connected with leadership of the operation, a special group shall be formed under his subordination.

2. Records of troikas concerning execution of verdicts shall be immediately sent to the Director of the 8th Department of the USSR NKVD, supplementing them with registration cards according to form No. 1.

The records and registration forms on all persons convicted according to category one shall be sent together with investigation cases.

3. Information on the course and results of the operation shall be sent to me by wire, and in greater detail by mail in reports of every five days on the 1st, 5th, 10th, 20th and 25th day of each month.

4. Information on all counter-revolutionary formations, excesses, cases of escape across the border, creation of bandits' and burglars' groups and other extraordinary

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[1] Main Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps, also known as Gulag.

events, discovered in course of the operation, shall be immediately delivered to me by wire.

When organising and carrying out the operation, extraordinary measures shall be taken not to allow: transition of persons subject to repression to illegal status, escape from the place of residence, especially across the border, creation of bandits' and burglars' groups, and any excesses.

Attempts to carry out any active counter-revolutionary activities shall be discovered timely and eliminated fast.

Yezhov
People's Commissar of Internal Affairs
of the Union of SSR, General Commissar of State Security

Correct: *M. Frinovsky*

[7]

The Letter of 10 January 1939 on Admissibility of Torture by J. Stalin, Secretary of the CC of AUC(B)P

In cipher of the AUC(B)P
[10 January 1939]

To secretaries of regional, territorial and national CC[1] of the Communist Party, and heads of the NKVD administrations

It has become known to the CC of AUC(B)P that secretaries of the regional and territorial committees, when inspecting employees of the NKVD administrations, have reproached them of having used physical coercion against the arrested as something criminal. The CC of AUC(B)P explains that since 1937 the CC of AUC(B)P has admitted the practice of physical coercion in work of the NKVD. Furthermore, it has been indicated that physical coercion is admissible only as an exception and only in relation to such obvious people's enemies, who, when using the humane interrogation methods, shamelessly refuse to reveal conspirators, don't give evidence and try to hinder exposition of the still free conspirators, – i. e., continue their struggle against the Soviet power also in prison. Experience shows that this approach has been successful and has essentially accelerated unmasking of people's enemies. It's true that in further practice, the method of physical coercion was spoiled by such scoundrels as Zakovsky, Litvin, Uspensky and others, since they turned it from an exception into a rule and started to use it against honest people, arrested by accident. They received the deserved punishment for it. But that is not a reason to derogate the method itself if it is used in practice correctly. It is known that all bourgeois secret services use physical coercion against representatives of socialist proletariat and do it in an utterly mean form. One has to ask a question, why the socialist secret service has to be more humane in relation to tough[2] bourgeois agents, the most ferocious[3] enemies of the working class and collective farmers. The CC of AUC(B)P considers that, as an exception[4], the method of physical coercion can be used in relation to obvious and disobedient people's enemies as a perfectly correct and purposeful one also in future. The CC of AUC(B)P demands secretaries of regional and territorial committees and secretaries of the CC of national Communist Parties to take into consideration this explanation, when inspecting employees of the NKVD.

(J. Stalin) Secretary of the CC of AUC(B)P

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[1] The AUC(B)P organisations of the USSR republics are meant here.

[2] Written in hand in the document.

[3] Written in hand in the document.

[4] It's a hypocritical excuse. Also in the following years, repressive institutions of the USSR used torture against the arrestees very widely with J. Stalin's sanction.

[8]
Operative Order of 25 July 1937 on Persecution of Persons of German Nationality by N. Yezhov, the USSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs

[COPY] Moscow, 25 July 1937
No. 00439

Recent materials of the agency and investigation prove that the German Headquarters and Gestapo[1] organise wide-scale espionage and acts of sabotage in the most important enterprises and first of all in those of defense. For this purpose the personnel of German citizens is used, who have settled there.

Agents from among German citizens, in organising acts of sabotage already now, devote principal attention to organisation of sabotage during the war period and prepare saboteurs for this purpose.

In order to completely stop these activities of the German secret service,

I order:

1. Within three days from the receipt of this order, lists of the following German citizens shall be precisely clarified and reported to me:

a) those who work in all military plants and in plants, which have defense shops in accordance with the enclosed list of plants[2];

b) a separate list of those German citizens, who during different periods have worked in these plants and shops and have been dismissed from them, yet have stayed in the territory of the USSR, regardless of where they are working now;

c) a separate list of those German citizens, who work in railway transport.

The following information shall be indicated in the lists: surname, name and patronymic of the German citizen, his occupation and enterprise, in which he works.

2. Beginning with 29 July this year, arrests of all those clarified German citizens shall be started, who work in the military plants and the plants, which have defense shops, railway transport, as well as of those, who have been dismissed from these plants, provided they live in your republic, territory or region.

The whole operation of arrest shall be concluded within five days.

3. German political emigrants, who work in the military plants and the plants, which have defense shops, shall be arrested only, if they have preserved the German citizenship.

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[1] Abbreviation from German *"Geheime Staatspolizei"* (The State Secret Police).
[2] Not published.

Not later than by 5 August 1937, a detailed memorandum and the account of compromising materials shall be submitted to me on each German political emigrant, who has been granted the Soviet citizenship, in order to decide the question of his arrest.

4. In the cases of the arrested, the investigation shall be carried out especially thoroughly. The situation shall be achieved that the so far unmasked agents of the German secret service are completely discovered and those saboteurs, whom they have sent in the industrial enterprises, are liquidated.

When concluding investigation in the cases of the arrested, they shall be sent to the NKVD of the USSR, in order to review them in the War Council or Special Meeting of the NKVD.

5. In course of investigation newly discovered German agents-spies, saboteurs and terrorists, both Soviet citizens and citizens of other countries, regardless of their place of work, shall be immediately arrested.

6. Simultaneously with the operation, a thorough registration of all those German citizens shall be started, who work in all other industrial enterprises, agriculture and Soviet institutions, as well as the registration of those former German citizens, who have accepted the Soviet citizenship and who have worked in military plants and defense shops of other industrial enterprises earlier.

By 1 September this year (in the Far East Territory and the Region of Eastern Siberia – by 15 September) a detailed memorandum with characterising data and thorough account of compromising materials shall be submitted to me on each indicated person, in order to decide the question of arrest.

7. Every day till 12 o'clock a.m., information on the course and results of the operation, and on all materials obtained during the investigation of the previous day shall be reported to me by wire.

8. The order takes effect from the moment of its announcement by wire.

(N. Yezhov)
General Commissar of State Security,
People's Commissar of Internal Affairs
of the Union of SSR

[9]

Operative Order of 11 August 1937 on Persecution of Persons of Polish Nationality by N. Yezhov, the USSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs

No. 00485 Moscow, 11 August 1937

The closed letter on the fascist rebellious, espionage, sabotage, defeatist and terrorist activity of **the Polish Secret Service** in the USSR, to be sent together with the present order, as well as investigation materials in the case of "POW"*[1], reveal the scene of the long-term and relatively impudent sabotage and espionage activity, carried out by the Polish Secret Service in the territory of the USSR.

These materials make it clear that the destructive activity of the Polish Secret Service has been and is being carried out **so openly still now that its impunity** may be explained only by the poor work of the GUGB and carelessness of chekists.

Even now, liquidation work of the "POW" organisations and the groups of saboteurs and spies is not completely developed on the places. **The speed and scale of investigation are generally low. The basic contingent of the Polish Secret Service has escaped even the operative registration** (from the total mass of Polish deserters – around 15,000 persons, only 9000 persons have been registered in the Union. From 5000 deserters residing in the territory of the Western Siberia, not more than 1000 p[ersons] have been registered. The situation concerning the registration of Polish political emigrants is similar.)

Insufficiently bold liquidation of the Polish Secret Service's personnel is especially dangerous now, when the "POW" Moscow Center has been destroyed and many of its most active members have been arrested. The Polish Secret Service, foreseeing the further inevitable failure of its activity, seeks to expand, but in some cases already expands a network of its subversive activities in national economy of the USSR, and first of all in its defense objects.

In accordance with the above, now the main task of the GUGB bodies is a complete defeat of the anti-Soviet activity carried out by the Polish Secret Service, and liquidation of the so far untouched "POW" rioters and saboteurs, and the basic contingent of the USSR people belonging to the Polish Secret Service.

I order:

1. **From 20[2] August 1937, a wide-scale operation shall be started,** directed towards complete liquidation of the "POW" local organisations, and first of all its spies–saboteurs and rioters found in industry, transport, sovkhozs and kolkhozs.

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* The footnotes of the document's first publication have been preserved in this document.

[1] Abbreviation from Polish *"Polska organizacja wojskowa"* (Polish military organization).

[2] The date is written in hand.

The whole operation shall be finished within 3 months, i. e., till ...[1] November 1937.

2. The following persons shall be arrested:

a) the most active members of the "POW" according to the enclosed list[2], who have been discovered during investigation, but have not been found so far;

b) all prisoners of war of the Polish Army, who have remained in the USSR;

c) deserters from Poland regardless of the time of their arrival in the USSR;

d) political emigrants and the exchanged political prisoners from Poland;

e) former members of the PPS[3] and other Polish anti-Soviet political parties;

f) most active local anti-Soviet nationalistic elements in areas inhabited by the Poles.

3. The operation of arrest shall be carried out in two rounds:

a) the above contingent, who works in the NKVD bodies, Red Army, military plants, defense shops of all other plants, railway, water and air transport, electric energy supply of all industrial enterprises, and gas and oil processing plants, shall be subject to arrest in the first round;

b) all others, who work in industrial enterprises of non-military importance, sovkhozs, kolkhozs and institutions, shall be subject to arrest in the second round.

4. Simultaneously with the expansion of the operation of arrest, investigation work shall be started. The investigation shall mainly be focused on complete unmasking of organizers and leaders of subversive groups, in order to discover the network of saboteurs fully.

The persons mentioned in testimonies of the arrested spies, wreckers and saboteurs shall be immediately arrested.

A special operative group shall be formed to carry out investigation activities.

5. All arrested persons depending on the offence discovered during the investigation process, shall be divided into two categories:

a) category one – the arrested, who shall be shot dead; these include all spies of the Polish Secret Service, saboteurs, wreckers and rebels;

b) category two – the less active of them; they shall be put into prisons and camps for 5–10 years.

6. Every ten days lists shall be made on persons included into category one and two during the course of investigation, which characterize the offence of the arrestee. These lists shall be sent to the NKVD of the USSR for final approval.

Inclusion into category one or two, based on the examination of investigation materials, is carried out by the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the republic.

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[1] The date is not mentioned.

[2] Not published.

[3] Abbreviation from Polish "*Polska partia socjalistyczna*" (Socialist Party of Poland).

head of the territorial or regional NKVD in conjunction with the prosecutor of the relevant republic, territory and region.

The lists, which are sent to the NKVD of the USSR, are signed by the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the republic, head of the NKVD Department and prosecutor of the relevant republic, territory and region.

After the list has been approved by the NKVD of the USSR and the prosecutor of the Union, the verdict shall be immediately executed, i. e., convicts of category one – shot dead, of category two – sent to prisons and camps in accordance with the instruction of the NKVD of the USSR.

7. Discharge from prisons and camps of those convicts, who have spied for Poland and who have served the sentence, shall be stopped. The materials shall be submitted to the Special Meeting of the USSR NKVD on each of them for examination.

8.[1]

9. **Information on the course of operation shall be provided every fifth day, i. e., on the 1st, 5th, 10th, 15th, 20th, 25th and 30th day of the month.**

(Yezhov)
General Commissar
of State Security,
People's Commissar of Internal Affairs
of the USSR

[1] Paragraph 8 is missing.

[10]
Letter by Major Aliyevsky, Director of the Registry Office, NKVD of the USSR, on Regulations Concerning the Nationality Entry in Issuing or Changing Passports, 29 April 1938

SECRET

No. 1486178 29 April 1938

Registry Office
The USSR NKVD

To all heads of the NKVD RO and NKVD Depts

The USSR NKVD's circular No. 65 of 2 April 1938 (..) has determined a new procedure of how to indicate nationality in issuing or changing the passports, which provides that the passport owner's nationality entry shall result only from the nationality of the birth.

In accordance with the above, the so far existing procedure, when the nationality, acknowledged by the person to be registered himself, was entered into the civil register, is being changed.

In all registers of documents, indication of nationality shall be based upon the passport produced at the registration.

Where there is no passportization, nationality of the registered [citizen] is specified in course of entering by questioning the submitters [of appeal]. In this connection it shall be considered that the nationality entry shall correspond the actual national origin of the registered person's parents. If the parents are Germans, Poles, etc., the person to be registered shall not be recorded as a Russian, Byelorussian, etc., regardless of the place of birth, time of residing in the USSR or the change of citizenship and other.

If the indicated nationality doesn't correspond to the native language or surname, e. g. the surname of the person to be registered is Popandopulo, Miller, but he calls himself a Russian, Byelorussian, etc., and the real nationality of the person to be registered cannot be cleared up at the registration, the column on nationality is not filled in, until the submitters provide documentary proof on the nationality of the person to be registered.

It shall be explained to the employees of the Civil Registry that non–submission of documents on the nationality may affect only the nationality entry, but it in no respect prevents the registration in general. In these cases the action shall correspond Instruction 22, Chapter 3 on entries of documents.

If parents of a newly born child are of different nationality, then the nationality of the

child is recorded according to the wish of parents, writing it in the column "special notes" with the indication that the child's nationality has been recorded on parents' agreement, i. e., according to the nationality of the mother or father. If there doesn't exist such an agreement – the question is decided by the guardianship bodies (in accordance with paragraph 39 of RSFSR's Code and relevant paragraphs of the union republics' codes). The nationality entry is not filled in until the decision is taken.

(Aliyevsky)
Major of State Security,
h[ead] of the Civil Registry

[11]
Operative Order of 15 August 1937 on Reprisals against the Wives and Settlement of Children of the Convicted "Traitors of the Motherland" by N. Yezhov, the USSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs

No. 00486 Moscow, 15 August 1937

On receipt of this order, reprisals against the wives of those high traitors, as well as members of the right-wing Trotskist organisations of spies and saboteurs shall be started, who, starting from 1 August 1936, have been convicted by the War Council and War Tribunals according to category one and two.

In carrying out the operation, the following shall be based upon:

PREPARATION FOR THE OPERATION

1. Each family subject to repression is thoroughly examined, additional characterising data and compromising materials are collected.

The following materials are drawn up on the basis of the collected information:

a) a detailed general reference on the family, indicating: surname, name and patronymic of the convicted head of the family, for what offences, when, what and by whom penalty has been imposed; names of the family members (including the persons who had been maintained by and had lived together with the convict); detailed characterising data on each family member; compromising materials on the convict's wife; description of social danger of children above 15; data about the family's old and to be taken care of parents, seriously ill persons or those suffering from infectious disease, and children, whose physical condition demands care;

b) a separate brief reference on children above 15, who are socially dangerous and capable to carry out anti-Soviet activities;

c) name lists of those children, who are below 15, and separately on children of pre-school and school age.

2. The references are examined by the People's Commissars of Internal Affairs of the relevant republics and heads of the NKVD territorial and regional departments.

They:

a) give sanction for the arrest and search of the high traitor's wife;

b) decide about measures to be taken against children of the person to be arrested;

c) decide about measures to be taken in relation to parents and other relatives, who have been maintained by the convict and had lived together with him.

EXECUTION OF THE ARREST AND SEARCH

3. Persons subject to repression are arrested. The arrest is registered by the warrant of arrest.

4. Wives, who have been in legal or actual marriage with the convict at the moment of his arrest, are subject to arrest.

Also the wives, who have divorced the convict at the moment of arrest, but who:

a) have been involved in the convict's counter–revolutionary activity;

b) have hidden the convict;

c) have known about the convict's counter-revolutionary activity, yet haven't reported to the relevant authorities about it, are subject to arrest.

5. The following wives are not subject to arrest:

a) convicts' pregnant wives, [wives], who have infants, children suffering from serious or infectious diseases, [wives], who have such seriously ill children, who need care, old women;

for the time being, only a signature is taken from these persons certifying that their residence won't be changed, and these families are thoroughly watched;

b) convicts' wives, who have unmasked their husbands and provided the authorities with the information, on the basis of what arrests of their husbands have been prepared and carried out.

6. Simultaneously with the arrest, a thorough search is carried out. The following shall be withdrawn during the search: weapons, cartridges, explosives and chemical substances, military equipment, copying equipment (shapirographs, glasswriters, typewriters, etc.), counter-revolutionary literature, foreign currency, precious metals in bullion, coins and articles, person's documents and monetary documents.

7. All personal belongings of the arrested (except the necessary linen, clothes and outdoor clothes, foot-wear and bedding, which the arrested take with them) are confiscated. Flats of the arrested are put under seal.

In cases, when the adult children, parents and other relatives of the arrested live together with them, apart from the personal belongings, the following essentials are left in their use: convict's dwelling space, furniture and the necessities of life.

8. After the arrest and search, wives of the convicted counter-revolutionaries are escorted to the prison. Simultaneously, also children are being deported in the hereinafter described procedure.

PROCEDURE OF DRAWING UP THE CASES

9. An investigation case is brought against every arrested and against every socially dangerous child, who is above 15, which, apart from already specified documents, shall include also references (see Article 1, paragraphs "a" and "b" of this document) and a summary of indictment.

10. The investigation case is sent to the Special Meeting of the USSR NKVD for reviewing.

Heads of the NKVD Departments of the Far East and Krasnoyarsk Territories and the Western Siberia Region do not have to send investigation cases to the Special Meeting. Detailed general information on the convicts' families (Article 1, paragraph "a") shall be wired instead that will be reviewed by the Special Meeting then. It informs the above heads of the NKVD about its decision on each family, simultaneously indicating the place of imprisonment (camp), in the same way by wire.

REVIEWING OF CASES AND PUNITIVE SANCTIONS

11. The Special Meeting reviews cases of the convicted high traitors' wives and their children, who are above 15 and who are socially dangerous and capable to perform anti-Soviet activities.

12. Camp imprisonment of the convicted high traitors' wives may not be shorter than 5–8 years depending on the degree of social dangerousness.

13. Convicts' socially dangerous children, depending on their age, degree of dangerousness and possibilities of correction, shall be put into camps or the NKVD work colonies, or sent to the children's homes of special regime of the republics' People's Commissariats of Education.

14. Decisions of the Special Meeting are announced for execution to the NKVD People's Commissars of the republics and heads of the NKVD Territorial and Regional Departments by wire.

15. Investigation cases are handed over to the USSR NKVD archives.

EXECUTION OF SENTENCES

16. High traitors' wives, sentenced by the decision of the Special Meeting, are sent to the Special Department of the Temnikovo Work Camp for serving the sentence, in accordance with the personnel orders of the Main Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps of the USSR NKVD.

Sending to the camp takes place in accordance with the existing procedure.

17. Wives of the convicted high traitors, who have not been arrested because of illness or taking care of ill children, are being arrested and sent to the camp after their recovery.

High traitors' wives, who have infants, are being arrested immediately after the sentence is announced and taken directly to the camp, without putting them into prison.

The same procedure regards the convicted wives – aged women.

18. Socially dangerous convicted children of group one and two are sent to camps or the NKVD correction colonies, or [children's] homes of special regime of the republics' People's Commissariats of Education in accordance with the personnel orders of the NKVD Main Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps, and children of group three – in accordance with personnel orders of the AED[1] of the USSR NKVD.

SETTLEMENT OF CHILDREN OF THE CONVICTED PARENTS

19. After the conviction [of parents], the left orphans are settled in the following way:

a) children from 1–1.5 years of age and to full 3 years – in children's homes and nurseries of the People's Commissariat of Health Protection at the convicts' places of residence;

b) children from full 3 years of age to 15 years – in children's homes of the People's Commissariats of Education of other republics, territories and regions (according to the indicated settlement), except Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilissi, Minsk, coastal and borderline cities.

20. The question on children above 15 is decided individually. Depending on the age, a possibility to provide themselves with work or a possibility to be maintained by relatives, these children may be:

a) sent to children's homes of the People's Commissariats of Education of the republics in accordance with Article 19, paragraph "b";

b) sent to other republics, territories and regions (except the above places), in order to fix them up or appoint to schools.

21. Infants are sent to camps together with their mothers, from where, when having reached the age of 1–1.5, they are put in children's homes or nurseries of the republican People's Commissariats of Health Protection.

22. Children from 3 to 15 years of age are maintained by the state.

23. In the event, if other relatives (who have not been subject to repression) wish to maintain the orphans, it shall not be resisted.

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[1] Administrative Economic Department.

PREPARATION FOR ADMISSION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN

24. In each city where the operation will take place, the following special arrangements are made:

a) admission and distribution centers are created, in which children will be settled right after their mother's arrest and from where afterwards children will be forwarded to children's homes;

b) premises for the location of socially dangerous children until announcement of the Special Meeting's decision are formed and arranged specially.

Children's distribution centers of the departments of the NKVD correctional colonies are used for the above children, – where there are such.

25. The heads of those NKVD bodies, in the territory of which there are children's homes of the People's Commissariats of Education meant for settlement of the convicted parents' children, in conjunction with superintendents or representatives of the regional Departments of People's Education, inspect the personnel of children's homes and dismiss politically unstable and degenerate persons and those of anti-Soviet disposition. They are replaced by proved, politically reliable staff that will be able to carry out the training and educational work of children sent there.

26. Heads of the NKVD bodies state, in which children's homes and nurseries of the People's Commissariat of Health Protection children up to 3 years of age may be settled and secure immediate and obligatory admission of these children.

27. The NKVD commissars of the republics and heads of the NKVD territorial and regional departments personally telegraph comrade Shneyerson of the AED of the USSR NKVD name lists of those children, whose mothers are being arrested. The list shall include the child's surname, name, patronymic, year of birth, and which form he is in. In the lists, children are registered in groups, which are completed so that children connected through relationship or those who know each other do not come to one and the same home.

28. Distribution of children among children's homes is carried out by the deputy head of the AED, the USSR NKVD. He telegraphs to the heads of the republican NKVD and departments of the territorial and regional NKVD which children to which [children's] home have to be sent. A copy of the telegram is sent to the head of the relevant children's home. This telegram serves for him as a basis for admission of children.

29. During the arrest of the wives of the convicted [persons], children are separated from them together with their person's documents (birth certificate and documents of education). Accompanied by a special NKVD employee, who is a member of the arrest group, they are taken away:

a) children below 3 years of age – to children's homes or nurseries of the People's Commissariat of Health Protection;

b) children from 3 to 15 years old – to admission and distribution centers;

c) socially dangerous children, who are above 15 – to specially adjusted for them premises.

PROCEDURE OF SENDING CHILDREN TO CHILDREN'S HOMES

30. At the admission and distribution center, children are received by the head of the center or head of the children's admission center of the NKVD DWC[1] and specially appointed operative employee of the Department of State Security.

Each admitted child is registered in a special book, but his documents are put under seal in a closed envelope.

Afterwards children are grouped according to the places of appointment. The groups, accompanied by a specially chosen employee, are sent to children's homes of the People's Commissariat of Education, where, together with the documents, they are handed over to the head of the children's home. The latter certifies the receipt with his signature.

31. Children below 3 years are handed over to the heads of children's homes or nurseries of the People's Commissariat of Health Protection personally, who personally certify the receipt with their signature. The child's birth certificate is handed over together with him.

REGISTRATION OF THE CONVICTS' CHILDREN

32. Convicts' children, who are put into children's homes and nurseries of the republics' People's Commissariats of Education and People's Commissariats of Health Protection, are registered by AED, the USSR NKVD.

Children, who are above 15 and who have been convicted as the socially dangerous ones, are registered by the 8th Department of the Main State Security Directorate, the USSR NKVD.

SUPERVISION OF THE CONVICTS' CHILDREN

33. Commissars of internals affairs of the republics and heads of the NKVD territorial and regional departments shall watch the political mood of the convicts' children, their training work and education.

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[1] Department of Work Colonies.

REPORTING

34. Information concerning the course of the operation shall be telegraphed to me in the reports of three days. On all excesses and extreme cases – immediately.

35. The repressive operation in regard the convicts' wives shall be concluded by October 25 this year.

36. Henceforward, all wives of the discovered high traitors and the right-wing Trotskists' spies shall be arrested simultaneously with their husbands in procedure provided by the present order.

Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Union of SSR

[12]

Number of convicts sentenced for counter-revolutionary and other specially dangerous offences against the state during 1921–1940*

Year	Altogether convicted	Capital punish-ment	Camps, prisons, deportation	Exile and colonies	Other sanctions[1]
1921	35 829	9701	21 724	1817	2587
1922	6003	1962	2656	166	1219
1923	4794	414	2336	2044	–
1924	12 425	2550	4151	5724	–
1925	15 995	2433	6851	6274	437
1926	17 804	990	7547	8571	696
1927	26 036	2363	12 267	11 235	171
1928	33 757	869	16 211	15 640	1037
1929	56 220	2109	25 853	24 517	3714
1930	208 069	20 201	114 443	58 816	14 609
1931	180 696	10 651	105 683	63 269	1093
1932	141 919	2728	73 946	36 017	29 228
1933	239 664	2154	138 903	54 262	44 345
1934	78 999	2056	59 451	5994	11 498
1935	267 076	1229	185 846	33 601	46 400
1936	274 670	1118	219 418	23 719	30 415
1937	790 665	353 074	429 311	1366	6914
1938	554 258	328 618	205 509	16 842	3289
1939	63 889	2552	54 666	3783	2888
1940	71 806	1649	65 727	2142	2288
Total	**3 080 574**	**749 421**	**1 752 499**	**375 799**	**202 855**

* The table was made by V. Zemskov. Footnote of the document's first publication has been preserved here.

[1] By the title "Other sanctions" imprisonment, coercive treatment and forced exile beyond the borders of the state are meant here.

[13]

Number of prisoners in the NKVD camps as of 1 January 1939*[1]

#	Name of the camp	Number of prisoners	Percentage of total
1.	Bamlag[2] (the BAM[3] route)	262 194	20.05
2.	Sevvostlag (Magadan)	138 170	10.56
3.	Belbaltlag (The Karelian ASSR)	86 567	6.62
4.	Volgolag (The Uglich-Ribinsk Area)	74 576	5.70
5.	Dallag (The Primorye Territory)	64 249	4.91
6.	Siblag (The Novosibirsk Region)	46 382	3.55
7.	Ushosdorlag (The Far East)	36 948	2.83
8.	Samarlag (The Kuibyshev Region)	36 761	2.81
9.	Karlag (The Karaganda Region)	35 072	2.68
10.	Sazlag (The Uzbek SSR)	34 240	2.62
11.	Usollag (The Molotov Region)	32 714	2.50
12.	Kargopollag (The Arkhangelsk Region)	30 069	2.30
13.	Sevzheldorlag (The Komi ASSR and the Arkhangelsk Region)	29 495	2.25
14.	Yagringlag (The Arkhangelsk Region)	27 680	2.12
15.	Vyazemlag (The Smolensk Region)	27 470	2.10
16.	Ukhtimlag (The Komi ASSR)	27 006	2.06
17.	Sevuarllag (The Sverdlovsk Region)	26 963	2.06
18.	Lokchimlag (The Komi ASSR)	26 242	2.01
19.	Temlag (The Mordov ASSR)	22 821	1.75
20.	Ivdellag (The Sverdlovsk Region)	20 162	1.54
21.	Vorkutlag (The Komi ASSR)	17 923	1.37
22.	Soroklag (The Arkhangelsk Region)	17 458	1.34
23.	Vyatlag (The Kirov Region)	16 854	1.29
24.	Oneglag (The Arkhangelsk Region)	16 733	1.28
25.	Unzhlag (The Gorky Region)	16 469	1.26
26.	Kraslag (The Krasnoyarsk Territory)	15 233	1.16
27.	Taishetlag (The Irkutsk Region)	14 365	1.10

* The table was made by Zemskov.

[1] On 1 January 1939 there was no information about 9283 prisoners (transit prisoners). The footnote of the document's first publication has been preserved here.

[2] The part "lag" in the compound name of camps comes from the Russian word "лагерь" (a camp).

[3] The Baikal-Amur Line.

#	Name of the camp	Number of prisoners	Percentage of total
28.	Ustyvimlag (The Komi ASSR)	11 974	0.92
29.	Tomassinlag (The Novosibirsk Region)	11 890	0.91
30.	Gornoshorsk LC[1] (The Altai Territory)	11 670	0.89
31.	Norillag (The Krasnoyarsk Region)	11 560	0.88
32.	Kuloilag (The Arkhangelsk Region)	10 642	0.81
33.	Raichikhlag (The Khabarovsk Territory)	8711	0.67
34.	Arkhbumlag (The Arkhangelsk Region)	7900	0.60
35.	The Luga Camp (The Leningrad Region)	6174	0.47
36.	Bukachachlag (The Chita Region)	5945	0.45
37.	Prorvlag (The Lower Volga)	4877	0.37
38.	Likovlag (The Moscow Region)	4556	0.35
39.	Yuzhnaya Gavan (The Moscow Region)	4376	0.33
40.	The Stalin Station (The Moscow Region)	2727	0.21
41.	The Dmitrov Mechanical Plant (The Moscow Region)	2273	0.17
42.	Project T 211 (The Ukrainian SSR)	1911	0.15
	Total:	1 307 912	100.00

[1] Labour camp.

CHAPTER 2

Occupation of Latvia and its incorporation into the USSR

Already before the beginning of World War II, the fate of Latvia's statehood was decided by A. Hitler and J. Stalin, the dictators of two powers – Germany and the Soviet Union. Under their order, the non-aggression treaty was signed in Moscow on 23 August 1939, which was often referred to as the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. The most essential part of this treaty was the appended secret protocol on the division of territories or the so-called spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. In accordance with the above protocol, Latvia, likewise Finland and Estonia, and a little later also Lithuania, came in the sphere of the USSR influence [14]. The unlawful Molotov-Ribbentrop pact actually sanctioned Germany's aggression against Poland and thus opened the way to World War II. Moreover, it gave the complete freedom of action to Stalin with regard to the Baltic states, which, in connection of the war in Europe, had declared their neutrality. The first step, made by the Soviet Union towards implementation of its policy of expansion, was the coercion of the so-called agreement on military bases in Latvia and other Baltic states [15]. On 5 October 1939, faced by threats of military aggression, the government of Latvia, unwillingly though [18], was forced to sign the Pact of Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union or the so-called military bases' agreement [16], which foresaw stationing of the USSR Red Army units in the territory of Latvia, the size of which exceeded that of the Latvian Army (approximately 20,000 soldiers) [17].

Being aware of what "state transformations" would take place in the sphere of the USSR influence, the German government decided to transfer the inhabitants of German nationality residing in these territories to the sphere of their influence. On 28 September 1939, one more agreement between Germany and the USSR was signed that had no precedent in the international legal practice. This agreement decided the fate of the whole national group residing in another state [19]. Repatriation of Germans (Baltic Germans), that was to a great extent of coercive character, affected also Latvia [20]. That was how our country lost its ancient national minority[1] rich in traditions.

Latvia tried to fulfil the agreement of 5 October honestly although the soldiers of the Red Army behaved tactlessly and even shockingly, provoking the local population and authorities [21]. In May and June 1940, the pressure of the USSR on Latvia became stronger, therefore the Cabinet of Ministers took a decision to grant special authority to

[1] In the beginning of 1941, a relatively small group of Baltic Germans (not more that 10,000 persons), who during the 1939 repatriation decided to stay in Latvia, left the occupied by the USSR Latvia for the territory controled by Germany.

K. Zariņš, Envoy of Latvia in Great Britain, and A. Bīlmanis, Envoy in the United States of America, in case of possible extraordinary situation, yet they received no authority to form an exile government. At night from 14 to 15 June, an armed attack against Latvia's border guard posts was made, during which inhabitants of Latvia were killed [22]. On 16 June, there followed the ultimatum of the USSR government that may be looked upon not only as gross interference in the internal affairs of Latvia, but also as real threats of military aggression [23]. On June 17, Latvia was occupied [24]. Although on June 21 the so-called People's Government headed by A. Kirhenšteins, which was accepted by occupants (for the time being there were no communists in it), started its work, and K. Ulmanis, being under a house arrest, formally continued to perform the duties of the President of the State, the real masters of the situation were A. Vishinsky, the authorized representative of the USSR government, the Embassy of the USSR and the Red Army [26]. The instruction on discharge of the political prisoners was one of the first decisions taken by the "People's Government", since all leadership of the Communist Party of Latvia was in custody since April 1940, but the rank-and-file communists left in freedom were fully ignorant of the further activity [25]. The Communist Party of Latvia was legalized and became a sole political party in Latvia since the restoration or establishment of other parties was not allowed; this party obediently followed all instructions of Moscow. In early June, communists were included in the puppet government headed by A. Kirhenšteins.

In order to prevent the occurrence of any real or even seeming opposition, inhabitants were intimidated [27, 28] by threatening to deprive them of freedom and life [39]. The occupation power behaved very cunningly in Latvia. On 4 July 1940, a decision was taken on elections to the Saeima to be held on 14 and 15 July [29]. The elections to the Saeima were organised in order to legitimize the occupation power, and it was done in a great hurry (within 10 days!) admitting only one list to take part in them – that of the "Working People's Block" – the list, in which there were people obedient and loyal to occupants. The alternative list of candidates, submitted by a group of public figures was rejected under a formal pretext, but persons who had submitted this list and the majority of its candidates were subject to repression soon. In general, these "elections" can be looked upon as brute falsification of the people's will.

On 21 July 1940, the newly elected so-called People's Saeima declared the "Soviet power" in Latvia and took a decision about entering the USSR [33, 34], thus in the most brutal manner violating the Satversme (Constitution) of the Republic of Latvia which provided that the questions of changes with regard to the sovereignity, system and territory of the state should be decided only through the plebiscite [35]. On 5 August 1940, Latvia as "the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic" (Latvian SSR) was unlawfully incorporated into the USSR. Many Western countries did not recognize the occupation

of the Baltic states, but, e. g., official institutions of the United States of America made a special announcement to this account [36].

Getting ready for the war, the Soviet Union was interested not only to expand its territory, but also to increase its army and bring into subjection economy of Latvia. In July of 1940, the post of the political officer was introduced in the Latvian Army to fit the model of the USSR Red Army [30]. The real task of the political officer was to keep officers and soldiers under observation and to prevent the appearance of armed resistance against the occupation power. On 11 July, the territories of still formally independent Baltic states were included into the USSR military system creating the Baltic Military District there [31], but in August, the 24th Territorial Riflemen's Corps of the Red Army was started to be developed on the basis of the Latvian Army [32]. Together with the announcement of a Soviet power, nationalization of banks and big industrial enterprises started, too [37], but the whole land was declared to be the so-called people's property [38]. The aim of these undertakings was, firstly, the nationalization of the national wealth of Latvia and, secondly, the implementation of the Utopian idea of the general equality.

On 25 August 1940, the so-called People's Saeima renamed itself the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR to fit the model of the USSR state authorities, and adopted the Constitution of the Latvian SSR. In September, the citizens of the Republic of Latvia were declared the citizens of the USSR [41], but the towns and populated areas of Latvia through their renamed streets came under more and more apparent ideological cliche of the occupation [40].

The year of 1940 marked a tragic turning point in the historical fate of Latvia and its people. Latvia was violently torn out from the course of European civilization and subdued to alien power against its will.

[14–20] Division of Eastern Europe into spheres of influence

[14]

Excerpt from the Secret Supplementary Protocol to the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Agreement of 23 August 1939

23 August 1939

In connection with the signing of the non-aggression agreement between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the authorized representatives of both countries, having signed this pact, met in confidential negotiations to consider the matter of designating the spheres of interest of both parties in Eastern Europe. The result of these negotiations is as follows:

1. In the event of territorial and political reordering in the territory of the Baltic States (Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), the northern border of Lithuania shall be considered to be the boundary between the German and Soviet spheres of interest[1]. (..).

(..)

4. Both parties agree to maintain complete secrecy with respect to this agreement.

Moscow, 23 August 1939

For the German government:
J. von Ribbentrop

Authorized by the government of the USSR:
V. Molotov

[1] In regard to Lithuania, the boundary between spheres of interest was changed in September 1939.

[15]

Excerpt from Notes taken by the Counselor to the German Embassy in the USSR, G. Hilger, on talks between J. Stalin and the German Foreign Minister J. von Ribbentrop in Moscow on plans of the USSR in regard to the Baltic States

27–29 September 1939

(..)

On the mater of the Baltics, Stalin announced that the Soviet Union government has demanded of the Estonian government that it provide bases for Russian warships at Estonian harbors, as well as on the Dago and Ezel islands[1], and also that it provide bases for the Russian air force. For the defense of these bases, the Soviet Union will place one infantry division in Estonia, as well as one cavalry brigade, one tank brigade and one air force brigade. These undertakings will be executed under the aegis of the Soviet-Estonian mutual aid agrrement. Estonia has already agreed.

To the minister's question of whether the Soviet government is intending to use this as a gradual way of entering Estonia and, possibly, also Latvia, Stalin responded affirmatively, adding that irrespective of this, the current government, ministries, etc., will for the time being be left in place in Estonia.

With respect to Latvia, Stalin announced that the Soviet government is planning to offer analog recommendations to it. If Latvia will oppose the offer of mutual aid pact based on the same terms as the one with Estonia, the Red Army will "deal with" Latvia in the nearest term.

(..)

[1] Hiiumaa and Saaremaa islands.

[16]
Excerpts from the Mutual Assistance Pact between Latvia and the USSR of 5 October 1939

5 October 1939

(..)

Paragraph III

The Republic of Latvia, for the purpose of ensuring the security of the Soviet Union and the independence of the Republic of Latvia, hereby extends to the Soviet Union the right to take control of naval bases at cities of Liepāja and Ventspils, as well as several aviation aerodromes, on the basis of lease agreement, for an agreed lease price. The specific locations of the bases and aerodromes and their boundaries shall be determined on the basis of mutual agreement.

For the purpose of defending the Straits of Irbe, the Soviet Union hereby is granted the right to place a coastal artillery base on the shore between Ventspils and Pitrags, applying thereto the same terms and conditions.

For the purpose of defending the naval bases, aerodromes and coastal artillery base, the Soviet Union shall have the right to station at these bases and aerodromes, in specific locations and at its own cost, a strictly limited number of Soviet land and aviation troops. The maximum number of such troops shall be set by separate agreement.

Paragraph IV

Both Signatory Parties undertake not to conclude any agreement or participate in any coalition which is aimed against one of the Signatory Parties.

Paragraph V

The implementation of this pact shall have no impact upon the sovereign rights of the Signatory Parties, including therein their governing order, their economic and social system, and their military activities.

The bases and aerodromes (Paragraph III) shall remain the territory of the Republic of Latvia.

(..)

Paragraph VI

This pact shall remain in effect for ten years. In the event that neither Signatory Party determines one year prior to the expiration of the agreement that the agreement should be abrogated, the agreement shall automatically remain in effect for another ten years.

(..)

Concluded in Moscow in two originals, in the Latvian and Russian languages, on 5 October 1939.

V. Munter *V. Molotov*

[17]

Excerpt from the Confidential Protocol attached to the 5 October 1939 Mutual Assistance Pact between the USSR and Latvia

I

It is determined that in order to avert and bring an end to efforts to draw the Signatory Parties into the war which is currently underway in Europe, the USSR shall have the right during such time as the war shall continue to maintain individual garrisons of land and aviation armed forces at the locations which are provided for aerodromes and bases (Paragraph III of the pact), the number of such troops not to exceed twenty-five thousand individuals.

(..)

Moscow, 5 October 1939

V. Molotov
V. Munters

[18]

Excerpt from the writen evidence of K. Ulmanis, the arrested ex-President of the State of Latvia, to the investigator of the USSR People's Commissariat of State Security, on his attitude towards the Mutual Assistance Pact between Latvia and the USSR, 17 July 1941

Voroshilovsk, 17 July 1941

(..)

Latvia signed the 5.10.[19]39 Agreement unwillingly. Although the Mutual Assistance Agreement promised protection against aggression in its territory and we had to think that by this treaty the possibility of military operations was being eliminated in the territory of Latvia, I gave Minister Munters my consent for signing the agreement unwillingly. I was concerned that the communist propaganda would get stronger and expand in Latvia, I also feared to create an impression and opinion among the inhabitants of Latvia, as well as the international evaluation of the situation that by signing this treaty Latvia had lost the ability of its independent political activity. My opinion was that, in carrying out the agreement, Latvia should preserve and use the right of free political action both within Latvia itself and in relations with other countries, except for restrictions provided by the agreement. Such were the instructions I gave to Ministers, including those of the War and Foreign Affairs, as well as to our representatives, who carried out the agreement.

(..)

[19]

Confidential Protocol between Germany and the USSR on repatriations of German citizens and persons of German nationality from the USSR sphere of interest

28 September 1939

The government of the USSR shall place no obstacles in the way of German citizens and other persons of German nationality who are resident in territories which are included in the Soviet sphere of interest, should such persons seek to depart for Germany or for territories in the German sphere of interest. The Soviet government agrees that the movement of individuals will be carried out by authorized representatives of the German government in concert with appropriate local officals. The property rights of those who depart will not be violated.

The German government undertakes analogous obligations with respect to persons of Ukrainian or Byelorussian origin who are resident in territories which are in the German sphere of interest.

Moscow, 28 September 1939

Authorized by
the Soviet government
V. Molotov

For the German government
J. Ribbentrop

[20]

Excerpt from the confidential survey by M. Nukša, General Secretary of the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on his talks with the German ambassador U. von Kotze in connection with emigration of Baltic Germans, 7 November 1939

Secret

7 November 1939

(..)

On 13 October, the first joint meeting of both delegations took place. During the meeting, the agreement was reached about the principles of the talks and the proposed key theses were introduced. The further work proceeded in sub-commissions. This work was extensive and very complicated. The liquidation after all affects matters, obligations, relations and values, which have been formed through many centuries, and have grown together with our life in its different branches. How to separate from this life community what is possible to separate, and how to take over from Germans the inseparable without shattering our own, Latvian, economic and social conditions, – this is the task, which deserves the greatest attention.

The talks resulted in "Agreement on the Repatriation of Latvian Citizens of German Nationality to the German Reich" signed on 30 October this year.

The principal theses of the agreement are as follows:

1. Repatriation takes place as a single action by the conclusion of which the German minority ceases its existence in Latvia forever.

2. In principle, each citizen, starting from full 16 years, may freely decide whether to repatriate himself or stay in Latvia, – yet already without any rights of minorities.

3. The movable property may be taken away by the emigrant or withdrawn, except the property, which has been specified in greater detail in the appended protocol[1] and which has been provided a special regulation.

4. The immovable property, starting with the day of the owner's emigration, passes into the sole management and disposal of a special stock company[2] with the right to withdraw it within 2 years (till 31 December 1941). In regard the immovables, which would not have been sold till the above term, further agreement shall take place on whether they pass, on the basis of estimation, in free disposal of a cognizable Latvian institution for the promissory notes bearing no interest.

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[1] Not published.

[2] Corresponds to the German *Umsiedlungs - Treuhand - Aktiengesellschaft.*

Rural immovables pass in free disposal of a cognizable Latvian institution in the same procedure – for promissory notes – already till 31 January 1940.

5. All liquidation assets shall be paid into a special account of the Bank of Latvia. The transfer of these sums to Germany in principle takes place in form of extra export of Latvian goods carried out periodically, through longer period.

It shall be added to the above theses that with the conclusion of the repatriation action, all questions connected with the German minority: schools, churches, congregations, societies, different charity institutions, etc. will cease to exist forever in Latvia.

(..)

M. Nukša,
General Secretary
of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

[21]

Excerpt from the recorded speech of K. Veidnieks, Minister of the Interior of Latvia, made at the meeting of the Ministry's of the Interior leading staff on 21 February 1940

21 February 1940

(..)

Speaking about the relations of our citizens with the soldiers of the USSR garrisons stationed in Latvia, it should be marked that there still occur different undesirable misunderstandings and incidents. For instance, needless abruptness has been caused by the Russian military attachè, who had gone by train from Liepāja to Riga. The latter hadn't liked the inscription "reserved" placed on the compartment and that had been the cause of a squabble he had started with the guard and suggested to remove the inscription. When the guard had not done so, since such an inscription had been placed according to agreement with the Russians themselves, the attachè had torn off the inscription and threatened the guard that the latter would not work on trains any more. Perhaps partly the tactless behaviour of the Russian could be explained by the fact, that a certain German citizen had been in the same compartment, before whom the Russian had obviously wanted to show off. Another Russian officer had blustered at the Kalpaks Bridge in Liepāja, had taken out his revolver and threatened our policeman, who had not let him cross the bridge without a permit. But as it turned out the sentry of the Russians themselves had not let him in Tosmare[1] without permission. As to the inhabitants of Ventspils, they have started to complain about Russian airplanes, which, during their training flights, use ball ammunition. Coming down, some bullets have broken windows. There have been also complaints that Russian tractors have broken trees along the roadsides. Recently such cases have occurred particularly frequently. It can be observed that the necessary measures have not been taken by the Russian side not to repeat such undesirable accidents.

(..)

[1] Northern part of the city of Liepāja.

[22]
Excerpts from the conclusion of the investigation commission on the Soviet attack on the Latvian border on 15 June 1940

[Not later than on 20 June 1940]

The investigation commission, in carrying out the field investigation and questioning the neighbouring inhabitants, has cleared up the following:

At night to 15 June this year, the 2nd and 3rd sentry post of the 3rd Abrene batallion had been attacked. In the 2nd sentry post of Maslenki, the gun battle between the attackers and border guards had broken out; hand-grenades had been thrown, too. In the battle, 4 persons have been killed. (..) The telephone wires from the 2nd sentry post to the rear area have been cut. In the neighbourhood of the 2nd sentry post, several magazines of spent cartridges not used by the Latvian Army, 7 hand grenades, and a gas mask with Russian inscriptions have been found. In the curve of the border-river, footsteps of several walkers can be seen that indicate to the fact that the border-river has been crossed in both directions. The attackers have taken with them the border-guards, who had been in the 2nd sentry post, and other border-guards, who had hastened to the help of them, as well as the private persons - family members of the border-guards and inhabitants of neighbouring houses.

(..)

Altogether 5 border-guards and 11 private persons have been taken away from the 2nd sentry post and its neighbourhood.

(..)

It has been cleared up that 5 border-guards and 16 private persons have been taken away from the 3rd sentry post and its neighbourhood.

Altogether 10 border-guards and 27 private persons have been taken away from the 2nd and 3rd sentry post and their neighbourhood.

Chairman of the Commission: Gen. *Bolšteins*

Members: (2 illegible signatures)

[23]
The Announcement issued by the Government of the USSR to the Government of Latvia, 16 June 1940

Moscow 16 June 1940

On the basis of facts which are known to the Soviet government, and on the basis of an exchange of views which recently took place in Moscow between the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR Molotov, and the prime minister of Lithuania, Merkys, the Soviet government has concluded that the Latvian government has not only failed to dismantle the anti-Soviet military union which was established with Estonia prior to the signing of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance agreement, but has broadened the union, bringing Lithuania into it and trying to attract Finland, as well.

Before the signing of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact in the fall of 1939, the Soviet government could choose to ignore the existence of this military union, even though its existence was in fact contrary to the terms of the Soviet-Latvian non-aggression pact which had been signed earlier. After the signing of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact, however, the Soviet government considers an anti-Soviet military union among Latvia, Estonia and Lthuania not only to be impermissible and intolerable, but also to be deeply dangerous and threatening to the security of the Soviet Union's borders.

The Soviet government had assumed that after the conclusion of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact, Latvia would withdraw from the military union with the other Baltic countries and that the union would thus be dissolved. But Latvia, together with the other Baltic countries, instead chose to renew and broaden the military union. This is evidenced by facts such as the organization of the secret Baltic state conferences in December 1939 and March 1940, to formally establish a broadened military union with Estonia and Lithuania; the strengthening of contacts among the military headquarters of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, a step which was hidden from the USSR; the establishment of a special press organ of the military Baltic Entente in February 1940, Revue Baltique, which is published in English, French and German in Tallinn; et al.

These facts prove that the Latvian government has grossly violated the terms of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact, in which both parties undertake "not to conclude any agreement or participate in any coalition which is aimed against one of the Signatory Parties" (§4 of the agreement).

This gross violation of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact on the part of the Latvian government has occurred at a time when the Soviet Union has implemented

and is continuing to implement policies which are most favorable and very pro Latvian in nature. The Soviet Union has promptly carried out all of the obligation which have been placed upon it by the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact.

The Soviet Union finds that this state of affairs can no longer be tolerated.

The government of the USSR declares that the following steps are fully necessar and must be taken without delay:

1) A government must immediately be established in Latvia which is ready an willing to provide for an honest implementation of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact;

2) The free entry of the Soviet armed forces must immediately be permitted so tha military units might be placed at the most important centers in Latvia to an exten which would provide for the implementation of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact and which would avert any provocative actions against the Soviet garrison i Latvia.

The Soviet government considers the acceptance of these demands to be a elementary step without which the honest and loyal implementation of the Soviet-Latvian mutual assistance pact will not be possible.[1]

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[1] The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) report did not include the last paragraph of the announcement, which stated: "The Soviet government expects the response of the Latvian government by 11:00 p.m., on 16 June. The failure of the Latvian government to provide a response within this timeframe will be considered to be a refusal to comply with the demands of the Soviet Union". (Translated from Russian and taken from the publication of the document in *"Полпреды сообщают..."* (Authorized Representatives Report...), p. 387). In place of the missing paragraph, TASS wrote: "Yesterday Ambassador Kociņš delivered a response in which the Latvian government announced its agreement with the demands of the Soviet Union".

[24]

Excerpts from the 18 June 1940 telegram to the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs sent by V. Dereviansky, the authorized representative of the USSR in Latvia

18 June 1940

(..) Around 1.00 p.m., advance guard armoured troops started to enter Riga, capturing the city and its most important centers fast. The authorities had not expected that soon arrival and fast action from our side, since at 12:30 p.m., Ulmanis was still driving about the streets of the town. (..) Crowds of people surrounded tanks. The Red Army men were embraced and kissed, and flowers were presented to them. At some places there were attempts to organise demonstrations. In the crowd the red flags were run up. There were clashes with the police. In the result of the clashes, 30 policemen have been wounded, and the same number of inhabitants has been wounded too. (..) Our command took measures to establish order in the town. It was sufficient for our commanders to address inhabitants with an appeal to maintain peace and order, and absolute order was established within 30 minutes. At 11 o'clock in the evening, the town was peaceful already. (..) Together with the command, I asked not to allow the use of military force in suppressing demonstration and disorders, if such had broken out. (..) Today, on 18 June, the formation of a new government is being expected, as well as establishment of a new regime in the country and, among the other, political prisoners will be released. (..) Yesterday in the evening, we allowed broadcasts under condition that in future, the broadcasting programmes would be coordinated with us and that in relation to the USSR and the Red Army disloyal announcements would not be allowed. Today in the morning, we allowed to resume normal work in the port. We demanded to issue a special instruction prohibiting to accept Soviet banknotes for exchange with the local currency and for paying for goods in the shops that also had been done without delay. We asked to create a special body for the supply of our [military] units with all the necessary that also had been established under supervision of General Hartmanis. The President and ministers are fulfilling their duties for the present.

Dereviansky

[25]

Excerpt from the 19 June 1940 report on communists' sentiments by J. Fridrihsons, Director of the Department of the Security Police, Ministry of the Interior of Latvia

19 June 1940

Official note

Communists are in raptures and joy about what has happened. During the meetings, it has been marked that the establishment of a Soviet power in Latvia is only a matter of short period of time. For the present though, there would still come a civil government acceptable to communists. It would prepare the way for further events and the communist government would change the government that would be established then. Communists predict that the new government would have a demand to give communists wide freedoms – even to legalize them. They said that they had no real clarity as to what and what demands the leadership of the Red Army wanted to put forward and what actions specifically they, communists, should take. Only one thing was clear to them that they had to make way for great events. At the present moment, they were looking for contacts and wished to clear up the opinion of the Red Army's command. (..)

J. Fridrihsons
Director of the Department
of the Security Police

[26]
Excerpt from the 22 June 1940 telegram of A. Vishinsky, representative of the USSR government, and V. Dereviansky, authorized representative of the USSR in Latvia, to V. Molotov, the USSR People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs

22 June 1940

(..)

2. The whole day ministers of the new government were accepting documents and reports from the heads of departments and were getting acquainted with the situation at institutions and their work.

3. The local authorities of Liepāja got confused, the police fled away and the entire order in the town was ensured by our troops. Workers have occupied the editorial office of the newspaper "Kurzemes Vārds" and the newspaper "Komunists" is being issued, there were no incidents.

4. The new ministers have not been provided with reliable assistants. Together with them, we are occupied with the selection of personnel, yet it would be necessary to send 10–15 people from Moscow for distribution among different ministries in order to help the ministers.

5. We deal with the selection of people for editorial boards and different public institutions.

6. In order to avoid armed clashes between the inhabitants and aizsargi[1], we consider it necessary to disarm and disband the latter. The disbandment may take place either by enlisting the aizsargi in the army reserve and subjecting them to the corresponding regime, or by liquidating this organisation. We consider the latter variant purposeful. We ask you to give instructions in regard the following questions:

1. On the legalization of the social democratic and other bourgeois democratic parties, concerning the legalization of the Communist Party and the assistance in renewing its work. This is self-evident that also in this connection serious help of the USSR is necessary in regard the people and resources.

2. On the election of the local municipalities and other related issues and on revision of the election law with a view to its further democratization. In the event, if you consider it necessary, we will submit to you concrete proposals. This question is already being put forward by different sides.

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[1] Paramilitary mass organization in the Republic of Latvia, which existed from March 1919 to July 1940.

3. On whether the merging of the communist and social democratic party is purposeful, which, according to the available information, is particularly speeded up by the groups of social democrats. Obviously, they hope to use it in their own interests. We doubt the purposefulness of this step. With his respect, it would be necessary to give relevant instructions through the Comintern.

Vishinsky, Dereviansky

[27–28] Beginning of the development of the "legal" basis for intimidation of citizens and terror

[27]

Excerpt from the radio speech by V. Lācis, Minister of the Interior of the puppet government headed by the Prime Minister A. Kirhenšteins, 23 June 1940

23 June 1940

(..)

The most important task to be carried out by the Minister of the Interior is to completely and decisively clear the State machinery of reactionary elements and people's enemies.

The enemies of Latvia and the Latvian people are spreading different provocative rumours, trying to shake confidence in the Mutual Assistance Agreement, to create distrust in the new government and our great friend – the Soviet Union.

The Ministry of the Interior in the most decisive and merciless manner fights and will fight against the provocative activities of suchlike different scoundrels, applying the most severe punishments for every violation of the state order. We hope for the support of our society, public organisations, all conscious people and all real patriots of our country.

Being the Minister of the Interior of Latvia, I am deeply convinced and staunchly believe that honest patriots of Latvia, all progressive public organisations and all honest people of our country, as well as the government will accomplish this task in general and secure peace and order that is necessary for our nation to carry out peaceful and fruitful work.

Discipline and good organisation, good organisation and once again good organisation are the things of utmost importance currently.

(..)

[28]
Law on Fight against Sabotage adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers on 12 July 1940

On 12 July 1940, the Cabinet of Ministers has adopted and the President of the State announces the following law:

Law on Fight against Sabotage

1. It is forbidden to destroy, damage or hide one's own or other people's property with a view to harm the state or public interests by such an action.

It is also forbidden to avoid performing lawful duties with a view to harm the state or public interests.

2. Persons to be blamed of such sabotage (A[rticle]1), as far as it is not punishable according to another law, shall be fined up to 5000 lats[1] or sentenced for a term of up to six months imprisonment, or by both of these punishments together.

In cases of special importance, the offenders shall be punished with hard labour for a definite period of time.

3. Punishments provided in the first part of the above (2.) article may be imposed by the Minister of the Interior or his authorized official by administrative means.

4. In cases of special importance provided in Article 2, part two, the War Minister may, on recommendation of the Minister of the Interior and with consent of the Minister of Justice, hand over the proceedings instituted against the offenders to the Court Martial for trying in procedure provided for the war time, and the provisions of the 1938 Law on Order and Public Security in the State (Collec[tion] of L[aws], 41), Articles 13–15, shall be applied thereto.

The law takes effect on the day of its a n n o u n c e m e n t.

13 July 1940

K. Ulmanis,
President of the State[2]

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[1] Latvian currency. 1 lat=0.2903226 grams of gold.

[2] After the formation of the A. Kirhenšteins puppet goverment, K. Ulmanis was not the Prime Minister any more and executed the duties of the President of the State only formally, by announcing laws adopted by the puppet government. He was repelled from real participation in political events. On 21 July 1940, A. Kirhenšteins took over also the functions of the President of the State.

[29]

Excerpts from the minutes of the 4 July 1940 meeting of the puppet government, headed by Prime Minister A. Kirhenšteins

4 July 1940

(..)

12) Takes the following decision: (..)

1. In accordance with Article 6 of Satversme (Constitution) of the Republic of Latvia, elections of the Saeima shall be carried out immediately by general, equal, direct, secret and proportional voting.

2. The time for the election of the Saeima shall be 14 and 15 July 1940.

3. The law on elections shall be adopted and put into practice immediately.

(..)

18) Resolves to ask all public and municipal bodies to purchase the national flag of the USSR[1].

(..)

20) Decides to send the following telegrams of thanks and greetings in connection with the adoption of the Law on Election of the Saeima:

1/ To Joseph Visarionovich S t a l i n, the great Leader of peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and working people of all world:

"Today, the government of the democratic Republic of Latvia has adopted the Law on Election of the Saeima. After 6 years of oppression and lack of rights, it gives back to the people of Latvia its freedom, rights to decide its own fate and a possibility to co-operate with the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its peoples in real friendship. In this great historical moment, on behalf of the people of Latvia, the government of the Republic of Latvia extends to you, the Leader of genius of working people of the whole world, gratitude for the regained freedom and justice.

Long live the friendship between Latvia and the USSR, long live the strong and indissoluble union of the Republic of Latvia and the USSR, long live Joseph Visarionovich Stalin, the leader and best friend of the working people!"

(..)

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins*, Prime Minister
R. Bulsons, Acting Director of the Chancellery

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[1] In the original document, letters are written in wrong order.

[30]

Excerpts from the law on political officers in the army, adopted on 4 July 1940 by the puppet government headed by Prime Minister A. Kirhenšteins

On 4 July 1940, the Cabinet of Ministers has adopted and the President of the State announces the following law:

Law on Political Officers in the Army

(..)

With a view to put into practice the measures, which are necessary to realize true democracy in the army, as well as to strengthen high military discipline and organisation of all soldiers, the Cabinet of Ministers r e s o l v e s:

1. A position of a political officer shall be established in the Latvian Army.

2. Positions of political officers shall be introduced:

a) in the Army Headquarters;

b) in divisions and brigades;

c) in regiments;

d) in individual units, resp. military institutions and in separate garrisons.

The political officers of the Army shall be appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers from among candidates nominated by the public political organisations.

(..)

4. The duties of political officers and officials under their command include:

a) introduction of soldiers to laws and instructions issued by the government and their explanation;

b) training of all soldiers of the army in the spirit of democratic changes of the state, as well as organisation and supervision of the socio-political work in the army;

c) strengthening of organisation and military discipline;

d) organisation and supervision of the military press.

The present law enters into force on the day of its a n n o u n c e m e n t .

Riga, 8 July 1940 *K. Ulmanis*, President of the State

[31]
Excerpts from the Order No. 0141 "On Formation of the Baltic Military District, Disbandment of the Kalinin Military District and Renaming the Belorussian Special Military District as the Western Special Military District" issued by S. Timoshenko, the USSR People's Commissar of Defense, on 11 July 1940

11 July 1940

ORDER No. 0141

On Formation of the Baltic Military District, Disbandment of the Kalinin Military District and Renaming the Belorussian Special Military District as the Western Special Military District

1. I hereby order that the Headquarters of the Baltic Military District stationed in Riga shall be formed till 1 August 1940.

(..)

3. Colonel-general A. Loktionov shall be appointed the commander of the Baltic Military District and lieutenant-general P. Klenov – the commander of the Military District's Headquarters.

4.Military units and institutions stationed in the territories of the Republics of Latvia and Lithuania and the western part of the Kalinin Region shall be included in the Baltic Military District.

(..)

8. A list of [those military] units, institutions and organisations shall be submitted to the commander of the Red Army's Headquarters, [which]:

a) shall be included in the Baltic Military District.

(..)

9. The report on the formation of the Baltic Military District shall be submitted to the army commander on 31 July 1940.

10. The order takes effect by telegraph.

S. Timoshenko
The USSR People's Commissar of Defense,
Marshal of the Soviet Union

[32]

Excerpts from the order on transformation of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Armies into territorial riflemen's corps issued by S. Timoshenko, the USSR People's Commissar of Defense, 17 August 1940

17 August 1940

With respect to the transformation of the armies of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian SSR, the Central Committee of the AUC(B)P and the Soviet of People's Commissars have taken the following decision:

1. The existing armies of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian SSR shall be kept for 1 year. Each army shall be cleared of unreliable elements and transformed into a territorial riflemen's corps, taking into consideration that the officers will accomplish mastering of the Russian language and further military training during this period of time. Afterwards, the territorial corps shall be changed by the exterritorial ones, established on general basis.

(..)

3. All military units and institutions together with all arms, transport and military property of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Armies shall be included in the corps to be formed. After transformation of the army, the remainder of the military property shall be transferred to the army's warehouses in good order on the basis of statements.

4. In order to strengthen the commanding and political personnel, the People's Commissariat of Defense shall be commissioned with the task to chose a part of officers and political staff from the Red Army's commanding and political personnel of the respective and Russian nationalities.

5. The Red Army's programmes and manuals shall be introduced in the transformed corps charging the People's Commissariat of Defense with the task to translate them into languages of the respective nationalities.

6. The transformed corps shall be included into the Red Army and placed under the command of the Region's commander: the 22nd riflemen's corps of the Estonian SSR, the 24th riflemen's corps of the Latvian SSR and the 29th infantry corps of the Lithuanian SSR.

7. The existing uniforms shall be preserved in the 22nd, 24th and 29th infantry corps recommending to take off shoulder-straps and introduce distinctive marks of the Red Army's officers.

8. In two months after transformation into corps, all personnel of the above corps shall take the military oath in accordance with the Decree on Procedure of Taking the

Military Oath issued by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 3 January 1939.

(..)

To execute the foregoing, I o r d e r:

(..)

5. In co-operation with the governments of the Union of Soviet Republics, the personnel of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Army shall be inspected and cleared of unreliable elements. The personnel records of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian officers – both those to be left in the army and the unreliable ones, who shall be pensioned off the army, – shall be sent to the Personnel Office of the Red Army.

(..)

S. Timoshenko
Marshal of the Soviet Union,
the USSR People's Commissar of Defense

B. Shapashnikov[1]
Marshal of the Soviet Union,
Commander of the Red Army's Headquarters

[1] That's how in document. Correct - B. Shaposhnikov.

[33]

Excerpt from "Declaration on State Power" of 21 July 1940

[21 July 1940]

Declaration on State Power

(..)

Expressing the will of all free Latvia's working people, the Saeima solemnly proclaims the establishment of Soviet power on the whole territory of Latvia.

With the adoption of the present Declaration by the Saeima, Latvia is being proclaimed the Soviet Socialist Republic. This decision of the Saeima enters into force immediately.

(..)

[34]
Excerpt from "Declaration on Latvia's Joining the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics" of 21 July 1940

[21 July 1940]

Declaration on Latvia's Joining the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics

(..)

Basing on the unanimously expressed will of the people of Latvia, the Saeima decides:

To ask the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to accept the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Soviet Union as a Soviet Republic[1] on the same terms as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian and other Union Soviet Socialist Republics are included in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(..)

[1] The highest administrative territorial unit in the USSR.

[35]

Satversme (Constitution) of the Republic of Latvia, Articles 1–3, 6 and 77

15 February 1922

Chapter 1
General provisions

1. Latvia is an independent democratic republic.

2. The sovereign power of the State of Latvia is vested in the people of Latvia.

3. The territory of the State of Latvia, within the borders established by international agreements, consists of Vidzeme, Latgale, Kurzeme and Zemgale.

(..)

Chapter 2
Saeima

6. The Saeima shall be elected in general, equal, direct and secret elections, based on proportional representation.

(..)

Chapter 5
Legislation

77. If the Saeima has amended the first, second, third, fourth, sixth or seventy-seventh Article of the Satversme, such amendments, in order to come into force as law, shall be submitted to a national referendum[1].

(..)

J. Čakste, President of the Constitutional Assembly
R. Ivanovs, Secretary of the Constitutional Assembly

[1] The wording of the law of 15 October 1998, effective since 6 November 1998. Before this date, in Chapter 77 there was not any reference to Chapter 4.

[36]
Statement of Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State of the United States of America

Released to the Press on July 23, 1940

During these past few days the devious processes whereunder the political independence and territorial integrity of the three small Baltic republics – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion.

From the day when the peoples of these republics first gained their independence and democratic form of government the people of the United States have watched their admirable progress in self-government with deep and sympathetic interest.

The policy of this Government is universally known. The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak.

These principles constitute the very foundations upon which the existing relationship between the 21 sovereign republics of the New World rests.

The United States will continue to stand by these principles, because of the conviction of the American people that unless the doctrine in which these principles are inherent once again governs the relations between nations, the rule of reason, of justice, and of law – in other words, the basis of modern civilization itself – cannot be preserved.

[37]
Law on the Nationalization of Banks and Big Industrial Enterprises, adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers on 25 July 1940

On 25 July 1940 the Cabinet of Ministers has adopted and the President of the State announces the following law:

Nationalization of banks and big industrial enterprises in the territory of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Cabinet of Ministers, in executing the 22 July 1940 declaration of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic's Saeima[1], resolves:

1. All banks, insurance companies, credit institutions, pawnshops and safes of private persons shall be nationalized.

2. Industrial enterprises shall be immediately nationalized according to the enclosed list[2].

3. State commissars shall be appointed in enterprises subject to nationalization and mentioned in the list. In industrial enterprises, which are big and of special importance from the state's economic point of view, the Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industry shall appoint commissars. In other enterprises, commissars shall be appointed by authorized for this purpose officials of the region with local trade unions' knowledge and approved in the position by the Minister.

4. Commissions consisting of 3–5 persons from among representatives of the Ministries of Finance and Commerce, trade unions and workers' committees shall be established to take over enterprises subject to nationalization.

5. Starting from the moment of issuing the law, all instructions of the owner or director of the enterprise and all documents, which come from the enterprise's owner or director, shall be invalid without a signature of the respective enterprise's commissar.

6. Duties of the bank commissars shall include the following: to supervise all bank accounts and securities of banks' credit institutions, to provide crediting of industry and business enterprises in the necessary operating extent.

7. Sums of money, which are necessary for normal work of industrial and commercial enterprises, shall be paid according to the orders of these enterprises, ap-

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[1] Declaration on the nationalization of banks and big industrial enterprises.

[2] Not published.

proved by the trade unions, but in each individual case only with a permit of the banks' commissars.

8. Not more than Ls 100 per month shall be paid to depositors from private persons' deposits in banks and credit institutions with the permit of the bank's commissar.

9. All precious metals, both in casts and articles, as well as jewels, which are in jewelry shops, shall be deposited with banks. The Minister of Finance is authorized to immediately issue a relevant instruction.

10. All administrative and technical personnel of the nationalized banks and industrial enterprises shall stay at their work and continue to execute their duties.

11. The Cabinet of Ministers reminds that each attempt of sabotage will be punished with all severity of law.

12. The Cabinet of Ministers calls upon all workers and civil servants and administrative and technical personnel of the nationalized enterprises and banks to take all efforts to promote further strengthening and flourishing of the national economy of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The present law enters into force on 25 July 1940.

Riga, 25 July 1940

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins,*
President of the State and Prime Minister

K. Karlsons,
Minister of Finance

[38]

Excerpt from the law on the nationalization of land, adopted on 29 July 1940 by the puppet government headed by A. Kirhenšteins, President of the State and Prime Minister

On 29 July 1940, the Cabinet of Ministers has adopted and the President of the State announces the following law:

Law on Land

1. The following land shall be passed on to the State Land Fund, which has been established by the 22 July 1940 Declaration on Proclaiming the Land as the People's Property, passed by the Saeima:

1) all previous state-owned farmland that is not directly necessary to the state;

2) all church, parish and monastery lands, regardless of their area;

3) the part of the previous owner's total land area that exceeds 30 hectares, except the land of people's enemies and that of land speculators that shall be passed on to the Fund in whole.

2. The State Land Fund shall be used for providing landless peasants and small holders with land, as well as to satisfy public needs in land.

3. Those small farms, which are smaller than the area indicated in Article 4, shall be enlarged up to the above area from the State Land Fund first.

4. The area of newly allotted farms shall not exceed 10 hectares.

5. The farms allotted from the State Land Fund shall be assigned to the citizens of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, whose main occupation was agriculture on 22 July 1940. In the same way farms shall be allotted to those citizens, who are in the obligatory active service and whose main occupation has been land cultivation before the day of their call-up.

6. All land of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, both that left to the previous owners and allotted from the State Fund, shall be passed on and assigned, by issuing relevant statements of the Land Register, to working peasants for use in their family up to the time, until any of their direct legal successors continues its cultivation.

7. The duty of each working peasant is to cultivate and improve the land under his use, to take care of and build up household buildings and to run all farm in accordance with the latest achievements in agriculture, devoting all his strength and knowledge to this work.

(..)

12. The present law enters into force from the day of its announcement.

30 July 1940

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins*,
President of the State

[39]

Excerpt from the minutes of the 26 July 1940 meeting of the puppet government, headed by the President of the State and Prime Minister A. Kirhenšteins

26 July 1940

(..)

10) Adopts the following instruction of the government:

"Latvian national economic interests require that all Latvian Merchant Fleet shall be in full disposal of the Latvian government. In order to warn masters of those ships, which are beyond the Baltic Sea waters, of treacherous action, the Latvian government orders all ship-owners and ship-masters the following:

1. Ships, which are in foreign waters, shall leave one port for another or enter one port from another only with a permit of the Latvian government.

2. Ships have no rights to enter American and British ports without the permit of the Latvian government.

3. Masters of ships, who violate the order of the Latvian government asking Latvian ships to return to their homeland, will be looked upon as traitors of the people and outlawed. Also their families and closest relatives will be called to account together with them.

Instructions of the government with respect to the shipping agency will be published with the signature of the Navigation Department's director and that of the respective civil servant."

Prime Minister *A. Kirhenšteins*
Acting Director of the Chancellery *V. Stalažs*

[40]

Excerpt from the minutes of the 23 July 1940 meeting of the Riga City Board on the renaming of streets and squares of Riga

23 July 1940

(..)

The chief elder J. Pupurs pointed out that Soviet Latvia has been established by the historic decision of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia, adopted on 21 July this year, and that it is desirable to immediately mark establishment of this new system by renaming some streets and squares in the city of Riga, putting off the question of revising names of all previous streets till later.

First of all, to mark the historic event of 17 June – entrance of the USSR troops in Latvia and Riga – the 15 May Square shall be renamed as "The 17 June Square".

Second, contribution of the USSR Red Army in liberation of the Latvian people from the fascist yoke shall be marked by renaming Aizsargi Street into "The Red Army Street".

Third, Proclamation of a Soviet power in Latvia on 21 July this year and joining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be marked by renaming the Vienības Square as "The 21 July Square".

Fourth, to praise the capital city of our common motherland, the present Latgale Street shall be renamed as "Moscow Street".

(..)

Elders of the city (signatures)
Members of the City Board (signatures)

Chief Elder (signature)
Secretary of the City (signature)

[41]
Excerpt from the Decree on Procedure for Admitting Citizens of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics to the USSR Citizenship, issued by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 7 September 1940

Moscow, the Kremlin, 7 September 1940

1. In accordance with Article 1 of the Law on Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 19 August 1938, it shall be determined that citizens of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics are the citizens of the USSR, starting from the day these republics have been accepted to the USSR.

2. Citizens of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics, who at the moment of issuing this decree are beyond the borders of the USSR and who have not been deprived of the citizenship by Soviet governments of these republics, not later than by 1 November 1940 shall register as Soviet citizens in authorized missions or consulates of the USSR either by appearing personally or sending a special application by mail and supplementing it with the national passport.

The above persons, who by 1 November 1940 will not have registered as Soviet citizens in authorized missions or consulates of the USSR, may be naturalized as Soviet citizens in accordance with the general practice provided by Article 3 of the Law on Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(..)

M. Kalinin, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet
A. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet

CHAPTER 3

The first period of Soviet occupation

The first period of the Soviet occupation (1940–1941) is known as the "Year of Horror".

Already in summer 1940, the liquidation of the independent Latvia's institutions and organizations started, as well as the nationalization of factories, workshops and private property of citizens. After the unlawful incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union, the liquidation of the sovereign state's institutions became extremely extensive (although since the moment of occupation these institutions had been turned into the puppet ones). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was liquidated hastily, the work of Latvian diplomatic missions abroad was stopped [42], the ambassadors, who did not obey the orders of occupants and local collaborationists, were outlawed as "high traitors"[1]. The Foreign Trade Department of the Ministry of Finance was liquidated, too [43]. That was how Latvia became completely isolated from foreign countries and subject to the mercy of occupants. It should be added that in Latvia, the actual power did not belong to the occupation self-government (the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR and the Soviet of People's Commissars (SPC) of the Latvian SSR, which had replaced the Cabinet of Ministers), but to V. Dereviansky, the special representative of the CC of AUC(B)P) [44].

The occupation self-government nationalized commercial enterprises [45], large houses [46], hospitals, chemist's shops and other enterprises [47]. The values, pawned or deposited with the court institutions, were nationalized, too [48, 49]. In March 1941, the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR and the Central Committee of the C(B)PL took a decision "On Nationalization of Values and Property which had Belonged to Private Owners, People's Enemies, Money-Lenders and Other Unworking Elements" [50]. It was a real robbery, implemented by the occupation self-government on the assignment of occupation power. In accordance with the decision concerning the annulment of currencies of the Baltic States, issued by the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars on 21 March 1941, many inhabitants of Latvia lost their deposits [51, 52, 53], which were appropriated by the "State of Workers".

Occupants established a strong monopoly of the Bolshevik State in the field of mass media [54, 55] by destroying the printed materials, records and paintings, which bore testimony of independent Latvia [56]. The associations, which were undesirable to occupants, were closed down [57] and the new ones, analogous to those of the USSR, were established [58]. Persecution of "people's enemies" was carried out.

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[1] In autumn 1940, 16 embassies and 194 consulates of the Republic of Latvia stopped their work.

Already during the first days of the occupation regime, reprisals against many political and public figures of the independent Latvia started [59]. In November 1940, the following legislative acts of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic took effect in the territory of Latvia: the criminal code, code of criminal procedure, as well as some other [60]. This had extremely tragic consequences, since those acts had retroactive effect. A special Internal Prison of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs was created for imprisonment and torturing of Latvian citizens [61]. During a short period of time, different repressive institutions increased the number of officers and employees, who had arrived from the USSR. By the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in February 1941, the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs was divided into two institutions – the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (known as NKVD) and People's Commissariat of State Security (NKGB). L. Beria was appointed the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, V. Merkulov – the People's Commissar of State Security. In its turn in Latvia, senior major of state security A. Noviks became the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, but captain of state security S. Shustin – the People's Commissar of State Security.

Preparing for the mass reprisals, a search for "compromising materials" started. Already on 23 October 1940, the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs issued a special order No, 001345 "On Use of Archival Materials in the Operational Work of Chekists". The heads of Archival Departments of the Commissariats of Internal Affairs of the occupied Baltic States received special instructions on "location and registration of counter-revolutionary elements". On 27 March 1941, the Main Archival Department of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs issued an instruction No. 2/1325 on compilation of "a list-reference book", which had to include information on former secret police employees, who had worked in institutions of political investigation. In April 1941, the collection of compromising information on " the elements alien to the Soviet power" became especially active [62].

This collection of information had a terrifying continuation. During a short period of time, many state and public figures, leaders of the Aizsargi organization [63], officers of the army [64, 65], employees of schools [66] and pupils [67] were subject to repression. To many of them the death penalty was executed here in Latvia; thus, for instance, O. Cielēns, the former officer of the Information Department of the Latvian Army's Headquarters was shot on 18 January 1941 [68, 69], the retired General, head of the Latvian boy-scouts K. Goppers – on 25 March 1941 [70, 71]. H. Celmiņš, the former Prime Minister of Latvia, was taken away to Moscow and shot on 30 July 1941 [72]. The former President of the Republic of Latvia K. Ulmanis was taken away and displaced in the Northern Caucasus, where in July 1941 he was arrested [73].

Chekists took away the last personal belongings from the worn-out and already dying outstanding Latvian statesman [74]. Soon afterwards K. Ulmanis died [75], the place of his grave in the Krasnovodsk city cemetery (Turkmenbashi) is still unknown.

During the Year of Horror, a wide-scale operation of deportation was prepared [76] in Latvia and in other occupied Baltic States, likewise in Western Ukraine, Western Belorussia and Moldavia, joined to the Soviet Union in 1939–1940. Its implementation was based on instructions, issued by I. Serov, deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR [77]. The USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs had prepared a special "plan of measures" for this operation, according to which all persons subject to deportation were divided into 10 categories. It was planned to send a part of these persons to prison camps, but others had to be displaced for 20 years. During deportation, men were separated from their families and sent to prison camps, but women and children – to places of special displacement in Siberia.

In Western Ukraine, deportation took place on 22 May 1941, in Moldavia – on 13 June, but in Western Belorussia – on 20 June. In Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia this operation of genocide was implemented on 14 June 1941 [78, 79].

On 14 June 1941, 9992 persons were deported from Latvia to Siberia, but 4202 persons were arrested. The arrested citizens of Latvia (whom the occupation power had declared the citizens of the USSR though) were driven to different prison camps, where conditions were inhuman and hard. Often the arrested persons were put together with criminals, who together with jailers humiliated them in different ways. The arrestees had to work in coal-pits, felling areas of the Siberian taiga, as well as in other places. The output standards were so high, that the arrestees, suffering from starvation and diseases, could not fulfill them. Their food rations were reduced because of that purpose. This was the reason for the death of many prisoners, especially many of them died in winter 1941/42 and spring 1942.

Latvian citizens, who had been driven in prisons and prison camps of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, were tried mainly in 1941 and 1942. Many of them were sentenced to death, others – to long term of imprisonment, after serving of which they were sent to the places of special displacement. The life of deportees there, especially of those, deported in winter 1941, was extremely hard [80, 81].

Children deported in 1941, who had become orphans or semi-orphans and had not reached 16 years of age, in 1946 and 1947 were sent back to Latvia and handed over to their relatives' families or left in children's homes. The survived adults, deported in 1941, could return to Latvia only in the middle of the fifties. Yet it was forbidden for a part of deportees to return to their motherland even till the seventies.

Archival documents give proof that the continuation of the 14 June deportation was being prepared in summer 1941. New lists of "pernicious elements" had been prepared. In the Riga Model Printing-Works, no. 11, Moscow Street, deportation documents had been printed in 26 000 copies in June 1941...

[42–44] Liquidation of the state institutions of Latvia. Establishment of the institutions of occupation administration

[42]

Decision on the termination of Latvian Representation abroad by P. Briedis, Chairman of the Latvian SSR Saeima

On 8 August 1940, the Cabinet of Ministers has adopted and the President of the State announces the following decision:

DECISION

On Termination of Latvian Representation Abroad

1. With respect to the decision of 5 August 1940 taken by the 7th Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on admitting the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, activities of the Latvian legations, missions and consulates shall be terminated in the third countries starting from this day on.

2. The government of Latvia charges all Latvian legations and consulates abroad of the enclosed list[1] with the task to hand over immediately archives and all property of the legations (consulates) to the representation (or consulate) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the respective state.

3. To recommend the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to inform officially, on behalf of the government, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of those countries, where there are Latvian legations and consulates, about the termination of the representation activities.

The consulates shall respectively inform the local bodies about the termination of their activities and transference of documents to the Soviet consulate.

4. After transference of archives and property to the mission (consulate) of the USSR, employees of the legation (consulate) in full complement shall immediately return to their homeland.

The decision takes effect on 6 August 1940.

P. Briedis, Chairman of the Saeima,
Acting President of the State

[1] Not published.

[43]
Resolution of the Latvian SSR Cabinet of Ministers on Liquidation of the Foreign Trade Department of the Ministry of Finance, 24 August 1940

DECISION

On Liquidation of the Foreign Trade Department of the Ministry of Finance

With respect to the fact that in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the foreign trade, realized on the basis of the state monopoly, is under jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the person of its supreme authorities and state administrative bodies and that in the future, all matters of the foreign trade of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic will be realized by the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union and its authorized representative at the government of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Cabinet of Ministers r e s o l v e s:

The Minister of Finance shall:

1. Liquidate the Foreign Trade Department of the Ministry of Finance by transferring the department's business correspondence and archives to the authorized representative of the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade at the government of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic.

2. Transfer the Customs Department of the Ministry of Finance, custom-houses and all other customs' supervisory bodies with all their property (warehouses, loading-unloading facilities, means of transportation, office and auxiliary buildings, etc.) under supervision of the Chief Customs Department of the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade.

This decision enters into force on 25 August 1940.

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins*,
Prime Minister

K. Karlsons, Minister of Finance

[44]

Resolution of CC of AUC(B)P and the USSR SPC on Approving the Authorized Representatives in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 16 September 1940

SECRET

Moscow, the Kremlin, 16 September 1940

Central Committee of the AUC(B)P and the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars

RESOLUTION No. 1716–688-s.

On Authorized Representatives of the CC of AUC(B) and the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars in the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet Republics

The CC of AUC(B)P and the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars r e s o l v e:

To approve:

c. V. Bochkariov – as the authorized representative of the CC of AUC(B)P and the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars in the Estonian SSR;

c. V. Dereviansky – as the authorized representative of the CC of AUC(B)P and the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars in the Latvian SSR;

c N. Pozdniakov – as the authorized representative of the CC of AUC(B)P and the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars in the Lithuanian SSR.

J. Stalin
Secretary of the Central Committee of the AUC(B)P

V. Molotov
Chairman of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars

[45–53] Nationalization of private enterprises and buildings, depriving inhabitants of their monetary savings and values

[45]

Decree on the Nationalization of the Commercial Enterprises of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, 28 September 1940

Riga, 28 September 1940

In order to develop the state–co-operative trade, improve the service of inhabitants and fight against profiteering, the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, basing on the Latvian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), r e s o l v e s:

1. Commercial enterprises with annual turnover 100 000 lats and above (i. e., enterprises of category 1 and 2) shall be nationalized.

2. The Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars shall compile the list of the commercial enterprises and institutions subject to nationalization in accordance with paragraph 1 of the present decree.

3. This decree takes effect on 28 September 1940.

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins*,
Chairman of the Presidium,
The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

P. Blaus,
Secretary of the Presidium,
The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

[46]

Decree on nationalization of the large houses, issued by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, 28 October 1940

Riga, 28 October 1940

1. In accordance with Article 6 of the Latvian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), the large houses shall be nationalized in towns and industrial centers.

2. The houses with the useful total space above the following:

in towns: Riga, Liepāja, Ventspils, Jelgava and Daugavpils – 220 sq. m;

in other towns and industrial centers – 170 sq. m

shall be subject to nationalization.

3. Regardless of the size of the area, the following houses together with all buildings shall be subject to nationalization:

a) houses, the owners of which have fled to foreign countries;

b) houses, which are of public historical or artistic value, and

c) houses, which are occupied by the state institutions.

4. The Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR shall approve the list of houses subject to nationalization according to paragraph 3 of the present decree, as well as determine the procedure and term of the nationalization and transference of houses under administration of the central bodies and local Soviets.

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins*,
Chairman of the Presidium,
The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

P. Blaus,
Secretary of the Presidium,
The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

[47]

Decree on the nationalization of private cinemas, hotels, pharmacies, pharmacy storehouses and the enterprises of chemical-pharmaceutical industry, issued by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, 28 October 1940

Riga, 28 October 1940

In accordance with Article 6 of the Latvian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet r e s o l v e s:

1. The following shall be subject to nationalization:

a) all private cinemas, film renting offices with all their possessions, as well as the mobile cinematographic equipment;

b) all hotels with 10 and more rooms and which are located in: Riga, Liepāja, Ventspils, Jelgava, Daugavpils and all towns of districts;

c) private hospitals, health centers, pharmacies, pharmacy storehouses and enterprises of chemical-pharmaceutical industry.

2. The Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars shall approve a list of enterprises and institutions subject to nationalization in accordance with Article 1, paragraphs a), b) and c) of the present decree.

3. This decree enters into force on 28 October 1940.

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins*,
Chairman of the Presidium,
The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

P. Blaus,
Secretary of the Presidium,
The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

[48]

Decree on the nationalization of values pawned or deposited with pawnshops and court institutions, issued by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, 8 October 1940

Riga, 8 October 1940

1. Gold, silver and jewels, as well as articles made of these precious metals and stones, pawned or deposited with pawnshops, except those of Article 2, shall be nationalized and become a state property without compensation. These values shall be transferred to the state fund of gold.

2. The jewelry of the market price not over Ls 300 for one article may be handed out to pawners and depositors, besides the total value of articles handed out to one person shall not exceed Ls 1000.

3. The market price of articles to be handed out shall be determined by the commission appointed by the People's Commissar of Finance. Claims on decisions of this commission shall be submitted to the People's Commissar of Finance, who resolves them finally.

4. In order to execute the present decree, the People's Commissar of Finance may issue orders and instructions.

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins*,
Chairman of the Presidium,
The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

P. Blaus,
Secretary of the Presidium,
The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

[49]

E. Baldermanis' Petition with respect to his pawned ring's nationalization, 15 November 1940

To: SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE LATVIAN SSR

from Emīls Baldermanis,
residing at No. 1, flat 1 Kaunas street, Riga

Petition

In order to cover expenses of my wife's treatment in hospital and during the hard post-operation period at home, I pawned 1) a gold watch with a chain and 2) a golden ring with one faulty diamond with the Riga Pawnshop, for what I received a loan of Ls 500.

The pawnshop handed me the watch for Ls 300, but nationalized the ring for the reason that the ring's value (see statement No. 0195)[1] as if was Ls 600.

In reply to my objection, on 31 October this year, the Division of Credits of the Bank, Budget and Credit Department, People's Commissariat of Finance, by its letter No. Bk/v. 3–3 informed me that the Deputy People's Commissar of Finance had rejected my appeal with the motivation that the nationalized ring exceeded the value fixed in Article 2 of the Decree on Values Pawned or Deposited with Pawnshops and Court Institutions of 8 October this year.

I cannot be satisfied with the above decision of the People's Commissar of Finance.

The motives by which I was forced to pawn my sole values have already been expressed in my petition addressed to the People's Commissar of Finance. Besides, it is necessary to add that my wife's operation, even two operations, were a struggle of life and death. The skill of doctors gained the upper hand, but my wife's health improved little by little. During the period of her recovery, she had to observe a strict diet and has to do it still now. She has to observe doctor's prescriptions, use medicine, etc. that all requires extra expenses. Yet I haven't such sources of income, since apart from my ill wife, I have to maintain also a 71 years old invalid mother-in-law. In such a way, the existence of two ill persons depends on my well-being.

On the other hand, I cannot overcome my doubt concerning the motivation of the ring's nationalization.

As it had already been mentioned, the pawnshop lent me Ls 500 for the watch and

[1] Not published.

ring. The watch was handed out to me for Ls 300, so the loan of Ls 200 was left for the ring. How could the price of the ring reach Ls 600 as of 21 October, when the pawnshop gave for it the loan of only Ls 200? If it could be possible to fix the price of the ring, then it could be done only after its assessment by the pawnshop at the pawning. First of all, the price of diamonds is a relative notion, and a definite criterion does not exist at all and cannot exist. The market price depends on the buyer's desire to acquire a certain jewel and the dealer's ability to recommend the thing and get a higher pay. In my case (see statement No. 0195), the nationalized ring has a faulty diamond, respectively, its value is 50–80% below the usual market price.

It should also be taken into consideration that the ring is a dear memory from my late father, who had acquired it through hard and persistent labour, working as a specialist technician in the glass-works till the end of his life. Article 10 of the Latvian SSR Constitution (that is based on the Constitution of the Great Stalin) declares that citizens' personal property rights to income and savings resulting from their work and articles of comfort are protected by law, but Article 12 points out the principle "From everybody according to his abilities, to everybody – according to his work". The nationalized property is acquired through work. I pawned it not to the purpose of keeping, but forced by hard conditions. Now, with the nationalization of this possession, the hard conditions are being still intensified and my material position is getting worse. If I had not had such conditions, the possession would not have come to the pawnshop and would not have been nationalized (..).

With respect to the above, I would like to ask the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars to cancel the decision of the People's Commissar of Finance about my ring's confiscation (..)

(..)

Riga, 15 November 1940

E. Baldermanis

[50]
Decision on Nationalization of Values and Property issued by the Latvian SSR SPC and CC of C(B)PL, 29 March 1941

No. 689-ss 29 March 1941

The Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars and Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

DECISION

On Nationalization of Values and Property which had belonged to Private Owners, People's Enemies, Money-Lenders and other Unworking Elements

Considering it as inadmissible that the former upper bourgeoisie – the factory owners, manufacturers, bankers, merchants, money-lenders, owners of houses and other unworking elements, who have become rich by exploiting the working class and peasantry, continue living on non-working income by dealing with profiteering and selling of the values – as precious metals, jewels, artistic historical paintings, sculptures, carpets, different pieces of furniture, fabrics, clothes, musical instruments, etc. – which they have in store and which have been created by the labour of workers and peasants, the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars and CC of the C(B)P of Latvia, basing on the decrees of 28 October 1940, issued by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, r e s o l v e:

1. The following values shall be nationalized:

a) of those persons, whose real estate has been nationalized in accordance with decrees issued by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet;

b) of the people's enemies;

c) of money-lenders and other unworking elements.

2. All values which are excessive for domestic life and which have been materialized in great amount of precious metals and currency, jewels, different pieces of furniture, artistic paintings, fabrics, carpets, clothes, musical instruments, etc. and which for their owner is a source of non-working income, are subject to nationalization.

3. The commission of the following composition shall be approved to run the nationalization: c. Ameriks (Chairman of the commission), members of the commission ...[1]

4. Within 10 days the commission in co-operation with the chairmen of the executive committees of towns and districts shall prepare the lists of all persons indicated in paragraph 1 of the present decision.

5. The commission shall be recommended to prepare and hand in for approval, within two days, instructions on the procedure and terms of the nationalization.

29/III41.

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[1] Not indicated in the document.

[51]

Decision on annulling the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian currencies issued by the USSR SPC, 21 March 1941

Moscow, the Kremlin 21 March 1941

The USSR Soviet of People's Commissars
DECISION No. 634–270–s
On Annulling Currencies of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian SSR

The USSR Soviet of People's Commissars r e s o l v e s:

With respect to the fact that the Soviet currency has been put into operation in the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian SSR and all calculations are being done in the Soviet currency, starting from 25 March 1941 lits, lats and crowns shall be declared annulled.

On 25 March 1941, the Soviets of People's Commissars of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian SSR shall publish a relevant announcement in the news items of the local press.

V. Molotov, Chairman of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars

Y. Chadayev, Administrative Director of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars

Notes in the document:
To file. V. Lācis. 1941.25.03.

[52]

H. Rudzītis' request to deliver him the confiscated money resources

Helmārs R u d z ī t i s,
residing in 14–3 Ausekļu[1] street, Riga

To: People's Commissar of Finance of the Latvian SSR

(..)

All my property including all sums of money has been nationalized, I myself am a labourer now at a records' factory "Bellacord-Electro" and receive 500 rubles per month.

With Dept. II of the Bank of Latvia my father and I had deposited private means in total amount of about 17 000 rubles. We left this sum untouched, but kept it for paying taxes and wanted to transfer the taxes in due term. When I applied to Dept. II of the Bank of Latvia, it turned out that these sums had been written off and only 1000 rubles had been left. The above sums deposited with Dept. II of the Bank of Latvia were my sole property by which I could cover tax payments. Having these sums written off, I shall not be able to pay taxes at my best will.

I have handed over all my enterprises in exemplary condition and without any debts. So far, I have paid also all my taxes and would have paid also the remainder unless my last resources were confiscated. I have handed over to the state considerable values and think that it won't be fair to take away also the last resources meant for paying taxes, then to commit me to trial as a non-payer of taxes and take away also the furniture, the value of which is far not sufficient to cover the sum of taxes. The State of Socialism is based on the principles of justice that lie at the bases of Stalin's Constitution. That is why such an action could not be admissible.

According to my social origin, I am the son of a worker and attained prosperity only through the idea of giving good books to the people at low price. (..)

(..)

Riga, 3 May 1941

H. Rudzītis

[1] In document. Correct: Ausekļa street.

[53]

Refusal of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Finance to hand out the confiscated money resources to H. Rudzītis, 4 June 1941

4 June 1941
No. 5667

To: cit Helmārs R u d z ī t i s

Ausekļa 14–3, Riga

In reply to your request I wish to inform you that in accordance with the decision issued by the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars lats are annulled from 25 March 1941 and payments from the bank accounts and deposits, which have been opened in lats and according to the fixed rate exceed 1000 rubles, are made in Soviet rubles in the sum below 1000 rubles.

Taking into consideration the above, your request cannot be satisfied.

A. Buciņš,
Senior inspector of the PCF
Administration Department

[54]

Decision On Annulling Licenses of Periodicals and Publishing the Periodicals, issued by the Latvian SSR Cabinet of Ministers, 9 August 1940

9 August 1940

Cabinet of Ministers
DECISION
On Annulling the Licenses of Periodicals and Publishing the Periodicals

With respect to the fact that the Press and Public Department has been liquidated and the Central Board of Literature has been established, the Cabinet of Ministers announces all former licenses of periodicals annulled. Starting from 10 August, the Cabinet of Ministers a l l o w s the publication of the following periodicals:

Cīņa (Struggle)
Proletarskaya Pravda (Proletarian Truth, in Russian)
Brīvais Zemnieks (The Free Peasant)
Padomju Latvija (Soviet Latvia)
Trudovaya Gazeta (Labour Newspaper, in Russian)
Darbs (Labour)
Sarkanais Kareivis (The Red Soldier)
Valdības Vēstnesis (Government Herald)
Sarkanais Sports (The Red Sport)
Pionieris (A Pioneer)
Rizhskii Krokodil (The Riga Crocodile, in Russian)
Brīvā Jaunatne (The Free Youth)
Sarkanā Palīdzība (The Red Aid)
Aģitators un Propagandists (Agitator and Propagandist)
Lokomotīve (Locomotive)
Darba Sieviete (The Working Woman)
Taisneiba (The Truth)
Latgalskaya Pravda (The Truth of Latgale, in Russian)
Liesma (The Flame)
Brīvā Daugava (The Free Daugava)
Zemgales Komunists (The Communist of Zemgale)
Komunists (A Communist)
Brīvā Venta (The Free Venta)

Talsu Apriņķa Ziņotājs (Bulletin of the Talsi District)
Karogs (The Banner)
Atpūta (Recreation)
Latvijas Skola (School of Latvia)
Valsts Statistikas Pārvaldes Biļetens (Bulletin of the State Statistical Board)
Radio Vilnis (Radio Wave)
Darba Zemnieks (The Working Peasant)

V. Lācis,
Acting Prime Minister,
Minister of the Interior

A. Jablonskis,
Acting Minister of Public Affairs,
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

[55]

Law on Central Board of Literature, 9 August 1940

On 9 August 1940, the Cabinet of Ministers has adopted
and President of the State announces
the following law:

Law on Central Board of Literature

1. The Central Board of Literature is within the structure of the Ministry of the Interior. It is in charge of and exercises control over the content and technical side of:

1) printed matters produced by mechanic or chemical means;

2) articles meant for dissemination, multiplication of reproductions or musical produce;

3) printed production imported from abroad.

2. The Central Board of Literature is run by the head of the Board appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers.

3. Political editors of editorial offices and publishing houses are in charge of the content of the periodical and non-periodical issues, but technical editors – of the technical accomplishment.

Note: Political editors may work also in separate printing-works.

4. Political editors are appointed by the head of the Central Board of Literature.

The responsible manager of the printing-works or workshop sends the first 20 copies of a periodical and the first 15 copies of a non-periodical issue, and 2 copies produced by photographic or other means, to the Central Board of Literature – in Riga, but in other places – to the head of the local people's militia, who immediately sends the received copies to the Central Board of Literature. Simultaneously, the editor-in-charge of the printing-works shall provide information about the number of printed copies of the non-periodical issue, but on request of the Central Board of Literature or the head of the local militia – also of the periodical one.

6. In order to inspect the produced and spread printed production, the Post-Control Bureau is established at the Central Board of Literature. The head of the Bureau is appointed by the Minister of the Interior on recommendation of the head of the Board.

7. The Minister of the Interior shall issue more detailed regulations to put this law into practice.

The present law takes effect on the day of its a n n o u n c e m e n t.

Riga, 10 August 1940

P. Briedis, Chairman of the Saeima,
Acting President of the State

[56]

Instructions prohibiting the use of printed production undesirable to the occupation regime issued by V. Lācis, the Latvian SSR Minister of the Interior, and J. Niedre, Head of the Central Board of Literature

Riga, 26 August 1940

Minister of the Interior
Instruction

All chiefs of the people's militia with the knowledge of committees of the local CPL Organizations and political officers of the local Red Army units, within 10 days from the present instruction's publication, shall prohibit the use of and take out of shops, second-hand bookshops, libraries and news-stalls all fiction and scientific books and those of practical content, magazines, brochures, leaflets, postcards, songs, paintings and other printed production, the content of which is in opposition to the Soviet system, Marxist world outlook, or praises the former plutocratic regime or views of the White Guards. The use of the printed production shall be prohibited regardless of the language or country of their issue. The use of the pornographic and third rate literature (trash, that of the "Orient"[1], etc.) shall be prohibited, too. The former owners or holders of the collected printed production shall be delivered receipts. The materials shall be sent to the Central Board of Literature in Riga without delay.

V. Lācis, Minister of the Interior

J. Niedre, H[ead] of the Centr[al] B[oard] of L[iterature]

[1] Name of the publishers.

[57]
Announcement concerning the liquidation of associations, 14 April 1941

[14 April 1941]

The Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars
Committee for the Liquidation of Associations
ANNOUNCEMENT[1]

The Committee for the Liquidation of Associations at the Soviet of People's Commissars, in accordance with the law on non-profit associations and their branches, informs that:

1) the Riga Jewish Beneficial Society "Care of the Sick" (*Bikur-Holim*),
2) the society "Memorial Fund of Aleksandrs Būmanis",
3) the Senior Fellows' Society of the University of Latvia Students' Union "Montania",
4) the Latvian Trade Union of Workers Employed in Transport,
5) the Latvian Society of Taxi-Cars,
6) the Riga Russian Beneficial Society,
7) the Riga Beneficial Society of Jewish Women,
8) the society "The British Club of Riga",
9) the Latvian Society of Lithuanian Youth "Laisve",
10) the society "Memorial Fund of Ansis Bandrevičs",
11) the Latvian Society of Animal Protection,
12) the Riga Jews' Charity Society "A Friend of the Poor",
13) Friendship Society of the Riga Jews,
14) the society "The German Club" (*Deutscher Klub*),
15) the University of Latvia Students' Union "Fraternitas Rusticana",
16) the Society of the University of Latvia Students' Union "Fraternitas Rusticana",
17) the University of Latvia Students' Union "Fraternity Fraternitas Livonica",
18) the University of Latvia Jewish Students' Union "Hasmonaea",
19) the Society of the University of Latvia Jewish Students Union "Hasmonaea",
20) the Riga Tourists' Society,
21) the Riga Society of Jewish Schools,
22) the Central Bureau of the Riga Trade Unions,

[1] The present Announcement is not the only one. Only a small part of the liquidated associations are mentioned here.

23) the society "Alms-House" (*Meishav-Zkeinim*),
24) the Union of Clothing Industry Workers of Latvia,
25) the Riga Practical Doctors' Society,
26) the Library Society of the Ministry of Agriculture,
27) the Health Supporting Society,
28) the Vidzeme Patronage Society
are liquidated completely.

K. Beierbahs, Dep[uty] Chairman,
Committee for the Liquidation of Associations

A. Zvirbulis, Expert

[58]

Information on activities of the Active Atheists' Society

Atheists Become Organized

The call of the "Active Atheists' Society" has got response from all LSSR. The organization of atheists winds up its main organizational activities. Instructions have already been sent to all districts. Chairman of the "Active Atheists' Society" c. Līdaka has delivered a report on the goals and meaning of the atheists' organization in Jelgava. By 1 March, all atheists' circles have to register in the "Active Atheists' Society" of their enterprises.

The "Rīgas audums" (factory in Riga) is one of the first enterprises, where the primary organization of the "Active Atheists' Society" has been founded. It has already had several meetings. There are 16 members in the primary organization. The first report "Attitude of the AUC(B)P Towards Religion" was delivered by c. Bramanis, secretary of the "Rīgas audums" Party primary organization. The evening of questions was organized, too, during which the members told how they became atheists. The next meeting of atheists will be devoted to the origin of religion. It is intended to hold the meetings of atheists right after those of activists so that the interested persons could stay and listen to the reports of atheists and become members of the primary organization with the time. Applications with requests to be admitted as members [of the organization] are coming from all parts.

(..)

[59]

Decision on the arrest of R. Bulsons, former acting director of the Chancellery, by V. Latkovskis, Chief of the Political Police Agency, 25 July 1940

No. 7/152 25 July 1940

DECISION

On 25 July 1940, I, Chief of the Political Police Agency, having reviewed the reference on the case of Roberts Bulsons (b. on 1 November 1889, in Riga, a citizen of Latvia, res. in 24, flat 4, Ernestines street, Riga) and taking into consideration that Roberts Bulsons practices activity that harms the state security interests, and basing on A[rticle] 31 of the Police Order and A[rticle] 8 of the Law on the Central Criminal Police,

d e c i d e d:

Roberts Bulsons shall be arrested and imprisoned in the arrest premises of the Political Police Agency, putting him at the disposal of the Agency.

V. Latkovskis,
Head of the Political Police Agency

G. Donhin,
Head of the Invest[igation] Dep[artment]

R. Bulsons
30 July 1940

Copied correctly: *A. Klēbergs,*
Clerk of the Invest[igation] Dep[artment],
Polit[ical] Pol[ice] Ag[ency]

[60]

Announcement concerning application of the RSFSR Criminal, Criminal Procedure, Civil, Civil Procedure, Labour and Matrimony, Family and Guardianship Codes in the territory of the Latvian SSR, issued by the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars, 25 November 1940

Riga, 25 November 1940

In compliance with the Decree on Provisional Application of the RSFSR Criminal, Civil and Labour Law in the Territories of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics, issued by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 6 November 1940 ("Bulletin of the USSR Supreme Soviet", No. 46, 18 Nov. 1940), the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars gives the following information meant for knowledge and execution:

1. Temporarily, until the All Union Codes are issued, starting from 26 November 1940, the following RSFSR Codes shall be applied in the territory of the Latvian SSR: the Criminal, Criminal Procedure, Civil, Civil Procedure, Labour Code and Matrimony, Family and Guardianship Law.

2. Sentences, passed by courts in criminal and civil cases prior to establishment of a Soviet power in Latvia and which have not been executed, shall not be executed.

Judicial bodies of the Latvian SSR shall review these cases anew in compliance with the temporarily valid Codes of the RSFSR.

3. Calling to criminal liability for crimes, committed in the territory of Latvia before establishment of the Soviet power, as well as investigation and completion of proceedings, taken by relevant Latvian bodies prior to establishment of the Soviet power, as well as advancing them according to the cognizance, shall be done in accordance with the RSFSR Codes.

4. The judicial bodies of the Latvian SSR shall review the property cases concerning civil and other legal relations, regardless of the time of their origin, in compliance with the temporarily valid RSFSR Codes and other laws and regulations of the USSR government and that of the Latvian SSR.

V. Lācis
Chairman, Latvian SSR
Soviet of People's Commissars

A. Jablonskis
People's Commissar of Justice
of the Latvian SSR

[61]

Fragment from the article by Z. Indrikovs on the activities of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in 1940

Incorporation of Latvia into the USSR was made legal on 21 July 1940 in Riga (Declaration of the People's Saeima concerning joining the USSR), on 5 August in Moscow (Law of the USSR Supreme Council on admission of the Latvian SSR to the USSR) and on 25 August in Riga (Resolution of the extraordinary session of the People's Saeima concerning the approval of the Latvian SSR Constitution). Although on 26 August, the new government (already officially the Soviet one) was approved – the Soviet of People's Commissars, yet the common republican commissariats were not formed according to a decision of the People's Saeima or Soviet of People's Commissars, but only when the order of the respective USSR People's Commissariat was received from Moscow.

Such order on the formation of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs was issued on 30 August 1940 (No. 001072). Alfons Noviks was appointed the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs by the same order. (It should be added that the rank of a senior major*[1] of state security was granted to him only on 15 February 1941.) Only after the receipt of this order on 3 September, the first order of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs concerning the staff was issued. By this order the leading officials were appointed to the main departments of commissariats: to the State Security Directorate's Second and Third Department, Second Special Department. Economic Department and Investigation Department, as well as to the Commissariat's First Special Department, Third Department, Water Department[2] , Administrative Managerial Department and the Motor Transport Department, and Secretariat.

As chiefs of these units were appointed both the local communists – E. Gavars, M. Rozentāls, E. Briedis, K. Kroms, D. Opincāns, J. Piesis, A. Anachinok, and employees of the state security institutions sent from the internal regions of the USSR – I. Vorobiov (Second Special), D. Yefimov (Water), A. Ivanov (Administrative Managerial), Yermolayev[3] (Commandant's Office) and Y. Bakaleinik (Secretariat). It is indicative that already on 3 September, mainly employees of the state security

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* Footnotes of the author have been preserved in the document.

[1] Similar to the military of rank a colonel.

[2] The State Security Administration's Department which supervised the sea- and river ports of the Latvian SSR.

[3] Evidently the order was signed on the basis of the USSR NKVD telegram concerning appointing at the disposal of the Latvian SSR NKVD, when the Personnel Office and the commissar himself did not know the name and patronymic of the appointee, also Yermolayev himself had not arrived in Latvia yet.

institutions sent from Moscow, who had not had any previous links with Latvia, were appointed deputies, senior specialists and specialists of all these structural units.

Already in September, the new system and structure of the state security institutions (to fit the model of the USSR) was created, officials were appointed in the center (Riga), as well as in towns and districts. In September and October, the personnel of prisons was changed, but in November and December – mass replacement of that of the militia was started.

(..)

This time I wish to turn readers' attention to a document, which shows the essence and aim of the new Soviet power in Latvia. It is the order No. 13 "On Opening the Internal Prison of the Latvian SSR NKVD" issued by the Latvian SSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs A. Noviks on 9 November 1940. So the first steps made by the NKVD of the Latvian SSR and its head A. Noviks were not meant only for the change of personnel, but also to prepare the "material basis" for reprisals. Within an extremely short period – two months, the underground prison was built in Riga, Brīvības street 37/39[1]. Since November 1940 through the following 50 years, this prison has been a place of torment for the best sons and daughters of Latvia, but lives of many of them came abruptly to an end there.

Sergeant of State Security[2] V. G. Zevin, operational representative of the Prison Department, became the first warden of this prison. During a month, the prison's personnel was completed and began "to work". (..)

Commissariat of the Internal Affairs
of the Latvian SSR
Riga

9 November 1940

ORDER No. 13

The newly built Internal Prison of the Latvian SSR NKVD shall be considered accepted and transferred under the authority of the Prison Department of the LSSR NKVD.

I o r d e r:

1. Head of the LSSR NKVD Prison Department c. Grīnbergs[3] shall temporarily (till approval of the personnel lists) make up the necessary staff of the prison, and the

[1] 61 Brīvības now.

[2] Coresponds to the military rank of a lientenant.

[3] Kārlis Gotfrīds' son Grīnbergs was appointed the head of the NKVD Prison Department from 1 September 1940.

Internal Prison, until its approval by the USSR NKVD order, shall be looked upon as the functioning one from 9 November 1940.

2. Sergeant of state security c. V. G. Zevin, operational representative of the Prison Department, LSSR NKVD, shall be appointed acting warden of the Internal Prison.

Noviks
Latvian SSR People's Commissar of
Internal Affairs

[62]

Fragment from the article by E. Rumba on the collection of compromising information on "the hostile elements"

In April 1941, particularly active mass collection of information on the so-called elements hostile to the Soviet power took place. This information could be looked upon as the compromising one only in understanding of the Stalinist regime's functionaries and some other "Soviet citizens" influenced by them. Certificates were issued the activists of the Communist Party, Soviet bodies, a. o., which proved their rights to collect information from street-sweepers, house managers, as well as their deputies, on inhabitants of the respective district. The inhabitants themselves had a right to collect reports on one another, too.

In order to have the idea about the content of these reports, hereinafter we give some materials from the file of informative documents of the Riga Lenin's District Committee of the Communist Party on "houseowners and other persons".

"Ēriksons Marija, 75–1 Slokas street. Have earned their house by their own means. The husband had been a blacksmith. She had worked as a maid. Later had owned a butcher's table in the Central Market. Besides, is not selling now. In winter, acted as a street-sweeper and received a pay of 30 rubles, now it has also been taken away. Has come in difficult material situation, since the flat consists of 2 rooms of about 30 sq. m." Yet she is put on a list.

"Balodis Pēteris, 4-3 Vīlipa street. Resides in 3 rooms, 5 persons, rich furniture. The house has been nationalized. He himself is occupied with selling in the Central Market, a butcher's table 4 sq. m. 11. IV 41. B. Dukaļskis." There is a note concerning B. Dukaļskis in the list: "A houseowner. From a worker's family."

"Mucenieks Kārlis, No. 74 Slokas street. One daughter works in a department store[1], the other – in a utilities company. He himself takes a position of a street-sweeper, for what receives pay of 50 rubles. The flat consists of 3 rooms for 5 persons, about 45 sq. m, of pleasant sight." A note in the list: "Owns a house and a shop. Has been a shop-keeper before. Now – a street-sweeper of his own house."

The collection of information concerning this particular case had resulted in a list of 222 unreliable persons (without family members), there were private owners, representatives of creative intelligentsia, civil servants and public figures of the independent Latvia, former officers of the Latvian Army, and, according to canons of those days, other harmful citizens.

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[1] The word "univermag" translated directly from Russian is used here.

Collection of compromising information took place also in working places. It was organized and carried out by the representative of the Communist Party, trade unions a. o. public organizations, volunteer informers showed their initiative, too. Collection of information was carried out uninterruptedly, also after the events of 14 June and when the war began.

[63]
Excerpts from the collection of documents and memoirs "Latviešu karavīrs Otrā pasaules kara laikā" (Latvian Soldier During World War II) on the persecution and extermination of the members of the Aizsargi organization

(..)

That was right after the disarming, when the increased persecution, dismissal from work, arresting and interrogation accompanied with torment of aizsargi started. Aizsargi were the ones who suffered for their national bearing most of all.

The commander of the Aizsargi organization (..) General K. Prauls (b. 1895) was arrested during his leave (..). In summer 1941, he was found in a mass grave at Babīte, murdered, with tied up hands and a noose on his neck. In summer 1941 and later, also many other aizsargi were found murdered, e. g., a commander of the former Railway Regiment of Aizsargi J. Ozoliņš (b. 1883) and a commander of the aizsargi Aviation Lt. Col. J.Ērglis (b. 1885), a Bearer of the Lāčplēsis War Order[1]. The latter was found shot dead in the Riga Central Prison.

(..)

Cpt J. Sāns, acting chief of Staff of the Aizsargi, Bearer of the Lāčplēsis War Order G. Mežulis, commander of the 2nd Ventspils regiment of Aizsargi, J. Vērpelis, commander of the 8th Valmiera regiment of *Aizsargi* and many others were arrested. On 14 June, Lidija Torgani an expert in matters of women-members of aizsargi of the Aizsargi Headquarters, M. Ritums, commander of the 5th Riga regiment of Aizsargi, N. Jansbergs, commander of the 9th Madona regiment of Aizsargi, V. Zarāns, commander of the 13th Bauska regiment of *Aizsargi*, Auguste Stabulniece, commander of women-members of the 6th Aizpute regiment of Aizsargi and many others were deported. Only some samples have been mentioned here.

During communists' retreat from Riga, the following 12 men and one woman of Aizsargi were arrested in the late June of 1941, sentenced to death[2] (Shustin's judgment) and shot on 26 June: K. Baušķis, J. Bergmanis, Ā. Ciris, M. Čagušs, *arch.* A. Čuibe, A. Dzērvēns, A. Kalnprūsis, V. Pikāns, V. Roga, K. Rūtenbergs, K. Valdmanis, H. Vistiņš and Elvīra Vīnzarāja.

During one year, the Aizsargi organization lost more than 3/4 of its officers.

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[1] A highest military award in Latvia.

[2] It is certain that one cannot speak of any trial here. In Riga, likewise in many other towns of Latvia, people held under arrest were shot without any court verdict.

[64]

Excerpt from the collection of documents and memoirs
"Latviešu karavīrs Otrā pasaules kara laikā"
(Latvian Soldier during World War II) on the extermination of officers of the Latvian Army

On 31 July 1940, "Acting Prime Minister" Vilis Lācis signed an order, produced by himself, on deportation of General Jānis Balodis, the former commander-in-chief of the Latvian Army during the fight for freedom and later the long-term War Minister, and his family members to Russia.

(..)

Lt. Col. K. Vidiņš, a Bearer of the Lāčplēsis War Order, was among the first persons arrested and deported to Pechorlag in summer 1940. On 15 August, Captain P. Dāvis of the 7th Sigulda infantry regiment, was arrested in Gulbene. At night to 8 January 1941, he was shot dead and buried in the Babīte forest together with 10 other murdered persons. This grave of victims of communists was found on 24 July 1941.

Soon General H. Rozenšteins, Bearer of the Lāčplēsis War Order, chief of the staff, was arrested, too. The number of arrests increased rapidly with Latvia's "admission" to "the friendly family of peoples" of the Soviet Union. The retired General K. Goppers, Bearer of the Lāčplēsis War Order, a commander of the former Vidzeme division, was arrested on September 30, General M. Hartmanis, a Bearer of the Lāčplēsis War Order, the former Chief of Staff – on 20 December (..). General Ž. Bahs, commander of the former Zemgale division was arrested on the same day, etc., etc. Until the great mass deportation of 14 June 1941, close to 300 Latvian officers and 280 instructors and soldiers were arrested.

(..)

During 1940/41, 4665 Latvian soldiers, among them 23 generals and one admiral became victims of communists:

	Officers	Instr[uctors] and soldiers
Arrested	299	341
Deported on 14 June	540	90
Missing	247	3148
Total	**1086**	**3579**

The majority of the last group, under threat of execution, were forced to leave together with the retreating Red Army.

After expulsion of communists, from among arrestees 52 officers and 102 instructors

and soldiers were found murdered (..). In summer and autumn 1941 about 300 bodies of murdered Latvians were found only in the yard of the Riga Central Prison and the vicinity of the town. Among them (..) Colonel J. Streips, Lt. Col. A. Muižulis, Captains A. Liepiņš[1] and K. Gūtmanis, 1st Lieutenants V. Brāže, A. Brādiņš, K. Ķergalvis, O. Penka (arrested in Gulbene) and Lepše, 1st Sergeant of the aviation squadron Bergmanis and others were found murdered there. Also many participants of the struggle for independence – the retired military were found murdered, too (e. g., t. t. Col. Grīnbergs, Lt. Col. A. Jansons, Capt. Ž. Ola[2], 1st Lt. J. Anšmits, 1st Lt. Ž. Grundmanis, Lt. O. Cielēns, Lt. A. Šūlmanis, etc.).

Many of them were mutilated to such an extent that it was impossible to identify them (..).

Capt. V. Liepiņš, 1st Lt. Grīnfelds and Lieutenants T. Delveris and Dundurs were found murdered in the Valmiera Prison; Capt. K. Holanders and 1st Lt. V. Sniķeris – in the Valka Prison.

(..)

The terror of communists didn't stop until the last day of their power. Still on 26 June 1941, Shustin, the LSSR Commissar of State Security and Chairman of the War Tribunal of the NKVD Forces (..), signed the death penalty of 74 Latvian patriots: 6 women and 68 men, among them of 4 Latvian military – Colonel Nikolajs Fogelmanis (b. 1885), Lt. Col. Miervaldis Lūkins (b. 1894), Captain Eduards Rinka (b. 1905) and Jānis Kuks (the rank is not known). Lt.-Gen. Safronov, commander of the Riga garrison, informed about shooting of those 74 patriots on 27 June.

(..)

[1] A. Liepiņš wasn't killed.

[2] That is how in text. Correct – J. Ola. Ž. Ola was not killed, but perished in the battle-field in 1941.

[65]
Fragment from the reminiscences of J. Ozoliņš on the dealing with Latvian officers in the Litene encampment on 14 June 1941 and their deportation to Norilsk

In early June 1941, our regiment left Valka for a summer encampment in Litene. A new commander of the regiment arrived there, from the Russians, colonel Tupikov. We were told that colonel Bruņinieks, the former commander, has gone to retraining courses. There arrived also several junior officers from Russian military units to supplement our regiment. For the present, they did nothing, had a rest in officers' quarters. On 13 June, a group of cadets, about 20 persons, from Russian military units was sent to the regiment's school (in the former instructors' company), where I was a commander of a platoon. They arrived without any belongings and military equipment. Sleeping-places were showed to them in one common end of the quarters. A politruk[1] took care of their arrival and settlement, and it was typical that the "newcomers" mixed up with our soldiers very unwillingly, but stayed apart all the time. But we had already got used to it that also officers and politruks didn't find any necessity and reason to talk with us, Latvians, about nothing else, but the service matters.

Saturday, 14 June. In the morning, as usual, training took place. But right after it, a sudden order came: the regional army commander had arrived in Gulbene and wanted to arrange a combat training review of the newly sent Russian supplement. Therefore it was necessary to immediately provide them with full military equipment, lending it from Latvian soldiers for the present, and to send them to the place of review. In our unit, my platoon was made to lend the newcomers combat uniforms, guns and automatic rifles. Nobody had even any suspicion that these uncommunicative and unskilled Russian soldiers (they all really were excited and frightened at their task) didn't at all know how to use our English-model arms. That was how my platoon got disarmed.

I went to have lunch in a mess room and afterwards, as it was a Saturday afternoon and nothing else was intended to do, together with several officers we went to the coast of the river Pededze to have a swim and lie in the sun. It was a nice, sunny day.

It was there where a messenger found me. I was asked to appear in the regiment's headquarters hastily. There I was informed of being assigned to officers' training that would be held by the highest commanders. I was told to take a field book, pencils and maps with me, and, since we would have to spend also a night in the open air, I was advised to take also my greatcoat with me.

[1] Abbreviation from Russian "политический руководитель" – a political officer in the Red Army, who carried out the work of political education and supervision.

All 30 summoned officers gathered at the headquarters. We were waiting for a truck to go to the training site. We had to wait long, several hours. There was also captain Linmeijers among us, our regiment's chief of staff. He was sitting apart, downcast, talked with nobody, and it was striking that he had taken with him also a coffee thermos, rolled up blanket and also a portfolio with belongings. When commissar Negoduiko noticed it, he got mad and shouted at the captain – what the hell had he done so, it didn't at all fit a soldier (po soldatski). When trucks arrived, we, 30 Latvian officers, seated ourselves in them. The regiment's commander and commissar took seats next to drivers.

Having covered a distance in a forest, the trucks stopped. There appeared a couple of soldiers and chekists, who showed the way. The regiment's commander gave us a command to form a column of fils and along a forest trail led us deeper in the forest. He himself went ahead, but the commissar closed the column. In the forest, there appeared a little field. On both sides of it, there were soldiers standing or sitting. When we were approaching them, the regiment's commander gave the command: "Smirno!"[1] for greeting. The same did also those standing in the field. Afterwards the commander stopped in the middle of the field and stepped aside. At the very moment, some other man came before us, dressed in a uniform of the Latvian Army Headquarters' officer with white piping and of captain's rank*. With a note-book in his left hand and his right hand hidden behind the edge of the tunic, he read out in clear Latvian: "The purpose of today's training is – hands up!"

At the same moment he fired, leveled his pistol at us. Together with him soldiers, who stood on the right and left hand sides, moved up so that they were 2–3 steps from us, their bayonets ready for stabbing. We heard a report from behind us – there our commissar Negoduiko gunned down captain Linmeijers, who with his packs went in the end of the column. He had known too early and too much. Everything happened like lightning: we raised our hands up, chekists ran up to each of us, quickly touched our pockets, confiscated pistols, pocket knives, field bags, and took away our coats and threw them into a heap. At the same time, some other tore off cap-badges, stripes and tabs. Right there a couple of men with spades dug out a pit skillfully and, having put the killed captain in, filled it up. It was not allowed to move and look around, yet I was able to make out from behind the soldiers' bayonets a group of people, who headed the operation, all had pistols in their hands. It seemed to me that there was a tank behind them with a machine gun leveled at us, but I could not say it for sure. And still further, some 30-40 steps in the forest, there were machine-guns set up. When the disarming of us was accomplished, we were made to

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* Note: We wore the clothing of the previous model then, yet with stripes and tabs of the Red Army. Later we cleared up that nobody in our Army had known such an officer, it had been a masquerade.

[1] Attention!

turn to the right, make 6 steps ahead and... lie down! That was the most dramatic moment. It seemed to me that we all understood what was going to happen then...

When we stood there surrounded from all sides, it was not possible to shoot at us. Now...

But several moments passed and nothing followed. We were only threatened not to raise our heads and look around.

In order not to feel cold, when lying on the ground (it was drizzling then), our greatcoats (already searched, with tabs torn off) were thrown on us.

Suddenly all talks and hustle grew silent and we felt that the majority of those, involved in the operation, were going away somewhere. There stayed only a few who guarded us. Quite a while passed when from somewhere near-by we heard some commands and orders shouted out, and also a couple of reports. Just like here with us. We understood that an equal operation is taking place there with officers of some other regiment. Later we got to know that at that place a senior lieutenant had pushed aside a soldier with a gun and thrown himself in the forest, yet at the same place had dropped down, caught by a bullet.

I don't remember any more how long we were lying there. Then we were taken out of the forest, made to get into a truck, not any more on the benches meant for sitting, but right on the floor of the truck with our hands behind back. A soldier with a gun sat in the front, at the driver's cab. There were several trucks there. People taken also from other units were placed in them.

When the column was lined up, it started for Gulbene. It was already late in the evening, when we went through the town. Through the open windows, people were looking at us with fear, there was almost nobody in the streets.

In the station, ways were full of trains. They all were the so-called stove-heated cattle wagons with little barred windows and equipped with two-story bunks. We were distributed among wagons according to the list, 40 persons per each. There were not enough bunks, therefore some people settled themselves under the bunks, right on the floor. The whole night, we stood at Gulbene and only in the middle of the second day the train started to move (..)

We left Daugavpils. Crossed the border.

Farewell Latvia, farewell dear homeland! When shall I come back to you again? I feel terribly oppressed. Tears are coming to my eyes.

[66]

Fragment from the book by J. Kronlins *"Mūsu jaunatnes un skolu liktenis boļševiku varas laikā"* (Fate of our young people and schools during the period of Bolshevik rule) on the persecution of teachers

In general accounts concerning the victims of the Bolshevism, and taking into consideration not only the losses of educational institutions, but also those caused to other educational departments, the Year of Horror can be characterized by the following figures, which could be taken for the minimum ones:

Transferred to other place of work, with or without reduction in rank	about 6000 teachers.
Dismissed or left the work themselves because of unbearable conditions	1500 teachers.
Arrested and got lost afterwards, one has to assume that a part of them were killed	67 teachers.
Killed	33 teachers.
Deported violently to places of hard labour and settlement in the Soviet Union	372 teachers.

[67]

Fragment from the book by T. Vilciņš *"Skolu jaunatne nacionālajā cīņā (1940–1941)"* (School Pupils in the national struggle (1940–1941)) on the arresting and punishing of pupils

Cēsis Secondary School

(..)

Already on 6 June 1941, the NKVD decision on the arrest of six leading members of the Cēsis National Association of Pupils was signed in Riga, and at night from 6 to 7 June, U. Pēčs, D. Laiviņš, U. Ameriks, O. Stakalders, R. Kalniņš and T. Griķis were arrested in places of their residence. With the beginning of war, they all were taken away to Russia. On 3 November the same year, the capital punishment by shooting was announced to U. Pēčs, D. Laiviņš, U. Ameriks and O. Stakalders that was executed on 19 December 1941 in Chkalov. On 3 December 1941 in Astrakhan, T. Griķis and R. Kalniņš were sentenced to 10 years in prison. T. Griķis died in a slave labour camp already on 23 January 1942, R. Kalniņš was killed in the end of the same year – on 23 December.

(..)

Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1

(..)

From 18 October to 17 November [1940] the Cheka arrested 10 members of the organization of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1, including their leader Haralds Muižnieks. On 24 June 1942, they were taken away from the Prison of Daugavpils to Russia and put into slave labour camps in the Krasnoyarsk Region. On 7 February 1941[1], The Special Meeting of the USSR Ministry of the Interior had determined also the punishment: to Haralds Muižnieks (1921) – the death penalty by shooting that was executed on 13 March 1942. Antons Baurovskis (1919), Oļegs Katalimovs (1922), Bruno Gulbis (1920), Ego Terinks (1922), Aleksandrs Svencis (1920), Juris Komarovskis (1920), Konstantīns Rozenbergs (1918), Jānis Kūliņš (1920), and Kārlis Kalējs-Kalējiņš (1922) were sentenced to 10 years in prison that had to be served in death camps of the Gulag[2]. A. Baurovskis died there already on 26 July 1942, K. Kalējs-Kalējiņš – on 8 March 1943 (..).

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[1] That is how in text. Correct 1942.

[2] Abbreviation from Russian "Главное управление лагерей" – in literature frequently used designation of the Main Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps (Gulag).

[68]

Request of Miasnikov, chairman of the War Tribunal, the Baltic Special Military District, to execute the death-sentence to O. Cielēns, 17 January 1941

TOP SECRET
Series "K"
No. 0026 17 January 1941

To: c. Novik, Commissar of Internal Affairs of the LSSR
Riga

The verdict of 6 December 1940, passed by the War Tribunal of the Baltic Special Military District[1] on sentencing Otto Petrovich CIELENS to the capital criminal punishment – SHOOTING – has been APPROVED by the Military Board of the USSR Supreme Court.

Therefore I am applying for your order to have the verdict, passed by the War Tribunal in regard Otto Petrovich CIELENS, executed without delay, and TO SHOOT DEAD the above defendant.

Please send one copy of the statement on execution of the verdict in regard Otto Petrovich CIELENS to the War Tribunal of the Baltic Special Military District immediately.

Enclosed: a copy of the verdict No. 0023[2].

Miasnikov,
brigade military jurist,
Chairman of the War Tribunal,
Baltic Special Military District

[1] Military districts located at the USSR borders were called the Special Military Districts. In 1940–1941, the Baltic Military District was called the Baltic Special Military District.

[2] Not published.

[69]
Statement concerning execution of the death sentence to O. Cielēns, 18 January 1941

TOP SECRET
18 January 1941

ACT

I, the Lat[vian] SSR NKVD commandant, junior lieutenant of state security Yermolayev, basing on the order No. 1703/2 of c. Novik, senior major of state security of the Latvian SSR NKVD, and the writing No. 0026 of the War Tribunal of the Baltic Special Military District, in the presence of comrade Golovanov, 2nd rank military jurist, prosecutor of the Baltic Special Military District, and a member – comrade Krivitsky, Deputy Commander in matters of state security of the 1st Special Department, on 18 JANUARY 1941 at 23 o'clock executed the sentence of CIELENS Otto Petrovich, born in 1897 in the Cēsis rural district, a Latvian, non-party, convicted by the War Tribunal of the Baltic Military District. Cielens Otto Petrovich has been shot dead.

Yermolayev
Junior Lieutenant of State Security,
Commandant of the Latvian SSR NKVD

Golovanov
Military Prosecutor of the BSMD,
2nd rank Military Lawyer

Krivitsky
Junior Lieutenant of State Security,
Member [of the Commission],
Deputy Commander of the 1st Special
Department

[70]

Verdict passed by the War Tribunal of the Baltic Special Military District in the case of General K. Goppers

TOP SECRET
A Copy
18 January 1941

VERDICT No. 0018

In the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The War Tribunal of the Baltic Special Military District in the following composition – chairman of the session: military jurist of the brigade MIASNIKOV, and members – 2nd rank military jurist BREZGIN and major VINOGRADOV, with participation of secretary KUDELNIKOV, military jurist, in closed court session, held in the Latvian SSR, Riga, reviewed the case No. 0031 on citizen GOPPERS Karlis Ivanovich[1], born in 1876 in the Latvian SSR, Valka district, Plāņi rural district, farm Maskati, a Latvian, as to the social origin – a peasant, former general of the Tsar's and Latvian Army, non-party, no information on criminal record, accused of crimes according to the RSFSR Criminal Code Part 1 58^4, 58^2, 58^{10}, Articles 58^{11} and 58^{13}.

In accordance with materials of preliminary and court investigation, the War Tribunal STATED:

The defendant GOPPERS, being of hostile disposition towards the communist movement, during a long period of time, fought actively against the working class and Soviet power. In 1917, being in the Tsar's Army, he fought actively against the communistic influence in the army. From December 1917 to January 1919 in Petrograd, he took an active part in the formation of the reserve regiment meant for the defense of the Provisional Government. After the eviction of the Constitutional Assembly, GOPPERS, in order to organize armed struggle against the Soviet power, joined the "Union for Defense of the Motherland and Freedom", where he took a leading post. In 1918, he was one of the leaders of the armed counter-revolutionary rebellion in Yaroslavl, where the local responsible employees of the Soviet bodies were arrested under his leadership and a part of them had been shot. After the oppression of the above rebellion, he took commanding positions in the "Samar Government" and Kolchak's White Armies, fighting actively against the Red Army till 1920. After returning to Latvia, was a leader of the boy scouts organization till 1940. Starting with

[1] That's how in document.

1920, GOPPERS issued his memoirs and published articles, which were disseminated in Latvia and in which he declared his anti-Soviet views and defamed Bolsheviks.

Hence, acknowledging the guilt of GOPPERS Karlis Ivanovich that has been proved in crimes of the RSFSR Criminal Code, Part 1 58^4, 58^2, 58^{10}, and Articles 58^{11} and 58^{13}, the War Tribunal of the Region, basing on the RSFSR Criminal Code, Article 319 and 320,

DECIDED:

to sentence GOPPERS Karlis Ivanovich, according to community of the crime, for crimes committed by him according to the RSFSR Criminal Code, Article 58^2, to the capital punishment by SHOOTING, with confiscation of all his property.

The sentence may be appealed in procedure of a cassation during 72 hours from the time the copy has been handed out to the convict (..).

The original copy with the respective signatures.

Secretary
War Tribunal
Baltic Special Military District

[71]

Excerpt from the Minutes of the Presidium meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 22 March 1941

A Copy
Moscow, 22 March 1941

The USSR Supreme Soviet
Minutes of the Meeting of the Presidium
No. 9/96/p.s.
Excerpt

L i s t e n e d: the pardon appeal of GOPPERS Karlis Ivanovich, sentenced by the verdict of 18 January 1941 by the War Tribunal of the Baltic Special Military District, in accordance with the RSFSR Criminal Code, Part 1 58^{2}, 58^{11}, 58^{10}, and Articles 58^{4} and 58^{13} to the capital punishment.

Decided: To decline the appeal on pardon of GOPPERS K.I.

Excerpt correct: for the secretary of the Military Board,
the USSR Supreme Court –
Shumanov, 2nd rank technician-quartermaster

Military jurist *Kudelnikov*,
court secretary of the War Tribunal,
Baltic Special Military District

N o t e s i n t h e d o c u m e n t:
The sentence has been executed on 25.03.41.

[72]

Verdict of the Military Board of the USSR Supreme Court of 7 July 1941 concerning H. Celmiņš

[7 July 1941]

VERDICT

In the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Military Board of the USSR Supreme Court in the following composition – chairman of the session: 1st rank military jurist c. Bukanov, and members – 1st rank military jurists Cheptsov and Boyarkin, with participation of secretary Shur, 3rd rank military lawyer, in a closed court session, held in Moscow on 7 July 1941, reviewed the case of CELMIŅŠ Hugo Petrovich – born in 1877 , the former Prime Minister of the Saeima of Latvia[1], accused of crimes according to the RSFSR Criminal Code, Articles 58^4, 58^{10}, 58^{11} and 58^{13}.

It has been stated by the preliminary and court investigation that in 1919, CELMIŅŠ joined the counter-revolutionary Latvian Army as a volunteer, and having the rank of a captain, had been active in fighting against the Red Army Units.

Being the leader of the reactionary kulaks' party "The Peasants' Union" and a member of the Latvian government, CELMIŅŠ activity was directed towards the oppression of the revolutionary movement, thus committing crimes provided in the RSFSR Criminal Code, Part 1 58^4, 58^{10}, Articles 58^{13} and 58^{11}.

On the grounds of the above and in compliance with the RSFSR Criminal Code, Articles 319 and 320, the Military Board of the USSR Supreme Court

DECIDED:

to sentence CELMIŅŠ Hugo Petrovich to the capital criminal punishment – SHOOTING, with confiscation of his property,

The verdict is final and cannot be appealed.

Chairman: *Bukanov*

Members: *Cheptsov, Boyarkin*

Notes in the document:

The sentence has been executed on 30.07.41.

Report No. 717–13996 of 17.08.41, 1st Special Department, the USSR NKVD, incoming – 393095 – 25.08.41.

[1] That's how in document.

[73]

Decision on the arrest of the ex-President of Latvia K. Ulmanis by the Department of the Orjonikidze Territory, People's Commissariat of State Security, 4 July 1941

[Copy]

Approved by:
Commander of the NKGB Administration of
the Orjonikidze Territory,
major of the state security service
(illegible signature)
... July 1941

Voroshilovsk, 4 July 1941

Arrest sanctioned by
(signature of the prosecutor
illegible)
4 July 1941

DECISION
(for the arrest)

I, sergeant of the state security service Samartsev, acting commander of the 2nd Division, 3rd Department of NKGB, the Orjonikidze Territory, having reviewed the materials on criminal activity of Karlis U L M A N I S Indrikovich, 63 years old, Latvian, received by NKGBA of the Orjonokidze Territory,

f o u n d:

that according to the existing materials, K. U L M A N I S is unmasked as having carried out counter-revolutionary activity.

I d e c i d e d:

To arrest Karlis Ulmanis Indrikovich, residing in Voroshilovsk, Dzerzhinsky street No. 104, and to search his place.

Investigator: sergeant of state security service *Samartsev,*
acting com[mander] of the 2nd Division, 3rd Department of NKGBA

Agree: sen[ior] lieutenant of state security service *Korchagin,*
commander of the NKGBA 3rd Department

[74]

Statement on personal search of K. Ulmanis, 1 September 1942

Baku 1 September 1942

Statement No. 2192
on personal search of
a citizen Karlis Ulmanis Indr[ikovich]

I, warden's assistant on duty Volodin, Prison of the State Security Administration, the Azerbaijan SSR NKVD, in the presence of Hachaturov, on 1 IX 1942 carried out personal search of the arrested person; the following have been found during the search:

A brush, tooth 1 piece,
A glass, plastic 1 piece.

The above belongings have been taken away and handed over to the prison's storehouse. There were no complaints from cit[izen] [K. Ulmanis] during the search.

The search was carried out by:
warden's assistant on duty *Volodin*

Participated: *Hachaturov*

Received a copy of the statement: *K. I. Ulmanis*

[75]

Decision on stopping the investigation case of K. Ulmanis, 9 January 1943

Krasnovodsk, 9 January 1943

Approved by:
captain of the state security service Matveyev,
NKVD of the Krasnovodsk Region
9 January 1943

DECISION
on stopping the investigation case

I, jun[ior] lieutenant of the state security service Poliakov, investigator of the T[urkmen] SSR Krasnovodsk Region NKVD, having reviewed the case No. 17210 on incrimination Karlis Ulmanis Indrikovich of crimes provided in the RSFSR C[riminal] C[ode], [Article] 58, [paragraph] 4,

have found the following:

The NKVD Administration of the Orjonikidze Territory has arrested ULMANIS Karlis Indrikovich on 4 July 1941 and called him to criminal account according to the RSFSR C[riminal] C[ode], [Article] 58.

Because of evacuation of the Voroshilovsk Internal Prison of the NKVD, the defendant ULMANIS has been transported to Krasnoyarsk Prison No. 1, but during the transportation, because of his infirm condition, on 14.IX.1942, has been left in Krasnovodsk Prison No. 2 for stationary treatment, where he died on 20.IX. 1942, on what there is a relevant death statement in the file dated 21.IX.1942.

I decided the following:

to stop the further investigation of case No. 17210 on accusation of Karlis Ulmanis Indrikovich, born in 1877 in Latvia, Latvian, non-party, has been the President of the Republic of Latvia, because of the defendant's death.

To submit the file to the archives of the 1st Special Department of the T[urkmen] SSR NKVD.

Poliakov,
jun[ior] lieutenant of the state security service,
investigator of the Krasnovodsk Region NKVD

Agree: *Shakirov*,
jun[ior] lieutenant of the state security service,
Commander of the NKVD Department

[76]

Plan for deportation in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Moldova prepared by the USSR NKVD in June 1941

TOP SECRET

Approved by:
USSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs
(L. Beria)
...[1]June 1941

Plan of measures for deportation, settlement and setting up of special contingents from Lithuania[n SSR], Latvia[n SSR], Estonia[n SSR] and Moldavian SSR

1. Heads of the families[2] subject to deportation – to send 22 885 persons:

a) from the Moldavian SSR	– to the Kozelsk camp	5000 persons;
	– to the Putivl camp	3000 persons;
b) from the Lithuanian SSR	– to the Starobelsk camp	4450 persons;
c) from the Latvian SSR	– to the Yuhnov camp	5770 persons;
d) from the Estonian SSR	– to the Starobelsk camp	4665 persons;

2. To deport 4159 criminals, by later drawing them up at the Special Meeting of the USSR NKVD, to the NKVD wood work camps:

a) from the Lithuanian SSR	– to Usollag	1288 persons;
b) from the Latvian SSR	– to Belbaltlag	1180 persons;
	– to the Onega [camp]	1000 persons;
c) from the Estonian SSR	– to Usollag	601 persons.

3. Family members subject to deportation – 46 557 people shall be deported to the following republics, territories and regions:

a) from the Lithuanian SSR	– to the Komi ASSR	3600 persons;
b) from the Latvian SSR	– to the Krasnoyarsk Territory	6850 persons;
c) from the Estonian SSR	– to the Altai Territory	9115 persons;
d) from the Moldavian SSR	– to the South Kazakh Region,	
	– to the Aktiubinsk Region,	
	– to the Karaganda Region,	

[1] The date is not mentioned.
[2] Men who were supporters of the family are meant here.

– to the Kustanai Region,
– to the Kzilorda Region 11 000 persons;
– to the Omsk Region 6000 persons;
– to the Novosibirsk Region 10 000 persons;
e) the reserve – to the Kirov Region 6000 persons.

4. Prostitutes subject to deportation – 794 persons shall be sent:

a) from the Lithuanian and Latvian SSR – to the Kazakh SSR – 794 persons.

5. In order to place in the Starobelsk camp heads of families deported from the Lithuanian and Latvian SSR, the deserters kept in the above camp – 6000 persons shall be taken away by no later than 15 June 1941, including those who have not been sentenced to imprisonment in the NKVD corrective labour camps. Their cases shall be later reviewed at the Special Meeting of the USSR NKVD.

6. 300 persons of the Yuhnov camp – interned till 11 June 1941 – shall be moved to the Kozelsk war prisoners' camp.

7. The NKVD Convoy Troops shall convoy the echelons and guard the prisoners of war camps.

8. The NKVD Prisoners' of War Administration shall be made responsible for registration, regime and feeding of heads of families in the prisoners of war camps. The supply takes place at expense of the USSR NKVD General Department of Camps.

9. The Special Departments and the NKGB territorial administrations shall be responsible for operational servicing of the heads of families during their stay in the prisoners' of war camps.

10. Provision of the necessary rolling stock, meant to displace the contingent of the Moldavian, Latvian and Estonian SSR, as well as observation of echelons during the trip and duly informing the places of location, shall be in charge of captain of state security c. Zikeyev, head of the Transportation Department, the USSR NKVD.

11. Feeding of deportees during the trip shall be carried out through railway buffets of the USSR People's Commissariat of Commerce, based on the calculated cost – 3 roubles per person a day, including 600 grams bread.

The General Supply Department of the NKVD General Department of Camps (deputy head c. Slutsky) shall be responsible for organization of feeding during the trip (..).

12. Costs of the operation, which are connected with the transfer of 60 000 persons to the places of deportation and which have been calculated in accordance with the enclosed estimate[1] of the sum total 13 000 000 roubles, shall be covered at expense of the USSR NKVD and NKGB estimate.

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[1] Is not published.

13. The respective administrations of NKVD and NKGB shall be made resposible for distribution and setting up of deportees, sending them for work to enterprises of wood industry, sovkhozs and home trade artels.

14. 1st Special Departments of the NKGB territorial administrations and the territorial NKVD shall carry out registration of deportees.

V. Nasedkin,
senior major of state security,
Head of the General Department of Camps,
the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD)

Agree:
Kobulov, Deputy People's Commissar of State Security of the USSR
Chernishov, Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR

Notes in the document:
Measures approved.
To comrades Chernishov and Nasedkin – for execution
L. Beria. 14/VI 41.

[77]

Instructions regarding the manner of conducting the deportation from the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR, issued by I. Serov, Deputy People's Commissar of State Security of the USSR

Top Secret

Instructions
regarding the manner of conducting the deportation of the anti-Soviet element from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia

1. General Situation.

The deportation of anti-Soviet elements from the Baltic States is a task of great political importance. Its successful execution depends upon the extent to which the county administrative triumvirates and administrative headquarters are capable of carefully working out a plan for executing the operations and of foreseeing in advance all indispensable factors. Moreover, the basic promise is that the operations should be conducted without noise and panic, so as not to permit any demonstrations and other excesses not only by the deportees, but also by a certain part of the surrounding population inimically inclined toward the Soviet administration.

Instructions regarding the manner of conducting the operations are described below. They should be adhered to, but in individual cases the collaborators conducting the operations may and should, depending upon the peculiarity of the concrete circumstances of the operations and in order correctly to evaluate the situation, make different decisions for the same purpose, viz., to execute the task given them without noise and panic.

2. Manner of issuing Instructions.

The instructing of operative groups should be done by the county triumvirates within as short a time as possible on the day before the beginning of the operations, taking into consideration the time necessary for travelling to the place of operations.

The county triumvirates previously prepare necessary transportation for transferring the operative groups in the village to the scene of operations.

In regard to the question of allotting the necessary number of automobiles and wagons for transportation, the county triumvirates will consult the leaders of the Soviet party organizations on the premises.

Premises in which to issue instructions must be carefully prepared in advance, and

their capacity, exits, entrances and the possibility of strangers entering must be studied.

During the time instructions are issued the building must be securely guarded by the administrative workers.

In case anyone from among these participating in the operations should fail to appear for instructions, the county triumvirate should immediately take measures to substitute the absentee from a reserve force, which should be provided in advance.

The triumvirate through its representative should notify the officers gathered of the decision of the government to deport an accounted for contingency of anti-Soviet elements from the territory of the respective republic or region. Moreover, a brief explanation should be given as to what the deportees represent.

The special attention of the (local) Soviet-party workers gathered for instructions should be drawn to the fact that the deportees are enemies of the Soviet people and that, therefore, the possibility of an armed attack on the part of the deportees is not excluded.

3. Manner of Obtaining Documents.

After the issue of general instructions to the administrative groups, they should definitely be issued documents regarding the deportees. The personal files of the deportees must be previously discussed and settled by the administrative groups, parishes and villages, so that there are no obstacles in issuing them.

After receiving the personal files, the senior member of administrative group acquaints himself with the personal files of the family which he will have to deport. He must check the number of persons in the family, the supply of necessary forms to be filled out by the deportee, and transportation for moving the deportee, and he should receive exhaustive answers to questions not clear to him.

At the time when the files are issued, the county triumvirate must explain to each senior member of the administrative group where the deported family is to be settled and describe the route to be taken to the place of deportation. Roads to be taken by the administrative personnel with the deported families to the railway station for embarkation must also be fixed. It is also necessary to point out places where reserve military groups are place in case it should become necessary to call them out during possible excesses.

The possessions and state of arms and munitions must be checked throughout the whole administrative personnel. Weapons must be completely ready for battle, loaded, but the bullet should not be kept in the barrel. Weapons should be used only as a last resort, when the administrative group is attacked or threatened with an attack, or resistance is shown.

4. Manner of Executing Deportation.

Should a number of families be deported from one spot, one of the operative workers is appointed senior in regard to deportation from that village, and his orders are to be obeyed by the administrative personnel in that village.

Having arrived in the village, the administrative groups must get in touch (observing the necessary secrecy) with the local authorities: chairman, secretary or members of the village soviets, and should ascertain from them the exact dwelling of the families to be deported. After that the operative groups together with the local authorities go to the families to be deported.

The operation should be commenced at daybreak. Upon entering the home of the person to be deported, the senior member of the operative group should gather the entire family of the deportee into one room, taking all necessary precautionary measures against any possible excesses.

After having checked the members of the family against the list, the location of those absent and the number of persons sick should be ascertained, after which they should be called upon to give up their weapons. Regardless of whether weapons are delivered or not, the deportees should be personally searched and then the entire premises should be searched in order to uncover weapons.

During the search of the premises one of the members of the operative group should be left on guard over the deportees.

Should the search disclose hidden weapons in small numbers, they should be collected by and distributed among the administrative group. Should many weapons be discovered, they should be piled into the wagon or automobile which brought the administrative group, after any ammunition in them has been removed. Ammunition should be packed and loaded together with rifles.

If necessary, a convoy for transporting the weapons should be mobilized with an adequate guard.

Should weapons, counter-revolutionary pamphlets, literature, foreign currency, large quantity of valuables, etc. be disclosed, a short search act should be drawn upon the spot, which should describe the hidden weapons or counter-revolutionary literature. Should there be any armed resistance, the question of arresting the persons showing armed resistance and of sending them to the county branch of the People's Commissariat of Public Security should be decided by the county triumvirates.

An act should be drawn up regarding those deportees hiding themselves before the deportation or sick, and this act should be signed by the chairman of the Soviet-party organization.

After having been subjected to a search the deportees should be notified that upon the decision of the Government they are being deported to other regions of the Union.

The deportees are permitted to take with them household necessities of a weight of not more than 100 kilograms.

1. Suit.
2. Shoes.
3. Underwear.
4. Bed linen.
5. Dishes.
6. Glasses.
7. Kitchen utensils.
8. Food – an estimated month's supply to a family.
9. The money at their disposal.
10. Haversack or box in which to pack the articles.

It is not recommended that large articles be taken.

Should the contingent be deported to rural districts, they are permitted to take with them a small agricultural inventory: axes, saws and other articles, which should be tied together and packed separately from the other articles, so that when embarking in the deportation train they are loaded into special freight cars.

In order not to mix them with articles belonging to others, the name, father's name, and village of the deportee should be written on his packed property.

When loading these articles into the carts, measures should be taken so that the deportee cannot use them as means of resistance while the column is moving along the highway.

At the time of loading the administrative groups together with representatives of the Soviet-party organizations shall prepare a list of the property and the manner in which it is to be preserved in accordance with instructions received by them.

If the deportee has at his own disposal means of transportation, his property is loaded into the vehicle and together with his family is sent to the designated spot of embarkation.

If the deportees do not have any means of transportation, wagons are mobilized in the village by the local authorities upon directives of the senior member of the administrative group.

All persons entering the home of the deportees during the execution of the operations or found there at the moment when these operations are begun must be detained until the conclusion of the operations, and their relationship to the deportee should be ascertained. This is done in order to disclose persons hiding from the police, militia and other persons.

After having checked the detained persons and ascertained that they are persons in whom the contingent is not interested, they are liberated.

Should the inhabitants of the village begin to gather around the home of the deportee while the operations are going on, they should be called upon to disperse to their homes, and should not be permitted to be formed.

Should the deportee refuse to open the door of his home in spite of the fact that he is aware that members of the People's Commissariat of Public Security are there, the door should be broken down. In individual cases neighbouring administrative groups performing operations in that vicinity should be called upon to assist.

The conveyance of the deportees from the village to the gathering place at the railway station should by all means be done in daylight; moreover, efforts should be made that the gathering of each family should take not more than two hours.

In all cases throughout the operations firm and decisive action should be taken, without the slightest pomposity, noise and panic.

It is categorically forbidden to take any articles away from the deportees except weapons, counter-revolutionary literature and foreign currency, as well as to use the food of the deportees.

All members of the operations must be warned that they will be held strictly responsible before court for attempts to appropriate individual articles belonging to the deportees.

5. Manner of Separating Deportee from His Family.

In view of the fact that a large number of the deportees must be arrested and placed in special camps and their families settled at special points in distant regions, it is necessary to execute the operation of deporting both the members of his family as well as the deportee simultaneously, without informing them of the separation confronting them. After having made the search and drawn up the necessary documents for identification in the home of the deportee, the administrative worker shall draw up documents for the head of the family and place them in his personal file, but the documents drawn up for the members of his family should be placed in the personal file of the deportee's family.

While gathering together the family in the home of the deportee, the head of the family should be warned that personal male articles are to be packed into a separate suitcase, as a sanitary inspection will be made of the deported men separately from the women and children.

At the stations the possessions of heads of families subject to arrest should be loaded into the railway cars assigned to them, which will be designated by special administrative workers appointed for that purpose.

6. Manner of Convoying the Deportees.

It is strictly prohibited for the operators convoying the column of deportees moving along in wagons to sit in the wagons of the deportees. The operators must follow by the side and at the rear of the column of deportees. The senior operator of the convoy should periodically go around the entire column to check the correctness of movement.

The convoy must act particularly carefully in conducting the column of deportees through inhabited spots as well as in meeting passers-by; they should see that there are no attempts made to escape, and no exchange of words should be permitted between the deportees and passers-by.

7. Manner of Embarking.

At each point of embarkation the member of the administrative triumvirate and a special person appointed for that purpose shall be responsible for the embarkation.

On the day of the operations the chief of the point of embarkation together with the chief of the deportation train and of the convoying military forces of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs shall examine the railway cars furnished to see whether they are supplied with all necessities (sleeping board, toilet cans, lanterns, railings, etc.) and shall discuss with the chief of the deportation train the manner in which the latter will take over the deportees.

Embarkation at the station shall be detached by the soldiers of the convoying forces of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

The senior member of the administration group shall deliver to the chied of the deportation train one copy of the list of deportees in each railway car. The chief of the deportation train thereupon shall call out the deportees according to this roll and shall carefully check each family and designate their place in the railway car.

The possessions of the deportees should be loaded into the car together with the deportees, with the exception of the small agricultural inventory, which should be loaded into a separate car.

The deportees should be loaded into railway cars by families; it is not permitted to break up a family (with the exception of heads of families subject to arrest). An estimate of 25 persons to a car should be observed.

After the railway car has been filled with the necessary number of families, it should be locked.

After the people have been taken over and placed into the deportation train, the chief of the train shall bear responsibility for all the persons turned over to him and for their reaching their destination.

After turning over the deportees the senior member of the administrative group shall draw up a report to the effect that he has performed the operations entrusted to him and address the report to the chief of the county administrative triumvirate. The report should briefly contain the name of the deportee, whether any weapons and counter-revolutionary literature were discovered, and how the operations took place.

After having placed the deportees on the deportation train and submitted reports of the results of the operations performed, the members of the administrative group shall be considered free and shall act in accordance with the instructions of the chief of the county branch of the People's Commissariat of State Security.

(Serov)
3 rd Deputy People's Commissar of State Security of the USSR
3 rd rank Commissar of State Security

[78]

Excerpt from the article by B. Spridzāns on the course of the 14 June 1941 operation of deportation

(..) The top secret decision No. 1299–526 "On deportation of socially alien elements from the Baltic Republics, Western Ukraine, Western Belorussia and Moldavia", issued by the CC of the USSR AUC(B)P and SPC on 14 May 1941, envisaged deportation of:

1) members of counter-revolutionary organizations and their families;

2) former gendarmes, officers of the police and prisons, as well as rank and file policemen and employees of prisons, provided there were compromising materials on them;

3) former landlords, merchants (with the annual turnover above 150 thousand lats), former manufacturers (with the annual turnover above 200 thousand lats) and former higher civil servants of the bourgeois governments;

4) former officers, provided there were compromising materials on them (including also those having served in the territorial corps of the Red Army);

5) family members of the participants of counter-revolutionary organizations, who were sentenced to death or continued to work illegally;

6) persons, who had arrived from Germany by means of repatriation or had emigrated to Germany, provided there were compromising materials on them;

7) refugees from Poland, if they had refused to take the Soviet citizenship;

8) criminal elements, who continued their criminal activities;

9) prostitutes registered at the police, if they continued their previous occupation.

In the above decision, it was pointed out that by compromising materials one had to understand the materials on anti-Soviet activity or contacts with foreign secret services.

In accordance with this decision, in early June 1941, the operational officers of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of State Security of districts and towns had prepared decisions on the arrest of the heads of families, as well as the decisions on deportation of their family members. These documents had been signed by the leaders of these institutions, but such leaders of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of State Security as Noviks, Shustin, Brezgin, Cinis and Krivitsky had approved them.

Both the arrest and deportation of family members took place simultaneously – at night to 14 June 1941.

According to the archival materials[1], available to the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Latvia, 4202 persons were arrested, but 9992 – deported by

[1] The archival materials on the citizens of Latvia, deported on 14 June 1941 and 25 March 1949, are kept in the State Archives of Latvia now.

administrative means during this mass operation. The persons, deported by administrative means, were located mainly in the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the Tomsk Region.

In the decisions, deportation of the family members is motivated with the arrest of the head of the family. The arrests, on their turn, are motivated mainly with the political, social and economic activity in the period till the so-called establishment of the Soviet power in Latvia. Belonging to the Aizsargi organization, service in the Latvian Army, police, membership in the Peasants' Union as well as in other social and political organizations were emphasized particularly. Hence, the activity during the independent State of Latvia until its occupation was incriminated to these persons.

On 14 June 1941, 4065 men and 137 women were arrested.

Distribution of the arrestees according to their age is as follows:

to the age of 18 –	13;
from 18 to 60 years old –	3727;
from 60 to 80 years old –	457;
above 80 –	5.

Distribution according to the nationality:

Latvians –	3318;
Jews –	559;
Russians –	26;
other nationalities –	76.

Besides, according to the archival files available to the Ministry of the Interior, already before 14 June 1941, 79 persons – 77 men and 2 women, were arrested because of their political background. There were 59 Latvians, 8 Russians and 7 Jews among them. After 15 June 1941, especially after 22 June,

71 more persons were arrested.

Thereby the total number of arrestees is 4352. However, this number is not complete and should be supplemented by materials on persons arrested in 1940/41, available to the Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Latvia. 151 persons were arrested during the deportation, too.

According to their occupation during the independent State of Latvia, the persons, arrested on 14 June 1941, were:

shop-keepers –	616;
policemen –	306;
warders –	29;
officers of the army –	166;
Members of the Parliament –	7;
diplomats –	6;

judges –	31;
teachers –	71;
doctors –	24;
clergymen –	7;
students –	15;
foresters –	39;
farmers –	1345;
elders of rural districts (*pagasts*) –	44;
secretaries of rural districts –	13.

The membership in the Aizsargi organization was mentioned as one of the main reasons of the arrest of 1789 arrestees. The distribution according to the profession and occupation is not complete, since all archival files do not contain full information.

On 14 June 1941, 9992 persons – 3012 men and 6980 women were deported by administrative means.

The distribution of the deportees is as follows:

Latvians –	8100;
Jews –	1212;
Russians –	519;
Germans –	10;
other nationalities –	151.

The distribution of the deportees according to their age:

below 7 years –	1610
from 7 to 16 years –	2131;
from 16 to 60 years –	5510;
from 60 to 80 –	691;
above 80 –	50.

The number of persons deported to the Krasnoyarsk Region – 7518, to the Tomsk Region – 1599 and to the Karaganda Region – 28. The location of several deportees is not known precisely. 28 persons had died and 7 were born in their way to the place of deportation.

(..)

According to the archival materials available to the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Latvia, 14 194 persons were deported (arrested and deported) from Latvia on 14 June 1941, among them there were 7077 men and 7117 women.

(..)

[79]

Excerpts from the report of Y. Beloglazov, Representative of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia and the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars to Tukums district, and Vasenkov, Representative of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of the Internal Affairs, on execution of the "special order" (the deportation of inhabitants) of the CC of C(B)PL and the Latvian SSR SPC in Tukums district

TOP SECRET

To: comrade KALNBĒRZIŅŠ,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL

OFFICIAL REPORT
on execution of the special order of the CC of C(B)PL and the LSSR SPC in Tukums district

(..)

II. Practical work in the district from 8 to 18 June 1941

Organizational issues:

1. On 9 June 1941, an extended meeting of the C(B)PL of the district was convened, in order to discuss the special order of the CC of C(B)P[L] and the LSSR SPC. The meeting was attended by the Party activists and representatives of the State Security Directorate and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

The meeting took the following decision: "To send the leading members of the Party and the Party activists to all *pagasts* (rural districts) of the Tukums district providing them with a detailed plan of practical measures, in order to carry out the special order of the CC [and] the LSSR SPC". 17 communists of the town and all activists of the Party and Soviet bodies of the rural district were involved in this work.

2. On 13 June 1941, another extended meeting of the District Committee of the Party took place. It discussed the tasks of the Party activists in carrying out the operation in order to clear the district of socially dangerous elements. The following number of persons were mobilized for and took part in this operation: from activists of the Party and Soviet bodies – 85 persons, from the Workers Guards[1] – 37 persons. At 10 o'clock in the evening, after the meeting of the District Committee of the Party,

[1] A militarized organization, which was formed to support the occupation power and existed from July 1940 to May 1941.

all participants of the operation were summoned together with the staff of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and the Administration of the State Security, as well as those Red Army men, who had arrived in the district.

3. On 16 June 1941, the third meeting of the District Committee of the Party was convened and discussed the following issues:

1) the results of the operation and tasks set before the activists of the Party and Soviet bodies to carry out the Party–mass explanatory work among inhabitants;

2) the reports of the responsible representatives of the District Committee on execution of the special order in rural districts (..).

Preparation for and carrying out of the operation
of the arrest of the anti-Soviet elements

The district's group of five headed the preparation, organization and carrying out of the operation, as well as the drawing up of the plan of the operational measures. The group consisted of the following persons: c. Leimanis, head of the State Security Directorate, c. Koltin, representative of the LSSR People's Commissariat of State Security, c. Vasenkov, representative of the LSSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, c. Mazjēcis, secretary of the District Committee of the LSSR C(B)PL and c. Beloglazov, representative of the LSSR SPC.

The operational group of five carried out the operation according to the plan, which was worked out in advance, strictly agreed and fitted the conditions of the district. The operational groups consisting of 4–5 people were formed, seniors of the groups were appointed, [operational] files of the persons to be arrested were handed out and additional instructions were given on peculiarities of the arrest in each specific case.

The operation was started simultaneously both in the town and rural districts at midnight from 13 to 14 June 1941.

The heads of the families: planned to arrest for subsequent deportation –	148 persons
arrested for subsequent deportation[1] –	131 persons
Family mambers: arrested for subsequent deportation –	318 persons
Escaped and avoided the arrest –	11 persons
Went to Riga (were not at their place) –	4 persons
Went to Jelgava (was not at his place) –	1 person
Sick –	1 person

[1] In the original: "изъять".

On the whole, the operation was finished: in the town – at 6 a.m., but in some rural districts it lasted even till 6–8 p.m. of 14 June 1941. The echelon (vans) with the arrestees was delayed and stood at the station Tukums II about 2 days.

The negative sides of the operation

1. Each operational group was commissioned to arrest 4–5 families. The homes of these families were located in different distances from one another that caused certain difficulties to carry out the work faster and to preserve secrecy.

2. Part of the activists of the Party and Soviet bodies, and officers of the militia did not cope with the drawing up of the statements of the search and distrain of property. (..)

3. The Workers' Guards – 25 pers[ons], sent to help the representatives of the district, arrived three hours after the beginning of the operation. Therefore they were not fully used in the operational work.

Also the seniors of the operational groups of the People's [Commissariat] of State Security arrived from Riga 1–2 hours before the operation, therefore they didn't manage to get acquainted with the materials and the local situation well. (..)

Beloglazov,
Representative of the CC of C(B)PL
and the LSSR SPC in Tukums District

Vasenkov,
Representative of the LSSR
People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs

[80]

A fragment from the book *"No tevis jau neprasa daudz"* (Nothing Much is Asked of You) by G. Ulmanis, the President of the State of Latvia (1993–1999), on conditions of life in the place of the special deportation in Siberia

My mother and I had remained only two for more than a half of a year, and at the beginning of the summer 1941, we lived in Padure. It was there, where the chekists took us together with my grandfather, grandmother and both of my mother's brothers. In Riga, men were separated from the others at once, then also the able women, and only two of us – my grandmother and I reached the place.

(..)

My grandmother and I were located in the Krashoyarsk Territory, Buganaya village, at the Kana river. There was one long street, many structures of horizontal logs, and the taiga all around. I with my grandmother and a Latvian woman were the only deportees in the Buganaya village. I remember this woman with light feelings of gratitude. Unfortunately I have forgotten her name.

At the beginning, we lived in a Russian family. Then my grandmother and I were given our own, quite a large room. It was there, where the first images, occurrences and events emerged from the darkness of my non-consciousness.

First of all – deep snow and ice. And like a cosy shelter in this chilly world – the big, comfortable Russian stove, on which I lay. I remember the glaring oven mouth, from which the warmth came out. We prepared food in the cast iron kettles, which were pushed into the oven and then pulled out with the help of special fork arms. The only food, which I remember, was potatoes. And very often we felt the lack of them, too.

When we were taken to the Buganaya village, we had nothing to eat and nothing to put on. Every day it was necessary to announce ourselves at the authorities so that they could be sure that we had not run away. We were given out to be atrocious fascists, and the inhabitants were forbidden to render us any help.

And here comes the first "scene" from *"Ilgais ceļš kāpās"* (The Long Way in the Dunes)[1]. At night, having muffled themselves up so that the sleuths could not recognize them, women of the village came to us. They had taken with them a pail of potatoes and a pail of pickled cucumbers. Obviously they, like in the film, had discussed and reasoned much, and had come to a conclusion that a middle aged

[1] A film produced by A. Brenčs, in which there is also a story about a deported Latvian woman and her underaged son.

woman and a child below two could not be so terrible criminals not to allow even to give them food. And the women came to see us, although they themselves were very poor and this visit could have had rather sad end for them – it was no joke to support the people's enemies during the war time. My grandmother didn't forget this case all her life, since the women of the Russian village perhaps saved our lives at that time.

In Siberia, I spent the time from the age of not quite two to seven. And all these five years I was often and seriously ill. My grandma was surprised how I could have survived. To my mind, I saved myself due to the fact that before the deportation, I was very well taken care of and had become a strong and healthy child.

In Siberia, certainly, there were neither doctors nor medicine. Grandmother's herbal tea or most often clear boiled water were the only medicine, when we were caught by flu, measles or had a sore throat. The most serious case was, as I was told later, when I was down with a scarlet fever. I recall that time as if in a pink glow of fire. I had awfully high temperature, and for three days I lay unconscious and motionless. My grandmother, understanding that it was all over with me, had bespoken a longish wooden box in the neighbourhood...

(..)

[81]
Excerpts from N. Ratnieks' memories about his life in deportation in Siberia

(..)

I, Ratnieks Nikolajs, the son of Pēteris, was born on 25 June 1935 in Rēzekne (..). My father comes from peasants of the Rēzna *pagasts*[1], the village of Pituški (..). My father left his home very early (my grandfather died in 1905 or 1906 after the Japanese War[2], in which he took part, of a typhus, when he was returning home from the Japanese captivity), graduated from the commercial school and worked as a bookkeeper in the Road Department in Daugavpils. Then he was a customs officer at the Indra village, but later – a police officer in the villages of Aglona and Malta, where he worked until the deportation. From 17 June, he was the head of the militia[3] precinct. Besides, my mother owned the farm "Agafonovka" not far from Viļāni (..). In June 1941, my father was at home, on his holidays, and worked in the field. It was a very nice morning on 14 June 1941. I and my younger brother Aleksandrs (b. 2.01.1937) went to see our father, who was harrowing in the garden. Through the forest we saw two lorries with people and soldiers coming in our place. They didn't see us. My father unharnessed the horse and we all went home. Our freedom ended with that moment.

Our father was separated from us at once and was taken away for questioning. We started to pack things for going away. We were taken to Rēzekne first. Bigger possessions were not allowed to be taken with. We were told that all necessary things would be available at the place we were taken to. Fortunately, my mother's sister lived in Rēzekne, so she could take all forbidden things (we felt especially sorry to leave the sewing-machine, since my mother was good at sewing).

As far as Daugavpils, my father went together with us, but afterwards all men were separated from their families and they went in separate wagons. I didn't see him since then any more. He arrived at Viatlag, where he died in 1942. We got to know about it only in 1959.

We were taken to the town of Kansk in the Kranoyarsk Territory, but from there to the Orlovka village of the Dzerzhinsk Region. It was a large village, but since the collectivization of 1929 it was half empty, therefore there were no problems with flats. At the beginning, we lived in a big, spacious house, but in winter, we were not able to heat it sufficiently and so we moved to a smaller house.

My mother worked on the collective farm. Sometimes she received bread for the

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[1] Township.

[2] Russian-Japanese War in 1904–1905.

[3] That's how in the document. Correct: the police.

work. I don't remember quite well what we subsisted on, but I remember that I was always hungry. In winter, it grew much worse, and my mother, though it was in February, went to the uncut field of wheat and gleaned. One day we were searched and about 2 kg of wheat was found at our place. My mother was brought to trial. Till the trial, my mother didn't work on the kolkhoz any more, but sewed for the people of the village, for what she earned bread. That was how we lived until she was tried and sentenced to 3 years in prison (..). We, three brothers, were sent to the children's home, besides the elder brother Georgs (b. on 2.04.1931) was sent to the Denisovka children's home of the same region, but we two, younger brothers – to Taseyev. I stayed in the Taseyev children's home till autumn 1943. When the school began, I was brought to the Dzerzhinsk children's home, since the Taseyev one was meant for the children of the pre-school age.

In autumn 1943, many children of the sieged Leningrad[1] were sent to the Dzerzhinsk children's home. They were much older than us, about 13–15, and they regularly took away our bread and other food. As a result, I fell ill with dystrophy and scurvy. My legs started to swell and in spring I was totally ill, hopelessly doomed to death. My elder brother got to know about it in some way (I myself had no contacts with my relatives), and he was allowed to take me to his place in Denisovka (8 km from Dzerzhinsk). And so, he came to me somewhere in summer. We started our journey at about 8 in the morning and reached Denisovka only at 2 o'clock at night, besides the last 2 km I was carried on a stretcher.

My brother worked as a water-carrier having a cow for a tractive force. As a compensation for the work, he was allowed to milk the cow, and through this drop of milk he saved me. During the summer, I recovered little by little. It was already in 1944. In Denisovka, I started to attend the second class. In the very late summer, when crossing Denisovka, a lorry full with children arrived at our place, there was also my younger brother among them. We ran up to them, asked to leave him with us, but the persons who accompanied children, didn't allow it. Then Georgs went to speak with the seniors, but we together with my friends simply stole our brother from the lorry, hid ourselves in the forest and stayed there until the lorry left. That was how we all reunited.

In 1945, Georgs was sent to the vocational school in Krasnoyarsk, and Aleksandrs stayed in Denisovka. In the late summer 1945 or at the beginning of 1946, I do not remember exactly, my mother was released. She started to live at Kansk (in the camp, too). In 1946, when the school year was over, we went to Kansk and in autumn I started to go in the fourth class, but Aleksandrs – in the third class. Then Georgs arrived from Krasnoyarsk and said that the Latvian children from children's homes

[1] Children, who were taken away from Leningrad (St. Petersburg now), sieged by the German Army, are meant here.

were taken to Latvia. We applied, too, Georgs and I got in the group, which went in September, October. I don't remember quite well, but I had already attended the school in Kansk for some time.

We were taken through Moscow. In Moscow, we were given better clothes. Then for some time we were kept at the Riga distributive children's home. Then my godfather took us to his place in Jelgava (..). In November, also Aleksandrs arrived in the same way (..).

Till the New Year, we lived in Jelgava, then my godfather took me and my younger brother to Latgale. Aleksandrs started to live at Zemesgols and attended school at Taudejāņi. I lived in Petuški and went to school in Stoļerova. In 1947, my aunt, with whom I lived, died, and I moved to Zemesgols (..). In 1947, my mother unwarrantedly arrived to us from the place of deportation, changed her surname, and in 1948, we went to Daugavpils (..). In 1950, my mother was arrested. Our relative betrayed her (..). At the beginning, my mother was sentenced to 3 years in prison for the escape, then she was amnestied, but was not allowed to return home. On 20 December 1950, we all were arrested. Aleksandrs was taken right from the classes, then also we. Four men with automatic rifles, accompanied by a senior lieutenant, took part in the arrest.

And our way back to the Krasnoyarsk Territory started. Yet this time we were transported through many halting places. We experienced the following prisons: that of Rēzekne, the Riga Central Prison, the Novgorod prison, "Kresti" prison in Leningrad, the prisons of Kirov, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Kansk (..). Finally we reached Taseyev (..) In April 1954, we all were released (..).

CHAPTER 4

Latvia under the Nazi occupation

The radical utopian ideologies of the transformation of a society – the Bolshevism and National Socialism (Nazism), as well as the fascism, kindred with the latter, found a possibility to be realized in Russia, Germany and Italy as a result of the political and economical crashes caused by World War I. They all were aggressive ideologies, which claimed the regional or even world supremacy of their countries.

The German radical forces were dissatisfied with the provisions of the Versailles Peace Treaty, signed in June 1919. The struggle against the "diktat" of Versailles was the central item of the German radical nationalist movement.

Part of the representatives of the German radical nationalistic, revanchist movement was united in the German Workers' Party. In autumn 1919, A. Hitler joined this Party; soon he became the leader – "*Führer*" of this Party (which was renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party) with unlimited power. The influence of the Nazi Party grew rapidly, but as a result of elections, which took place in early 1933, it became the leading party in Germany. After the takeover of power, the Nazi Party was announced to be the sole party. Its organizations controlled the whole political, social and cultural life of Germany. The views of this party on their turn were announced as "the world outlook" of the German nation.

If communists declared that an uninterrupted class struggle advanced the history, then in the center of "the national socialist world outlook" there was an idea about the continuous struggle between the "higher and lower races" as the driving force of the history. If initially the Communist International had charged each communist with the task of fighting for the victory of the proletariat's dictatorship in the whole world, then the struggle, headed by the *Führer*, for acquiring new living space (*Lebensraum*) for the "highest race – the Aryan – German one", i.e. for the Germans [82], reaching the world supremacy for this race with the time, was the task set before each National Socialist.

The unlimited anti-Semitism was the characteristic feature of the National Socialism. "The Jewish race" was declared the most ferocious enemy of the "Aryan race" and civilization that had to be exterminated mercilessly [83]. The cultivation of the warring anti-Semitism brought to the Holocaust. The anti-Semitic propaganda was joined with the anti-capitalistic demagogy, turned against the "rotten plutocratic regimes" of the USA and Western Europe. Unlike the Bolsheviks, the Nazis, however, didn't deny the private property. They didn't carry out also such social experiments as collectivization. But they, likewise the Bolsheviks, completely denied democracy,

establishing a hierarchic, totalitarian regime. Like the Bolsheviks, the Nazis destroyed or forbade many cultural values, persecuted social democrats, liberals and Christians. Thus the political methods of the left-wing radicals – Bolsheviks and the right-wing radicals – Nazis turned out to be similar in many fields, only the former chose their enemies and realized genocide mainly according to the class feature, but the latter – according to the national one.

The Nazis declared cooperation among countries and peoples absolute nonsense, and sought to occupy the neighbouring states with growing brutality. Besides A. Hitler had declared that primarily the territories to be occupied were found in Russia and in the countries which were under its rule. The Nazi propaganda called the bolshevistic regime of the Soviet Union the domination of Jews. Their opinion was that the Russian people were not able to overthrow this domination, but Jews, in their turn, were not capable of creative activity, therefore Russia (USSR) as a state was doomed to destruction and the Germans should conquer and use it. Thus the rapprochement of both totalitarian regimes turned out to be of short duration.

Implementing the plans of the Nazi regime concerning the occupation of Russia, on 22 June 1941 at 3.30 a.m., the German troops attacked the Red Army along the whole German-USSR border. The war between Germany and the USSR began, and already on its first days it affected Latvia, occupied by the USSR.

The group of the German troops *"Nord"* (The North) headed by General Field-Marshal V. von Leeb, occupied the territory of Latvia.

The change of the occupation powers had taken place in the time, when the state of Latvia had lost its capacity. However the diplomatic representatives of the Republic of Latvia in those Western countries, which had not recognized the illegal incorporation of Latvia in the USSR realized by the USSR, expressed a clear opinion in this question. Thus, for instance, A. Bīlmanis, the Minister (Envoy) of the Republic of Latvia in the United States of America, only in 1941 three times applied to the USA government with the condemnation of the occupation realized by the Nazi regime.

With respect to the "new political development of the European Russia", on 17 July 1941, A. Rosenberg, head (*Reichsleiter*) of the Foreign Department of the Natio-nal Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), was appointed the Minister (*Reichsminister*) for the Occupied Eastern Areas.

In 1941, the so-called Eastern Area or Eastern Land (Ostland) was formed in the territory of the Baltic countries and Belorussia. Ostland was stated to be the region of the USSR, occupied by the State of Germany (*Reich*), which had to become "the country of German settlement" by exterminating, resettling and Germanizing "the natives". "Each kind of independent statehood or autonomy is and will remain forbidden," – declared A. Rosenberg already on 20 June 1941, [84]. Contrary to the desire of Latvians to restore their state, ruined in 1940, already at the very beginning,

occupants created fiduciary councils in Latvia, which were obedient only to them. In 1942, the Land Self-Administration of Latvia was created, which had several General Directors. The functions of this Land Self-Administration were rather limited, but Riga was subject to direct German administration.

On 17 July 1941, A. Hitler appointed the head of the NSDAP territorial organization (*Gauleiter*) and the Chief President of the Land H. Lohse, the Reich Commissar (*Reichskommissar*) for Ostland with the residence in Riga. H. Lohse took over the civilian administration of Ostland and determined that "the authorities of the German civil administration issue orders to civilians", but "in the Reich Commissariat of the Eastern Area, the language of administration is the German language", however, in each former Baltic State (*der Generalbezirk*), "the language of that district may be admitted" [85]. The Nazis developed a strong centralized system of administration [86]. O. Drechsler, General Commissar (*Generalkommissar*) for Latvia (called also the *Generalkommissar* in Riga) arrived in Riga. He had six district commissars (*Gebietskommissars*) under him – of the district of Riga city, the districts of Riga, Liepāja, Jelgava, Valmiera and Daugavpils. The celebration of the Proclamation Day of the Republic of Latvia on 18 November was forbidden [87]. In Latvia, the Latvian language as "the local language" had a secondary role [88], any attempts of Latvians to restore their independence were oppressed and persecuted.

Likewise the Bolsheviks, the Nazi sought to extinguish memories about the independent Republic of Latvia from the consciousness of Latvians. A wide-scale propaganda was carried out to emphasize "the ancient German character" of the Baltic lands. On the order of occupants, those names of the streets of Riga had to be deleted from the list, which could remind of endeavours for freedom and the time of independence, as well as relations with the USA, France and other Western countries. For the main part they had to be replaced by the names of the leaders of the Nazi Party and the German military [89].

In Latvia, likewise in other occupied countries of Europe, the Nazis realized genocide against Jews and Gypsies. The Nazi started to implement A. Hitler's plan about the extermination of Jews in the USSR and the Baltic countries, which were occupied by it, already before the aggression of Germany in the Soviet Union: special order No. 1 was issued, and several weeks prior to the war with the USSR, the meeting of the SS[1] and police commanders took place, in which they were made to shoot dead the Jews of the occupied territory [90]. Also the Mobile Unit "A", which

[1] SS - the organization which existed from 1923 to 1945 and primarily was meant to guard the mass events, organized by the Nazis Party. Later it became the militarized elite of the Nazis. The SS was divided into the General SS (*Allgemeine SS*), the tasks of which were connected with the ideological and repressive issues, and the SS of Weapons (*Waffen SS*) that was meant for the use in the battlefront.

was active in Latvia, received the order about shooting the Jews. The Jews were put in the ghettos of Riga, Liepāja and Daugavpils [91] and killed [93].

Because of the occupation, the state of Latvia had lost its capacity and could not protect its citizens. The Latvian people, as it was proved even by the former commissar of the district of Riga City and the city mayor-commissar (*Kommissarischer Oberbürgermeister von Riga*) during the period of the Nazi occupation – H. Wittrock, took the extermination of Jews with great indignation [92], although the Nazi propaganda tried its best to blame Jews for the atrocities of the *Cheka*, which had taken place during the 1940–1941 Bolshevik occupation and the deportation of 14 June 1941. Risking their lives and freedom, Latvians saved many Jewish families from death. The Latvian people on the whole turned away with contempt and disgust from the participants of the Nazi punitive actions (the so-called "Arājs commando" et al.), who had joined in the genocide against the Jewish and Gypsy citizens of their own country[1].

Not only Jews and Gypsies, but also Latvians and the citizens of Latvia of other nationalities became victims of the Nazi punitive operations [94, 95]. Any case of disobedience to occupants could be punished by death or "the house of forced labour" [96]. The mentally ill patients of psychiatric clinics were exterminated, too. During the Horror years of the Nazi occupation about 70 000 Jews, 18 000 Latvians and 2000 Gypsies[2] were killed in Latvia. About 6000–7000 inhabitants of Latvia were put into the Nazi concentration camps, the biggest of them was in Salaspils. Because of inhuman conditions and maltreatment, the Soviet prisoners of war perished in large numbers, too.

The Nazi invaders mercilessly looted Latvia by confiscating all agricultural produce and taking out to Germany great amount of cattle, grain, meat, potatoes, etc. Only in October and December 1941, the supplies from Ostland constituted 29.3 million reichsmarks [97]. The equipment of factories and machines were taken out to Germany, too.

The German authorities actually accepted nationalization of property, carried out in 1940 and 1941. The possessions, which the Germans got in their hands as a result of it, were considered to be captured materials and were meant to strengthen the positions of the Germans in the future. The local inhabitants didn't get back the big enterprises (except several factories) from the occupation government, but only the small shops and workshops of craftsmen. Approximately one fourth of the farmers

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[1] After the restoration of the independence of Latvia, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia passed a declaration "On the Condemnation and Inadmissibility of Genocide and Anti-Semitism in Latvia" on 19 September 1990. The declaration points out that "there is no and there can't be any justification or lapse for the bloody genocide against the Jewish people as for the crime against the humanity".

[2] The precise number of the victims is not known. For instance, the number of the Jews killed, mentioned in the works of different authors, wavers from 63 000 to 75 000.

and the bulk of the owners of houses and the landed estate in towns recovered their property. Denationalization was not applied to the Jews. They were deprived of all property.

During the Nazi occupation, theatres, including the Opera, functioned rather freely. However, German civil servants thoroughly censored books, newspapers and magazines. In spite of the occupation, Latvian writers, artists and musicians continued working and created a number of outstanding works.

The work of schools was resumed, too. Yet the German civil servants dismissed or even arrested many teachers only because they had worked at school during the year of the Soviet occupation. That was how the schools lost about 3000 teachers. In premises of several schools, the Germans arranged hospitals for the wounded soldiers. During the Nazi occupation, the University of Latvia was called the University in Riga. The Germans did not allow many lecturers of a national disposition to work there. However, also during the Nazi occupation, the Latvian scientists carried out several important studies, mainly in the humanities.

The genocide, realized in the Baltic countries, had to be followed by the colonization of the Baltic States anticipated in the "General Plan of the East" (*"Generalplan Ost"*), which was drafted already in 1940. In the secret "Outline for the Arrangement of the Ostland Area", prepared in 1942, Riga, Liepāja and Kurzeme (Courland) were chosen as the territory for the settlement of the German colonists. In the countryside, the estates of 300–1000 ha and specially built mansions were envisaged for the German officers. It was anticipated to settle 164 000 Germans in the so-called support centers of Latvia during 25 years, but later, whole Latvia had to be colonized.

In Latvia, the Nazis also mobilized inhabitants for the labour service: about 35 000 people were deported for labour in Germany.

At the beginning, the Nazis implemented A. Hitler's rule that only Germans could carry weapons, and the Latvian self-defense forces created during the first days of the war, were disbanded already in July 1941. However, when the war dragged on, the organization of 41 Latvian guard battalions[1] started; primarily they were meant to satisfy the local needs. Latvian police battalions were sent to Russia, Belorussia and the Ukraine for use on the front, as well as for fighting against the communist partisans. With the growing difficulties of the German Army, especially after the defeat at Stalingrad, the occupation power, violating the international law that forbade mobilization in the occupied territory, in 1943–1944, organized the combatant units of the USSR non-Russian nationalities totaling to half a million soldiers. The majority of these combatant units were called legions. On 10 February 1943, A. Hitler ordered organization of the Latvian "Voluntary" SS Legion [98]. By August 1943,

[1] Besides, seven more guard battalions were formed of the Slav minorities of Latvia, mainly of Russians and Belorussians.

17 000 soldiers were mobilized in it. In exchange for the mobilization, the Latvian Land Self-Administration hoped to receive determination of the legal statehood of Latvia (at least autonomy) and the revocation of the USSR nationalization laws [99]. Continuing the mobilization [100] and including nine police battalions in the legion, by 1 July 1944 the Germans succeeded to involve 85 550 men in the legion that constituted 58.3% of the 146 610 mobilized in the German Army from the territory of Latvia. Altogether the number of the mobilized persons constituted about 8% of the inhabitants of Latvia that considerably exceeded the maximum mobilization quota. Latvian soldiers fought against the Red Army of the USSR not to allow the repetition of the Year of Horror 1940–1941, but the German occupation power sought to use them as cannon fodder to reach their aims [101]. The Latvian Legion, which consisted of two divisions (the 15th and 19th) was given the name of the Unit of the SS of Weapons (*Waffen SS*), to create an impression that it was a unit of volunteers (the SS was a voluntary organization). In reality, according to sociological data, volunteers comprised only about 15%[1] of the Legion. Having received from Germans arms, they hoped to start armed struggle for restoration of independence of Latvia, using the opportunity, when both totalitarian powers would be weakened in fighting against one another. Yet these hopes were not destined to come true – about 50 000 men were killed in the battles against the Red Army. That was how free space was created for the later colonization planned by the Germans. Under-aged youths were mobilized in the German auxiliary anti-aircraft force [102], many of them were also killed.

Both communist and national resistance movements expanded in Latvia. Yet Western Great Powers – the allied countries of the USSR in the war – agreed to support only the communist resistance movement in Latvia. In 1943, during the Teheran Conference, the Great Alliance confidentially agreed to exchange the intelligence data concerning the German occupied territories, and as a result of it, the data on the Latvian national resistance movement came in hands of the USSR.

The Headquarters of the Latvian Red Partisans sent many partisans in these territories and organized their supply. However, these partisans had no particular success. In difference from the communist resistance movement which was to no purpose in the anti-communistic civil environment, where there were still fresh memories about the Year of Horror, the idea of the independent Latvia united the Latvian people [103, 104]. The Central Council of Latvia (CCL), which in 1943 was formed by the representatives of four biggest political parties of the independent Latvia, had a noteworthy importance for informing the public opinion about the real events in Latvia [105]. However, the armed units of the CCL, the formal commander

[1] The Nuremberg International War Tribunal, which recognized the *Waffen SS* as a criminal organization, at the same time stated that persons, who had been involved in this organization by coercive means and who had not performed criminal activities, could not be considered members of a criminal organization.

of which was General J. Kurelis, were annihilated by the German Secret Service (SD) in 1944.

In July 1944, the Red Army started a wide-scale attack in the Baltic, and in autumn 1944, it reached Kurzeme. The German occupation government and the Land Self-Administration left Latvia, but the highest commander of the SS and police in Ostland and Northern Russia – General F. Jeckeln was granted extraordinary authority to mobilize inhabitants and evacuate them to Germany [106]. Often the evacuation turned into violent deportation of inhabitants [107].

The war between Germany and the USSR ended on 9 May 1945. In 1941 and 1944/45, Latvia had become a battle-field and suffered enormous economic losses and those of inhabitants. The number of the population of Latvia, in comparison with 2 million in 1939, comprised only 1.4 million (70%) in autumn of 1945. Yet the Nazi plan of submission and Germanization of the Latvian nation and the colonization of Latvia was not realized. The war for domination at the Eastern Baltic Sea (*dominium maris Baltici*) had ended with the victory of the Red Empire supported by the West.

[82–83] The Nazi German ideology: War and Racism, Anti-Semitism

[82]
A. Hitler:
The only way how to solve our problems is to conquer new lands

(..) For it is not in colonial acquisitions that we must see the solution of this problem, but exclusively in the acquisition of a territory for settlement, which will enhance the area of the mother country, and hence not only keep the new settlers in the most intimate community with the land of their origin, but secure for the total area those advantages which lie in unified magnitude.

The folkish movement must not be the champion of other peoples, but the vanguard fighter of its own. (..) In particular, we are not constables guarding the well-known "poor little nations", but soldiers of our own nation.

But we National Socialists must go further. The right to posses soil can become a duty if without extension of its soil a great nation seems doomed to destruction. And most specially when not some little nigger nation or other is involved, but the Germanic mother of life, which has given the present day world its cultural picture. Germany will either be a world power or there will be no Germany. And for world power she needs that magnitude which will give her the position she needs in the present period and life to her citizens.

[83]

Excerpt from the speech of A. Hitler on extinction of the "Jewish race" in Europe, made in the German *Reichstag* on 30 January 1939

(..) If the international finance-Jewry[1] in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevizing of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe! (..)

[1] In the original: *"Finanzjudentum"*.

[84]

Excerpt from the speech on the Eastern policy of Germany by A. Rosenberg, head (*Reichsleiter*) of the Foreign Department of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), Berlin, 20 June 1941

[20 June 1941]

Proposals concerning the matters of the eastern policy

(..)

1. The system of collective farms basically won't be changed much.

2. For a long period of time, the local population will be deprived of any possibility of growth and education, so far as it is not in the interests of the German government.

3. Each kind of independent statehood or autonomy is and will remain forbidden.

4. Arbitrariness and scorn in relations with inhabitants will exist and will be consolidated legally.

The above relations are not based on the humanitarian considerations, but on those necessary to achieve the [our] goal, which are realized only in accordance with the German interests. (..)

(..)

[85]

Order of H. Lohse, the Reich Commissar for Ostland, on the taking over of the civilian government of Ostland, 18 August 1941

Kaunas, 18 August 1941

Order concerning taking the administration of the Eastern Area in the hands of the Reich Commissar

§ 1

With taking over of the civilian government, the executive power has passed in the hands of "the Reich Commissar for the Eastern Area".

The *Führer* has handed over the use of the military sovereignty and military authorities to the "commander of the armed forces of the Eastern Area", and this order does not affect his powers.

§ 2

In the districts, which are under the authority of the Reich Commissar for the Eastern Area, the authorities of the German civilian administration issue instructions for the civilians.

This does not effect the jurisdiction of the authorities of the commander of the Armed Forces of the Eastern Area concerning the demand to execute the defense tasks of the Reich.

§ 3

There are the following bodies of the German civilian government:
the Reich Commissar for the Eastern Area,
General Commissars,
Chief Commissars[1] and
the Commissars of the districts.

§ 4

The German civilian government takes over the whole movable property and the real estate found in the area under the Reich Commissar for the Eastern Area, which had belonged to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, public corporations[2],

[1] Actually such a position was not established.
[2] Public companies.

companies and associations, together with different kinds of claims, shares, rights and interests as of 20 June 1940, in accordance with the provisions of the nearest regulations.

The right to subordinate the property and endowment relations is being preserved.

The property of the Russian military power[1] is under the jurisdiction of the German military power[2].

§ 5

In the Reich Commissariat of the Eastern Area, the language of administration is the German language.

In each General district, the language of that district may be admitted.

§ 6

This order takes effect on the day of its announcement.

Der Reichskommissar für das Ostland[3]
LOHSE

[1] The Soviet Army is meant here.
[2] The German Army is meant here.
[3] That is how the order in Latvian is signed.

[86]

Draft order on the occupation self-administration in the General District of Latvia, by the Ministry for Occupied Eastern Areas, 23 October 1941*

STATE SECRET

Draft order on the self-administration in the General District of Latvia

Paragraph **1**

By taking over the civilian government, in the General District of Latvia, the execution of the state sovereignty rights has passed over to the institutions of the German civilian administration.

Paragraph **2**

The[1] Land administration is entrusted to the inhabitants[2] of the General District of Latvia within the limits of the following regulations.

The land administration executes the entrusted functions in accordance with the new arrangement of the Eastern space, headed by German Reich, and[3] the interests of the Reich.

The land administration realizes[4] the entrusted rights through its institutions and civil servants.

The bodies and institutions of the land administration have their badges and official stamps.

Paragraph **3**

In the General District of Latvia, the institutions of the German civilian government supervise the land administration in accordance with the directives of the Reich Commissar of Ostland. The General Commissar has the authority to carry out the measures of the organization of the land administration, which are necessary[5] to facilitate the management and supervision.

Paragraph **4**

The land administration is headed by General Directors. They are invited by the General Commissar. The General Directors are responsible for the organization of administration in the entrusted spheres of the land administration. At the same time, they have to run their institutions in accordance with the Reich policy and new arrangement of the eastern space.

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* The occupation self-government was formed according to the present draft order.

[1] Crossed out: self-responsible.

[2] Crossed out: the Latvian people.

[3] Crossed out: political, military and economic.

[4] Crossed out: by its bodies.

[5] Hand insertion: in the interests of the state.

In order to run their institutions, the General Directors need the confidence of the General Commissar. He decides about the dismissal of the General Directors.

In fundamental questions, the General Director of the Interior represents the land administration in relations with the General Commissar[1].

Paragraph **5**

In the General District of Latvia, the determination of rights takes place in the following way:

a) by the order of the General Commissar,

b) by the order of the General Directors.

The fields of law, which have been completely regulated by the supreme authorities, the Reich Commissar of Ostland or the General Commissar of the General District of Latvia, or which are expressly envisaged for the jurisdiction of the German institutions, do not fall under the jurisdiction of the General Directors.

The orders of the General Directors require the consent of the General Commissar.

After the consent of the General Commissar, the General Director of the Interior draws up the orders of the General Directors and announces them.

Paragraph **6**

The General Directors announce the administrative instructions of the land administration in the fields of their authority. The General Commissar determines the principal direction of the administrative instructions. He may agree or disagree with the announcement of the administrative instructions and revoke the administrative measures of the land administration.

Paragraph **7**

The heads of the administrative districts realize all administration in the administrative districts of the land. The head of the administrative district is the head of the general land administration of the district and simultaneously the head of the self-administration of the administrative district.

Apart from the institution of the head of the administrative district, there may not exist any independent special branch institution of the land administration. The courts of the land administration, as well as the railway and postal institutions are the exception.

The matters of the land administration may be entrusted to the self-administration of the administrative district.

The General Director of the Interior appoints the head of the administrative district with the consent of the General Commissar. The dismissal takes place with the consent, resp., according to the claim, of the General Commissar.

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[1] Crossed out: he arranges the representation of other General Directors in case of their absence.

Paragraph **8**

The administration of towns and *pagasts*[1] is arranged by the land administration with the consent of the General Commissar.

Paragraph **9**

The commissars of the districts carry out the political supervision over the heads of the administrative districts and the administration of towns and *pagasts*. In implementing their tasks, they are subject only to the instructions of the supreme authorities of the German civilian administration.

The commissars of the districts have the authority to ask information on their districts from all institutions of the land administration and to revoke[2] or postpone, till the decision of the General Commissar, the measures of the land administration, which contradict the opinion of the district commissar[3].

In the face of the danger, the district commissars have the authority to take the necessary decisions in the sphere of the land administration directly by themselves.

Paragraph **10**

The official language of the institutions of the land administration and the German civilian government is the German language.

Within the borders of the land administration, the official languages are the German and Latvian languages.

The General Commissar arranges the official work of the land administration, taking the advice of the General Directors.

Paragraph **11**

The General District of Latvia has definite rights and duties. It is represented by the General Commissar or General Directors in accordance with the detailed regulations of the General Commissar.

Paragraph **12**

The civil servants of the land administration are appointed by the General Director of the Interior. The General Commissar may agree or disagree with the appointment in whole or in each individual case.

The General Director of the Interior, with the consent of the General Commissar, appoints the civil servants of towns, *pagasts*, associations of *pagasts* and other entities of public rights.

Paragraph **13**

The General Director of Finance prepares the budget of the General District of Latvia.

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[1] The districts were further subdivided into cities and *pagasts* (townships), which the Germans called *Gemeinde*.

[2] Crossed out: to forbid.

[3] Written by hand.

The determination of the budget takes place by the order of the General Commissar. Prior to its announcement, the consent of the Reich Commissar of Ostland shall be asked.

Paragraph **14**

In the General District of Latvia, the legal procedure is carried out by the German courts and the courts of the land administration.

The courts of the land administration are competent to judge the cases, which are not planned to be judged at the German courts.

The judges of the land administration, in hearing the cases, are not subject to any instructions.

The General Director of Justice, with the consent of the General Commissar, deals with the constitution of the courts of the land administration.The General Commissar may object to the execution of the sentences in force.

[87]

Direction of the Reich Commissariat of Ostland to O. Drechsler, General Commissar in Riga, prohibiting the Latvians to celebrate the Independence Day of the Republic of Latvia, 5 November 1941

5 November 1941

To: Mr. General Commissar in Riga

R e f e r en c e: The Independence Day in Latvia

I wish to point out that on 18 November, when the former independent state of Latvia celebrated its independence, no social gatherings may take place, which particularly single out the former independence, remind of it or arouse the hopes of new independence in the future. The cultural events (theatre performances, concerts, evenings of songs, etc.), which are free from political tendencies, are allowed, however, thorough control of the programme of the day's events shall be ensured.

In the event, if the Latvians had planned the social gatherings, which contradict the spirit of the above directions, they have to be averted by all means (in case of necessity, by means of the police).

Signed on the instructions
Trampedach

[88]
Excerpt from the instruction of A. Rosenberg, the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Areas, to the German occupation institutions in Ostland on the use of languages, 2 January 1942

Secret
Berlin, 2 January 1942

The Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Areas

To: Mr. Reich Commissar of Ostland
Mr. General Commissar in Riga

R e f e r en c e: the use of languages in Ostland
(..) Hereby I issue the following directions on the use of languages in Ostland:

I

1. The official (professional) language of German institutions

The official (professional) language of German institutions is the German language. Instructions and other announcements, which are meant for all inhabitants, in case of need, may be written in two or several languages. In case of necessity, separate instructions may be supplemented with a translation in the local language, too. In both cases, the German edition is the ruling one.

2. The official (professional) languages of the local institutions

The official (professional) language of the institutions of the land itself is basically also the German language. Therefore the public announcements of these institutions shall be prepared first in the German language and only then in the local language or languages. In the transitional period, the local institutions may use the local language instead of the German one for internal official use and in mutual relations only then if all employees of the respective institution know this language. Instructions meant for individual persons may be prepared in the local language of these persons, not in the German one. At the institutions, however, it is not allowed to use the local language in communication with the persons, who have different native language.

3. The local languages

Basically the local languages are mutually equal. If the announcements are made in several languages, their sequence shall be determined in accordance with the numerical prevalence of the language groups in the respective administrative districts. On principle, one shall avoid the situation, when any of the local languages obtains preference and becomes the common means of communication. However, such a situation is possible with respect to the German language.

At the same time, one shall prevent the situation, when the local languages of the majority gradually absorb the local minority languages, except the cases, if politically completely insignificant or undesirable languages – crumbs are meant. It is important to ensure the observation of these principles also at the local institutions.

4. The teaching of languages at schools

At the very beginning, priority shall be given to the teaching of the German language at different schools (e. g., also vocational schools). The curriculum shall be formed respectively. Besides teaching of German to inhabitants shall be favoured in every possible way. By doing it, however, one shall avoid the use of coercive measures, since they usually do more harm than good to the intended undertaking. The first task will be to train good teaching staff.

5. The employees of the German institutions

The employees of the German institutions shall not be urged to learn any of the local languages. Also in private contacts, they shall basically speak only German. In order to avoid unnecessary offending of the local inhabitants, one shall see to it that this opinion is not emphasized in relation to the local inhabitants. It's obvious that the use of separate words of the local language because of a motivated necessity shall not be eradicated. Moreover, the wish of the *Führer* is to urge the employees of the German institutions to learn Russian also in Ostland, in order to use them also in other Eastern districts, so that they could get on well with Russian workers (..).

[89]

Directions of H. Wittrock, Commissar of the District of Riga City and the Riga City Mayor-Commissar of Riga, on renaming the streets, squares and parks of Riga, 16 April 1942

Riga, 16 April 1942

Partly changing the renaming of streets in Riga, carried out in August 1941, hereby I announce the official list of the renamed streets, squares and parks of Riga:

Previous name of the street	**New name of the street**
Augusta Deglava iela	*Rumpenhöfsche Strasse*
Andreja Pumpura iela	*Ullerspergerstrasse*
Aizsargu iela	*Yorkstrasse*
Alberta iela	*Hollanderstrasse*
Antonijas iela	*Ernst-von-Bergmann-Strasse*
Aristīda Briāna iela	*Wilhelm-Ostwald-Strasse*
Aspāzijas bulvāris	*Von-der-Goltz-Ring*
Ausekļa iela	*Wilhelm-Purvitis-Strasse*
Baznīcas iela	*Laudonstrasse*
Bergmaņa iela	*Schweinfurthstrasse*
Brīvības bulvāris	*Adolf-Hitler-Alee*
Brīvības iela	*Adolf-Hitler-Strasse*
Brīvības gatve	*Livländische Landstrasse*
Citadeles iela	*Hans-von-Manteuffel-Strasse*
Dāvida iela	*Stieglitzstrasse*

Dzirnavu iela	*Richard-Wagner-Strasse*
Elija iela	*Kaufhofstrasse*
Elizabetes iela	*Wolter-von-Plettenberg-Ring*
Gabriela iela	*Reiherstrasse*
1905. gada parks	*Griesenberg*
Gogoļa iela	*Kirchholmer Strasse*
Jāņa Asara iela	*Adlerstrasse*
Jāņa Čakstes laukums	*Schlossplatz*
13. janvāra iela	*General-von-Hutier-Strasse*
Jura Alunāna iela	*Oberst-Lasch-Strasse*
Kongresa iela	*Gildstubenstrasse*
Krūzes iela	*Dr.-Porsche-Strasse*
Lāčplēša iela	*Carl-Schirren-Strasse*
15. maija laukums	*Domplatz*
Marijas iela	*Pleskauer Strasse*
Meistaru iela	*Kl. Schmiedestrasse*
Merķeļa iela	*Bismarckstrasse*
Miķeļa iela	*Major-Bischoff-Strasse*
Muitas iela	*Major-Fletcher-Strasse*
Noliktavas iela	*Schlageterstrasse*

11. novembra bulvāris	*An der Düna*
Pulkveža Brieža iela	*I Weidendamm*
Raiņa bulvāris	*Alfred-Rosenberg-Ring*
Reimersa iela	*Moltkestrasse*
Rūpniecības iela	*Landeswehrstrasse*
Samarina iela	*Infanteriestrasse*
Skolas iela	*Karl-Ernest-von-Baer-Strasse*
Salaspils iela	*Flossstrasse*
Vāgnera iela	*Gärtnereistrasse*
Valdemāra iela	*Hermann-Göring-Strasse*
Vašingtona laukums	*Ludendorffplatz*
Vidus iela	*Freikorpsstrasse*
Vienības gatve	*Tilsiter Landstrasse*
Viestura dārzs	*Hindenburgpark*
Zemitāna laukums	*Ekserzierplatz*
Zigfr. Meierovica bulvāris	*Deutschordensring*
Žīdu iela	*Nersasstrasse*
Jūrmalas gatve	*Annenhöfsche Strasse (..)*

WITTROCK
Commissar of the District of Riga City
and the Commissary Chief Elder

[90]

Excerpt from the record of examination of K. Jäger, the former *Standartenführer*[1] *SS*, at the Special Commission of the Criminal Police Administration, the Land of Baden-Württemberg, on the Nazi plans to kill the Jews after the attack to the Soviet Union, 15–19 June 1959

(..) I only remember that in one of his addresses Heydrich declared that in case of the war with Russia all Jews in the East have to be killed. I would like to add that I can't remember any more whether he said that **all** Jews had to be killed, or – Jews had to be killed. I also remember that one of the state police chiefs directly asked: "Shall we have to kill Jews?", and Heydrich's approximate answer was that it had to be taken for granted. (..)

[1] Corresponds to the military rank of a colonel.

[91]

Directives of H. Wittrock, Commissar of the District of Riga City, concerning the establishment of the ghetto – the place for the imprisonment of Jews, 23 October 1941

Riga, 23 October 1941

Directives concerning the establishment of the ghetto in Riga and the relationship with Jews

1. There is a ghetto in Riga[1]. It is bounded by Latgales, Vitebskas, Žīdu, Lauvas, Lielā Kalna, Lazdonas, Katoļu, Jēkabpils and Lāčplēša streets. The ghetto is separated by a wire fence.

2. Non-Jews are strictly prohibited to enter the ghetto. One may enter it only with the permission of the Commissar of the Riga City District.

3. Outside the ghetto, it is prohibited to have any relationship with the Jews. Those who purposefully or by absence of mind do not obey this directive will be punished by prison or in more serious cases sentenced to a house of correction.

4. The guards are ordered to shoot without warning at anyone who engages in any traffic with the Jews over or through the fence.

5. Requests for Jewish labour must be made through the Labour Office, in accordance with the established rules.

6. Everyone who employs Jews, appointed by the Labour Office, must have them brought in closed columns under guard to work sites and be returned in the same manner.

7. Employers of Jews must make sure that the rules concerning dealings with the Jews are observed.

Violators of these directives shall be punished by fine of up to RM[2] 1000, if a heavier punishment is not anticipated.

Der Gebietskommissar Riga-stadt[3]

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[1] The Riga ghetto existed from autumn 1941 till autumn 1943. At the beginning, more that 30 000 people were imprisoned in the ghetto. After mass killings in the late November 1941 and early December, when only several thousands of people survived from the former inhabitants of the ghetto, the Jews transported from abroad started to be settled there. According to H. Himler's order of 21 July 1943 on the liquidation of all ghettos (because of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto) all unable persons and children were shot dead, but the remaining ones were imprisoned in concentration camps.

[2] Abbreviation for reichsmark.

[3] That is how the directives in Latvian are signed.

[92]

Excerpt from the memories of H. Wittrock, the former Commissar of the District of Riga City and the Riga City Mayor-Commissar of Riga, on the killing of the Riga Jews in 1941

(..)

It was very close to the end of 1941, when a stunning event overshadowed Riga. On the second Sunday of the Advent, rumours spread in the city that on the order of the SS and the highest police commander Jeckeln, the Jews were taken away from the ghetto, and about ten kilometres from Riga, all together – men, women and children – killed by the SS and buried in one big grave. People spoke about thousands of lives. When the terrible rumours proved true, and the details of the crime became known, the whole city was overwhelmed with indignation about this inhuman action. Although during the Bolshevik occupation, the local inhabitants (..) had suffered from torture and killing (..), yet they through their religious feelings condemned the killing of defenceless men, women and children and were shocked about the godless crime.

[93]

Excerpt from the report of W. Alnor, the Commissar ofDistrict of Liepāja, to O. Drechsler, General Commissar in Riga, on the killing of Jews in Liepāja[1]

[Not later than January 1942]

(..)

From 14 to 17 December, altogether 2700 Jews have been shot dead in Liepāja. In other places of the area, e. g., in Ventspils, the shooting is accomplished. This refers mainly to women and children. As it has been confirmed to me from all sides, the shooting that the whole day was going on in the inner city, namely, in the territory of the naval port, has caused alarm among the inhabitants. There is no doubt that the German authority has suffered considerbly because of that. It has been pointed out to me several times that women, children and infants are being shot almost naked that hardly differs from the Soviet methods. There is an opinion among the seamen that this killing takes place on recommendation of the Reich Commissar, since he had an intention to report to the *Führer* on 1 January that the land is free of Jews.

At the present moment again large-scale killing takes place that anew arouses certain alarm. I cannot understand why the killing is carried out in so brutal manner. During the killings of December 2800 people were thrown only in one pit, 100 m long, 3 m wide and 3 m deep. The shooting took place without the presence of a doctor and an officer so that at night two persons got out of the pit and went to the town dressed only in their underwear. One of them was a woman who had fainted already before the pit and was simply thrown into the pit, where she had recovered consciousness at night. Similar stories are spread in great numbers and that, certainly, does not raise our authority in the eyes of the Latvians. (..)

[1] The document is not signed.

[94]

Excerpts from the report of *Brigadeführer*[1] *SS* F.W. Stahlecker, commander of the Mobile Unit "A" (*Einsatzgruppe A*), on the arrests and killing of civilians in Ostland, 17 August 1941[2]

[17 August 1941]

(..)

Prisons of Latvia

# Prison	Political prisoners	Criminal prisoners
1. Central Prison of Riga	2837	63
2. Term Prison of Riga	672	24
3. Daugavpils	181	15
4. Valmiera	507	21
5. Jelgava	921	45
6. Liepāja	404	12
7. Cēsis	222	14
8. Ventspils	143	3
9. Tukums	101	7
10. Madona	145	1
11. Jēkabpils	84	8
12. Alūksne	83	1
13. Ludza	167	16
14. Rēzekne	597	13
Total	7064	243

[1] Corresponds to the military rank of a major-general.

[2] Only part of the table related to Latvia is published here.

Report on the number of the killed persons

(..)

Latvia	Jews[1]	Communists	Altogether
The city of Riga and the rural district			6378
Jelgava District			3576
Liepāja District			11 860
Valmiera District			209
Daugavpils District	9256	589	9845
(..)			
Latvia	30 025	1843	31 868
(..)			

To be added to the above:

Jews killed in the Jew-baiting of Lithuania and Latvia	5500
(..)	
Mentally ill persons	718
(..)	
[Altogether killed in Ostland]	135 567
(..)	

[1] Some data on the killed Jews and communists are missing.

[95]

Announcement of the Commander of the Security Police in Latvia Strauch about the razing of the Audriņi village, arrest and shooting dead of its inhabitants, 8 January 1942

[8 January 1942]

Hereby the Commander of the Security Police of Latvia informs about the following:

1. Contrary to the repeated warnings with respect to the fact that the persons, who take part in anti-government activities, will be severely punished and those, who harbour such elements in their flats or farms, hide them, provide them with food and weapons, and thus disobey the appeal of the German institutions – to report without delay about these elements to the police, recently, however, separate cases have shown to me that these instructions and appeals are not observed.

2. For more than a quarter of a year, the inhabitants of the Audriņi village of the Rēzekne District have harboured Red Army men, hidden them, given them weapons and helped them in their anti-government attempts in every possible way.

In the struggle against these elements, Latvian police officers have been killed.

3. Therefore, in order to revenge these violations, I have ordered the following:

a) to raze the Audriņi village to the ground,

b) to arrest the inhabitants of the Audriņi village and

c) to shoot publicly 30 male inhabitants of the Audriņi village in the market square of Rēzekne.

4. Also in the future, I shall use all means to turn against those persons, who imagine that the existing order may be sabotaged, as well as against those, who in any way help such elements.

SCHTRAUCH[1] (Štrauhs)
Commander of the Security Police of Latvia
SS-Obersturmbannführers[2]

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[1] That is how in text. Correct: Strauch.

[2] Corresponds to the military rank of a lieutenant-colonel.

[96]
Regulations issued by A. Rosenberg, Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Areas, for the supplementation of the directions of the punitive laws in the occupied Eastern areas

Berlin, 17 February 1942

Regulations for the supplementation of the directions of the punitive laws in the occupied Eastern Areas

(..)

I

The local inhabitants shall behave in accordance with the German laws and instructions, which have been announced by the German institutions and refer to them. In the event if they are not the Reich's-Germans[1] or are not of kin to the German nation, then the following special directions of punishments shall be applied to them:

§ 1

The following persons shall be punished by death, in less important cases – by the house of coercion:

who violently turn against the Reich or against the sovereign power established in Ostland;

who violently turn against a Reich's-German of the state or a person who is of kin to the German nation because of his belonging to the German nationality;

who violently turn against the persons belonging to the German armed forces or to the organizations associating them, as well as to those who belong to the German police, including the auxiliary police, the labour service of the state, German institutions or the places of service, or organizations of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP);

who call or instigate to disobey the regulations or instructions of the German institutions;

who deliberately damage the facilities of the German institutions or the places of service or the things, which are meant for their activity or general benefit;

who favour the attempts, which are hostile to Germans or seek to maintain the organizational work of the associations, prohibited by the German institutions;

[1] Germans who permanently reside in Germany.

who through their hostile or instigating action show hostile sentiments to Germans or through other behaviour harm the respect or well-being of the Great Germany or the German nation or humiliate it;

who perform arson and through it harm general German interests or the property of the Germans of the state or of the persons who are of kin to the German nation.

§ 2

The one, who agrees to carry out the punishable action anticipated in § 1, engages in serious discussion about it, offers to do it or accepts such an offer, or who has obtained credible information of such an offence or intention in time, when the danger could be averted, and deliberately does not inform the German institution or the endangered person about it, shall also be punished by death or in less important cases – by the house of coercion.

§ 3

The death sentence is imposed as a retribution for the punishable offence stipulated in paragraph 1 and 2, although it is not anticipated by general German punitive laws or the instructions of German institutions, if the offence gives evidence of particularly base sentiments or is especially serious due to other reasons; in such cases it is admissible that also serious juvenile criminals are sentenced to death.

§ 4

(1) If the cognizance of the extraordinary court (*Standgericht*) is not established, the litigation falls under the jurisdiction of a special court.

(2) This does not affect the special regulations issued for the armed forces.

(..)

Reich Minister for the East ROSENBERG

[97]

Excerpt from the report of the limited liability company the Central Society of Ostland for the Realization and Consumption of Agricultural Products in Riga, concerning the supplies of the agricultural products of Latvia in October, November and December 1941, 15 January 1942

TOP SECRET
15 January 1942

To: Distribution and Supply Department
of the General Commissar of Latvia
Smilšu iela 6, Riga
Statistics

We hereby acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 3 January [1942] and accept for knowledge that you would like to receive the statistical data on the quantity and prices of the products, which have been delivered to the German army, i. e., to the Reich. Enclosed you will find the data as of October, November and December. Henceforward we shall submit to you the data of each current month.

The Central Society of Ostland
for the Realization and Consumption of
Agricultural Products in Riga,
the limited liability company

Signed on the instruction
(illegible signature)

Summary on supplies in 1941 in reichsmarks (RM)

(..)

	For German troops	For the Reich	For export and import
October	5 644 439.97	2 906 480.85	Export 642 710.68 Import 44.445
November	8 891 956.59	343 366.04	Export 576 000 Import 189 498.67
December	9 543 884.42	449 608.92	Export 530 474.16 Import 112 318.03

(..)

[98–102] Illegal mobilization in Latvia realized by the Nazi Germany and local callaborationists

[98]

The order of Adolf Hitler to form the Latvian Voluntary SS Legion, 10 February 1943

Headquarters of the *Führer*
10 February 1943

Hereby I order to form the Latvian Voluntary SS Legion.

The size and type of the units shall be determined according to the disposable Latvian men.

(signature)

[99]

Application of the General Directors of the Land Self-Administration submitted to O. Drechsler, General Commissar in Riga, in connection with the mobilization in Latvia, 16 November 1943

Riga, 16 November 1943

With respect to the today's application of the General Director concerning the inclusion of certain age-groups into the [SS] Units of Weapons (*Waffen SS*) and the mobilization, the local administration has great honour to inform you that it considers it possible to keep the office only upon the following conditions: the mobilized age-groups are prepared only to supplement or create anew the SS Units of Weapons of the Latvian Legion to fight against the Soviet troops. The local administration considers such an explanation of the General Director of the Interior to the draftees as binding and does not consider the involvement of the draftees in some other way to be its responsibility.

The Latvian police of order shall be subject to the local Self-Administration, and the German institutions have already promised it in general terms. In towns and administrative districts, it is not possible to carry out the mobilization without a strong subordinated executive apparatus, and it would lead to still greater fall of the authority of the institutions. It is necessary to have also a certain Latvian security police institution to fight against the Bolshevistic activity, which, knowing the country and people, would be able to carry out this task with greater success than it was by now. We wish to be grounded on the motivated conviction that a sufficient period of time will be allotted for the training that is necessary by all means, since the repetition of the spring events, when totally untrained groups were included into the front units, crushingly affects the people's sentiments.

Simultaneously with the announcement concerning the mobilization, an end must be put to the practice that inhabitants are irregularly appointed to perform different long-term official duties of different institutions. The recently called up *Schutzmannschaften*[1], shall return to their *pagasts*, where they are necessary to maintain the security. In this sphere also in the future, under the uncertain situation, it is possible to appear before the breakdown of the internal security in the country, that would do service only to the enemy. The fighting value of a unit undoubtly is greater if it is involved in the defence of its own country. That is why the Latvian Legion has to be used in the regions, which are closer to the country. It is necessary that the Latvian battalions of *Schutzmannschaften*, scattered along the whole Eastern

[1] Literally "guardsman societies" was the name Germans gave to the Latvian police formations, more correctly the auxiliary police.

Front, are brought back and actually included in the Latvian Legion. The Latvian voluntary auxiliary forces, attached to the *Wehrmacht*, which are often dealt with as the Soviet prisoners of war, shall also be placed under the command of the SS Units of Weapons of the Latvian Legion.

The Land Self-Administration takes the liberty to point out once again that it cannot understand the situation when, speaking about the real estate, the Latvian people and its country is referred to as the constituent part of the Soviet Union, but the things become quite the opposite when its sons and resources have to be involved in the struggle against bolshevism.

Since it is closely connected with the subjection of the Latvian people to the Weapons (*Waffen*), it is necessary to solve the question concerning the non-recognition of the incorporation of the Republic of Latvia in the Soviet Union. Moreover for the fact that we know – no country of the world has accepted the legal expression of this violation. The situation of the mobilized Latvian men has to be clear from the point of view of the international law so that they could not be qualified as traitors according to the legal position of the country in the army of which they fight. With respect to the planned mobilization, the Land Self-Administration, in addition to this basic approach concerning the issues which directly affect the people, considers it necessary to improve, as soon as possible, the supply with foodstuffs, clothes and footwear, to free the arrested persons, who are not accused of the Bolshevistic activity, as well as to arrange the settlement of the evacuated Soviet civilians in a way that would correspond to the security of the country, etc.; if these questions are solved, the response would follow, too.

M. PRĪMANIS
General Director of Education and Culture
O. LEIMANIS
General Director of Technique and Communication,
Deputy General Director of Economic Affairs
A. KVIESIS
General Director of Justice,
authorized representative for observing the rights of commercial enterprises

O. DANKERS
General Director of the Interior
J. SKUJEVICS
General Director of Finance

[100]
Order of R. Štiglics, the Riga Prefect, concerning the mobilization in the Latvian Legion, 29 October 1943

Riga, 29 October 1943

ANNOUNCEMENT

Upon the authority of the regulations by the General Commissar in Riga of 22 X 1943, all men born in 1923 and 1924 have to appear for checkup for mobilization in the Latvian Legion.

I request all men born in 1923 and 1924, residing in Riga, to appear before the Examining Commission, Riga, *Carl Schirren* (Lāčplēša) Street 43/45;

Those born in 1923 – **on 2 November 1943 at 8 hrs in the morning**, but born in 1924 – **on 4 November 1943 at 8 hrs. in the morning.**

The above persons must take with them a change of underwear (shirt, drawers, socks), if possible high boots, wrapping material for the return of civilian clothing, soap, shaving outfit, tooth brush, comb, mirror, knife, fork, kettle, etc., as well as provision for 2 days.

For personal underwear and boots, compensation will be paid.

This order is binding without exception upon all men born in 1923 and 1924, who have as yet not been called into the Latvian Legion.

Those who will not appear are subject to punishment.

R. STIGLICS[1], Prefect of Riga

[1] That is how in the document.

[101]

Letter of G. Berger, head of the Chief Department of the SS, dated 8 February 1944, concerning the involvement of non-Germans in the war on the side of Germans

MILITARY SECRET

(..)

To: *Gruppenführer*[1] SS and Lieutenant-General of the Police Oberg,
the highest commander of the SS and police in the military command in France.
Battle-field post – No. 03069 DH

Dear Comrade-in-Arms Oberg,

(..) I personally – I would like to tell it to you merely personally – am convinced that under the present conditions, it is a crime not to involve in war all those forces which in some way or other are ready to fight for us. The German mother doesn't cry for a killed foreigner.

Remaining your old comrade-in-arms

Heil Hitler!

Yours,
G.Berger
Obergruppenführer SS[2]

[1] Corresponds to the military rank of a lieutenant-general.
[2] Corresponds to the military rank of a general.

[102]

Order of O. Dankers, General Director of the Interior of the Land Self-Administration of Latvia, dated 12 July 1944, concerning the mobilization of the Latvian youth in the German auxiliary anti-aircraft formations

To: All leaders of the LYO
From: General Office of the Interior
No. 214 P

Riga, 12 July 1944
Stabu Street 12

To all heads of administrative districts and prefects of towns

I have asked the Latvian Youth Organization[1], as the leader of the activity of the whole Latvian youth, with the knowledge of cognizable military and administrative institutions or places of service, to deal with the involvement of youth born in 1928, on voluntary basis, in the German auxiliary anti-aircraft formations in Latvia, to inspect the life and work conditions of the boys, involved in the auxiliary air force, as well as to take the lead of their education. In order to arrange these measures urgently, I commission you to immediately carry out the following:

1. The application forms sent from the headquarters of the LYO shall be handed out for filling up to all young men born in 1928, residing in the administrative district, resp., the town, over their signature.

2. To see to it that the application forms, sent from the LYO headquarters, are forwarded immediately after their filling up, but no later than within 7 days after their receipt, to the LYO headquarters in Riga, A. Hitler Street 34/36, flat 10, together with the signed sheets (which the young men have signed on the receipt of the forms).

3. To commission the police officials under your command to fill in the first five items (surname, name, year, month, day, place of birth, place of residence) of the application forms.

4. To support in all possible ways the authorized officials of the LYO in their dealing with the entrusted official matters connected with the involvement of the young men in the auxiliary anti-aircraft formations, e. g., in the dealing with questions of premises, the means of transportation and communication and other tasks.

The LYO headquarters will carry out the mobilization of the boys involved in the auxiliary AAF by corresponding mobilization orders through your place of service.

O. Dankers
The First General Director and that
of the Interior

[1] The Nazi occupants and collaborationists created this organization to fit the model of Hitler's Youth Organization (*Hitlerjugend*) and it existed from 1942 to 1945.

[103]

Excerpts from the internal report of the Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Areas on the situation in Ostland, 3 November 1942

Ostland 3 November 1942

I. The present situation.

(..) It shall be taken into consideration that the above three [Baltic] peoples in no respect are the east-oriented indifferent mass of inhabitants, but have expressly Central European, developed according to the German model feeling for the nation that after all is strengthened by their twenty years long statehood, and that in the individual circles of intellectuals is even oversatiated.

On the other hand, the year of the violent rule of Bolsheviks has brought to a situation that even the circles, which previously had a negative attitude, show their real readiness to admit any wish of the Germans (..).

II. Ungrateful peoples.

Since the liberated peoples are ungrateful, the German leadership shall mainly see to it that the formation of the unified front, encompassing three and even four peoples[1], is averted, that could become the front against the German rule too easy. Just in this respect the press may render decisive assistance.

(..)

2. The Latvians.

From the very beginning, the Latvians have been the main force against the German aspiration for the domination in the Baltic area. The character of their upper layers is spoiled because of the inferiority complexes in relation to the layer of the previous German masters of the land. Hence it is not excluded that in further perspective there could appear hostile foci for the Reich. Yet it would be possible to get the industrious rural inhabitants completely on our side (..).

[1] Three Baltic peoples and Belorussians are meant here.

[104]

Excerpts from the report of the officials of the German Security Service (SD) on the situation in the occupied countries, 5 June 1942

5 June 1942

(..) Latvia.

Lately the anti-German sentiments become more and more susceptible among the intellectuals. By the way, under the influence of the propaganda carried out among Latvian women and girls, very often the expression not to get mixed up with Germans, but "to keep the nation's hatred in the hearts" is heard. These passwords are spread even in the units of the Latvian volunteers. The recruiting of volunteers has stopped completely. No improvement of the mood of the Latvian workers is observed. The reduction of food ratios was taken in a very unpleasant manner (..). The mood particularly embarrassingly affects the recruiting of the labour for the Reich, sometimes the voluntary principle cannot be observed. The labour obligations of the Latvians towards the Reich they always compare with the deportation of Latvians to Siberia (..), to weaken the Latvian nationality and prepare the land for Germanization (..). Contrary to Estonia, the strengthening of the national self-confidence is observed here and its organic merging with the opposition to Germany, thus reaching the aim of the resistance movement – in the first place, in succeeding to unite the Latvian nationalists, as well as spreading announcements, organizing demonstrations and regular counter-propaganda rather successfully (..).

[105]
Declaration of the Latvian people to the United Nations announced by the Central Council of Latvia (CCL) in August 1943

Riga, August 1943

Statement by the Latvian Underground Central Council

In June 1940 Latvia was occupied by the armed forces of the USSR. This act implied a violation of the treaties which the USSR had concluded with the Latvian Republic in 1920, 1932, 1933 and 1939. In these treaties, the USSR had renounced voluntarily and for ever all rights of sovereignty over the Latvian people and territory, pledged itself not to resort to aggression against the Latvian Republic and not to interfere in its internal affairs, and solemny promised to submit all eventual disputes to arbitration. Completely disregarding these promises, in June 1940, the government of the USSR brutally interfered in Latvia's internal affairs by officially demanding a reorganization of the Latvian government and by occupying the entire territory of the Latvian Republic.

A new Latvian government, headed by Mr. Kirhenšteins, was set up, in violation of the Latvian Constitution, by Mr. Vishinsky, the representative of the government of the USSR. The new government included persons who were not Latvian citizens (Deputy Ministers Valeskalns and Blaus). The President of the Republic was replaced by Mr. Kirhenšteins, the President of the Cabinet, who had been appointed to his position by the occupying power. The Latvian Constitution provides that the Deputy of the President of the Republic is the President of the Saeima (Parliament) and not the President of the Cabinet. Consequently, the aforesaid substitution was an illegal act. Both the President of the Republic and the Cabinet of Ministers were appointed by the occupying power; consequently they were created illegally, and hence had no right whatever to act as the supreme organs of the Latvian Republic.

The Parliamentary elections on July 14 and 15, 1940 were illegal because they were carried out according to the election law which the Kirhenšteins government passed, thereby violating the Constitution of the Latvian Republic. In addition, only one single list of candidates, selected by the occupying power, was admitted, all other lists being arbitrarily rejected; and thus the voters were deprived of the opportunity of voting according to their opinions. Moreover, the Kirhenšteins Cabinet had declared that it would defend the independence of Latvia. The voters were never told that the new Saeima was going to adopt a decision in the question of adhesion to the Soviet Union. They have in no way given a mandate to vote for the extinction of the independence of the Latvian Republic. The voters were compelled to march from their respective places of employment in serried ranks to the ballot boxes. It was said

that reprisals would be taken against persons who should not have in their passports the stamp attesting that they had participated in the poll. The vote was, in fact, open, a circumstance which had a terrorizing effect on the voters. The results of balloting were falsified in many constituencies by giving figures which were several times higher than the number of votes actually cast in the ballot boxes. Finally, the elections were carried out under pressure brought to bear upon the voters by a foreign military occupation, thus depriving them of any liberty of action. On the poll-day all major points were occupied by Soviet troops. Everywhere the voters met with the sight of Soviet tanks and machine-guns.

The Saeima which was elected on July 14 and 15, 1940 is unconstitutional and illegal. It had no right or mandate to make decisions in the name of the sovereign Latvian people. Moreover, the decisions which this body of usurpers took on July 20, 1940, with regard to Latvia's adhesion to the Soviet Union is legally ineffective also on the ground that the Latvian Constitution provides that a decision concerning any change in the status of Latvia as an independent sovereign republic must be decided by a referendum of the people. Such a decision made by the Saeima and referred to the plebiscite must have the approving vote of at least 50 per cent of Latvian citizens having the right of suffrage. The unconstitutional Saeima of 1940 did not refer its aforesaid decision to the vote of the people. The decision concerning Latvia's adhesion to the Soviet Union has, therefore, not become valid.

Latvia's incorporation in the USSR is a flagrant breach of the provisions of international law. Latvia's independence is acknowledged *de iure* by all countries of the World. and Latvia is a member of the League of Nations. The action taken by the USSR against the Latvian Republic involves the brutal violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellog Pact[1]. In the Atlantic Charter[2] the leading powers have said that all nations, great and small shall have the right to decide for themselves how they want to live and that territorial changes shall not take place without their freely expressed consent.

According to international law the Latvian Republic has not lost its sovereignty nor the USSR acquired this sovereignty by the fact of the occupation of Latvia by the USSR. No country has recognized *de iure* Latvia's incorporation in the USSR, except Germany. Latvia was occupied by armed forces and the occupying power could not have other rights than those stipulated in the Hague Convention of 1907.

In June 1940 the USSR occupation was ousted by a German invasion of Latvia, as a consequence of which German occupation authorities were established in

[1] The Kellog-Briand... Pact - the agreement of 1928 concerning the refusal to use war as the means to realize the national policy.

[2] The Atlantic Charter - the declaration of the government of the USA and Great Britain concerning the aims of these countries in World War II; it was signed on the board of the warship in the Atlantic Ocean on 14 August 1941.

Latvia. According to international law the military occupation of Latvia has not given Germany any rights of sovereignty over the Latvian people and territory.

The so-called "Local Self-Administration" set up by the German occupying power and headed by General Dankers and Professor Primanis, is an organ of the German occupying power. It has no right to speak in the name of the Latvian people. It is an unconstitutional and illegal a body as the Kirhensteins government which was set up by the Russian occupying power.

During the German occupation Latvian citizens have been compulsory mobilized for service in the German army or the German Labour Service and for work in German war industries, or deported beyond the Latvian frontiers. These measures were decreed by the German occupying power and they all constitute a brutal violation of the provisions of international law, and particularly of the Hague Convention of 1907. They have been taken against the will of the Latvia people and they are merely acts of German arbitrariness.

In burning indignation the Latvian people denounce the reprisals which the German occupying power is taking in Latvia. 5,000 Latvian citizens are languishing in concentration camps and prisons to which they have been sent without court or trial. German police officials apply torture as a method of examination. About 10,000 Latvians have been shot during the two dire years of German occupation and there is no end yet to the executions. Wholesale murders of Latvian citizens of Jewish race have also taken place. In September 1943[1] the German occupation authorities evicted more than 10,000 farmers in the Dundaga region. The persons concerned were robbed of all they had: land, houses and movable property. In the same month the Germans deported to Germany several thousands of people from Latgale as politically unreliable. The Germans did not pay any attention to family ties – children were separated from their parents and wives from their husbands.

The Latvian people unanimously reject German intentions to incorporate Latvia in Germany and fight against the German oppressors. Our people firmly and steadfastly stand for the independent and democratic Latvian Republic which existed for 22 years, and legally has not ceased to exist either under the Russian or German occupation.

The Latvian people are firmly convinced that this war will be won by the United Nations under the leadership of the USA and Great Britain. It is their hope that the USA and Great Britain will apply also to Latvia the high principles of the Atlantic Charter which the Latvian people unreservedly support.

Riga, February 1944[2]
Central Council of Latvia

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[1] That is how in document.
[2] That is how in document.

[106]

Excerpts from the plan to deport the inhabitants of Latvia to Germany worked out on the order of the Reich Commissar of Ostland, 9 June 1944

STATE SECRET[1]

Riga 9 June 1944

General Expert for the Arrangement of the Area

To Leaders of the Operational Headquarters of Latvia in Riga

S u b j e c t: Evacuation of the urban and rural inhabitants of Latvia and their taking in safety

R e f e r e n c e: Order of the Labour Headquarters of Ostland, dated 19 April 1944, Journal 108/44, state secret.

With reference to the order of the R[eich] C[omissar] of O[stland], dated 19 April 1944, in planning the evacuation of inhabitants and cattle and the taking them in safety, the necessary documents were worked out and produced (..).

1. Evacuation

According to the decision of the Labour Headquarters of the Reich Commissar and General Commissar, the evacuation shall encompass the following areas located north of the Daugava River, as well as the definite parts of districts about 50 km on the left from the Daugava:

1. Valmiera	– 52 000 persons
2. Cēsis	– 36 000 persons
3. Valka	– 45 000 persons
4. Madona	– 43 000 persons
5. District of Riga	– 112 000 persons
6. Jelgava	– 11 400 persons
7. Bauska	– 25 800 persons
8. District of Riga City	– 184 000 persons
Total	– 508 000 persons[2]

[1] Insertion in handwriting.

[2] In document. Correct: 509 200.

The above figures have been calculated in accordance with the order encompassing 60% of the existing inhabitants. A special order is issued with regard to the district of Latgale and the administrative district of Ilūkste and Jēkabpils, since this part of inhabitants have to move off to Lithuania. In this connection separate planning will be carried out with the knowledge of the General District of Lithuania.

(..)

[107]

Excerpt from the memoirs of R. Bangerskis on the deportation of the civil inhabitants of Riga, carried out by the Nazi occupants, to Germany in early October 1944

5 October 1944

In the morning, when I went to work, I observed strange scenes in the streets of Riga: the gendarmerie stopped all men and in bigger or smaller groups led them in the direction of the castle. As it turned out, in the castle, after the examination of documents, the majority of the men – the younger ones – were sent to ships for going away to Germany. Many of the trapped ones had no hats and coats, and generally it was obvious that they had not intended to go far. As it turned out, many of them had gone to look for the means of transportation in order to help their families together with their possessions to get as far as the ships, but then it happened so that the head of the family alone got on the board of the ship, while the family was left in the flat and waited in vain for the husband or father to come back... The city was overwhelmed with extraordinary alarm, people were hiding at homes, streets became empty, everybody was afraid to be detained and taken away – without the family and relatives, without preparation.

CHAPTER 5

The second Bolshevik occupation

The second Bolshevik occupation of Latvia was determined by its geopolitical situation, the defeat of the German Army in the war between Germany and the USSR, as well as the policy of the Great Alliance. Firstly, the Allies didn't allow the lawful representatives of the Republic of Latvia abroad to join the Atlantic Charter of the USA and Great Britain, signed on 14 August 1941 which anticipated to secure the rights of self-determination for the nations of the occupied countries. Secondly, at the Teheran conference in 1943, the question of the Baltics, on requirement of the USSR, was excluded from the agenda. Thirdly, the Allies forbade to form the exile government of Latvia in the West. The USSR could prepare for a repeated occupation of Latvia unimpeded.

On 13 and 14 October 1944, the Red Army invaded Riga. On the Peninsula of Kurzeme, the so-called Kurzeme (Courland) Fortress was formed, which was defended by the German Army and Latvian legionaries until the very capitulation of Germany. In the second half of 1944, 57 470 men of Latvia were mobilized in the Red Army, but altogether about 100 000 mobilized citizens of Latvia and the Latvians of Russia fought in the Red Army.

The war of Germany and the USSR caused enormous losses to the economy, culture and population of Latvia.

When the Red Army approached the eastern borders of Latvia in summer 1944, the refugees of all social layers, nationalities and religious beliefs of Latvia started to move westwards. The studies of the causes of the refugees' movement, carried out in the West, have proved that people were escaping first of all the Bolshevik terror and deportation. The family members and acquaintances of many refugees were killed or deported to Siberia already in 1941, and they were afraid of persecution. Secondly, people were afraid of the brutal implementation of the communistic, monoideological model of the society. Thirdly, the movement of refugees was determined also by the approaching front and hostilities. The coercive evacuation of the inhabitants, implemented by the Nazi occupation power, has to be taken into account, too.

According to approximate data, in the period of 1943–1945, about 620 000 inhabitants of the Baltic countries had left their motherland as refugees or were displaced by coercive means. In early 1945, there were about 580 000 inhabitants of the Baltic States in Germany, among them there were about 200 000 Latvians, of whom about 100 000 came to the Soviet occupation zone and were sent back to Latvia or were put in the punitive camps in the territory of the USSR. The number of voluntary

repatriates, regardless of the propaganda carried out by the USSR institutions, did not exceed 3% of all refugees. A great part of these volunteers, as the "traitors of the Soviet Motherland", actually didn't arrive in Latvia, but landed in Siberia. About 140 000 citizens of Latvia stayed in exile in the West.

Among the exiles, there were the citizens of Latvia who were the most active in the economic, social and intellectual life of the country.

The Western Allies didn't allow the formation of the exile government of the Republic of Latvia, yet in Russia (Kirov) the Soviet occupation self-administration continued functioning. It was the government of the Latvian SSR, which under the leadership of the CC of the C(B)PL[1] carried out the preparatory work for the second occupation of Latvia. Already in 1942–1943, K. Ozoliņš, commissioned by the CC of the C(B)PL, organized and ran the operations group of the CC of the C(B)PL. The operations group of the CC of the C(B)PL consisted of 390 persons, but altogether in all 11 operations groups, which from 7 July to 31 August 1944 went to Latvia, there were 1966 persons, including 878 (44.6%) chekists of the NKVD of the Latvian SSR [108, 109].

The government of the Latvian SSR and the CC of the C(B)PL followed the units of the Red Army and arrived in Ludza from Moscow in July 1944. Later on they moved to Daugavpils, but then to Riga. The officials of the C(B)PL and occupation administration – altogether 6225 persons (0.45% of the population) – were immediately included into the community of the top officials or nomenclature, they were well supplied [110] and armed. At least two thirds of these persons were local inhabitants, who started the political collaboration with the occupants. But the majority of the inhabitants of Latvia looked forward to the gloomy future [112].

The CC of the C(B)PL, NKVD, KGB and the Red Army were the main organizers of the crimes in Latvia. Two special task regiments of the USSR NKVD Internal Troops followed straight the 2nd and 3rd Army of the Baltic Front. The 143rd regiment was stationed in Vidzeme, but the 36th regiment – in Ludza (later its headquarters were in Riga). In 1945, A. Eglītis, the Peoples Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR, sent long lists with the names and addresses of the persons who had to be quested and detained and of their family members, to all leading officials of the NKVD. The arrests and interrogation of people started. The Red Army had not still entered Latvia, when on 13 July 1944, the First Secretary of the CC of the C(B)PL J. Kalnbērziņš and the Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR A. Eglītis issued a top secret order "On the Formation of the Battalions of Destroyers" [111]. The battalions of destroyers, consisting of several hundreds of men

[1] Formally, in October 1940, the independent Communist Party of Latvia (CPL) was included in the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party as its territorial organization and further on, until 1953, was called the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia – C(B)PL.

(altogether about 16 000 men), were organized in each administrative district and town, which even until 1952 helped the occupants to carry out the political "purges". A wide-scale marauding, carried out by the employees of the USSR NKVD, Internal Army of the USSR NKVD and the Red Army, could be observed [113]. Comparing the confidential reports addressed to the CC of the C(B)PL and those by the Envoy K. Zariņš to the Government of Great Britain on the terror of occupants, one should admit that the reports of the Envoy don't at all reflect all aspects of the atrocities of the occupation [114].

On 16 October 1944 – already several months after the beginning of the "liberation" of Latvia – the USSR NKVD established prison camps No. 291 (in Rēzekne) and No. 292 (in Daugavpils), as well as a transit camp in Riga. In 1945, the LSSR NKVD made three inspection filtration camps in Kuldīga, Liepāja and Ventspils, in which, under the pretext of discovering saboteurs and war criminals, men of the age group 15 to 60 were imprisoned, among them there were the Latvians, who had laid down arms – the former defenders of the "Kurzeme Fortress". About 60 000 people were put in the filtration camps, but a part of them were sent to the punitive camps of the USSR. Besides there were six camps of the German prisoners of war, in which there were about 90 000 people. All camps were managed by a special department of the Latvian SSR NKVD, which was placed under the General Department of Camps of the USSR, or the so-called Gulag.

The CC of the C(B)PL and the Latvian SSR SPC expressed gratitude to J. Stalin for the "liberation" of the Latvian people [115]. The people "thanked" the occupants by starting the national partisan warfare [116].

[108–109] Arrival of the operations groups in Latvia

[108]

Report of A. Sieks, Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR, dated 3 August 1944, to K. Ozoliņš, head of the operations group of the CC of the C(B)PL, on sending the employees of the NKVD to the Latvian SSR

TOP SECRET
Moscow, 3 August 1944

To: c. OZOLIŅŠ, CC of the C(B)P of Latvia – personally

Following your request, I am sending you herewith information on the employees of the Latvian SSR NKVD, who are sent to the liberated territory.

The number of employees sent to the liberated territory of the Latvian SSR - 878 persons.

Among them to the liberated administrative districts:

1. Daugavpils – altogether 67 persons, among them the operational staff - 32 persons, technical staff – 35 persons.

2. Ludza – altogether 25 persons, among them the operational staff – 13 persons, technical staff – 12 persons.

3. Rēzekne – altogether 24 persons, among them the operational staff – 13 persons, technical staff – 11 persons.

4. Abrene – altogether 25 persons, among them the operational staff –192 persons, technical staff – 6 persons.

5. Bauska – altogether 6 persons, among them the operational staff – 6 persons, technical staff –.

6. Jelgava – altogether 22 persons, among them the operational staff – 13 persons, technical staff – 9 persons.

7. Ilūkste – altogether 11 persons, among them the operational staff – 11 persons, technical staff –.

8. Tukums – altogether 8 persons, among them the operational staff – 8 persons, technical staff –.

9. The employees of the Central Apparatus [of the Latvian SSR NKVD], as well as those meant for work in other administrative districts which are not still liberated from the German fascist invaders, are used for the work in the liberated administrative districts.

Sieks, colonel of state security,
Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs
of the Latvian SSR

[109]

Excerpt from the report of V. Lācis, Chairman of the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars, dated 26 August 1944, at the Plenum of the CC of the C(B)PL, on the arrival of the operations groups of the Soviet and Party officials in Latvia

Ludza, 26 August 1 944

(..) Immediately after the beginning of the liberation of the territory of our republic, the CC of the C(B)PL and the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars sent the operations groups of the Soviet and Party officials, headed by the secretaries of the CC and dep[uties] Chairman of the SPC, to the front-line zone. These operations groups were attached to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Armies of the Baltic Front, they followed the Red Army and immediately after the liberation of separate regions, started to acquire them.

It should be noted that in most cases our operations groups managed to keep pace with the Red Army, hence there wasn't a great break between the liberation of the territory and restoration of the Soviet power. For instance, the representatives of the Soviet and Party bodies arrived in Abrene already two hours after the liberation of the town. Also in Ludza, the civilian administration arrived several hours after the liberation of the town. Yet there were also cases of delay, which were caused either by the ineffective action of the leaders of the groups, or the lack of the means of transportation. Generally it should be marked that the limited transport possibilities and bad communication were and also now are among the obstacles which hamper carrying out successful work in the liberated administrative districts.

(..)

[110]

Decision of the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars and CC of the C(B)PL on the confirmation of the nomenclature of positions, 27 October 1944

SECRET
27 October 1944

DECISION

On the confirmation of the provisional nomenclature of positions and determination of limits for extra provisions in the People's Commissariat, departments and institutions of towns and administrative districts of the Latvian SSR

In accordance with the decision, issued by the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR on 12 July 1943, the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR and the Central Committee of the C(B)PL r e s o l v e:

1. To confirm the provisional nomenclature of the positions of the senior officials and specialists in order to receive extra provisions according to the 1st, 2nd or 3rd category in conformity with Appendix No. 1[1].

2. To confirm the distribution of the literal lunches[2], dry food and dinners, submitted by the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Commerce, among *pagasts*, towns, People's Commissariats and other departments for October 1944 in accordance with Appendixes No. 2 and 3[3].

3. The People's Commissars, heads of the departments and committees of the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars, executive committees of administrative districts and towns, committees of towns and administrative districts of the C(B)P of Latvia and other organizations shall distribute the allotted lunches, dry food and dinners in accordance with the confirmed nomenclature of the positions of the senior officials and specialists.

4. To confirm the list of the leading officials who receive products instead of the litera "A" dry food according to the limit books.

V. Lācis, Chairman, Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR

J. Kalnbērziņš, Secretary of the CC of the C(B)P of Latvia

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[1] Not published.
[2] The lunches of special supply. Different types of them were marked with letters or literas (Latin lit(t)era).
[3] Not published.

[111]

Order "On the Formation of the Battalions of Destroyers" issued by J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the CC of the C(B)PL and A. Eglītis, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR, on 13 July 1944

TOP SECRET
Copy No. 1

No. 001/47 Moscow, 13 July 1944

To all first secretaries of the committees of towns and administrative districts of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia

To all heads of the departments (divisions) of towns and administrative districts of the Latvian SSR NKVD

On Formation of the Battalions of Destroyers

In connection with the liberation of the territory of the Latvian SSR from the fascist invaders, in conformity with the resolution of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars, dated 24 June 1941, and the order of the USSR NKVD No. 00804 "On Measures to Fight Against the Landings of Paratroopers and the Saboteurs of the Enemy in the Front-Line Zone", dated 25 June 1941, the CC of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia and the Latvian SSR NKVD recommend:

1. To form the battalions of destroyers, consisting of 100–200 persons each, in every administrative district, without relieving their participants from the production.

2. The battalions of destroyers shall be formed, first, of the communists, members of the Young Communist League (Komsomol) and the activists of the Soviets, who are able to carry arms, as well as of the participants of the [Red] partisan units and the citizens who have returned from the eastern regions of the USSR for permanent residence.

3. In forming the battalions of destroyers, it shall be observed that their staff is formed mainly of the persons who are not subject to mobilization [in the Red Army] because of their age: [persons of] pre-mobilization age, senior age groups, persons who have the extension of mobilization, invalids of the Patriotic War who are able to serve in the battalion of destroyers, girls and younger women, etc.

4. The heads of the departments (sections) of towns and administrative districts of the NKVD shall undertake the leadership of the battalions of destroyers, organization of the operational service activity, provision of the readiness for action and their correct use.

5. Candidates for the position of the commanders of the battalions shall be chosen from among the operational employees of the departments (sections) of administrative districts and towns of the NKVD who have military training, are able to organize and skillfully run the subunits and groups of fighters under all operational conditions.

6. To the purpose of due organization and daily running of the political education of the battalions' staff, the Party Committees of towns and administrative districts shall choose from among themselves appropriate employees and appoint them the deputy commanders of the battalions of destroyers.

7. The battalions of destroyers shall be commissioned with the following tasks:

a) the struggle against the paratroopers, spies, saboteurs and rocketeers[1] of the enemy;

b) to guard the surroundings of the most important enterprises of defence, railway junctions and lines, electric stations, bridges and other objects which may become targets of the enemy's attack;

c) to take part in the guarding and ensuring of the revolutionary order in the populated areas;

d) to help the departments (sections) of administrative districts and towns of the NKVD to clear the region [of action] of traitors and anti-Soviet elements.

8. The commanders of the battalions of destroyers and their deputies shall immediately put all battalions of destroyers in full readiness for action. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies of towns and administrative districts shall allot the necessary transport to the battalions [of destroyers] in their permanent use, to enable the staff to move fast in carrying out the operations.

The groups on duty shall be organized in each battalion so that at night no less than one platoon is in the barracks.

9. The supply of the battalions of destroyers with arms and munitions shall be ensured from the captured weapons collected in the battlefield or the weapons withdrawn from the local inhabitants and detainees.

10. The commanders of the battalions of destroyers, in order to carry out their tasks successfully, shall organize the support groups of the battalions of destroyers in all populated centers and individual industrial enterprises of the regions of their activity.

The rural activists, shepherds, foresters, railmen, watchmen, postmen, pioneers and pupils shall be involved in the support groups.

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[1] The persons who give signals with flares to the enemy are meant here.

The reliable persons from among the Soviet, Party and Komsomol activists, who have authority with the local inhabitants, shall be appointed the elders of the support groups.

11. The chairmen of the executive committees of *pagasts*, the directors of sovkhozs, Machine and Tractor Stations, Machine and Horses Renting Centers and industrial enterprises shall render the leadership of the battalions of destroyers and support groups the necessary assistance and means of transportation.

12. The commanders of the battalions of destroyers shall run the support groups personally and through their commanders, ensuring the regular education of the groups in the spirit of comrade Stalin's radiospeech of 3 July 1941.

Concrete tasks shall be entrusted to the participants of the support groups taking into account the strategic situation in the region of the battalion of destroyers.

13. The local Party and Komsomol organizations shall render all possible assistance in the work of the commanders of the battalions of destroyers and education of the fighters of the battalions of destroyers and participants of the support groups.

14. The secretaries of the committees of administrative districts and towns of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia, the heads of the departments (sections) of administrative districts and towns of the Latvian SSR NKVD shall finish the formation of the battalions of destroyers and support groups within 20 days after the arrival in the territory of their administrative districts and report about it to the War Department of the CC of the C(B)P of Latvia and the Latvian SSR NKVD.

Kalnbērziņš
Secretary of the CC of the C(B)P of Latvia

Eglītis
Commissar of Internal Affairs
of the Latvian SSR,
Commissar of State Security

Typewritten in 2 copies
Copy No. 1 – to the CC of the C(B)P of Latvia
Copy No. 2 – to the Latvian SSR NKVD

[112]

Excerpt from the report of the Political Directorate of the Red Army's 3rd Baltic Front "On the Situation in the Liberated Towns and Attitude of the Inhabitants of Latvia towards the Entrance of our Army", 15 October 1944

3rd Baltic Front — SECRET
Political Directorate — Copy No. 1
No. 0397 — 15 October 1944

To: Secretary of the C(B)P of the Latvian SSR[1]

I am sending you herewith a copy of the political report to colonel-general c. Shcherbakov, commander of the Read Army's Main Political Directorate, "On the Situation in the Liberated Towns and Attitude of the Inhabitants of Latvia towards the Entrance of our Army".

Colonel *Fedetsov,* Head of the Section of Orginstructors,
Political Directorate of the 3rd Baltic Front

15 October 1944

(..) The majority of inhabitants show vivid interest about major events in the political life of the Soviet Union, about the situation on the fronts of the Patriotic War, about the prospects to restore the normal life in towns in connection with the arrival of the Red Army and restoration of the Soviet power.(..)

However, influenced by the enemy's propaganda, part of the Latvians behave reservedly. The caution, elements of distrust can be felt also in questions of the local inhabitants: "Will Bolsheviks send Latvians to Siberia?", "Will kolkhozs come to us soon?", "Will they take my land, cows and hens away?", "But can the children not be sent to children's homes and pioneers?", "How will the religious rituals be looked upon, will the believers be persecuted?", "Will the persons, who have served in the Estonian and Latvian units which fought against the Red Army, but now have escaped the German Army, be subject to repression?".

[1] That is how in the document.

[113]

Excerpt from the report of J. Ronis, Deputy Chairman of the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars, on the behaviour of the militiamen and destroyers in the *pagasts* of the administrative district of Ludza, June 1945

TOP SECRET
June 1945

To: c. SHATALIN, Chairman of the Latvian Bureau of the AUC(B)P
c. KALNBĒRZIŅŠ, Secretary of the CC of the C(B)PL
c. LĀCIS, Chairman of the LSSR Soviet of People's Commissars

REPORT

(..) According to the hereinafter given examples, it is possible to judge about serious mistakes and the cases of negligence which are found in the administrative district. In the *pagasts* of Mērdzene, the representative of the militia precinct Kuptsov together with three soldiers carried out an unlawful search of the farms of the Mērdzene *pagasts*. During the search, the farmers were beaten and heavy bodily injuries were inflicted on innocent citizens (their ribs were broken, etc.).

The representative of the militia precinct of the Pilda *pagasts* Pikarevsky, in carrying out the search at the place of citizen Valeinis, appropriated his possessions, and arrested 82 years old Stepans Valeinis, kept him 5 days in the bath-house without any food and water, then freed him, but after 3 days arrested again and again kept 4 days without any food and water.

The same Pikarevsky unlawfully arrested citizen Savickis and his daughter, and after their liberation Pikarevsky went to their home to drink hard, where he drank heavily 2 days and afterwards took also a bribe – trousers and 3 poods of barley.

It turned out that citizen Rimša had 7 bottles of home-brew, Pikarevsky took away the home-brew and started to drink hard.

The soldiers of the battalion of destroyers Ivanenok, Onischenok and Stefanovich being in inebriate condition and driving by horse to the executive committee of the Pasiene *pagasts*, met 3 unknown women. Stefanovich, of hooligan intent, shot from the rifle and killed citizen Helena Melehova.

The soldier of the battalion of destroyers Kernavs stole felt boots with rubbers (galosh) from citizen Masalis (the Mērdzene *pagasts*), yet when citizen Masalis overtook him, he shot at him and killed Masalis.

The soldier of the battalion of destroyers Lazarev stole a bicycle from citizen Kravchenko, Kravchenko got to know about it and demanded the bicycle back. Lazarev took Kravchenko into the forest and killed him with a shot in the head.

The soldiers of the battalion of destroyers Stutāns and Lipskis (the Kārsava *pagasts*), being in inebriate condition, at two o'clock at night came to the home of citizen Baranovska, made a row and raped Baranovska.

Potapov, the former representative of the precinct of the Kārsava pagasts, who is now transferred to another *pagasts*, saw that citizen Naglis (village Lapova) had new, good boots, called him to the militia and took away the boots.

The officials of the Nautrēni Department of the NKVD – militiamen Daliba, Ozoliņš and the representative of the precint Treida, being in inebriate condition, came to the home of citizen Jurkāne and asked for alcohol. When citizen Jurkāne refused to give alcohol, the above persons made a row, started to harass Jurkane's ill daughter Malvīne and killed Malvīne with a shot.

(..)

(Ronis)

[114]
Excerpts from the information of 18 October 1945 by K. Zariņš, Envoy of the Republic of Latvia in London, to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain on the situation in the occupied Latvia

No. 1839 London, 18 October 1945

Dear Mr. Worner,

Recently two brothers have arrived here in Sweden who in early August have fled from Latvia. They told me what they had seen, and are ready to give evidence, where it could be necessary, and to confirm that what they said is true. I took the liberty to send you herewith two copies of their testimonies.

Meantime, Mr. Worner, I remain truly yours,

Kārlis Zariņš

(..) Presently ruthless terror rules in Kurzeme, which started just after the German capitulation. The Russians[1] carry out organized search of the country. All male inhabitants were arrested and sent to the closest town to be questioned. Among the arrestees there were also several [local] Germans, as well as those left from the German Army. Many of them were shot dead by the Russians. The Latvians were asked why they had in some way or other collaborated with the Germans[2], or why they were in the Aizsargi organization. A small number of Latvians were released after the interrogation.

Yet the majority of them were arrested soon afterwards. This time it happened because of the denunciation of the remaining [runaway] Russians, whom the Germans brought to Latvia during their victories. The next example will give an idea about what was necessary to accuse a person of the "collaboration with Germans". In Pope, an old fisherman was arrested and deported because he had accompanied a German officer in hunting, who had ordered him to do that.

All men who were involved in the state service and who took rather important positions during the German occupation, were arrested and got lost. The same happened also with the former Latvian *aizsargs*. Our reporter mentions a case, when an elderly *aizsargs* was sentenced to eight years of forced labour. Younger *aizsargs* were deported, and nobody knew to where. In some regions, also the women, who belonged to the *Aizsargi* organization, were arrested and deported. And it should be mentioned that there were many cases of rape. The attitude of Russians towards Latvian

[1] The representatives of the Bolshevik occupation power are meant here.

[2] The representatives of the Nazi occupation power are meant here.

legionaries, i.e., towards the men, who were mobilized by the Germans and who agreed to fight against Russians only to defend their native country, was much more ruthless than towards the German prisoners of war. A woman asked a Red officer, who was of Latvian origin, about the fate of legionaries, among whom her husband was found. The officer answered that it would be better not to tell it because it would be too terrible to listen to this story. (..)

(..) All Latvian farmers who pleaded guilty of dealing with Germans, lost their farms. In order to prove it, it is necessary to note that in some country farms German field headquarters were dislocated. It was not important whether the farmer agreed to it or not. (..)

(..) In the country, people definitely are against Russians and against communists. The opinion of workers in towns and countryside is – they are disappointed. They had hoped that after the surrender of the Nazi they would be able to decide their matters by themselves. Yet in vain.

It is known that Latvian communists asked to explain several questions which they found too difficult to believe or understand. Among other they asked: why the Latvian nation is being consistently exterminated? They received the answer that only the guilty ones were punished. (..)

[115]

Telegram of gratitude to J. Stalin for the "liberation" of the Latvian people sent by A. Kirhenšteins, Chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, V. Lācis, Chairman of the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars, and J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL

Moscow, the Kremlin [May 1945]

IOSIF VISARIONOVICH STALIN
Marshal of the Soviet Union
Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army

Copy: editorial board of the newspaper "Pravda"

To: marshals, generals, admirals, officers, first sergeants, sergeants and soldiers of the Red Army and Navy

Legendary heroes, marshals, generals, admirals, officers, first sergeants, sergeants and soldiers of the Red Army and Navy, crowned with historical victories!

The Latvian people sends you, Stalinistic miracle-heroes, the flaming words of ardent love and gratitude, the words of pride and admiration in these unforgettable days of the Great Victory over the fascist Germany!

All world with bated breath followed your titanic struggle against the German fascist invaders. The Soviet Republics and regions, temporarily captured by the enemy, waited for the liberation carried out by you, heroic soldiers of the socialist state, also the nations of Europe, enslaved by the German fascism, waited for the liberation. They waited for you and believed in your indestructible force, your unseen heroism, your military skill, your boundless faith in the sacred ideas of freedom, friendship among peoples and independence. The Latvian people didn't stop believing in you and waited for you as the liberators.

In the hope chest of the Latvian people there is a song, which sings the praise to the legendary people's hero *Lāčplēsis*, who embodies the centuries long struggle of the Latvian people against the German invaders, who are reflected by the image of the "Black Knight".

And look – in our days the hopes of the Latvian people have come true – the "Black Knight" has breathed his poisonous last. The mighty Red Army, led by the

eminent military leader comrade Stalin, has defeated the German invaders for ever.

In these happy days, the heart of our people is overfull with the endless feelings of gratitude to you, heroes of the Soviet country, and to our eminent military leader, the greatest strategist of all times – Stalin. The name Stalin has always meant – Victory to our people, like to all other Soviet peoples.

Glory to the legendary heroes of the Red Army, soldiers – conquerors!

Glory to our mighty, unconquerable Soviet Super Power, the stable support of peoples' happiness and fame!

Glory to the Party of Lenin-Stalin, the organizer and inspirer of the victory!

Glory to the leader of the Soviet peoples, eminent military leader, Marshal of the Soviet Union comrade Stalin!

Chairman of the Latvian SSR
Supreme Soviet
(A. Kirhenšteins)

Chairman of the Latvian SSR Soviet
of People's Commissars
(V. Lācis)

Secretary of the Central Committee
of the C(B)P of Latvia
(J. Kalnbērziņš)

[116]

Excerpt from the report of L. Beria, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, dated 1 September 1945, on the beginning of the armed national resistance in Latvia

No. 1117/b 21 September 1945

Comrade J. STALIN, the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars
Comrade V. MOLOTOV, the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars
Comrade G. MALENKOV, CC of the AUC(B)P

The USSR NKVD reports on the work done in purging the Latvian SSR of the brutal elements[1] and anti-Soviet nationalistic underground.

By 1 September this year, the Latvian SSR NKVD-KGB have liquidated 119 gangs. There have been 3145 bandits killed, taken prisoners and made legal. 17 987 participants of the nationalistic underground and other anti-Soviet elements have been arrested. 1790 deserters and the [persons] having evaded the Red Army service have been legalized. The nationalistic organizations and banditism are most widespread in the administrative districts of Kurzeme and Latgale.

(..)

In Kurzeme, as well as in Latgale, the brutal actions are actively supported by the anti-Soviet elements from the circles of clergy and intelligentsia, who consistently, both orally and through special leaflets, spread rumours about the measures, which as if have been taken by England and America, to grant "independence to the Baltic Republics" and call to continue an active struggle against the Soviet power.

The USSR NKVD has taken the necessary measures in order to liquidate the nationalistic underground of Latvia and its armed gangs.

L. Beria, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR

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[1] That is how the NKVD called the Latvian national partisans.

CHAPTER 6

System of the Communist power in Latvia

World War II, which was won by the USSR and the democratic Western countries – the USA, Great Britain and France, undoubtedly affected the internal processes in the Soviet Union; however, the essence of the Communist regime remained unchanged. Like in the pre-war period, the Soviet Union remained a totalitarian country also after the war, the characteristic features of which were a one-party system, existence of the official ideology, the control of the single ruling party over all spheres of life, realized by the police methods. The monopoly of power of the Communist Party (in 1952 the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party (AUC(B)P) was renamed as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)) was declared in the Programme of the CPSU [117] and fixed in the Constitution of the USSR [118]. However, the real power didn't belong to all Party, but was concentrated in the hands of a small part of the leading functionaries of the Party – the nomenclature. There was a strong hierarchy among the circles of the nomenclature, but on the whole it was not subject to the control of the rank-and-file members of the Party, state institutions and public. That was why protectionism and corruption flourished within the nomenclature [119].

In 1952, the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia was renamed as the Communist Party of Latvia (CPL). The only result of the renaming was that the term "Bolsheviks" was not used in relation to the Party members any more. The status of the Party itself didn't change. From October 1940 to August 1991 it was one of the territorial organizations of the AUC(B)P-CPSU and during almost the whole period, its work was completely subject to the control of the All-Union Party bodies. In 1944–1947 there was a special Latvian Bureau of the AUC(B)P. Even the highest functionaries were afraid to take independent decisions, each undertaking, which was at least of some importance, was agreed with Moscow [120]. Yet the leadership of the AUC(B)P-CPSU didn't fully trust the leadership of the Latvian territorial organization. Therefore after World War II, a Party official of the USSR region, selected by the CC of CPSU, was appointed the second secretary of the CPL, who was in charge of the work with the staff of the Party. Usually he was of the Russian origin. Only for a short period – 1958–1959 – a representative of the local Latvians took this position. The commander of the Baltic Military District was included in the Bureau of the CC of the CPL, too; in such a way the additional supervision of the work of the CC of the CPL was ensured. In taking the higher positions of the nomenclature, priority was given to Russians or the Latvians, who were born and had grown up in the USSR Republics beyond Latvia. Usually the documents of the supreme bodies of the Party

were in Russian, prevailingly this language was used also at the Party congresses, conferences, Plenums and meetings of the Bureau of the CC, as well as in the work of many minor Party institutions. During the whole period of its existence, the Latvian territorial organization of the CPSU was the organization hostile to the independent statehood of Latvia. It was the main mechanism which put into practice the policy of the occupation power in Latvia. The attempts of individual Party functionaries to support the Latvian national interests – protection of the language and culture, restriction of migration, etc., usually suffered failure, meeting the Kremlin chauvinistic approach or the one obsequious to chauvinists of the majority of the nomenclature.

These imperialistic tendencies, covered up with the Marxist phrases, manifested themselves especially brightly till the death of J. Stalin in March 1953. In this period, Latvia (also Estonia) was illegally deprived of part of its territory. It happened because of the fact that basing on the decree "On Formation of the Pskov Region within the RSFSR", adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in August 1944, part of the administrative district of Abrene (6 *pagasts*) of the Republic of Latvia and the town of Abrene were joined to Russia [122]. This decision of Moscow was drawn up as the satisfaction of the local inhabitants' request [121], although it didn't correspond to the interests of the local inhabitants and they protested against it [123].

The units of the USSR Red Army were only approaching the territory of Latvia, but the leadership of the Soviet Union already issued orders to the CC of the C(B)PL and the occupation self-administration – the government of the Latvian SSR to carry out the necessary preparatory works in order to restore the system of the Soviet power in Latvia as soon as possible and not to allow the period, when one ruling was over, but the other had not started yet. The task of the operations groups[1] was not to allow the least self-initiative in the formation of the self-administration institutions. The power was immediately taken over by the committees of administrative districts and towns of the C(B)PL and the respective executive committees. In the administrative districts, where there were no primary organizations of the Communist Party of Latvia, the Party organizers or the so-called partorgs were appointed to work. The administrative territorial division of the independent Latvia was changed by dividing the territory of Latvia in correspondence with the administrative territorial division, accepted in the USSR. Till the Soviet occupation, the territory of the Republic of Latvia, which according to the Constitution of 1922 consisted of the provinces of Vidzeme, Latgale, Kurzeme and Zemgale, was divided into 19 administrative districts and 517 *pagasts*. On the basis of the decree of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, dated 31 December 1949, the former administrative districts and

[1] See documents 108 and 109 of Chapter 5.

pagasts were liquidated and 58 rural districts and 1358 villages were formed instead of them. According to this division (the number of districts and villages, as well as that of the towns of the Republic's subordination and urban-type villages and their borders changed several times during the following years) the bodies of the C(B)PL and local Soviets were formed (there were the Party committees in each region, district of the town and the town of the Republic's subordination, and in each region, town, district of the town, urban-type village and village there were the Soviets of Workers' (since 1977 – People's) Deputies and their executive committees). The real power belonged to the Party committees, but the Soviets dealt mainly with different day-to-day questions.

On 10 February 1946, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet was elected – the parliamentary institution of the occupation self-administration, but on 18 January 1948 the first elections to the local Soviets took place. Until then there functioned the appointed executive committees of the Soviets. In March 1946, the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars was renamed as the Council of Ministers, but the People's Commissariats as the Ministries. Yet the functions of these institutions didn't change. Both the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers obediently executed instructions of the CC of CPSU and CC of CPL. The major decisions were not taken by the ministers, but by the secretaries of the CC and the heads of the relevant departments of the CC.

The Constitutions of the USSR and the Latvian SSR had declared that the deputies of all levels of Soviets were elected through universal, equal and direct elections by secret ballot. It was also declared that the wish of the electors could not be controlled and any attempts to influence the expression of voters' wish should be punishable. The organization of elections was entrusted to the election committees, which were formally made of the representatives nominated by the public organizations, workers' collectives and soldiers' meetings.

In reality, the decisions concerning the organization of elections, were taken by the leadership of the Communist Party [124]. Based on the instructions of the CC of AUC(B)P (later – of CC of CPSU), not only the deputy candidates were nominated, but also the structure and staff of the election committees were determined [125]. The officials of the KGB took an active part in the course of elections. They used the elections to collect compromising information about the "anti-Soviet elements" [126]. The elections to the Supreme Soviet and local Soviets, which took place in the whole territory of Latvia until 1990, could not be looked upon as the elections, but only as a formal voting, during which the inhabitants had to demonstrate their loyalty to the existing regime, voting for only one officially approved list of candidates of the "block of communists and non-Party people". Actually the people having the right to vote were mobilized for the elections, the results of which were known already

beforehand, yet they were always singled out as the proof for the "unity of the working people of the Republic with the Communist Party and Soviet government" [127].

The monoideology was a characteristic trait of the Soviet totalitarian regime. It was based on the Marxism-Leninism, adapted to the imperialistic attempts of the USSR, which made class struggle absolute, as a result of which more and more countries were expected to choose the road of the "construction of socialism". The constant ideological struggle against any other ideologies was declared in the Soviet Union. Other ideologies were recognized as hostile ones and therefore one had to fight against them [128]. Quite often the leadership of the USSR conflicted with several so-called socialist countries, which realized independent policy from that of the USSR thus seeking to be more independent in determining their home and foreign policy. Conflicts arose also between the CPSU and several Communist Parties of Western countries which were of different opinion about democracy and human rights. Thus the ruling circles of the USSR didn't seek to put into practice the abstract model of Marxism-Leninism, but the type of this ideology, which could motivate or justify the home policy of one definite super power – the Soviet Union, and its dominating role "in the system of world socialism".

In order to force this ideology upon the inhabitants of Latvia, an enormous apparatus of propaganda was created. Since the leaders of the Soviet Union had given up mass terror after J. Stalin's death, some measures of formal liberalization were taken, and in the foreign policy the tension had decreased between the USSR and USA, a special attention was turned to the ideological "treatment" of inhabitants [129]. Thus the regime, for self-preservation, had moved the stress from expressed violence to the more refined methods of influencing. To this purpose the Publishing House of Newspapers and Magazines was put at the disposal of the Party [130], which gave also an important material benefit for the CPL – buying newspapers or magazines, each inhabitant of Latvia, even not being aware of it, gave his contribution to the Party treasury. In such a way from 1967 to 1990 the CPL obtained the resources of the sum total 113 million roubles.

The leadership of the CPL approved not only the editorial boards of the Party press, but practically of all newspapers and magazines, determined both the content and size of the materials to be published, their layout and even artistic setting [131]. The Latvian press, publishing houses, radio and television were involved in wide-scale, yet not particularly effective undertakings of the propaganda of the "Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism" [132]. The evident discrepancy between the propaganda cliches and the real life determined the fact that the bulk of the public took this propaganda with disbelief. However, lack of the impartial information about the processes beyond the USSR, as well as about the events of the past in

Latvia deprived many people – especially the younger ones – of the possibility to develop an independent opinion, radically different from the one of the official propaganda.

The Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR and people's courts, Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian SSR, the prosecutors of regions and towns worked to ensure the "socialist legality". All these institutions were involved in the protection of the regime's foundation, subjecting more active differently thinking persons to the persecution of courts.

The Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol) – the auxiliary organization of the Communist Party and the allowed public organizations – trade unions, etc., were part of the political system of the occupation regime. The KGB officials were included in the leadership of many of these organizations. The Committee of State Security (KGB) itself worked under the leadership of the Communist Party and was one of its major supports, carrying out both the work of intelligence and propaganda [133].

[117–120] Monopoly of the power of the Communist Party

[117]

Excerpts from the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted by the 22nd congress of the CPSU in October 1961

[October 1961]

(..)

The experience of the USSR has fully proved the Marxist Leninist doctrine **about the decisive role of the Communist Party** in the creation and development of the socialist society. Only the party which staunchly realizes the class, proletarian policy, the party which is armed with progressive revolutionary theory and has firmly consolidated itself and is closely connected with masses, is able to organize and lead all people towards the victory of socialism.

(..)

[118]

Article 6 of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which approves the single-party system in the country

[1977]

Article 6. The leading and guiding force of the Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organizations and public organizations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people.

The Communist Party, armed with the Marxism-Leninism, determines the general perspectives of the development of society and the course of the home and foreign policy of the USSR, directs the great constructive work of the Soviet people, and imparts a planned, systematic and theoretically substantiated character to their struggle for the victory of communism.

All Party organizations shall function within the framework of the Constitution of the USSR.

[119]

Fragments from the memoirs "*Исповедь на заданную тему*" (Confession on the Set Theme) by B. Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, on the protectionism and corruption within the nomenclature

(..) In my opinion, during the last period of his life, Brezhnev didn't at all understand what he did, what signed and what said. All power was concentrated in the hands of his nearest people. (..) How many resolutions he scribbled silently and senselessly which brought wealth to some people and suffering and misery to other. I'm afraid even of thinking about it!

(..) Now it is well known what scale the protectionism and corruption reached during the years of stagnation which practically corroded all system of the power. The opinion of the First Secretary was the law, and it was doubtful whether anybody dared to ignore his request or task. And dishonest Party getters and their subordinates used this power without any control. (..)

Yes, the power of the First [Secretary] is practically unlimited. And the sense of power turns ones head. Yet if this power is used only for one goal: to let people live better, it turns out that there isn't enough of this power to feed the region well and humanly, to give everybody normal lodging... There is enough of it only to fix somebody up well, to allocate somebody a wonderful flat and to present the surrounding people with these benefits. So it happened, and happens also now, – a couple of ten persons live like in the communism, but the people comes to the utmost limit.

(..)

[120]

Request of Y. Rubenis, Secretary of the CC of CPL, to the Central Committee of the CPSU for the permission to send the delegation of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet to Finland, 26 March 1969

26 March 1968

To: Central Committee of the CPSU

The delegation of the faction of the Parliament of the People's Democratic Union of Finland visited the Latvian SSR in August 1967.

The Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet has received a letter of Paavo Aitio, the second Vice Chairman of the Parliament of Finland, chairman of the faction of the Parliament of the People's Democratic Union of Finland, with the invitation for the delegation of 3–5 deputies of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet to visit Finland as the guests of the faction of the parliament of the PDUF.

The CC of the CP of Latvia asks your permission to send the above delegation.

Y. Rubenis
Secretary of the CC of the CP of Latvia

[121]

Decision of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, dated 22 August 1944, "On the Joining of the *pagasts* of Vishgorod, Kachanovo and Tolkovo to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic"[1]

Moscow, 22 August 1944

Taking into account the requests of the inhabitants of the *pagasts* of Vishgorod, Kachanovo and Tolkovo, the majority of whom are Russians, and taking into consideration this wish, the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet d e c i d e s:

To ask the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to join the *pagasts* of Vishgorod, Kachanovo and Tolkovo from the Latvian SSR to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

Prof. Dr. *A. Kirhenšteins*
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

K. Prieže
Acting Secretary of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR
Supreme Soviet

[1] The *pagasts* of the document have the names used during Russian Tsarist regime which do not correspond to the names of the administrative territorial division of the Republic of Latvia in 1940. Actually the *pagasts* of Kacēni, Gauri, Augšpils, Linava, Upmala and Purvmala and the town of Abrene, which was named as Pitalovo by occupation power were joined to the Pskov Region of the RSFSR.

[122]

Excerpts from the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Formation of the Pskov Region within the RSFSR", dated 23 August 1944

Decree of 23 August 1944

1. To confirm the application of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic concerning the formation of the Pskov Region within the RSFSR with the centre in the city of Pskov.

(..)

2. Taking into account the repeated requests of the inhabitants of the *pagasts* of Vishgorod, Kachanovo and Tolkovo, inhabited prevailingly by Russians, and satisfying their wishes, as well as taking into consideration (..) the request of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet concerning the inclusion of the above *pagasts* into the RSFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics r e s o l v e s:

To confirm (..) the application of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and include the *pagasts* of Vishgorod, Kachanovo and Tolkovo within the Pskov Region (..), separating them from the Latvian SSR.

[123]

Excerpts from the application of communist D. Kaupužs, dated 29 May 1946, to the secretary of the CC of the AUC(B)P G. Malenkov on processes in six former *pagasts* of the Latvian SSR administrative district of Abrene after their joining to the Pskov Region of the RSFSR

29 May 1946

(..)

By the decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of September 1944[1], six *pagasts* of the Latvian SSR, the basic population of which were Russians, were joined to the Pskov Region, and the districts of Pitalovo and Kachanovo were formed on the basis of them. (..)

I, as a communist, who worked illegally in these districts during the bourgeois system of Latvia, but during the period of the German occupation took part in the partisan movement, wish to inform the CC of the AUC(B)P in the person of you about the intolerable situation in these districts after their joining to the Pskov Region.

(..)

After their inclusion into the Pskov Region, the leading Soviet and Party officials of these districts were sent there from the old districts of the Pskov Region (Dedovichi, Shashkina), but all local leading officials either went to work to the Latvian SSR, or were later rejected. At the present moment, not only all personnel of the districts, but also almost all the chairmen of the v[illage] Soviets and economic organizations are newcomers from other districts. This has caused the situation when the head persons of the districts and village Soviets don't know the specific conditions and people of these districts. Besides the local personnel were replaced by mainly the newcomers from the districts from which the secretaries of the district committees and chairmen of the districts' executive committees were appointed.

The driving out and not using the local staff is connected almost only with the distrust to all that is local, with the compromising and rejection of merits of the former active fighters, who struggled against bourgeoisie and fascism. The newly arrived senior officials usually avoided contacts with former underground workers, antifascists and partisans, openly derogating their merits. "What partisans had you there", etc. The local inhabitants were generally called "Latvians"[2], but sometimes simply "fascists".

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[1] The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Formation of the Pskov Region within the RSFSR", dated 23 August 1944, is meant here. Based on this decree, part of the administrative district of Abrene and the Petseri (Pechori) administrative disctrict of Estonia were included in the Pskov Region. The author of the application has incorrectly indicated the time of issue of the decree.

[2] The designation "Latvians" in relation to the local inhabitants, mainly of the Russian origin, was used in a negative meaning.

Besides, for instance, in the district of Pitalovo, there have been cases when very honoured families and individual people were persecuted. (..)

After the inclusion of these districts into the Pskov Region, the atmosphere is agitated there. The wide-scale flight of the inhabitants, who are not closely linked with family relations and economic ties, especially of the former partisans and antifascist youth, to Riga and other districts of the Latvian SSR has started. Besides we – the former leaders of the antifascist and partisan struggle have received very many oral and written complaints about the situation in the districts of Pitalovo and Kachanovo.

After the restoration of the Soviet power, the sovkhoz of Vishgorod was formed on the basis of the first-class and cultivated land of landlords and kulaks nearby Pitalovo. There already were about 100 cattle and about 40 horses, besides in early 1945 there were about 200 sheep and about 2000 "Leghorn" hens brought from the Ostrovo poultry farming sovkhoz. Last winter, according to the accounts of our people, the bulk of horses, cows and a great number of sheep and hens fell. (..)

(..) At the farm "Lavino", there is a park under the nature protection, where previously national celebrations and social gatherings took place. Last winter the cutting down of this protected area started and the major part of the precious wood was felled. Even the fir-tree hedge, which protected the orchard from the north winds, was cut down. It was started to cut down also the oak-tree grove near the farm of "Svetlovo", where the victims of the 1919 White Terror lay buried. (..)

The leaders of the district themselves become overgrown with unbecomingly rich private farms. For instance, c. Porutsenko, the first secretary of the Regional Committee, purchased two cows of the ownerless cattle, as well as pigs and three families of bees. He supplies his private cattle and pigs with the forage from "his own" private farm, which includes 30 ha of land, 15 cows and other cattle. (..)

In connection with all the above, the great dissatisfaction and indignation of Soviet people about this order rule in the district. The former servants of Germans and enemies of the Soviet power use this order to abuse the Soviet power.

In the unhealthy and agitated atmosphere, the leadership of the district of Pitalovo has started mass collectivization without using any transitional forms of the cooperation of the countryside. By April, 43 kolkhozs were made. (..)

My personal opinion is that it is inadmissible that these formerly famous districts (the situation in the district of Kachanovo is analogous) with so wonderful people endure this situation also in the future.

(..)[1]

D. Kaupužs

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[1] The letter didn't have any positive consequences. The author was subject to persecution. In the course of time, the majority of the indigenous population, residing in the six *pagasts* of the former administrative district of Abrene, moved to Latvia.

[124]

Excerpt from the minutes of the meeting of the Bureau of the CC of the CPL on the organization of the election to the local Soviets of Workers' Deputies, 3 January 1969

TOP SECRET
3 January 1969

(..)

P[aragraph] 5. On the regular election to the local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

(..)

In accordance with the decision of the CPSU "On Regular Election to the Local Soviets of Workers' Deputies", dated 2 December 1968, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia resolves:

1. To organize the regular election to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies of districts, towns, districts of towns and villages on Sunday – 16 March 1969.

To support the draft decree of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet in this question.

(..)

A. Voss, Secretary of the CC of the CP of Latvia

[125]

Excerpt from the minutes of the meeting of the Bureau of the CC of the C(B)PL on breaches of the Party Committee of the administrative district of Rēzekne in completing the election committee, 6 November 1947

SECRET
6 November [1947]

(..)

P[aragraph] 41. On the breaches of the instructions and regulations of the CC of the AUC(B)P "On the Election to the Local Soviets [of Workers' Deputies] of the Latvian SSR" in the Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia of the administrative district of Rēzekne.

The CC of the C(B)P of Latvia points out that the Party Committee of the administrative district of Rēzekne has allowed serious breaches of the instructions and regulations of the CC of the AUC(B)P "On the Election to the Local Soviets of Workers' Deputies of the Latvian SSR" . Of the whole membership of the election committee, consisting of 11 pers[ons], the Party Committee of the administrative district appointed only 2 non-Party persons or 18 percent instead of 35-45 percent, anticipated in the instructions of the CC of the AUC(B)P, and, as to the nationality, only 4 persons or 36 percent were Latvians (..).

J. Kalnbērziņš, Secretary of the CC
of the C(B)P of Latvia

[126]

Excerpts from the minutes of the open Party meeting of the Party primary organization of the staff of the Representative of the Latvian SSR KGB in Rēzekne on the organization of the chekists' work, preparing for the election to the local Soviets, 16 February 1957

Minutes No. 8

(..)

A g e n d a:

Report "The organization of the work of the staff of the Representative of the Latvian SSR KGB in the town, preparing for the election to the local Soviets of Workers' Deputies" (*Yershov*)

(..)

The meeting was a d d r e s s e d by:

(..)

c. *Reshetnikov*: – said that the communists who would go to the districts, had to be alert, especially when the voting was over and during the period when the ballot-papers were taken to the town of Rēzekne. It is also necessary to see to it that reliable persons are appointed to visit homes with the [ballot] boxes. The leadership of the KGB will ask the Party committee of the town to authorize our officials to be present at the poll for them to be able to take the necessary measures in case the ballot-papers have anti-Soviet inscriptions or something of the kind.

(..)

c. *Bondarev*: mentioned in his speech that during the pre-election days the most important thing was the securing of the safety on the r[ail]w[ay] and at the entrusted to them election districts and that they had taken very seriously the execution [of these tasks]. All necessary measures had been taken to intensify the observation of the hostile elements.

He supported the previous speaker that the operational staff had to maintain order in their districts using all methods and, if it was necessary, in the cases of hooliganism, they had to interfere also personally in order to prevent them at the very beginning (..)

(..)

Chairman of the meeting: *Reshetnikov*
Secretary of the meeting: *Ulissky*

[127]

Excerpts from the decision of the Bureau of the CC of the CPL on the results of the election to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and local Soviets, 21 March 1967

SECRET
21 March 1967

DECISION

On the Results of the Election to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Local Soviets of Workers' [Deputies] (..)

(..)

On the day of the election, the workers of the Republic demonstrated their unity with the Communist Party and Soviet government. In the election to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, 99.90 percent votes have been cast for the deputy candidates; to the Soviets of the district and towns – 99.89 percent; to the Soviets of villages – 99.82 percent of votes. (..)

In the Soviets of Workers' Deputies of the town, districts and villages 23 976 deputies have been elected, among them 45.9 percent are women, 56.8 percent – non-Party persons, 62.6 percent – workers and collective farmers. (..)

A. Voss, Secretary of the CC of the CP of Latvia

[128]
Excerpts from the report of L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU at the 25th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 24 February 1976

24 February 1976

(..)

In our time, when the détente has become a reality, both in the international workers' movement and among its opponents there often arise a question how it effects the class struggle.

Some bourgeois officials pretend to be surprised and make noise about the solidarity of the communists of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people with the struggle of other peoples for freedom and progress. It is either naivety, or – more likely – the deliberate clouding the issue. It is perfectly clear that the détente and peaceful coexistence affect the mutual relations of countries. In the first place it means that disputes and conflicts among countries cannot be decided by wars, using force or threatening to use force. The détente in no respect repeals and cannot repeal or change the laws of the class struggle. No one may hope that under the conditions of détente, communists will reconcile themselves to the capitalist exploitation or monopolists will become the supporters of the revolution. But the demand to strictly observe the principle – not to interfere with the matters of the countries, to show respect to their independence and sovereignty – is one of the compulsory conditions of the détente.

(..)

In the struggle between two world outlooks there may not be a place for neutrality and compromises. High political vigilance, active, efficient and persuasive work of propaganda, due opposition to hostile ideological sabotage are necessary here. (*Applause.*)

(..)

One may remind Lenin's words that everything that serves the interests of the construction of communism is virtuous in our country. In the same way we may say that everything that serves the interests of the people, the interests of the construction of communism is democratic for us. (*Applause.*) We reject the things which contradict these interests, and nobody will convince us that this approach isn't correct. We know what direction we go, perfecting our political system. We are completely convinced about the correctness of the chosen course. (*Long applause.*)

(..)

[129]

Excerpt from the explaining note of the CC of the CPL on issues concerning the strengthening of counter propaganda, 27 January 1978

SECRET

No. 131s 27 January 1978

To: all town and district committees of the Communist Party of Latvia

EXPLAINING NOTE

On issues concerning the strengthening of counter propaganda

(..)

The Party organizations have to strengthen the propaganda of the Soviet life style and historic advantages of socialism, to imbue our people with the spirit of irreconcilability against the bourgeois ideology, enemies of socialism and the spirit of constant readiness to defend its conquests. It is necessary to provide our counter propaganda with an attacking character, to give motivated opposition to all inventions and manipulations of the class enemy, to succeed in discrediting them among the wide masses of workers. One may not avoid answering sharp questions, the policy of our Party has to be explained convincingly and patiently to the people who are mistaken, a strong opposition is to be given to the deliberate defamers of the Soviet order, socialist democracy and our Motherland.

(..)

I. Andersons, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

[130]

Excerpts from the Decision of the Bureau of the CC of CPL On the Taking Over of the Publishing House of Newspapers and Magazines, 21 March 1967

21 March 1967

DECISION

On the Publishing House of Newspapers and Magazines of the CC of the CP of Latvia

(..)

Based on the decision of the CC of the CPSU of 1 February this year and the letter of the Managing Department of the CC of the CPSU of 23 February this year, the Bureau of the CC of the CP of Latvia d e c i d e s:

1. To confirm the statement concerning the taking of the Publishing House of Newspapers and Magazines of the Press Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers under the authority of the CC of the CP of Latvia as of the balance of 1 January 1967 with the rooms, balance, finance plan of production and funds of logistical support in accordance with appendices No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6[1] of the statement.

(..)

4. To include the positions of the deputy director and chief accountant of the Publishing House of Newspapers and Magazines in the basic nomenclature of the CC of the CP of Latvia.

A. Voss, Secretary of the CC of the CP of Latvia

[1] Not published.

[131]
Excerpts from the minutes of the 4 March 1969 meeting of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPL concerning the full responsibility of the heads of the mass media and institutions of culture and art for the ideological content of the published materials and repertory

TOP SECRET
[4 March 1969]

(..) P[aragraph] 6. On increasing the responsibility of the heads of the press agencies, radio, television and cinematography, and the institutions of culture and art for the ideological-political level of the published materials and repertory.

(..)

The Central Committee of the CPSU points out that under the conditions when the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism has intensified, the ability of the workers of the press, literature and art to oppose sharply and from the class and Party position any manifestations of the bourgeois ideology, to actively and skillfully propagate the ideals of communism, advantages of socialism and Soviet life style, to deeply analyze and discover different petty bourgeois and revisionist trends is of special importance.

Besides, in analyzing the situation of the information of masses, literature and art in the republic, we get convinced that individual authors, producers and directors sometimes deviate from the class criteria, when they reflect social political problems and create the heroes of literature. Rather often still the emotional experience of odd people, decadents and extreme individualists dominates in the works of literature and art. They seek to get support among the ideologically immature readers, teachers or listeners with their ambiguous statements and hints. There are attempts to assess separate important problems and phenomena of our life one-sidedly and subjectively, not criticizing shortcomings from the position of the Party and civic interest, but from that of the neutral observers that is alien to the principles of the socialist realism and Party publicistic writing.

(..)

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia d e c i d e s: (..)

(..)

3. To draw the attention of the heads of the press agencies, publishing houses, radio, television, institutions of culture and art to the fact that they personally are responsible for the ideological-political content of the materials meant for the publication in press, demonstration and performing in public.

(..)

To determine that not only the staff of the editorial boards of the Party newspapers and magazines is reviewed at the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia, but also that of the magazines *"Karogs"*, "*Zvaigzne*", *"Māksla"* and newspaper *"Literatūra un Māksla"*.

(..)

A. Voss,
Secretary of the CC of the CP of Latvia

[132]

Excerpts from the January 1977 report of the Central Committee of the CPL to the Central Committee of the CPSU on the involvement of the press, television, radio and publishing houses in the propaganda work[1]

... January[2] 1977

To: The Central Committee of the CPSU

On the work of the republican press, television, radio and publishing houses of Latvia in the patriotic and international upbringing of workers (1971–1976)

The issues concerning the upbringing of people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism are constantly in the field of vision of the workers of mass media and propaganda of Soviet Latvia. The republican press, television, radio and publishing houses of Latvia consider the strengthening of the ideas of the friendship among Soviet peoples and socialist internationalism in the consciousness of working people, primarily in the consciousness of the young generation, as one of their most important tasks.

(..)

The propaganda of the ideas of patriotism, friendship among peoples and internationalism, which has become particularly extensive in 1972 and 1975, is continuing now in the press, as well as on the television and radio with unremitting force. The main item of journalists is to reflect the conquests of socialism, achievements of our peoples in 60 years of Soviet power, the success of Soviet people in their endeavour, putting into life the historic decisions of the 25th congress of the CPSU.

(..)

The republican press, television and radio duly repulse the solicitations of the Western imperialistic circles to revive the nationalistic prejudices in the consciousness of Soviet people, to sow the seeds of hatred in the fraternal family of the USSR peoples. All mass media of the Republic have spread out the extensive work of propaganda in connection with the attempts of the Western propaganda to distort, of anti-Soviet intents, the true character of the liberation struggle of the Baltic peoples, [in connection with] the resolution adopted by the Congress of the USA, which lyingly declares that the Baltic countries have been violently included into the USSR, and their entry in the USSR is not recognized.

[1] The complete version of the document hasn't been preserved.

[2] The date is not mentioned.

Marking the 36th anniversary since the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia, the tremendous success of Soviet Latvia in economic, social and cultural development, achieved in the brotherly family of the Soviet peoples, was reflected in the press, on the television and radio. The practical implementation of the tasks set by the 25th congress of the CPSU was profoundly analyzed. Presently this work is carried out under the slogan – prepare for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

(..)

[133]

Excerpts from the report of L. Avdjukevičs, Chairman of the Latvian SSR KGB, to the Central Committee of the CPL on the intelligence and propaganda work carried out by chekists

TOP SECRET

Copy No. 1

No. 1/455 14 February 1977

To: Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

REPORT

Latvian Bourgeois Nationalistic emigration, and how the Special Services of the Opponent Use it in their Destructive Work against the Republic

(..)

The Committee of State Security (KGB) of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, in repulsing the ideological sabotage and solicitations of the opponent's special services against the Republic, based its work on the guidelines of the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, 21st and 22nd congresses of the CP of Latvia and the approaches and recommendations of c. Y. ANDROPOV, chairman of the KGB of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The KGB of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, in carrying out its functions, based on the support of the Party organization and Soviet bodies of the Republic, and under the leadership of the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia, took part in the measures taken to increase the political vigilance of inhabitants and to mobilize the society to give firm opposition to the solicitations of the opponent.

In executing the concrete measures, in order to repulse the solicitations of the anti-Soviet organizations and centres of the emigration in the Republic, the KGB of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers extensively and many-sidedly uses the possibilities provided by the Latvian Committee for Cultural Relations with Compatriots Abroad.

In 1976, in accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU to use the possibilities of the Latvian Committee in order to liven up the patriotic work, the officer of the KGB active reserve has become the deputy chairman of this organization, hence much better results were obtained in the work.

In 1976, a number of measures of the attacking character have been taken against

the emigration centers both in the territory of the Republic and abroad. The sources of information have been acquired from among the emigrants which cause interest in the aspect of reconnaissance. The data obtained from them allowed to carry out the necessary counter-measures and to prevent the actions, planned by the enemy, in due time.

The demoralization work of the organizations and centers of the emigration has been made more active. To this purpose the visits of specially prepared propagandists to the countries of emigrants' residence were used.

(..)

The opponent will act against the undertakings realized by our organization in foreign countries, which are connected with the 60th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. The large quantities of the visits of foreign tourists, including the Latvian emigrants, to Riga in July 1977 to attend the Song Festival, will also be used for the destructive aims. The centenary of the fascist dictator of bourgeois Latvia Ulmanis in 1977, may cause a certain activity in the emigration centers and in a part of nationalistically disposed persons in the Republic.

Taking into account the possible activity of the opponent, the KGB of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers has worked out the plan of concrete measures for 1977. The major attention of the plan is drawn to the due receipt of the economic, scientific technical and operative information about the solicitations of the main opponent, the opponent's special services and their anti-Soviet centers in the Republic.

(..)

The KGB of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is commissioned to carry out work, from the positions of the Republic, with foreign organizations, institutions and individual persons to obtain the political information.

At the present moment the bodies of the Union are discussing the question – to allow the officers of the KGB of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to take two positions in the Soviet institutions, which are connected with the reception of foreigners, they will be entrusted to organize this work.

The Society of Friendship with Foreign Countries[1] and the Bureau of the Youth Tourism "Sputnik" are the most appropriate organizations for this purpose. In this connection, the question of the allocation of two permanent appointments on the account of the Republic's organizations, in order to hand them over to the Friendship Society and the Bureau of the Youth Tourism "Sputnik" to use them for the above aims, shall be decided positively.

(..) In its everyday work among inhabitants and making use of its possibilities,

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[1] The Society of Friedship and Cultural Relations between Latvia and Foreign Countries.

the KGB of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, under the leadership of the Party bodies, takes the measures which are directed towards the increasing of the political vigilance, mastering of correct understanding about the international relations among the peoples and nationalities of the USSR, imbuing with incontestable conviction about the superiority of the socialist state and social order over the capitalist system.

Avdjukevičs
Chairman of the Committee of State Security
of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

Notes in the document:
To c. I. Andersons. A. Voss. 17.02.77.

CHAPTER 7

Mass terror and deportation in the post-war years

In the final period of World War II and particularly in the first post-war years, the mass terror against the inhabitants of Latvia reached still unprecedented size. The terror against the "hostile elements" was realized by the People's Commissariat of State Security, bodies of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, officers of the USSR Red Army's Secret Service "Smersh", as well as destroyers, employees of the militia, Prosecutor's Office and other repressive institutions.

In February 1945, the citizens of German origin, who still lived in Latvia, and the so-called non-citizens were deported from Riga. Many doctors [134], teachers [135], as well as inhabitants of other professions [136] were arrested during this period. All 11 prisons of Latvia were filled. No terms of investigation, provided by the law, were observed, therefore the arrestees were kept in detention cells under inhuman conditions for months [137].

Often the realizers of the mass terror – the officers of the People's Commissariat of State Security (NKVD, later – Ministry of State Security), People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (later – Ministry of the Interior), Red Army's Secret Service "Smersh" (later – Special Department of the Baltic Military District) appropriated the property of inhabitants, detained completely innocent people, falsified investigation cases, beat people, tormented and shot them without any investigation and trial [138, 139]. In executing the demands of the repressive bodies, the employees of the Prosecutor's Office often sanctioned arrests without any motivation.

During this period, also the whole repressive system of the USSR was "improved". Different decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers, as well as circulars and directions of the Ministry of State Security, Ministry of the Interior and the USSR Prosecutor's Office made the conditions of life for the people put in the punitive camps and prisons, and deported to the places of special settlement, heavier and more intolerable. They were deprived of the hope to return home after serving the term [140, 141]. It painfully affected also the fates of many thousands of Latvian citizens.

In order to intimidate farmers and force them to join kolkhozs during the anticipated "all-round" collectivization of agriculture, as well as "to clear" Latvia of the "nationalistic elements", it was intended to carry out wide-scope deportation again. The aim was to deport many thousands of the formerly well-off farmers – the so-called kulaks, as well as the family members of "bandits" and "nationalists" to Siberia for life. The Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR A. Mishutin was one of the initiators of the

deportation [142], but in reality the fate of these people was decided in Moscow, when on 29 January 1949, the USSR Council of Ministers took a strictly confidential resolution No. 390-138, which determined what "categories" of inhabitants had to be deported from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. They were as follows (the official terminology of that period is used here):

1) kulaks and their families;

2) the family members of the bandits in hiding, and nationalists, as well as the family members of the killed or convicted bandits;

3) the legalized bandits, and their family members who continue to carry out anti-Soviet activities;

4) the family members of the supporters of bandits.

According to this resolution, all adult family members and close relatives who lived together with them were subject to deportation; the juveniles and unable people were not subject to deportation, but they could follow the family "on voluntary basis". Actually all - young and old people were deported. In accordance with the resolution of 29 January 1949, it was intended to deport altogether at least 29 000 families from the Baltics. The deportation had to take place in the second half of March 1949.

All repressive institutions of the USSR, as well as the units of the Convoy Troops were involved in the preparation for the enormous deportation. The USSR Ministry of State Security and the USSR Ministry of the Interior were commissioned to carry out all work connected with the deportation. Colonel- General S. Kruglov, the USSR Minister of the Interior, in his order No. 00225 of 12 March 1949 specified all measures to be taken for the deportation. The following places of deportation were fixed: the Regions of Novosibirsk, Omsk, Tomsk and Irkutsk, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, as well as the Mari Autonomous SSR, which a little later was replaced by the Amur Region. In these places the special commandant's offices of the Ministry of the Interior were arranged in due time, their personnel was selected, as well as other measures were taken in order to avoid the escapes of the deported.

The USSR Ministry of State Security and Ministry of the Interior prepared also the detailed plan of deportation. Lieutenant-General Ogoltsov, the USSR Deputy Minister of State Security, and Major-General Ratushny, the representative of the USSR Ministry of the Interior, were sent to Latvia to head and control it. The Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security and the Ministry of Interior established special operations headquarters.

The employees of the Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security made the lists of the people to be deported in February and March 1949 (formally these lists were made by the executive committees of the administrative districts), but the body of the occupation self-administration – the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers took a decision on the

deportation of the families of 10 000 "kulaks" on 17 March 1949 [143]. On 24 March, the decision on the confiscation of the deportees' property was taken [144].

The Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security divided Latvia into special operation sectors and formed operations groups, which consisted of the officers of the Ministry of the Interior and the militia. Already on 18 March 1949, the meeting of the heads of the administrative districts' departments of the Ministry of the Interior took place, but on 19 March – the meeting of the officers, who were appointed heads of the "concentration centers of the persons to be deported" and trains. All preparatory work of the deportation had to be finished by 20 March 1949.

During the nights from 22 to 24 March 1949, the heads of the trains and the teams of the trains were transported to the "concentration centers", they were introduced to different instructions, documents and pocket flash-lights, etc., were prepared. On 24 March, the operations groups of the Ministry of State Security arrived at the "concentration centers". There were also many officers of the Ministry of State Security from the regions of Russia in them, too. At night prior to 25 March, trains arrived at the railway stations.

In Latvia, the operation of deportation took place on 25 March 1949. On this day, the employees of the Ministry of State Security detained and delivered the persons subject to deportation to the "concentration centers" [145, 146] with the support of the army units and the local activists of the Party and Soviets.

According to the information of the Republic of Latvia Ministry of the Interior, in March 1949, 9144 families were deported from Latvia as "kulaks" – altogether 29 314 people. A statement on the deportation of 9097 families (or 29 172 persons) was approved by A. Noviks, the Latvian SSR Minister of State Security, but the statements on the other persons – by his deputies. 3828 families (altogether 12 972 persons) were deported as "nationalists"; the former Minister of State Security of the Latvian SSR A. Noviks has signed 3808 statements on the deportation of these families (of 12 814 persons). The Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR A. Mishutin has sanctioned the statements on the deportation of 3795 families (12 771 persons). Altogether, according to the information of the Republic of Latvia Ministry of the Interior, in March 1949, 12 987 families were deported – altogether 42 133 persons. (Some documents of the USSR Ministry of the Interior mention different figures: 13 624 families – 42 149 persons, 14 173 families – 41 708 persons, etc.)

From 25 March to 29 March 1949, 5499 persons were deported to the Amur Region, 20 822 persons – to the Omsk Region and 15 636 persons – to the Tomsk Region from Latvia by 33 trains, the numbers of which were from No. 97320 to No. 97351.At the terminals, the deportees were distributed among regions, but from there – among kolkhozs and state farms.

On 29 March 1949, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL, having

reviewed the issue "On the Results of the Deportaion of Kulaks and their Families, the Families of Bandits and Nationalists", among the other decided also "to mark the active participation of the Party organization, most active members of the Komsomol and Soviets in carrying out the operations of deportation."[1]

The citizens of Latvia were deported to the places of special settlement, where the conditions of life and work were very hard [147] "for everlasting times". This they had to certify by signing special documents.

In 1953, after the death of J. Stalin, the imprisonment conditions of the people subject to reprisals and deported to punitive camps and places of settlement during different periods of time, were eased little by little – part of the prisoners were released, the terms of serving the sentence were decreased for the other.

In accordance with several resolutions of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the inhabitants of Latvia, deported to Siberia in March 1949, could return to their motherland in the middle of the 50s. Yet home-coming was forbidden to many deportees [148]; their way home started in the 60s and even 70s. The property, confiscated in 1949, was not given back to those who returned from the deportation; they, as well as their children and other relatives were discriminated when they wanted to enter educational institutions, start a job, as well as in many other situations of life.

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[1] LVA, PA - 101. f., 2. apr., 38a 1., p. 3.

DOCUMENTS OF CHAPTER 7

[134–137] Mass terror

[134]

Excerpt from the report of E. Ameriks, People's Commissar of Health Protection of the Latvian SSR, to J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, on the arrests of doctors, 9 February 1945

SECRET

People's Commissariat of
Health Protection of
the Latvian SSR
No. 024/3

9 February 1945

To: c. KALNBĒRZIŅŠ,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

Recently several doctors have been arrested in the city of Riga and the periphery:

1) Irmgarde Čakste – a doctor therapeutist, Jelgava,[1]
2) Matuļenko – a sanitary inspector, Riga,
3) Smilga – a pediatrist, Riga,
4) Tīmenieks – a surgeon, Riga,
5) Saltups – a psychiatrist,
6) Gūtmane – a doctor in Lielbērze (the administrative district of Jelgava),
7) Puriņš – director of the Public Tuberculosis Hospital of Tērvete (the administrative district of Jelgava)[2]

(..)

E. Ameriks
People's Commissar of Health Protection
of the Latvian SSR

Notes in the document:
To c. Noviks. It is necessary to check and report to me why the doctors are arrested. 9.II.45. Kalnbērziņš.

[1] Opposite the name of I. Čakste there is a note in handwriting: "released".
[2] The fate of the above people is unknown.

[135]

Excerpt from the report of K. Strazdiņš, People's Commissar of Education of the Latvian SSR, to J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, on the arrests of teachers in the administrative district of Bauska, 18 March 1945

Riga, 18 March 1945

To: comrade KALNBĒRZIŅŠ,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

Two days, which I spent in the town of Bauska, convinced me of the fact that there really had been exaggerations with respect to the arrests of teachers in the administrative district of Bauska. A rough mistake has been allowed which should be corrected without delay. From among 180 teachers 22 are arrested. (..) I personally do not know anybody of the arrested ones, however, everybody thinks very well of the following ones:

1) Klincare – the director of the Kurmene 7-Year School,

2) Satiks – the director of the Mežotne 7-Year School (he is arrested together with his wife, 3 little children have been left),

3) Hammers – the director of the Svitene 7-Year School,

4) Ruņģe – the teacher of the Code-Bērzi 7-Year School,

5) Kraķis – the director of the Misa-Dugāne 7-Year School,

6) Kirts – the director of the Svitene 7-Year School.

They are the ones, who are mentioned first of all. (..)

Sincerely,
K. Strazdiņš

Notes in the document:

To c. Noviks. To clear up and report, why the teachers of the administrative district of Bauska are arrested. 19/III 45. Kalnbērziņš.

[136]

Prisoner J. Pelkaus' note thrown out of a prison before his deportation to Russia in 1945

[Spring-summer 1945]

Compatriot, please help the compatriot and send the information, **for gratitude**, to the following **address: Master K[ārlis] P[elkaus], Ērgļu Street** (Jāņa Asara) **No. 22, flat 1**.

I am in the Term Prison at the Brasla[1] st[ation], tram no. 2 as far as the terminal.

Please urgently bring me some food available to you, mainly bread and tobacco.

Tell Alma to bring as much food as she can and tobacco. A blanket, underwear, summer work clothes and boots, which were with the cobbler, and a sum[mmer] hat.

Jānis, born in 1901.

[1] Brasa.

[137]

Report of A. Mishutin, Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR, to J. Kalnbērziņš, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, on the situation in the prisons of Latvia, 29 October 1945

SECRET

The USSR Prosecutor's Office
Prosecutor of the LSSR

No. 2025-s 29 October 1945

To: c. J. KALNBĒRZIŅŠ,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

The Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian SSR has inspected the situation of the prisons of the LSSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and the legitimacy of the arrested kept in them. As a result of the inspection, it was established that the situation, referring to the terms of imprisonment and the sanitary and social conditions of prisoners, was extremely hard in the prisons of the Latvian SSR.

In the territory of Latvia, there are altogether 11 prisons, 3 of them are situated in Riga and others in Ventspils, Daugavpils, Liepāja, Cēsis, Valmiera, Rēzekne, Madona and Ludza.

All 11 prisoners may house more than 4330 persons (the limit), yet on 20 October 1945 there were 5416 persons in the prisons that exceeded the limit for more than 25%. Of this number, 4285 persons are the prisoners who are under investigation and 1091 persons are already convicted and have to be sent to the camps or colonies. Besides, there is 41 person in the prisons, sentenced to death.

Especially difficult situation, concerning the keeping of prisoners in custody, has been established in the following prisons: Riga City Prison No. 1 (the Central Prison), which according to the limit may house 700 persons, but actually 1654 persons are imprisoned in it, i.e. – almost 2.5 times more than the fixed limit.

In Prison No. 10 in Rēzekne, which according to the limit may house 250 persons, there are actually 596 prisoners.

334 persons are kept in Prison No. 7 in Liepāja, where there may be 225 persons according to the limit.

The situation is similar also in the prisons of Madona and Ludza and Riga City Prison No. 2.

Such a situation has been caused by several reasons, among which the main reason is the absurd hesitation of the investigation bodies to investigate the cases. For

instance, the bodies of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of State Security have 1571 persons, the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs have 608 persons, the bodies of the Prosecutor's Office have 830 persons, the militia has 387 persons and the Secret Service "Smersh" – 30 persons.

Many prisoners are kept under arrest for a long period – from 5 to 6 and even more months. The terms of detention are grossly violated. Besides the situation is getting worse with every month. For instance, by 1 September 1945, the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of State Security detained 510 persons or 31% of the total number of prisoners above the term, but on 1 October 1945, this number has grown to 846 that constitutes 52%, i.e. – more than a half of all arrested. From the above prisoners, the bodies of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of State Security have 2 persons from October 1944, 7 persons from November and 8 persons from December. They have 76 persons from January, 110 – from February, 98 – from March and 383 persons from April and May. The departments of the administrative districts of Abrene[1], Madona and Rēzekne of the People's Commissariat of State Security carry out investigation particularly bad. For instance, on 1 October 1945, there were 149 arrestees in the Department of the administrative district of Abrene, People's Commissariat of State Security, the majority of them were arrested in February, March and April 1945.

On 1 September 1945, the bodies of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs had 119 persons, who were kept by violating the terms of detention, but on 1 October 1945 this number had reached 167 persons or 20.6% of the existing arrestees. Hence also the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs tends to extend the investigation terms of the cases.

Several arrested by the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs are kept from November and December last year. For instance, a prisoner V. Naglis, who was arrested on 17 November 1944, is the detainee of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs until this day. Prisoner A. Tubulis, imprisoned from January 1945, is in the Department of the Administrative District of Valka of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. Prisoners Aukstris, Tuščiks and Ruze are in the Department of the Rēzekne District from the same time.

On 1 October 1945, the bodies of the LSSR militia have 79 persons or 24% with the expired terms of detention. Among them 10 prisoners of the Daugavpils District Militia are from 1944. Prisoners Zaharēvičs, Rasa and Buļs of the Criminal Investigation Department, the Administration of the Militia, the LSSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, are kept from January 1945, and the Department has also prisoners U. Pikeļeviča, who is accused according to Article 162, part 2, and I. Rozenberga, accused according to Article 192, part 2. They were arrested already on 8 June 1945.

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[1] Although the town of Abrene and a part of the administrative district of Abrene were unlawfully taken away from Latvia in 1944 (see Documents 121 and 122 of Chapter 6), the administrative district preserved its name until 12 October 1945, when it was renamed as the administrative district of Viļaka.

With respect to the detention of prisoners, there is the same situation also in the bodies of the Prosecutor's Office. For instance, on 1 September 1945, the Court Martial of the Army of the LSSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs had 43 persons, i.e. 13.8%, detained above the fixed term, but till 1 October 1945 this number had grown to 118 persons, i.e. – to 24%, among them from 4 July 1945, there were 34 persons accused of the gang offence – Francis, Eglītis and others. And from 11 July 1945, there are 24 prisoners accused of the gang offence of Albans, Asaris and others at the Court Martial.

On 1 September 1945, there were 7 prisoners at the People's Courts of the Latvian SSR, who were kept there violating the detention term, but on 1 October 1945 – already 17 persons or 23% of the total number of their prisoners. Among them, in the People's Court of the 3rd precinct, the administrative district of Daugavpils, a prisoner A. Voronov is kept from 4 June 1945, and a prisoner V. Lukianov – from 25 June 1945.

The military prosecutors have 45 prisoners, who are kept without observing the detention terms, among them there is an arrestee V. Rogačevskis, who is kept by the military prosecutor of the Riga garrison from 16 July 1945. There are 5 persons, accused of the gang offence of I. Poliakov and others, who are kept by the military prosecutor of the Army of the LSSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs since 30 July 1945.

The bodies of the territorial Prosecutor's Office keep 103 persons violating the terms of detention, among them from 4 May 1945, the Prosecutor's Office of the Rēzekne District has a prisoner A. Lončs, who was arrested already in December 1944. Since 17 June 1945, there are 6 persons at the Prosecutor's Office of the Talsi District, who are accused of the gang offence of Zariņš, Leitis and others.

The untimely sending of prisoners to the colonies and camps is the second main reason of the overcharge of the Latvian SSR prisons. For instance, by 20 October 1945, 1901 convicted persons had to be transferred to colonies and camps, however the transference of them is extremely slow, and the prisoners continue to stay in the prisons long after their sentences have entered into force. For instance, there are 593 such prisoners in Riga City Prison No. 1, 323 – in Riga City Prison No. 2, 92 – in Liepāja City Prison No. 7, 88 – in Rēzekne City Prison No. 10, etc.

In spite of such a situation and repeated directions of the Prosecutor's Office of the Republic, the LSSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs does not take the necessary measures in order to transfer the convicted arrestees.

Taking into consideration the fact that the prisons are full and that the LSSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs doesn't take the necessary measures, the sanitary and social conditions of the prisoners are extremely hard. In bulk of the prisons, there are no beds or bunks. There is neither bedding nor even straw sacks, and sometimes the prisoners are forced to sleep right on the bare cement floor for several months.

The sanitary medical service is dissatisfactory, too. In the majority of prisons, there are no principal medications, and they lack the medical personnel (in Madona, Rēzekne and Cēsis). Untidiness and lice can be observed in several prisons (in Valmiera, Ventspils, etc.).

Many prisoners are ill because of the long detention and anti-sanitary conditions, and during 9 months of 1945, 98 persons have died in the prisons of the Latvian SSR.

For the time being, there were no epidemic diseases observed, yet the exacerbation of them may not be excluded.

The majority of prisons have been satisfactory prepared for the winter period, yet the prisons of Valmiera, Rēzekne and Ludza have not finished whitewashing of wards and glazing of windows. The provision with fuel is very bad in all prisons. By 30 October 1945, only 10% of the necessary firewood has been laid in. (..)

A. Mishutin
2nd Class State Counselor of Justice,
Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR

Notes in the document:
The meeting of the wardens of the Riga prisons, Prosecutor of the Republic and comrades Noviks, Eglītis and Babkin shall be called on 9 November at 1 a.m. 2.11.45. Kalnbērziņš.

[138]

Excerpts from the survey of Smirnov, assistant military prosecutor of the Internal Troops of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, on the crimes of the officers of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, 28 November 1945

Approved
G. Timchenko
Lieutenant-Colonel of Justice,
Military Prosecutor
of the Internal Troops, Latvian SSR
People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs

28 November 1945

Brief Survey

On the criminality and penality among the [officers of] Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, militia, para-military guard, and warders of prisons and camps in the 3rd quarter of 1945

1. On the criminality

In the 3rd quarter of 1945, 42 cases were brought against 64 persons in the Special Inspection of the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, district units of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, operations – chekists' unit, unit of camps and prisons, secret service unit "Smersh", as well as in the unit of road militia, but in the 2nd quarter of 1945, there were only 28 cases brought against 33 persons. Hence the number of crimes and commenced cases of the 3rd quarter 1.5 times exceeds that of the 2nd quarter, but the number of the persons, called to criminal account, has increased almost twice. This information shows that the number of crimes among the above categories [of people] does not decrease, but just vice versa – it grows by every quarter. (..)

(..) I. Murmilov, the operations representative of the branch office of the Rugāji *pagasts*, the unit of the administrative district of Viļaka, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, beat citizens, regularly carried out illegal search, withdrew the possessions and values of citizens, which he appropriated. From July to September 1945, Murmilov withdrew and appropriated the following: 30–35 pieces of laundry soap – from Milda Zutica, a clock – from Natālija Dankere, a watch and a clock, as

well as other possessions – from Antons Ozoliņš, a sofa and two chairs – from Vladislavs Kozlovskis, a raincoat – from Jānis Kalējs, fishermen's nets and other possessions – from Broņislava Platā and a silk dress – from Anete Gristena. In performing his official duties, he used force against citizens: on 5 July 1945 on the individual farm, he, being drunk, beat Emīlija Baleja, Voitks Zakarancs, Līna Krieviņa, Jūlija Pole, Jānis Polis and Milda Prikase, whom he, menacing with a weapon, raped. During the questioning, Murmilov beat citizens Ķikuts, Kozlovskis, Klusiņš and Blatais in his office.

While working at Rugāji pagasts, Murmilov visited his homeland – Astrakhan twice and took away with him many valuable possessions, which he had misappropriated from citizens. He took away approximately 10 suitcases with possessions and food-stuffs, as well as 10 watches, among them also a gold watch. Murmilov sent part of the possessions: 1 sofa, 2 chairs, a fur coat and other possessions, confiscated from citizens, to Pipo, captain of the district units of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, without any documents.

In the same administrative district in June-September 1945, citizens were beaten by J. Minosian, head of the branch office of Baltinava *pagasts,* People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, and A. Mihelsons, head of the branch office of Tilža *pagasts*, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, who misappropriated the cattle, food-stuffs and other possessions of citizens. (..)

Besides, Minosian, Mihelsons, Pipo and other officers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and the branch office of the administrative district of Viļaka militia regularly used reprisals against the supporters of bandits by shooting them without any investigation and trial. From July to September 1945, as well as in early October, about 27 persons were illegally shot in that administrative district.

Similar facts have been established also in other administrative districts (of Madona, Rēzekne).

(..)

Smirnov
Senior Lieutenant of Justice,
Assistant Military Prosecutor of
the Internal Troops of the Latvian SSR People's
Commissariat of Internal Affairs

[139]

Excerpts from the survey of Vishniakov, military prosecutor of the Internal Troops of the Latvian SSR Ministry of the Interior, on the cases of the special cognizance, terminated by the Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security in the 2nd half of 1948 and January 1949, 12 March 1949

TOP SECRET
12 March 1949

Survey
On the cases of the special cognizance, terminated by the bodies of the Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security in the 2nd half of 1948 and January 1949

(..) 24 cases concerning 39 persons have been terminated during this period.
(..)

From among 39 persons, the cases brought against 7 persons (18%) are terminated because of the death of the accused. Besides, 4 persons from 7 have been shot during an attempt of escape while under arrest.

In examining the causes of the termination of cases and the discharge of arrestees, one has to mark that it can mainly be explained by the fact that several employees of the LSSR Ministry of State Security had not produced impartially the materials, which were submitted to the Military Prosecutor's Office of the Republic to receive the sanction for the arrest. Moreover, as it is established now, in some cases falsified materials were submitted about the persons, who were not to be arrested.

(..)

1. The cases brought against: M. Ilianov, V. Koltov, I. Gobranov, K. Valiņš, I. Gliauda and I. Ķiploks – all six persons were accused of treason, sabotage and participation in counter-revolutionary organizations.

The materials about the above persons were falsified by junior lieutenant Sergienko, deputy head of the 2nd section of the KGB Rēzekne District Department.

Junior lieutenant Sergienko prepared the arrest of Ilianov and other persons in February and March 1948, using threat and physical violence against the arrestees and witnesses, as a result of which M. Ilianov, I. Žogota and D. Žogota, as well as witnesses A. Žogota and P. Zaslužinskis were forced to give false evidence about innocent people and to defame themselves and others.

During the process of the pre-trial investigation, 60 witnesses were questioned, however, none of them gave evidence of the criminal activity of Ilianov and others,

yet it was unmistakably established that the accused persons hadn't committed the serious crimes imputed to them[1].

(..)

Vishniakov, Colonel of Justice,
Military Prosecutor of the Internal Troops
of the Latvian SSR Ministry of the Interior

[1] Those were very rare cases, when the employees of the repressive institutions were punished for exceeding their authority. Yet the falsification of cases and the torture of arrestees was a usual phenomenon.

[140]

Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Settlement in the Remote Places of the USSR of Especially Dangerous State Criminals, who have Served the Sentence", dated 21 February 1948

21 February 1948

1. To charge the USSR Ministry of the Interior to deport, in accordance with the instructions of the USSR Ministry of State Security and after the termination of the sentence, all spies, saboteurs, terrorists, Trotskists, right-wingers, Mensheviks, essers, anarchists, nationalists, White Emigrants and other participants of anti-Soviet organizations and groups, who have served the sentence in special camps and prisons, and the persons, who are dangerous through their contacts and hostile activity, to the following areas and under the supervision of the bodies of the Ministry of State Security: to the areas of Kolim in the Far East; to the areas of the Krasnoyarsk Territory and Novosibirsk Region, which are situated 50 km North of the Transsiberian Railway Line; to the Kazakh SSR, except the Regions of Alma-Ata, Guriev, Southern Kazakhstan, Aktiubinsk, Eastern Kazakhstan and Semipalatinsk.

2. To charge the Ministry of State Security with the task of deporting the state criminals of Article 1 and who were discharged, after serving the sentence, from the correction camps and prisons after the end of the Great Patriotic War[1].

The deportation of these persons shall be carried out on the basis of the decision issued by the Special Meeting of the USSR Ministry of State Security.

[1] The officially accepted name of the war between the USSR and Germany of 1941-1945 in the Soviet Union.

[141]
Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Criminal Liability of the Persons who Escape from the Permanent Compulsory Settlement", dated 26 November 1948

26 November 1948

In order to secure the deportation regime, determined by the Supreme body[1] of the USSR, of the Chechens, Karachayevites, Ingushites, Balkars, Kalmyks, Germans, Crimean Tartars, etc., deported during the Patriotic War, as well as because of the fact that during their transference, the terms of the deportation were not fixed, it shall be established that the deportation of the above persons to the remote areas of the Soviet Union is carried out for ever, without rights to return to the former places of residence.

In case of the deportees' unwarranted departure from the compulsory places of deportation, the offenders shall be called to criminal account. This offence shall be punished by 20 years of hard labour.

The cases of escape of the deportees shall be heard at the Special Board of the USSR Ministry of the Interior.

The persons, who are guilty of harbouring the deportees, who have escaped from the places of compulsory deportation, or have favoured their escape, the persons, who are guilty of issuing licenses to deportees to enable them to return to the places of their former residence, and the persons, who have rendered assistance to the deportees in order to settle them in their former places of residence, shall be called to criminal account. These offences shall be punished by 5 years in prison.

[1] The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet meant here.

[142]

Excerpt from the report of A. Mishutin, Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR, to J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, on the measures taken to liquidate the "remnants of the counter-revolutionary hostile elements" in the Latvian SSR, 21 September 1948

TOP SECRET

Riga, 21 September 1948

To: comrade J. KALNBĒRZIŅŠ, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

On the measures taken to liquidate the remnants of the counter-revolutionary hostile elements in the Latvian SSR

(..)

From the above it is clear:

that, because the formation of kolkhozs grows this year, the activity of the counter-revolutionary hostile elements increases by every month in the Republic,

that the people's enemies – depending on the concrete situation and local conditions – use different forms and methods in their hostile activity,

that they use all means to hamper the realization of the most important undertakings of the Party and government,

that the hostile elements, who are illegal, receive different kind of assistance and support from the anti-Soviet part of the local population – kulaks, *aizsargs*, legionaries, *Schutzmannschaften* and others,

that the people's enemies seek to get in and, due to the political blindness and carelessness of several leaders of the Party and Soviet bodies, get into the Soviet state apparatus, in order to destroy its correct guidance and to carry out hostile activity within it.

In order to finally liquidate the remnants of the counter-revolutionary hostile elements in the Latvian SSR, I ask you to discuss the usefulness of the following measures:

1) registration, with the help of the Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security, of all hostile counter-revolutionary elements from among the former *aizsargs*, *Schutzmannschaften*, policemen, guardsmen, notable figures of Ulmanis' fascist regime, large-scale merchants, industrialists and houseowners, legionaries, participants

of the former gangs of terrorists and the active supporters of the German fascist occupants,

2) taking of measures, with the help of ministries and the special departments of the institutions of the Republic, aimed to clear the state apparatus of the class hostile elements both in the centre and at the places (in the subordinated enterprises, institutions and organizations),

3) the commission, headed by a secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, shall work out and prepare for advancing to the relevant bodies the question concerning deportation of the most hostile elements and the alien ones from the class point of view to the inland.

A. Mishutin
Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR,
2nd Class State Counselor of Justice

[143]

Decision the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers on the deportation of the "kulaks'" families beyond the Latvian SSR, dated 17 March 1949

TOP SECRET
Riga, 17 March 1949

DECISION No. 282-ss
On the deportation of the kulaks' families beyond the Latvian SSR

In accordance with the decision No. 390-138-ss of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 29 January 1949, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers r e s o l v e s:

1. To deport 10 000 kulaks' families beyond the Latvian SSR to the remote places of the Soviet Union.

2. To confirm the lists of the kulaks' families to be deported, handed in by the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

3. To commission the Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security to carry out the deportation of kulaks' families.

V. Lācis
Chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

I. Bastin
Administrative Director of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

[144]

Decision of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers on the confiscation and use of the deportees' property, dated 24 March 1949

TOP SECRET
Riga, 24 March 1949

DECISION No. 297-ss

Our ref. No. 241-ss
24.03.1949

Further to the Decision No. 282-ss of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, dated 17 March 1949, and in accordance with the Decision No. 390-138-ss of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 29 January 1949, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers resolves:

1. The property of the persons to be deported, except the property, which the above persons take with them, and cattle shall be confiscated.

The property of the persons to be deported shall be used to pay off debts and regular payments of the state obligations; after paying off the debts and regular payments, the remaining part of the property (living- and outhouses, enterprises, agricultural and trade inventory, as well as cattle) shall be handed over to kolkhozs without any compensation, including it into the common fund.

The rest of the property and potatoes shall be handed over to the financial bodies for sale.

The grain and technical crops shall be handed over to the state (to the Office of the Grain Supply).

2. The executive committees of administrative districts and *pagasts* shall carry out the distraint, preservation and sale of the confiscated property. In order to carry out the distraint of the confiscated property and to ensure its preservation, the executive committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies of administrative districts and *pagasts* shall appoint the responsible representatives and the necessary number of the most active members to assist them.

3. In order to carry out the destraint, sale and preservation of the property, confiscated from the persons to be deported, the representatives of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers shall be appointed by administrative districts according to the Appendix[1].

V. Lācis
Chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

I. Bastin
Administrative Director of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

[1] Not published.

[145]

Order by S. Kruglov, Minister of the Interior of the USSR, on the deportation of "kulaks" and their families, the families of "bandits and nationalists" from the territory of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, dated 12 March 1949

TOP SECRET
EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
Moscow, 12 March 1949

ORDER
of the Minister of the Interior
in the year 1949
No. 00225

R e f e r e n c e: On the deportation of kulaks and their families and the families of bandits and nationalists from the territory of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia

By the Decision No. 390-138-ss of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 29 January 1949, the Ministry of State Security is commissioned to deport kulaks with their families, the families of the bandits and nationalists, who are illegal, were shot during armed clashes, the families of the convicted bandits, the bandits, who have become legal, but continue hostile activity, and their families, as well as the families of the supporters of the repressed bandits from the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian SSR.

It has been determined by the USSR Council of Ministers that the above persons have to be located at the places of deportation for ever. Deportees are allowed to take with them their own personal valuables, household implements (clothes, plates and dishes, petty agricultural, trade and hosekeeping inventory) and the food reserve of the total weight to 1500 kilograms per each family.

The USSR Council of Ministers has commissioned the USSR Ministry of the Interior to ensure the following: the escorting and transporting of the deportees from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by railway and water ways as far as the place of deportation, thorough guard of the deportees during their displacement, administrative supervision at the places of deportation and the relevant registration of the deportees by introducing the regime that would exclude any possibility of escape; the setting up of the deportees in agriculture (in kolkhozs and sovkhozs) and industry.

In order to put into practice the above Decision of the USSR Council of Ministers –

I o r d e r:

1. The families of kulaks, nationalists, bandits and their supporters from the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian SSR shall be deported to:

the Krasnoyarsk Territory – 4000 families,
the Novosibirsk Region – 3000 –"–,
the Tomsk Region – 7000 –"–,
the Omsk Region – 6000 –"–,
the Irkutsk Region – 6967 –"–.

2. Colonel Kozlov, head of the Administration of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, Ministry of the Interior, major-general Petrovsky – in the Novosibirsk Region, colonel Brovchenko – in the Tomsk Region, colonel Petrov – in the Omsk Region, and colonel Doshlov – in the Irkutsk Region, shall carry out the following:

a) to work out, together with the local Party and Soviet bodies, the concrete plan of the receipt and distribution of deportees. The plan shall anticipate the provision of the deportees with the dwelling space, their setting up, as well as the allotting of the transport to take the deportees from railway stations to the places of deportation;

b) to carry out examination of the places of deportation, envisaged in the plan, by sending there employees of the administration of the Ministry of the Interior together with the employees of the Soviet and the relevant operating bodies, and to take the measures in order to properly prepare them for the receipt of deportees;

c) on the arrival of trains with deportees, to organize the conveyance of deportees from the heads of trains according to the lists and to draw up statements. The heads of the respective regional departments of the Ministry of the Interior, commandants of the relevant special commandant's offices and specially appointed representatives of the Ministry of the Interior and the administrations of the Ministry of the Interior, shall be commissioned to receive deportees;

d) to organize the special commandant's offices of the Ministry of the Interior at the places, where the deportees are distributed. The employees of the new special commandant's offices shall be selected and appointed by 1 April 1949, and before the arrival of the deportees, they shall be thoroughly instructed on the work with deportees in accordance with the orders and directions of the USSR Ministry of the Interior. The lists of the location of the newly organized special commandant's offices and the personnel shall be handed in by the same term;

e) to register the deportees, who have arrived at the places of distribution, to inform them about the legal status of deportees and the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council on the criminal liability for the escape from the compulsory places of deportation, to organize strict regime and to determine the administrative supervision in accordance with the order No. 001445 of the USSR Ministry of the Interior, dated 7 December 1948.

Special attention shall be drawn to the creation of the conditions that would prevent any possibilities of escape.

3. In order to help the local bodies of the Ministry of the Interior to receive, distribute and set up deportees, as well as to organize strict registration, regime and administrative supervision, the following persons, in the capacity of the representatives of the USSR Ministry of the Interior, shall be sent to: the Krasnoyarsk Territory – colonel Maslennikov, the Novosibirsk Region – major-general Stefanov, the Tomsk Region – colonel Piadishev, the Omsk Region – colonel Grigoriev and the Irkutsk Region – colonel Poliakov.

4. Major-general Bartashunas, Minister of the Interior of the Lithuanian SSR, major-general Eglītis – of the Latvian SSR and major-general Rezev – of the Estonian SSR are commissioned to:

a) ensure the necessary social order in the towns and populated rural areas, where the deportation will be carried out from;

b) organize timely receipt of the persons to be deported and their sending to the places of deportation;

c) appoint the heads of trains and their deputies from among operations staff of the Ministry of the Interior and to instruct them thoroughly (..).

5. The following persons shall be sent on a mission in the capacity of the representatives of the USSR Ministry of the Interior to the Lithuanian SSR – major-general Matevosov, the Latvian SSR – major-general Ratushny and the Estonian SSR – lieutenant-general Petrov.

Major-general Bartashunas, Minister of the Interior of the Lithuanian SSR, major-general Eglītis – of the Latvian SSR, major-general Rezev – of the Estonian SSR and the representatives of the USSR Ministry of the Interior – major-general Matevosov, major-general Ratushny and lieutenant-general Petrov shall be commissioned to work out concrete measures in order to ensure the fulfilling of the tasks, connected with the deportation of the persons to be deported.

6. Major-general Arkadiev, head of the Department of Railway and Water Transport of the USSR Ministry of the Interior, shall ensure (..) allotting of the necessary quantity of trains to transport the deportees to the places of deportation.

(..)

7. Lieutenant-general Bochkov, head of the Department of the Convoy Troops, the USSR Ministry of the Interior, shall provide the necessary convoy and organize convoying of deportees as far as the place of deportation, taking the necessary measures to prevent the deportees' attempts of escape.

8. Major-general of the service corps Gornostayev, head of the Chief Department of the Military Supply, the USSR Ministry of the Interior, shall organize feeding of deportees during their transportation to the place of deportation.

9. Colonel Shiyan, head of the Department of Special Settlement, the USSR Ministry of the Interior, shall ensure:

a) that the heads of trains and their deputies are chosen timely from among the operations staff of the Ministries of the Interior of the republics and the regional administrations of the Ministry of the Interior;

b) that the USSR Ministry of Health Protection timely appoints a doctor and two nurses for each train of deportees, as well as allots the preparations, which are necessary to render medical aid to deportees during the trip.

10. In order to efficiently solve the questions, connected with the receipt, convoying and sending the trains of deportees, lieutenant-general Spasenko, deputy commander of the Convoy Troops, and lieutenant-colonel Ishkov, deputy head of the Department of Railway and Water Transport, the USSR Ministry of the Interior, with the operations group shall be sent on a mission to the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian SSR (..).

(..)

Major-general Riasnoy, Deputy Minister of the Interior of the USSR, is commissioned to control the execution of the present order.

Colonel-general *S. Kruglov*
Minister of the Interior of the USSR

[146]

Report, dated 24 April 1949, of A. Eglītis, Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR, on the work carried out by the LSSR Ministry of the Interior during the deportation action of 25 March 1949

TOP SECRET

No. 1/383 Riga, 24 April 1949

To: comrade KRUGLOV,
colonel-general, Minister of the Interior
of the USSR
Moscow

OFFICIAL REPORT

On the work, carried out by the Latvian SSR Ministry of the Interior in accordance with the order No. 00225 of the USSR Ministry of the Interior – in 1949

After the receipt of your order No. 00225, we, in cooperation with major-general comrade Ratushny, the representative of the USSR Ministry of the Interior, made a detailed plan concerning the organizational and strategic measures specified in the order: on the ensuring of the necessary public order in towns and populated rural areas of the Republic during the operation; on the defence of the concentration centers of deportees and the stations of the making up of trains; on establishing contacts with the commandant's offices of the frontier guards' troops and the taking of joint measures to close the border of the state; on staffing the groups of convoying the trains and the selection of the officers to be appointed the heads of the concentration centers of deportees and the stations of the making up of trains; on the provision of the trains with monetary and other material resources; on the mobilization of motor transport for the Ministry of State Security and directly for our needs, in order to transport the convoy and operations groups to trains, and on the number of other issues, connected with the operation.

In accordance with the plan, the briefing of the heads of the departments of administrative districts of the Ministry of the Interior was called on 18 March this year, but on 19 March – of the officers, who were appointed heads of the concentration centers and the stations of making up trains.

Basically, the whole organizational work was accomplished by 20 March.

The following number of persons from the corps of officers of the Latvian SSR Ministry of the Interior were appointed to the group of the convoying of trains: heads of trains – 14 persons, deputy managers of the operational work – 66 persons, doctors –

12 persons and nurses – 2 persons, but altogether – 94 persons. This includes the officers, who were sent as the heads of trains from the departments of neighbouring [republics'] Ministries of the Interior and the medical personnel, which have arrived from Moscow.

33 persons were appointed heads of the stations of the making up of trains and 32 persons – the heads of the concentration centres of deportees. In order to prepare the lists of the persons to be deported for each train, 150 employees of the Ministry of the Interior from among women and technical personnel of the staff of the LSSR Ministry of the Interior and the district departments of the above Ministry were appointed to assist them.

In order to protect the concentration centres and to maintain the public order in their area, 195 persons were appointed from among officers and the operational staff.

There were altogether 494 persons of the corps of officers and operational staff of the Latvian SSR Ministry of the Interior at the concentration centres and the stations of the making up of trains during the operation.

The convoy groups and those which followed the trains were transported to the places by railway and motor transport at night from 23 to 24 March, except to 3 trains, which were made up in the vicinity of Riga, where the convoy was transported in the evening of 24 March just before the operation.

At the places, the isolation of the convoy from the local inhabitants was ensured till the beginning of the operation.

In the evening of 24 March, all personnel of the administrative districts and towns of the Ministry of the Interior and the militia was ordered to be in the barrack-like status and the measures were commenced according to the prepared plans.

In accordance with the instructions given by you and on the request of the Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security, essential assistance was rendered to carry out the very operation of the arrest for consequent deportation[1]. To this purpose, 1400 persons were made available from the corps of officers, operations and rank-and-file personnel of the Ministry of the Interior and the militia and, during the operation, handed over to the Ministry of State Security. Among them 602 persons were [appointed] the heads of operations groups.

The Ministry of State Security needed special help in Riga, where more than a half of the personnel, necessary for the operation, was lacking. We here in Riga, by mobilizing the whole personnel, made available to the Ministry of State Security – 452 officers and 244 cadets of the School of Officers of the Ministry of the Interior and the School of the Militia, but altogether – 696 persons. From among them,

[1] In the original: "в проведении самой операции по изъятию".

287 officers were used as the heads of the groups. In Riga, our operations groups arrested for consequent deportation[1] 351 families or 58% of the total number of the arrested persons meant for consequent deportation.

In administrative districts, 315 officers of our personnel worked as the heads of the operations groups. In the average, each of them arrested 3–4 families for consequent deportation, but altogether – 1032 families.

Besides more than 400 members of the militia's support brigades were handed over to the Ministry of State Security as an armed force.

In spite of the fact that in several administrative districts (of Krāslava, Cēsis, etc.) the *pagasts*, affected by banditism, which were very far away from the concentration centres, were given to our operations groups, all tasks were carried out successfully and without any incidents. Besides in many cases, our employees not only fixed the wrong addresses and escapes of the persons to be deported, but immediately took active measures to find them.

For instance, senior lieutenant comrade Petranets, the deputy head of the Department of the Krāslava administrative district, Ministry of the Interior, having established that on the eve of the operation, the family of kulak Plinta had run away, found, searching actively, 2 members of the family who had hidden themselves in a well masked bunker in the forest, but one person was found on an individual farm of the neighbouring *pagasts*, who had hidden himself in an empty barrel.

In Riga, due to the vigilance of comrade Rumpis, the cadet of the Riga School of Officers, Ministry of the Interior, the armed resistance against the operations group was averted. At the moment, when he took out the "Parabellum" pistol, comrade Rumpis, through his resolute action, disarmed him, not giving a possibility to use the weapon.

In several administrative districts, the employees of the Ministry of the Interior, who were engaged in maintaining the public order, on the roads and in populated areas, on their own initiative detained suspicious persons, who, as it was cleared up during the examination, had avoided the deportation. For instance, during the days of the operation, the policemen of the Cēsis administrative district detained altogether 12 run away families, – 39 persons, as well as 31 single persons, 2 families were detained in the administrative district of Valmiera, one of them had fled from the administrative district of Riga, and 2 single persons, etc.

We also rendered great assistance to the Ministry of State Security in mobilizing the motor transport for the operation.

In the city of Riga, 700 trucks were mobilized with the help of the Traffic Militia of the Ministry of the Interior, and 566 trucks – in 7 administrative districts, but altogether – 1266.

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[1] In the original: "было изъято".

The mobilization was carried out under the pretext that it was necessary to urgently transport the government loads for the spring sowing campaign, and it was executed in organized manner and in terms fixed by the Ministry of State Security. It should be marked that in several administrative districts, where the leadership of the district departments of the Ministry of State Security did not use the services of the Traffic Police of the Ministry of the Interior, obviously to observe the rules of secrecy, and carried out the mobilization directly or through the Soviet and Party bodies, the mobilization plans were not fulfilled that affected timely deportation of persons.

During the operation, the information that inhabitants knew about the forthcoming deportation already in advance proved true. The undertaking could be revealed by the fact that the Ministry of State Security had sent its operations staff and the Army of the Ministry of State Security already 7–10 days before the operation, without providing their full isolation from the inhabitants.

The soldiers and employees, who were sent to the places, freely went to farms and walked in the populated areas that, undoubtedly, could cause precaution and suspicion.

For instance, in the administrative district of Bauska, after the arrival of the operations group of the Ministry of the Interior, the rumours started about the forthcoming deportation of former *Schutzmannschaften* and *aizsargi* to Siberia, but in the town of Bauska, our employees withdrew several leaflets, which contained the following words in hadwriting: "Death to Bolsheviks and their myrmidons! Beat Russians, leave none of them alive in Bauska! Gudža (the leader of the gang) is in Bauska and will head the attack." Signature: "The Committee of Bauska".

In the administrative districts of Ilūkste, Rēzekne, Ludza and others, it could be observed that part of the inhabitants intensively bought salt, matches, felt boots and foodstuffs. In Ludza, several persons to be deported waited for the operations groups already dressed and packed up.

Proceeding from the available facts, one may think that, possibly, several employees of the Ministry of State Security had warned the inhabitants about the forthcoming operation. For instance, 2 weeks prior to the operation, senior lieutenant Rubins of the Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security, came from Riga to visit his relative Donāts Rubins – a kulak, residing in the village Veikulēni, Līksna *pagasts* of the administrative district of Daugavpils. Afterwards kulak Rubins sold his property and left the village 10 days before the operation.

Kulak Ludvigs Mukāns, the former commander of the subordinate unit of *aizsargi*, who was often visited by Garkuls, the officer of the Department of the Administrative District of Daugavpils of the Ministry of State Security, lived in the village Lielie Mukāni of the same *pagasts*. Kulak Mukāns left before the operation.

In all administrative districts of the Republic, there were many facts, when the persons to be deported removed or liquidated their property and ran away.

On many farms, there were only old people, women and children, but a considerable part of able men had run away already before the operation. For instance, in the administrative district of Riga, more than 30% of the able men to be deported had hidden themselves. In the administrative district of Valka, only 26% of the deportees of the train No. 97 327 were men, 40% of them belonged to the age group from 60 to 95. In the town of Ludza, 20 families and many single young persons to be deported ran away.

The above caused the essential prolongation of the operation. During the day since the beginning of the operation, it was possible to send only 4 trains. The other 28 trains stood from 2 to 4 days, since the Ministry of State Security, having not collected the fixed "limit" according to the main lists, was forced to continue the operation according to the reserve lists and to be engaged in the search of the runaways.

The insufficient readiness of the operation is proved also by several facts of the "dead souls" of the lists. For instance, Andrejs Veceļs was included in the list of Līvāni *pagasts*, the administrative district of Daugavpils, as a kulak, disposed against the Soviet power. During the operation, it turned out that Veceļs had died already in 1928. Labunskis, who had been sentenced to 2 years in prison already in 1948, had to be deported as a kulak in Daugavpils.

In Ludza, Rēzekne and other towns in several cases the persons of the indicated addresses had never resided there or had left for other administrative districts and regions already several years ago. In Riga, 25 addresses of 406, which were given to our operations groups, turned out to be wrong and the indicated families had never resided there.

The lists contained also the persons, who were not subject to deportation. For instance, the operations group, which in Kalupe *pagasts* came to the home of citizen I. Ivanova, who was planned to be deported, saw her son there, of the rank of the major of the Soviet Army. It turned out that 3 more sons of citizen Ivanova are in the Soviet Army.

D. Krūmiņš, participant of the Patriotic War, who had government awards, was included in the list of the Naujene *pagasts*.

In several cases, also the farm-hands of the kulaks' families were included in the lists.

There were also the cases, when women – the mothers of many children, who had government awards, and the members of the Young Communist League of Latvia were deported.

In several cases, our heads of the concentration centres, with the help of the Ministry's of State Security loading commandants and secretaries of the Party District Committees, checked the received appeals concerning the wrong deportation and succeeded in getting released the persons, who were taken because of the mistake. Yet in

the majority of cases, the commandants of the Ministry of State Security treated the appeals formally and rejected them without any checking, and were interested only in fulfilling the "limit".

The lists of the families to be deported, which were made negligently, contained illegible names, were without the indication of age, place of residence, etc., caused misunderstanding and miscomprehension with the officers of the Ministry of State Security, and according to them it was not possible to carry out acceptance. However, the representatives of the Ministry of State Security insisted on it.

Not always the persons to be deported could collect and take with them the allowed baggage, since the Ministry of State Security had given them only an hour for preparation, which was deliberately cut to 45 minutes at the places, but some operations groups reduced it even to 15 minutes. Therefore in several cases the heads of the trains and concentration centres were forced to refuse to receive the persons, who were taken out without sufficient clothes, bedding and food-stuffs, and to ask to send the allowed baggage. However, because of the formal attitude of the officers of the Ministry of State Security, it was not always possible to do.

In several administrative districts, there occurred misunderstanding between the leadership of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of State Security, which affected the agreed course of the operation and that was caused by the fact that the bodies of state security, when they prepared the operation, hid their undertankings from the leadership of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior, including their estimations concerning the personnel of our bodies. The above brought to the situation that, when commencing the operation, they demanded, in some cases by putting pressure upon the heads of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior through the district committees of the Party (the administrative districts of Gulbene, Ventspils, etc.), to place almost all personnel of the Ministry of the Interior at their disposal, disregarding the plans of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior concerning the maintenance of the public order and work at the concentration centres.

In the administrative district of Ilūkste, the district department of the Ministry of State Security took the only truck of the district department of the Ministry of the Interior for the operation without the permission of the latter (..)

In several administrative districts, in spite of the existing agreement that the representatives of the militia precincts would not be involved in the operation in the *pagasts*, since they were commissioned to maintain the public order, however, the officers of the Ministry of State Security deliberately used them for the convoying of deportees. That brought to the situation that during the days of the operation, there were no employees of our Ministry in several *pagasts*.

The work of the heads of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior and the receipt of timely information was made extremely difficult by the fact that by the

order of lieutenant-general comrade Ogoltsov, Deputy Minister of State Security, in the administrative district all telephones of the Ministry of the Interior were disconnected and the telephone conversations of the heads of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior were limited.

Because of the above reasons, we could not receive timely information on the work of the concentration centres and to normalize this work in due time.

With regard to the above question, the arbitrariness of the officers of the Ministry of State Security got twisted forms in several administrative districts. For instance, in the administrative district of Ogre, all telephones of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior were completely disconnected for 2 days. It was not possible to contact even the district department of the Ministry of State Security and district committee of the Party. In the administrative district of Daugavpils, the telephones of the chiefs of the city and district militia, warden and garrison commander of the Ministry's of the Interior Troops were disconnected (..). In the administrative district of Aizpute and others, the heads of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior were allowed to talk within the administrative district, yet the conversations with the Ministry were forbidden for two days.

In several administrative districts, our telephone calls from Riga were not connected with the heads of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior, but with the district departments of the Ministry of State Security or thet district committees of the Party.

In this connection, our repeated requests to the leadership of the Latvian SSR Ministry of State Security and lieutenant-general comrade Ogoltsov did not change the situation, and only in the evening of 26 March, communication with the majority of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior was renewed.

The above situation brought a certain nervousness in the work of the district departments of the Ministry of the Interior and in relations with the local bodies of the Ministry of State Security.

In spite of the fact that because of the above reasons the loading of the majority of trains was delayed for two days and more, during the whole period, there were no incidents in the concentration centres and trains.

(..)

In connection with the deportation, different provocative and anti-Soviet rumours started to spread among inhabitants. For instance, in the administrative district of Rēzekne, there are rumours that it is only the beginning, since 70% of Latvians have to be deported from Latvia, but the inhabitants of other republics will be transferred to Latvia instead of them.

In all places, the deportation, referring to the deportation of 1941, is linked with as if possible war in the nearest future.

In towns, there are rumours that mainly old people and unemployed persons are deported.

In several *pagasts* of the administrative district of Daugavpils, mass submission of applications to join the kolkhozs started right after the operation.

(..)

At the concentration centres, our employees received several claims of the persons to be deported about the looting carried out by separate officers and soldiers of the Ministry of State Security during the arrests.

For instance:

At the Stende railway station of the administrative district of Talsi, a claim was received from a woman to be deported that her sack with food-stuffs was stolen from the truck.

When taking the measures, our employees cleared up that the sack had been stolen by two soldiers of the Ministry of State Security and the driver of the truck (..).

At the Jelgava railway station, a claim was received that the officers of the Ministry of State Security, who carried out arrests for subsequent deportation, had taken 400 roubles from a citizen, and a watch from a woman (..).

In the administrative district of Jēkabpils, the Daugava railway station, a citizen J. Bērziņš, having got on a train, found out that his clothes were stolen from 2 sacks, but the sacks were stuffed with manure instead of them. As it was cleared up, after the arrest of citizen Bērziņš for subsequent deportation, the operations group of the officers and soldiers of the Ministry of State Security took him to the concentration centre, but they themselves with Bērziņš' possessions went to some other individual farm, and during this period carried out the theft.

(..)

At all concentration centres, the trains came in timely, arranged and in good condition, except 5 trains (No.No. 97332, 97334, 97342, 97348 and 97351), which didn't have any pails foreseen for each truck. The first train No. 97329 with deportees was sent from Riga on 25 March at 15:47, the last one – No. 97340 from Jelgava – on 28 March at 23:06, but the additional train – the 33rd echelon (No. 97383) from Rēzekne – on 30 March at 10:08 a.m.

In 33 trains altogether 13 624 families were deported, in total 41 862 persons, among them there were 11 529 men, 19 414 women and 10 919 children. It should be marked that these numbers are not absolutely precise, since in several cases, after making the lists of the carriages, before the very sending off the trains, the officers of the Ministry of State Security took away the persons who were to be deported without the motivation, as well as put on the trains the newly brought ones, and not always they managed to enter these changes in the lists.

A. Eglītis
Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR

[147]
Deposition of a deportee A. Pētersone about her life in deportation

I was deported separately from the parents, to the Far East; – my parents – to the Tomsk Region. I was a teenager then. I studied at the Madona Secondary School and the musical school. They woke me early in the morning, and then the most dreadful journey started in a closed truck to the railway station, where people were taken from everywhere. The barking and howling of a dog impressed upon my memory. Two of my teachers went with us, too. The journey humiliated human respect from its beginning to the very point of destination. At the stations, where we stayed, I was allowed, accompanied by the convoy, to make the rounds of other trains with deportees and look for my parents. The search had no results. I had lost my head and could not comprehend the dreadful reality, what was happening around me.

We were unloaded in Svoboda. It was a regional town. We started to do hard physical work in a timber depot. I wrote to the motherland, and my relatives sent me the address of my parents. They were in the Tomsk Region. We started to correspond. After a year and several months, I could go to my parents in a normal carriage, certainly, accompanied by the security men. One more Latvian family went as far as Tomsk. Including a girl like me, – to her relatives. From Tomsk to the regional town Parabel, I went by ship along the Ob River and the last stage - more than 30 km through the taiga – on foot as far as the village of Kirilovka. After the long and tragic absence, it was a happy meeting with my parents. Only I didn't see my grandmother any more. She already lay buried in a cemetery. She was well above eighty, besides she was seriously ill, when the order came to get ready for the long journey. My mother told me that she had called me through the whole journey, yet in vain.. My father died in November 1950. My mother and I were left alone. The first years were hard. We baked bread of potatoes and added a little bit of flour, ground of the grain sweepings of the barn. We were poor and hungry, yet we all kept together, since we had the same destiny. People of Russian nationality were deported, too, 20 years ago, from the Altai. Once when I went along the village street, on both sides of which there were the rows of little houses, or, to put it more correctly, huts, I remembered the words said by an elderly Russian woman: "Daughter, we walk across the dead ones. People lie beneath the earth here everywhere." I could not grasp the sense of her words at once, yet I had heard the locals telling that they had been driven in an uninhabited forest without the necessary tools and subsistence. Being hungry, they had licked the clayey earth, the weakest ones had fallen not to get up again, and were scraped into the earth right there. In comparison to that, we were in better conditions, since we were given a shelter in the huts built by them. As it is known, winters are very cold there. There were cases, when people froze to death on the way.

The ill ones were driven to work. The clothes were not fit for the cold weather. That was how also very young people perished. I remember a rending case with about a twelve years old boy, when a brigade leader made him clean the silo pit. He had wounded his leg; blood poisoning started. The boy died, and his mother was left totally alone. Already in early spring, the top of the wild garlic could be found in the taiga, which we used as food. The fruit of sweet briar mitigated the hunger best of all. Some bushes had it big, longish and mealy. The sunny days were the presents of the nature, since midges and mosquitoes were not so aggressive then. We were released in autumn 1956. My mother died in summer 1979.

[148]

Excerpt from the minutes No. 88 of the meeting of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPL, Appendix No. 2 of § 6, 24 September 1957

Without publication in press

PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE LATVIAN SSR
DECREE

On the formation of the commission to review the cases of the persons, who are in the places of special settlement according to the decisions of the former Special Meeting of the former People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs – People's Commissariat of State Security of the USSR and separate directions of the above bodies

The Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet r e s o l v e s:

(..)

3. It shall be determined that the former members of the bourgeois governments of Latvia, leading and active members of the bourgeois political parties, nationalistic organizations, the police and state institutions, active participants of the nationalistic underground and armed nationalistic gangs, as well as the participants of punitive units, spies, saboteurs, terrorists, bandits and the family members of the persons of this paragraph, are not released from the places of special settlement[1].

Chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet
Secretary of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

[1] In 1961, the Central Committee of the CPL indicated that it was necessary to deport from Latvia "the most active nationalists and other hostile elements", who had returned from the imprisonment. The Commission of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, in its turn, considerably restricted the adoption of decisions concerning the release of deportees from the places of special settlement. However, also later the Central Committee of the CPL considered, that undesirably large number of "nationalists and other hostile elements" still returned to Latvia. Therefore many repressed citizens were not permitted to return to Latvia also later.

CHAPTER 8

Red Army in Latvia

On 17 June 1940, the local communists and other collaborationists enthusiastically welcomed the USSR occupation army, which invaded Latvia [149], the representatives of the army, on their turn, promised Latvia safe protection and called to exterminate the "people's enemies" without mercy [150]. The occupation army appropriated dwelling- and outhouses to dislocate their army units, as well as evicted farmers from the cultivated lands [151, 153]. During 1940–1941, the USSR military had taken more than 40 000 ha of land. The soldiers of the Red Army[1] looted and demolished schools [152], cultural centers, as well as other institutions. The damages, caused by the occupation army, naturally were not paid.

During the period after World War II, the USSR military demonstrated expressly imperialistic, chauvinistic attitude towards Latvia and its inhabitants. In summer 1945, the headquarters of the Baltic Military District with many departments and different military organizations were stationed in Riga. Many towns and populated rural areas of Latvia were overburdened with the units of the Red Army to the extreme. Riga was in especially hard situation, since there were not only the units of the Baltic Military District, but also those of the USSR Navy, frontier guards, Ministry of State Security, Ministry of the Interior, air defence, as well as others. In autumn 1945, the USSR military had occupied more than 20% of the available housing of Riga 154, 155].

Also in the following years, the military of the USSR had special privileges in receiving flats [156, 157]. At the same time, the families of many Latvian citizens lived in hovels and the so-called communal flats, and for the dozens of years hoped to improve their living conditions in the future.

In order to turn Latvia into the USSR military bridge-head at the Baltic Sea, military airfields, missile and naval bases and many other military objects were stationed in it [159]. When the place was chosen for a military object, the interests of Latvia and its inhabitants were never taken into account. The construction of the so-called Zvārde Experimental Range of Aviation in the district of Auce and Saldus had particularly devastating consequences [158]. In the middle of the 70s, different military proving grounds of the USSR occupied more than 68 000 ha of land area in Latvia. The western part of Latvia was turned into the "restricted area", and it was

[1] In 1946, the Red Army was renamed as the Soviet Army.

forbidden to enter it without special passes [161, 162]. The military objects caused harm to the environment[160].

During the final stage of World War II, Riga suffered especially seriously from the arbitrariness of the Soviet occupation army – different army units simply looted it [163]. The incompetent activities of the USSR military in the proving grounds and other military objects ruined the forests of Latvia [164]. The criminal offences (thefts, plunder, rape, and brawls), committed by the soldiers of the Red Army, had become a widespread phenomenon [165].

[149–153] Invasion of the USSR occupation army in Latvia, devastation and damages caused to Latvia

[149]

Letter of gratitude to S. Timoshenko, People's Commissar of Defence of the USSR, sent by J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL, and V. Lācis, Acting Prime Minister of the puppet government, headed by A. Kirhenšteins, in July 1940

[July 1940]

Marshal of the Soviet Union
comrade TIMOSHENKO,
People's Commissar of Defence

The working people of Latvia welcomed the great liberator – the Red Army – with the deep feelings of gratitude and joy. More than 20 years, our life resembled a prison, where the poverty, hunger, humiliation of people and captivity ruled. Now the prospects of economic and cultural development are open before us. The hearts of Latvian working people were burning with joy and gratitude to you, the leader of the great, mighty and invincible Red Army, the leader of the army, which saved us from the horror of war and captivity. We will be the worthy guards of the new mighty fatherland. In mighty and indissoluble ranks we will lead the people of Latvia in the struggle for the complete victory of the working people.

Long live the invincible Red Army of workers-peasants!

Long live great Stalin – the creator of the Red Army and the inspirer or its historical victories!

Kalnbērziņš, Secretary of the Central Committee
of the CPL
V. Lācis, Acting Prime Minister

[150]

Excerpts from the speech of F. Shamanin, head of the Political Directorate of the Baltic Military District, in the manifestation of 6 August 1940 in connection with the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union

6 August 1940

(..)

The working people of Latvia, with the friendly support of the great Soviet people and its mighty Red Army, cast off the yoke of the capitalist slavery and absence of rights for ever and have become the masters of their life.

(..)

Under the sun of Stalin's constitution, the working people of Latvia will peacefully create their new and happy life. No one will ever endanger the borders of Soviet Latvia. Its defence is in the reliable hands of the mighty Red Army, in the hands of 193 million of Soviet people, headed by great Stalin, the light hope and friend of the whole working humanity. **Work in the Bolshevik manner, like Stakhanov[1] did, as Lenin taught us and Stalin teaches us. Be vigilant, love your happy motherland and exterminate the people's enemies without mercy.**

(..)

[1] In 1935, Aleksei Stakhanov, a coal-hewer of the Donets Basin (the Donbas), many times exceeded the daily output rate in a shift. That initiated a new stage of the so-called socialist emulation – the stakhanovites' movement for new output rates. The movement was of an outright propaganda character.

[151]

Decision of the Board of Skrīveri *pagasts*, the administrative district of Riga, concerning the allocation of rooms for the unit of the Red Army

Minutes No. 17

Meeting of the Board of Skrīveri *pagasts*, held on 25 August 1940 at 23:30 in the *pagasts*' house.

Participated in the meeting: K. Krūmiņš, the elder of the *pagasts*, and all members of the Board: Ed. Lapiņš, J. Kauliņš and Kr. Račiņš. Recorded by A. Vilnerags, acting assistant secretary.

The elder of the *pagasts* informs that the representatives of the Red Army have asked the Board of the *pagasts* to allocate them rooms for about 500 soldiers in Skrīveri, and that they need the rooms next day, starting from 14 h.

The Board finds that there are no free premises available to accommodate so large number of soldiers at Skrīveri and that then such [premises] have to be cleared.

Taking into account the above, it was unanimously decided: to ask the following houseowners to clear the rooms till 14:00 o'clock next day:

Emīlija Dancis – all house;

Aug. Krūmiņš – the upper floor of the newly constructed house;

Marija Inkušs – all house;

Postal-Tel[egraph] Department at Skrīveri – the building of the old post-office.

Auxiliary workers shall be appointed to assist the clearing.

Elder of the *pagasts* (signature)
Members of the Board (3 signatures)
Acting Assistant Secretary (signature)

[152]

Statement on the damages caused by the units of the Red Army to the School of Kocēni *pagasts*, the administrative district of Valmiera

STATEMENT

On 4 September 1940, Jānis Bērziņš, the elder of Kocēni *pag*., in the presence of Roberts Zuika, deputy director of the Apsīšu Jēkabs 6-y. Primary School, Ādolfs Lesiņš, secretary of the *pagasts*, and capt. Sīmanis, the representative of the territorial corps of the Latvian SSR infantry regiment, as the persons who maintain contacts with the representatives of the USSR army (from the units of Valmiera garrison at Kocēni), and in the presence of capt. Volkov, produced the present statement concerning the returning of premises from the units of the USSR army.

1. Territorial Riflemen's Corps

In withdrawing the building of school, the following deficit of the inventory has been found:

1. A grand piano	Lats	40.–
2. A bookshelf	"	0.50
3. 4 school desks	"	8.–
4. A brown bed	"	8.–
5. 2 oak-tree chairs	"	10.–
6. A clothes-rack	"	5.–
7. 3 dining-tables	"	75.–
8. A classroom table	"	20.–
9. The glass of hotbeds is broken	"	40.–
10. 3 dining-tables	"	9.–
11. Classroom single-seaters	"	1.50
12. A sitting-desk	"	0.50
13. 4 plywood chairs	"	10.–
14. Paper-boxes – wooden, 10	"	20.–
15. A wheel-barrow	"	5.–
16. A 15l oil-can	"	1.–
17. A saw-horse	"	1.–
18. A cross-cut saw	"	1.–
19. 1 axe	"	1.–
20. A glass bottle	"	3.–
21. A doormat	"	0.25
22. 2 floor brushes	"	6.–
23. A desk with metal legs	"	10.-
24. An axe	"	3.-

25. 6 towels	[Lats]	3.-
26. A table - Ancient Latvian brooches	"	0.20
27. A table - Bee-keeping in Latvia	"	0.20
28. A table - an oven shelf or casing chimney *rovis*[1] - farm "Kaulēni" of Rauna village	"	0.20
29. A portrait of J. Cimze	"	3.-
30. A death-mask of M. Kaudzīte	"	0.50
31. A photo - enl[arged] pict[ure] of the *pagasts*' house	"	9.-
32. A portrait of Tentelis	"	7.-
33. A whetstone	"	0.50
34. Wooden dividers	"	0.05
35. A spoon gouge *greblis*[2]	"	0.20
36. A small-calibre rifle "Erma"	"	69.67
37. A scythe	"	4.05
38. 4 spuds	"	44.80
39. 2 hand-spuds	"	0.90
40. The political map of Latvia	"	0.50
41. The map of roads of Kokmuiža *pag[asts]*	"	4.50
42. A transporter	"	4.50
43. Household implements	"	11.13
44. An aluminum cup	"	7.50
45. 11 kitchen knives	"	15.65
46. Library books. magazines, album	"	168.30
47. Different metal articles for the doors and windows of the school	"	45.20
48. 25 l floor oil - à[3] 1.20 kg	"	30.-
49. 3 toilet bowls	"	195.-
50. 8 sq[uare] metres linoleum	"	129.-

(..)

J. Bērziņš, Elder of the *pagasts*

R. Zuika, D[eputy] Director of the School

A. Lesiņš, Secretary

Sīmanis, Representative of the Valmiera Garrison

[1] *Rovis* – a vaulted covering to catch sparks above an open hearth, the open hearth itself, too.

[2] A carving instrument (for making articles of hard material by hollowing out, shaping).

[3] Designation to mark the price of 1 unit (from French à – "for, per").

[153]

Excerpts from the report of R. Blaus, Deputy People's Commissar of Agriculture of the Latvian SSR, and H. Purviņš, head of the Department of Land Management of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, to the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR on the removal of farms in connection with the expansion of the Red Army's ordnance yard, 21 February 1941

SECRET
Riga, 21 February 1941

No. 176

People's Commissariat of Agriculture

To: Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR

On 15 January this year, the Soviet of People's Commissars have decided the question concerning the expansion of the firing grounds of Daugavpils, Litene, Gauja and Liepāja, which are located in the territory of the Latvian SSR. The expansion area, required by the Department of Art[illery], encompasses several thousand hectares of forest and farmland. On the land of the above firing grounds, which is used for farming and is planned to be withdrawn, there are about 250 individual farms of agricultural character, the whole land of which shall be withdrawn.

These 250 users of land will have to leave the present places of residence and move to other available land areas.

(..)

The Department of Art[illery] raises the question to allocate resources from the USSR only now, yet it isn't possible to foresee, when they will be transferred and in what sums.

(..)

R. Blaus, D[eputy] People's Commissar of Agriculture
H. Purviņš, Head of the Department of Land Management

[154]

Excerpt from the Reference of the Riga City Committee of C(B)PL and the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies of Riga, dated 11 September 1945, concerning the available housing of Riga, occupied by the army units[1]

Reference

On the available housing of Riga, occupied by the army units

Available housing in total:	8044 houses
with the floor space –	3 107 588 sq. m
Army units have occupied:	532 houses
with the floor space –	387 661 sq. m
Apart from them, occupied self-contained flats	
with the floor space –	285 532 sq. m
The total floor space, occupied by the army units	
in the city –	673 193 sq. m
or of the total available housing –	21.7%
Among them:	
headquarters and departments:	56 houses
with the floor space –	68 154 sq.
military schools	20 houses
with the [floor] space –	28 826 sq. m
military hospitals: –	6 houses
with the floor space –	13 740 sq. m
quartered by soldiers, officers and the headquarters	
of subordinate units:	375 houses
with the floor space –	237 747 sq. m
Apart from them, occupied for habitation	
in the Riga Seaside (Jūrmala):	90 summer cottages
with the floor space –	28 340 sq. m

(..)

[1] The document is not signed. The cover letter of the document is signed by K. Novikov, Secretary of the Riga City Committee of C(B)PL, and R. Ansons, Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee, Soviet of Workers' Deputies of Riga.

[155]

Excerpts from the speech of O. Degteva, Secretary of the Riga Committee of the C(B)PL, at the meeting on the supply of the generals and officers of the Baltic Military District with the dwelling space and the arrangement of the available housing of Riga, 21 September 1945

21 September 1945

(..)

(..) The army units, as to their proportion, occupy much of excessive space. However, we do not mean to leave the army units without flats. We wish to satisfy the needs of officers and generals. Yet we wish also that the order is maintained in the city, that the dwelling houses in the centre of the city are not turned into barracks. (..)

Let's take, for instance, Kirov Street - almost all of it is occupied by the army units.

(..)

It is necessary to decide the question of compacting. Let's take, for instance, Stalin District. This concerns the institutions of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. 1-2 persons live in several 7-8-room flats. No one can contact them. They are at work the whole time.

(..) There are a number of flats, which are put under seal. Their tenants are arrested and deported from the Latvian SSR. Neither the regional housing departments, nor the city housing department got those flats. The bulk of the flats pass under the jurisdiction of the institutions of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and the People's Commissariat of State Security. The flats are occupied without warrants for living accommodation. There are very many flats of this kind - about 600.

(..)

[156]

Excerpts from the demand of I. Bagramian, Commander of the Baltic Military District, to allocate new dwelling space to generals and officers, 31 August 1950

SECRET
Copy Nr.1

Commander of the Baltic
Military District
No. 8648-s

31 August 1950

Comrade V. LĀCIS, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR
Comrade J. KALNBĒRZIŅŠ, Secretary of the Central Committee
of the C(B)P of Latvia

On 2 August 1950 the Council of Ministers of the USSR took a special Decision No.3616-1508-ss "On the enhancement of dwelling conditions for the officers of the Soviet Army and Navy".

(..)

In order to enhance dwelling conditions for the officers of the Soviet Army and Navy the Council of Ministers of the USSR resolved:

From the moment of the issuance of the decision to entrust the republican Councils of Ministers, area, regional, municipal and rural Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, as well as all ministries and departments in cities and inhabited areas having locations of military garrisons with the allotment of 10 per cent of the to be put into usage dwelling spaces in all newly built, restored buildings and buildings where the construction jobs are being finished to the Defence Ministry and Naval Ministry of the USSR for quartering generals, admirals and officers of the Soviet Army and Navy.

(..)

To charge the local Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies with the allotment of apartments in the houses of the local Soviets of Workers' Deputies to the officers of the Soviet Army and Navy in the first place.

In order to execute the mentioned decision of the Council of Ministers of the USSR I request to carry a corresponding decision and to give the necessary instructions to the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

I. Bagramian,
Army general

[157]

Excerpt from the Decision of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, dated 31 October 1984, concerning the allocation of dwelling space to the Baltic Military District and the Baltic Navy in 1986-1990

SECRET
Riga, 31 October 1984

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
DECISION No. 638-18

On the allocation of dwelling space to the Order of Red Banner Baltic Military District and the Two Orders of Red Banner Baltic Navy in 1986-1990

(..) The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR resolves:

1. In the plans of economic and social development of the Latvian SSR for 1986-1990, the State Planning Committee of the Latvian SSR shall envisage the construction, at the expense of public capital investments, and allocation of dwelling space to the army dislocated in the territory of the Latvian SSR:

1.1. To the Order of Red Banner Baltic Military District - 2900 sq. m of dwelling space.

1.2. To the Two Orders of Red Banner Baltic Navy - 1100 sq. m of dwelling space.

(..)

Y. Rubenis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR
J. Šneiders, Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[158]

Excerpt from the Decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, dated 13 December 1952, on the allocation of land to the aviation training ground of the army unit No. 13703

TOP SECRET
Riga, 13 December 1952

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
DECISION No. 1536-ss
On the allocation of the piece of land to the aviation training ground of the army unit No. 13703

The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR resolves:

1. The piece of land of 26 307.1 ha in the districts of Auce and Saldus of the Latvian SSR shall be handed over in permanent use of the army unit No. 13703 for the aviation training ground from the land of kolkhozs, state fund of forests, state fund of land and other users (..).

(..)

Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR (V. Lācis)
Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR (I. Bastin)

[159]

Excerpt from the instructions of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, dated 24 April 1969, on the allocation of land to the Baltic Navy

SECRET
Riga, 24 April 1969

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
INSTRUCTION No. 397-ss

1. The piece of land of 3109.4 ha, including 2561.4 ha – from the land of the state fund of forests and 558 ha – from the state land reserve, shall be allocated to the Two Orders of the Red Banner Baltic Navy – for the training ground of naval aircraft in the district of Liepāja[1].

2. In accordance with the application of the navy, the following grids shall be determined for the naval aircraft training ground of the Two Orders of Red Banner Baltic Navy:

Latitude	Longitude
56°16'8"	20°52'9"
56°16'8"	21°01'1"
56°12'1"	21°02'10"
56°10'5"	20°59'2"
56°10'5"	20°52'5"

(..)

V. Rubenis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[1] The training grounds of the USSR occupation army occupied large land areas also in other districts of Latvia, for instance: in the district of Dobele – 5000 ha, the district of Daugavpils – 1500 ha, the district of Liepāja – 12 000 ha and the district of Ventspils – 8000 ha. The ordnance yard of the Baltic Military District in the district of Riga was one of the largest training grounds. Its area exceeded 18 000 ha. Farmers were evicted from the territories of training grounds, the buildings on them were destroyed. The USSR military felled and demolished the forests, which were in the territory of the training grounds, and forbade to cultivate the land.

[160]

Excerpt from the report of E. Darbinieks, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Ogre District, dated 11 January 1982, to the State Planning Committee of the Latvian SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR concerning the harmful effect of the military airfield to the environment

11 January 1982

(..)

In the territory of the kolkhoz "Uzvara", Rembate village of the Ogre District, there is a military airfield.

In the course of construction, all dwelling houses, farms and production constructions, which belonged to the kolkhoz "Uzvara" and individual citizens, based on the personal property rights, were pulled down.

At the same time, all dwelling houses and outbuildings, which were in the direct vicinity of the airfield, were left. Besides, no sanitary protective zone was observed.

During the exploitation of the airfield, it turned out that during the takeoff and touchdown of jet planes, there arose the noise, which considerably exceeded the limit, admissible for people and animals, especially at the end of the takeoff-touchdown zone.

There have been several cases, when people and animals were taken ill under the effect of the great noise.

(..)

E. Darbinieks, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the District

[161]

Excerpt from the Decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, dated 4 September 1946, concerning the prohibition to enter the restricted coastal frontier area of the Latvian SSR

TOP SECRET
Copy No. 1
Riga, 4 September 1946

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
DECISION No. 751-ss
On the regime in the restricted coastal frontier area of the Latvian SSR

In accordance with paragraph 1 of the Resolution No. 12/1487 of the USSR Central Executive Committee and Soviet of People's Commissars, dated 17 July 1935, "On Entering and Residing in the Frontier Area" and the Decision No. 107–1536 of the USSR CEC and SPC, dated 29 June 1946, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR resolves:

1. The persons, who are not the inhabitants of the restricted coastal frontier areas of the Latvian SSR (the *pagasts* of Dundaga, Ance, Vārve, Venta and Užava of the administrative district of Ventspils; the pagasts of Jūrkalne, Ulmale and Saka of the administrative district of Aizpute; the pagasts of Ziemupe, Medze, Pērkone, Nīca, Grobiņa and Rucava of the administrative district of Liepāja), shall not be allowed to enter these areas without the permission of the militia authorities of the USSR Ministry of the Interior.

2. The entrance and temporary residence in the restricted coastal frontier area shall be allowed only with the passes (..), which are issued by the authorities of the militia of the USSR MI according to the place of permanent residence of citizens.

(..)

V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR
J. Kļaviņš, Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[162]
Excerpts from the Decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, dated 15 June 1963, on the determination of the frontier area

SECRET
15 June 1963

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
DECISION No. 364–29
On the regime of the frontier area within the Latvian SSR

In accordance with the Resolution No. 847–349 of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers resolves:

1. In order to meet the interests of the state border defence, the coastal zone along the Riga Bay and the Baltic Sea shall be determined the frontier area.

2. The frontier area shall include:

– the following village councils of Talsi District: Ķūļciems, Mērsrags, Rojupe, Kaļķi, Kolka, Vīdale, Neveja, Ance and Venta (except Lake Bušnieks and 100 metres around it);

– the village councils of Kuldīga District: Vārve (except the territory between the Venta River and Ventspils–Liepāja railway line), Užava and Jūrkalne;

– the village councils of Liepāja District: Saka, Vērgale, Medze, Pērkone, Nīca, Rucava and urban village Pāvilosta.

3. The following railway stations shall be included in the frontier area: Vērgale, Kapsēde, Kursa, Māteri, Medze, Mežaine, Ploce, Rīva, Saka and Upenieki.

(..)

6. The persons, who are not permanent residents of the area, are not allowed to enter the frontier area without the passes of the authorities of militia.

(..)

V. Rubenis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

V. Krastiņš, Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[163]

Statement, produced by R. Kalniņš, manager of the House-Management Office No. 352, Stalin District of Riga, on the illegal actions of military units

Kalniņš Rūdolfs
Man[ager]
House-Management Office No. 352
Stalin District
Koknese Prosp. 34-1
(res. in Sigulda Boul. 19, flat 1)

ACT

From 15 October 1944, there was the army-*kontrrazvedka*[1] in the following houses of the area under my management: Koknese Boulp. No. 24, 27 and 29, Meža Boul. No. 28, 30 and 32, Amata Street No. 4 and 6, Sigulda Boul. No. 17 and 29, and Bergene Street No. 2, 6 and 8. From 15 to 21 April this year, the *kontrrazvedka* left the following houses: Sigulda Boul. No. 17, Amata Street No. 4 and 6, Meža Boul. No. 28, 30 and 32 and Koknese Boul. No. 25, 27 and 33. They took with them also the furniture, which was in the above houses. When I came up to the truck and asked, what furniture they took away and on what grounds, the representative of the KECh[2] engineer Yegorov produced a paper in Russian that the KECh had placed the furniture at his disposal. As I don't understand Russian, I couldn't say, what paper it was, but I could see the KECh seal on it. I explained that the furniture belonged to the state fund and was at the disposal of the Department of Finance of Stalin District and that the KECh had no authority to withdraw or move it. Then eng[ineer] said that he would place the furniture in one of the houses. (Later on I established that the furniture was not placed in any of the houses.) Some two days before this incident, seeing that they were taking the furniture away secretly, I applied to captain Kornev there and pointed out that it was not allowed to take away the furniture and that the damaged and dirty houses had to be put in order. Capt. Kornev answered that he and the KECh were in charge of those houses, but not me and, if I did not mind my own business, he would arrest me, and that I was the servant of Ulmanis and that he could liquidate me for ever, and made me leave the region, which I had entered on official business.

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[1] Secret service.

[2] Acronym from Russian Квартирно-эксплуатационная часть (Department of the Maintenance of Housing).

The houses were damaged in the following way:

1. Fence, gate pillars were dragged out.

2. Yards were dirty and the covers of water gauges taken away, but the gullies (shafts) of the water gauges were used as the containers of litter.

3. The locks of doors were unscrewed, the doors with all their wooden parts – broken and damaged.

4. Window panes were broken, frames – damaged and taken away.

5. Wall plastering was dirtied and at some places broken out.

6. The appliances of central heating were damaged, radiators broken, water from them flew on the floor.

7. The floor was damaged totally, both the board and parquet one.

8. The appliances of water supply were damaged, pipes – torn off the wall and taps – unscrewed.

9. The flats themselves were left dirty, it was disgusting to enter them, the baths were half full with human excrements, there were excrements also in the corners of the flats.

The previous year on 16 October 1944, the army received rooms, which were in complete order, as well as fully furnished.

The civil servants of the Department of Finance of the Executive Committee of Stalin District, whom I had invited to distrain the furniture, were not let into the flats and ordered to leave the region.

The furniture was partly taken away from the houses of this region:

Meža Boul. No. 32, flat 1 – the furniture of a 5-room flat, flat 2 – the furniture of a 5-room fl[at], flat 3 – the furniture of a 4-room fl[at],

Meža Boul. No. 30, flats 1 and 2 – the furniture of a 4-room flat,

Meža Boul. No. 28 – the furniture of a 11-room flat,

Amata Street No. 6 – four furnishings of a 5-room flat,

Amata Street No. 4 – two furnishings of a 3-room flat,

Sigulda Street No. 17 – the furniture of a 9-room flat,

Koknese Boul. No. 25, flat 1 – the furniture of a 5-room flat,

Koknese Boul. No. 27, flat 1 – the furniture of a 4-room flat,

Koknese Boul. No. 33, flat 1 – the furniture of a 9-room flat,

Bergene Street No. 2, flat 1 – the furniture of a 10-room flat,

Bergene Street No. 8, flat 1 – the furniture of a 2-room flat.

One could see that the furniture was taken away by horses and trucks. The trucks were driven up to the front door with the back so that pedestrians could not see what was put in the truck. Yet one could observe that writing-tables, tables, chairs, beds, sofas, couches, pianos, chandeliers, suites, leather sets of arm-chairs and other furnishings were loaded in the truck. The upholstery was torn off the remaining

upholstered furniture and mattresses. One could see, how the household implements, plates and dishes, kettles and even the rings of kitchen-ranges, as well as radio sets were taken away.

23.V.45

Man[ager] *R. Kalniņš*

In the second half of April 1945, I produced a statement about this case for the chairman of the Executive Committee of Stalin District, who sent the case to the prosecutor of the garrison in Sverdlov Street No. 4, where I had already been questioned once.

23.V.45

R. Kalniņš

[164]

Report of Z. Zariņa, secretary of the Liepāja District Committee of the CPL, on the forest fires caused by bombing, 23 July 1959

No. 10-s 23 July 1959

Liepāja District Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

To: c. KACENS J. B.,
head of the Administrative and Commercial Financial Department of the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia

In the Baltic Sea, 500 m from the coast at the village of Pape, Liepāja District, there is a training ship, which is bombed from the air every day. The bombing is carried out by the aircraft units of several military districts. In many cases the bombs do not hit the training ship, but fall in the forest. Hence, fires range in the vicinity of Pape every day. Soldiers take part in putting them out, and inhabitants are mobilized, too. During the extinguishing, the bombing is not stopped and the bombs fall among the extinguishers. That is why the local inhabitants refuse to take part in the liquidation of forest fires and apply to the authorities of the district with complaints.

The Liepāja District Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia applies to you with a request to report the above situation to the commanders of the Soviet Army and ask them to prevent the outbreak of forest fires in the vicinity of Pape.

Z. Zariņa, Secretary of the Liepāja District Committee of the CP of Latvia

Notes in the document:

c. Grom, please contact the commanders of the aircraft units and inform them about the situation. Please report the results to the Committee of Liepāja District.
J. Kacens. 3. VIII 59.

[165]
Excerpts from the report of I. Zujāns, Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR, on the crimes of the military, 11 September 1961

SECRET
Copy No. 1
11 September 1961

To: Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

The number of criminal offences, committed by the military units, dislocated in the territory of the Republic, and the cases of rough violation of public order has grown in 1961.

In Riga, the districts of Jelgava, Dobele, Liepāja, Tukums and Alūksne, the military commit criminal offences and violate the public order particularly often.

(..)

On the night to 9 August this year, in the staircase of Ieroču Street No. 1, the city of Riga, Vladimir Korolov, born 1938, the soldier of the military unit No. 18885, attacked citizen Sharova, beat her and tried to rape. (..)

On the night of 18 April 1961, in Embūte Street in Riga, an unknown criminal, dressed in a soldier's uniform, attacked citizen Nadezhda Neilande, born 1922, and threatening with a knife, tried to rape her. (..)

On 18 April this year at about 23 h, in Užava Street, a criminal, dressed in a soldier's uniform, attacked citizen Vanda V. and, threatening with a knife, took away her money – 43 roubles and raped her.

On the night to 11 May this year, at about 2 o'clock a.m., an unknown person, dressed in a soldier's uniform, tried to rape citizen Liepa. (..)

The same criminal made similar attacks to women at night to 24 April this year, at night to 26 May this year and at night to 29 June this year, besides the criminal, threatening with a knife, beat the victims and tried to rape them.

As a result of the measures, taken by the officers of the militia, the criminal, who had committed the above crimes, was discovered and arrested on 3 July this year. That was Vladimir Kuznetsov, born 1938 (..), the soldier of the military unit No. 64325.

On 31 July this year, racing bicycles were stolen from the storehouse of the "Dinamo" stadium in the city of Riga. Mečeslavs Bartušēvičs, born 1941, the soldier of military unit No. 20603, and Jānis Šmerliņš, born 1940, soldier of the military unit No. 20704, were arrested for the above theft.

On 13 July 1961, the militia unit of Dobele District received the report of Ulmanis,

brigade leader of the kolkhoz "Stars", about the fact that he had detained and tied up a soldier.

Inspecting the place, it was cleared up that the collective farmers of the kolkhoz "Stars" had left milk in the reservoir at nights. The whole month soldiers had been steeling milk from the reservoir that was reported to the commandant of the garrison of Dobele. Taking into consideration the fact that the milk continued disappearing also after that, collective farmers made an ambush at the reservoir (..).

On the night to 13 July, collective farmers detained and tied up Genady Komisarov, the soldier of the military unit No. 23460, who was trying to steal milk (..).

On 6 August this year, on the farm "Nespējnieki", the village council of Augstkalne, Dobele District, the group of soldiers raped the mentally ill Terēze E. (..). It has been cleared up that this group rape has been done by the military contractual workers: Normurat Bulatov, born 1941, Mustafakul Baimatov, born 1941, Normurat Zhabarov, born 1939, and Subhamali Sulfanov [born 1939], (military unit No. 77080).

(..)

Regular complaints are received from the inhabitants of Augstkalne village, Dobele District, that the military contractual workers of the above military unit perform hooligan actions and commit other offences. This fact is known to the commanders of this military unit. However, they take no measures (..).

The commander of the militia unit of the town of Jelgava reported that the inhabitants of Eleja village, Jelgava District, were indignant at the behaviour of several soldiers of military units No. 01484 and No. 42186, stationed in Eleja village. At night the soldiers of these military units, being drunk, walk along the village and individual farms, behave indecently, scandalously, steal honey from bee-hives, beat women, steal transport and horses.

On 6 July this year, at about 21 hours, four soldiers, being drunk, beat citizen Dambergs and tried to beat citizen Kokalis in the buffet of Eleja village. When the employees of the militia arrived, the soldiers, among them also Viktor Senin, the soldier of military unit No. 42186, tried to beat them, and insulted them by calling names.

(..)

On 12 May 1961, clothes and money were stolen from the flat of Olga Kucheriayeva, the house "Mežvidi", the v[illage] c[ouncil] of Vaiņode, Liepāja District.

It was established that the thieves were Nikolai Shurgin, born 1940, and Piotr Ansov, born 1940, – the military of the unit No. 63240.

(..)

On the night to 24 June this year, during the patrolling in Ance village, Ventspils District, Anatoly Babushkin, born 1940, the military of unit No. 18282, member of

the Young Communist League, went into the Meeting-House, where he had a drink together with the locals. On 25 June at about 5 o'clock in the morning, Babushkin went into the house "Dzirnavas" of the v[illage] c[ouncil] of Ance, where Milda Maļinovska lived. She was in a cattle-shed then. Making use of Maļinovska's absence, Babushkin tried to rape her 10 year old daughter.

(..)

On 25 June this year, the motor-cycle "Izh-56", which belonged to the Executive Committee of Bauska District, was stolen on the collective farm "Lambarte", Bauska District. At night to 26 June, the officers of the militia detained two military with the stolen motor-cycle. They were the soldiers of the military unit No. 44697 Vladimir Nemtsov and Viktor Brovkov.

They had damaged the stolen motor-cycle.

(..)

On the night to 6 July 1961, a theft was made from shop No. 83 in Tukums Street, Daugavpils. The criminals broke the shop window and stole goods for 497 roubles.

On the same night, the following soldiers ofe military unit No. 23450 were detained, attempting to make a theft from shop No. 69 in Daugavpils: Anatoly Zaichenko, born 1939, and Vasily Kuznetsov, born 1939, member of the Young Communist League. During the detention, the money, stolen in the shop, was found with them. They had made a theft also from shop No. 83.

(..)

There are many cases of the violation of law among the soldiers of the military units No. 35912 and No. 01588, which are in the territory of Alūksne District.

In Alūksne and Ape, as well as in other populated areas, the soldiers of these m[ilitary] units behave indecently, regularly violate the public order, call names, make rows, harass women, commit criminal offences, steal food-stuffs, honey and milk from the locals, take away firewood from the forest, which they sell then and use the obtained money for drinking.

For instance, on 21 June this year, soldiers, threatening with a dagger, took away from worker Lankovskis a horse and a team, which belonged to the timber industry enterprise. They drove around by the horse until they broke the cart.

On 17 June this year, soldiers with truck No. YU-2-88-03 stole 9 cubic m of firewood from the forestry of Laicene.

On the night of 23 July this year, 3 horses were stolen from the pastures of sovkhoz "Alsviķi".

On the night of 20 August this year, a horse was stolen from the farm "Liepkalni" (..). As a result of investigation those horses were found at the stand of the military unit.

On 27 July, 8.5 cubic m of firewood were stolen from the timber industry enterprise of Laicene by army truck ZIS-150 No. YU-2-87-98.

In the evening of 5 August this year, the group of soldiers arrived in the town of Ape by truck ZIS-150 No. YU-2-86-70, who, being drunk, among them also the driver, drove around the town by that truck, violated the traffic rules, and as a result came into collision with the Riga-Leningrad bus and damaged it. When the officer of the militia tried to detain the oftender – the driver of the truck, he and other soldiers offered physical resistance.

(..)

(..) Inhabitants are indignant at the behaviour of the military.

Still insufficient educational work is carried out with the contractual workers, who work in the military units. Only in the first half of 1961, 35 contractual workers of different military units of Riga have been convicted in accordance with the decree "On Liability for Petty Hooliganism" of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, dated 30 December 1956.

From among 35 convicts 7 persons work in military unit No. 61808, 5 persons – ine military unit No. 52245, and 4 persons – in military unit No. 29245.

I have reported the above to colonel-general comrade I. Gusakovsky, commander of the Baltic Military District, and asked him to give instructions in order to take measures to stop the criminal offences and violation of the public order by the military[1].

I. Zujāns, Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR

Notes in the document:

The report of the MI has been discussed at the meeting of the Military Council on 27 January 1962. Comrade A. Pelše took part in the work of the Military Council. Comrade A. Pelše has supplemented the reference of the BMD (23.01.62. No. 873 s) on 30.01.62.

[1] Often the military of the USSR remained unpunished for their criminal offences. Sometimes the criminals hid themselves in their military units and their commanders didn't inform the investigation bodies about them. There were cases, when the Military Prosecutor's Office didn't at all start the investigation.

CHAPTER 9

"Socialist transformation" of agriculture

The ideologists of the Communist Party considered that socialism should retain such social institutions of capitalism as, e. g., the state, army, family, but the individual farmers – "the last class of bourgeois society", as well as the relationship between goods and money should disappear.

In 1940–1941, the idea of the collectivization of agriculture was not still widely popularized, however, different "socialist transformations" already took place. In July-September 1940, the Soviet agrarian reform was put into practice, which was introduced by the law of the Latvian SSR on land. The law provided the formation of the state land fund, which included the land of the state, churches and monasteries, as well as the land of the large farms, which exceeded 30 ha. Many farms lost large land areas, as well as part of the agricultural inventory and cattle. 52 000 new farms were developed with the land area of 10 ha, and 23 300 petty farms received allotments. In order to arrange machine and tractor stations, the renting centers of machines and horses, and sovkhozs or state farms, on 14 March 1941, the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet issued a decree on nationalization of agricultural farms and inventory [166]. On the grounds of the above decree, more that 470 owners of farms were deprived of their buildings, cattle and agricultural inventory, but the owners themselves were driven out and left homeless. The confiscated properties were run extremely carelessly and inefficiently [167]. The first "socialist transformations" ended in a total failure.

After World War II, the "socialist transformation" was continued more intensively, using more merciless and destructive methods. During the continuation of the agrarian reform in 1944–1945, the land of the farms, which exceeded 20–30 ha, as well as the land of "people's enemies" was included into the state land fund; many of those farms were left only with 5–8 ha of land. The post-war land reform turned into a campaign of search and punishment of "people's enemies". For instance, in the administrative district of Jelgava, 500 owners of farms were recognized as "people's enemies" and in the administrative district of Kuldīga – 556 owners. A similar situation could be observed in all administrative districts of Latvia. Cattle, buildings and agricultural inventory were confiscated together with the land.

However, also the post-war land reform didn't give the expected results: by punishing "people's enemies" and other "class hostile elements" with the confiscation of land and ruining of farms, the agriculture of Latvia was destroyed and razed to the ground (cattle-breeding suffered most heavily).

In order to completely destroy the economically stronger farms, in August 1947, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, complying with the pressure of the central bodies of the USSR, determined special features of "kulaks'" farms, made the lists of "kulaks'" farms (in which about 10 000 farms were included), and imposed enormous, practically unpayable taxes on those farms [170]. Tax debtors were persecuted both through courts and confiscation of cattle and agricultural inventory, as well as other possessions. For instance, in 1948, the "kulaks'" farms were deprived of 13 403 horses, 363 bulls, 23 651 cows, 18 386 sheep and goats and 6864 pigs. The court verdicts foresaw confiscation of still additional 644 horses, 998 cows and 1560 units of other cattle. In 1948, it was planned to collect agricultural tax from the farms of "kulaks" in the sum total 135 million 22.3 thousand roubles. However, the ruined farms could pay only 53 million 10 thousand roubles, even the destrained property and buildings couldn't cover the rest of the sum.

The fulfillment of the supply plans of agricultural produce, determined by the central bodies of the USSR, was an extremely heavy burden laid upon Latvian farmers. The main methods used to accomplish them were crude administration and the punishment of debtors [168, 169].

The tax and supply policy, realized by the occupation regime, was aimed at destroying the well-off farms and the traditional system of individual farms of Latvia, to deprive the less successful farms of a possibility to become the owners of prosperous farms in the future, and to force the idea of the collectivization of agriculture.

After World War II, the first kolkhozs were founded in Latvia in the end of 1946, but the year 1947, when the Central Committee of the AUC(B)P took a decision "On the Organization of Kolkhozs in the Latvian SSR" marked the beginning of collectivization. When establishing kolkhozs, the officials of the Communist Party and the activists of Soviet bodies saw to it that "kulaks" and "bourgeois nationalists" didn't get in them (it was planned to deport them), as well as called to fight mercilessly against the "opponents of the system of kolkhozs". The "kulaks", whose land ran into the territory of kolkhozs, were displaced in accordance with the decision of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers [171, 172]. That was a sort of "mini-deportation".

The spring of 1949, when after the wide-scale deportation of March 25, farmers, fearing new punitive actions, concealed themselves in kolkhozs within few days, became the peak of the collectivization of agriculture in Latvia [173, 174].

The functionaries of the Communist Party and Soviet activists, organizing the so-called all-round collectivization by administrative and repressive methods, completely "forgot" the voluntary principles of joining the kolkhozs, declared by themselves, as well as the promises "to give land for use in perpetuity" made during the agrarian reform.

Already in the middle of the 40s, escaping the high and unpayable taxes, and

fearing the inclusion into the category of "kulaks", many farmers considered it better to leave the countryside. The process became still more extensive during collectivization, when many rural inhabitants, escaping the feudal order and poverty in kolkhozs, moved to Riga or other cities [175, 176, 177] although the authorities tried to resist the process. Since 1953, a sort of corvee was created in the countryside – pupils and students were sent there every year [178]. The development of villages was started, too. The aim of this process was to make Latvian farmers live in the villages, created to fit the Russian model [179].

The collectivization started also the alienation of farmers from land. A farmer – collective farmer, disinterested in the distribution of the produce, turned from the master of his own land into the executor of commands. The forcing of collectivization, having the prospectless alternative – either to join the kolkhoz, or to be deported to Siberia, filled farmers with deep pessimism and apathy.

The administratively fixed compulsory supply duties of collective farmers were rather high, and often the collective farms were not able to fulfil them. The purchases according to contracts faced a similar situation. Such payment (for compulsory supply and purchasing) not only decreased the material incentive, but also very much restricted the material reproduction of labour. During that period, an auxiliary farm – the plot of land in personal use played a certain role in the reproduction of labour, yet the leaders of districts and kolkhozs didn't support the auxiliary farms. The weak material and technical resources and the inefficient use of the technology aggravated the problems, caused by the lack of human labour.

The initial results of the "socialist transformation" of agriculture were very sad. Both J. Kalnbērziņš, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL [180], and J. Vanags the former Minister of Agriculture [181], were forced to admit it. And although later some kolkhozs became rather strong farms, there were incomparably more weak, unprofitable farms in the countryside of Latvia. On the whole, the development level of the collectivized agriculture was too low to satisfy the needs of both industry and population: during the whole period of communist occupation, the personal auxiliary farms of inhabitants had an essential importance for the production of agricultural produce [182].

[166–167] "Socialist transformations" and their results in 1941

[166]

Decree of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, dated 14 March 1941, on the nationalization of farms and inventory

Riga, 14 March 1941

PRESIDIUM OF THE LATVIAN SSR SUPREME SOVIET
DECREE

On the inclusion of industrial and exploiting agricultural farms into the state land fund and the nationalization of their inventory

The Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet r e s o l v e s:

1. Industrial and exploiting agricultural farms with their buildings shall be included into the state land fund and all their livestock and implements, means of transportation and other household implements shall be nationalized.

2. The Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR shall be commissioned to approve the list of agricultural farms in accordance with Article 1 of the present decree.

3. The agricultural farms of the above Article 1 shall be placed under the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Latvian SSR, and the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Latvian SSR shall be commissioned to arrange the horse and machine renting centers in them.

(Prof. Dr. A. Kirhenšteins,)
Chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

(P. Blaus,)
Secretary of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet

[167]
Report of P. Rizga, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, on the situation in the countryside

[Spring 1941]

Report of Rizga, deputy of the Supreme Soviet (oral)

(..)

Farmers are very much dissatisfied with the compulsory auxiliary works. Two weeks ago, 200 horses were asked for auxiliary works in Ezere, where an airfield is being built. The appointment was for 10 days. There are complaints that even during the serfdom people were not sent away from their homes longer than for 7 days. Besides it is pointed out that the airfield construction works lack any organization. The carters with gravel had arrived at 9 o'clock in the morning, yet only at 15 hours they were shown the place where to pour out the gravel. The bulk of the time they stand idle there. Now 50 horses are again required for 6 days that will seriously hamper to carry out the sowing.

The horse and machine center for common use is arranged on the farm "Aņģi" of Vecauce village. The farm has about 60 hectares of land, 20 horses and 3 cows. It is not known how to run it rationally, no one thinks about it. Half of the modern cattle-shed equipment is destroyed, the stalls for horses are knocked together of slabs there, the horses, tied in a rope loop, lie on manure, nobody has taken care of them. The manager cannot be found.

The 30 ha farm of the former secretary of the *pagasts* Baršuks had been cultivated by a leaseholder, who had willingly wished to do it also in the future. He has been allotted 10 ha in another place, but the house stands completely empty now and the land is not cultivated. One cannot also say when it will be cultivated.

The main market of the week in Auce is on Sundays. Farmers complain that they cannot buy anything, since the cooperative, except the food department, is closed.

On the same day, I took part at the meeting of farmers in the *pagasts* of Lielauce. Also there the meeting started with great delay, waiting for the chairman of the exec[utive] com[mittee], who came drunk.

On the farm "Lozberģi" of Lielauce village, there is also the center of machines and horses for common use with 20 horses. Only one plough is fit for work. We found two horses tied in a shed, knee-deep in liquid clay, the forage was thrown on the ground. The horses had their shoulders rubbed sore, harness was not tried on and was not numbered. The local veterinarian Skubiņš says that after such a maltreatment, the horses will not be fit for work in a month.

The manager cannot be found in the center, no work is carried out.

In those visits I was accompanied by the representative of the Jelgava Distr. Committee of the C(B)PL, who would report everything he saw also to the executive committee of the district.

Deputy (P. Rizga)

[168]

Order of Y. Bariayev, Representative of the USSR People's Commissariat of Supply in the Latvian SSR, on the strengthening of reprisals for the supply with agricultural produce, 5 May 1945

Riga, 5 May 1945

Representative of the USSR People's Commissariat of Supply
in the Latvian SSR

ORDER No. 491

The information, available to the Directorate of the Representative of the USSR People's Commissariat of Supply, shows that, in spite of the resolution of the Latvian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars and my repeated instructions concerning the collection of debts of compulsory supply with agricultural produce in 1944, the representatives of the People's Commissariat of Supply in administrative districts and their agents do not tackle these questions in point of fact, leave things to themselves, and the debtors continue not to fulfil their obligations towards the state unpunished.

For instance, from among 41 760 farms of the administrative district of Jelgava, which were involved in the supply of the state with agricultural produce in 1944, the following number of farms didn't even start to fulfil their obligations: 611 farms – of the supply with grain, 636 – with potatoes, 167– with meat, 303 – with milk and 190 farms – with wool. Besides more than 1500 farms – with all kinds of produce, but 1839 farms only partly fulfilled their milk supply obligations.

Having such an enormous number of debtors, only 10 warnings have been issued to the inaccurate suppliers with regard to the supply with milk, and 40 warnings – with regard to the supply with potatoes and milk.

In the administrative district of Cēsis, where the debt of milk supply is 1 million 207 thousand litres, 218.2 litres or 18% have only been collected [from the suppliers], in the administrative district of Rēzekne – 33.3 thousand litres or 3.3% have only been collected from 994 thousand litres, in the administrative district of Daugavpils – 51.2 thousand litres or 6.2% from 825 thousand litres and in the administrative district of Ilūkste – only 5.7 thousand litres or 1.1% from 493 thousand litres. The situation is not better with regard to the supply with agricultural produce of other kinds, too.

First of all the situation can be explained by the fact that the representatives of the People's Commissariat of Supply in administrative districts are very tolerant towards the debtors, do not bring the means of pressure to bear, provided by the law, upon them, but in cases, when these means are used, the decisions of the judicial bodies are not executed that not only weakens the discipline of paying taxes, but also discredits the Soviet court. For instance, in the administrative district of Rēzekne, 7000 roubles have only been collected from the fine of 116 000 roubles, imposed by courts, in the administrative district of Valka, 4000 roubles have been collected from the fine of 142 365 roubles, in the administrative district of Daugavpils – 20 000 – from 160 000 roubles, in [the administrative district of] Jelgava – 84 000 – from 678 300 roubles and in [the administrative district of] Ilūkste – 15 500 roubles have been collected from the fine of 60 000 roubles.

In majority of administrative districts (of Jelgava, Rēzekne, Daugavpils, Ilūkste, Valmiera, etc.), the warnings are usually issued without the simultaneous arrest of the debtors' property, thus violating paragraph 3 of the instructions, approved by the USSR SPC, on the application of the Resolution of the USSR SPC, dated 24 November 1942.

In order to completely collect the debts of the compulsory supply with agricultural produce of 1944, as well as taking into account the fact that tolerant behaviour against debtors also affects the fulfillment of the supply plan for this year, to all representatives of the People's Commissariat of Supply in administrative districts I order:

1. In May, the inspection of all farms shall be carried out, which in 1944 have not fulfilled the obligations of the supply with agricultural produce, combining the inspection both with the immediate collection of debts and the increasing of supply on the account of the 1945 obligations.

2. The warnings shall immediately be issued to the farms, which avoid settling the debts, with compulsory, simultaneous arrest of their property, as it is provided by the decision of 24 November 1942.

3. Strong control shall be determined to see to it that the cases on the farms, which, after the expiration of the 10 days' notice, haven't settled their debts, are sent to courts so that the courts could review the cases in the fixed term of 5 days and that the decisions of judicial bodies are timely executed both by their own apparatus and the bodies of the People's Commissariat of Finance.

4. The results of the general inspection shall be submitted to me by 15 June this year according to the form, handed out to the representatives of the People's Commissariat of Supply by the Department of Accounting and Reporting.

5. The representatives of the People's Commissariat of Supply in the administra-

tive districts shall be warned of the fact that if during the nearest decade serious improvement is not achieved in the collection of the 1944 debts and the supply with agricultural produce on the account of 1945 is not sped up, a punishment will be imposed on them and their inactivity will be reported to the People's Commissar [of Supply].

(..)

Y. Bariayev
Representative of the USSR People's
Commissariat of Supply in the Latvian SSR

[169]

Excerpt from the reference of A. Mishutin, Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR, concerning the punishing of the debtors of milk supply, 5 September 1946

SECRET

No. 6–1876–s

5 September 1946

Prosecutor's Office of the USSR
Prosecutor of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic

To: comrade KALNBĒRZIŅŠ,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

Reference
on the work of the Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian SSR in the supervision of the execution of laws and governmental decisions concerning the supply with milk in the period from 20 June to 10 August 1946
(in 17 administrative districts)

In the period from 20 June to 10 August 1946, the bodies of the Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian SSR have brought 77 criminal cases against the persons, who maliciously avoid fulfilling their obligations of the supply with milk and who hide cattle from imposing [taxes], and people's courts have reviewed these cases.

(..)

77 persons have been called to account in 77 criminal cases, and the following punishments have been imposed on them:

Imprisonment	– 53 persons
Correctional labour	– 3 –"–
Suspended sentence	– 8 –"–
Justified by courts	– 6 persons
Fined	– 7 persons
[In total]:	– 77 persons

(..)

Mishutin
Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR,
2nd rank state counselor of justice

[170]

Excerpts from the informative reference of J. Dīmanis, representative of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, to I. Lebedev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL, on the collection of taxes from the farms of "kulaks", 5 October 1948

5 October 1948

To: comrade I. LEBEDEV,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

Under the orders of the Council of Ministers recently I visited the administrative district of Valka, which is very much behind the collection of the agricultural tax, particularly in the group of kulaks' farms. The tax, fixed for the group, is 9 million roubles. If the debt of the last year is added to it – 1.5 mil[lion] roubles, the total sum is 10.5 mil[lion] roubles then. About 300 kulaks' farms are arrested for the non-payment of debts till the first deadline – 20, 30 and even 57 (in the *pagasts* of Trikāta) farms in each *pagasts*. The value of all arrested farms (..) is 3.5 million roubles.

(..)

Estimating the income from kulaks' farms, it is increased by 50, 75 and 100%, i.e., it is considered that a hectare of kulaks' arable land yields two times richer harvest, the milk yield of a kulak's cow is two times higher, two times more meat is obtained from a kulak's pig, etc. About 65% of the freely fixed gathering is taken as a tax.

(..)

It has been considered so far that the tax policy is an efficient stimulus of collectivization, the means for the **restriction** of kulaks and the **banishing** of the separate part of kulaks.

As far as I know, the tax policy as direct means for the liquidation of kulaks as a class has not been used in any of Soviet Republics.

What is the actual result of it?

1. Having imposed on a kulak the tax, which considerably exceeds his income and the value of all his property, we have artificially made the tax debt.

2. We have mixed up and made complicated the question of how to legally draw up the collection of debts from the group of kulaks, i.e., how to draw up legally the liquidation of this group.

In the administrative district of Valka, the finance officials ask to bring 200 persons to criminal account and 100 – to civil account. The Prosecutor's Office wants to organize a "model trial" in each *pagasts*. It should be decided whether it is politically correct to try several dozens of people in public in each *pagasts* by criminal

or civil means if everybody knows well that the accused has no possessions to pay the tax and, if there are the possessions, the accused has no rights to sell them in order to settle accounts with the state. (..)

(..)

4. We have actually started the liquidation of the group of kulaks, without creating preconditions to replace the production of kulaks [' farms] with kolkhozs. In many administrative districts, kolkhozs will not be able to house cattle, saying nothing about the cultivation of kulaks' land.

These are the serious questions, which we have not decided yet, because the financial bodies have presented us with a fait accompli, while we carry out the regular collection of taxes and hence start the liquidation of kulaks as a class.

(..)

J. Dīmanis

[171]

Draft Decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR on the procedure of how the matters pertaining to the displacement of "kulaks'" farms should be decided

Draft
Riga, 17 February 1949

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
DECISION No. 164
On the deciding of matters concerning the displacement of kulaks' farms

The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR r e s o l v e s:

1. The Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies shall be endowed with the rights to finally decide the questions, connected with the displacement of kulaks' farms beyond the territory of kolkhozs and state farms.

2. The Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies shall:

a) displace only those kulaks' farms, the land of which forms a wedge between the land of kolkhozs or state farms;

b) allot the displaced kulaks' farms land and the necessary buildings in another place.

(V. Lācis) Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR

(I. Bastin) Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR

[172]
Decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, dated 18 February 1949, on the displacement of peasant households

Riga, 18 February 1949

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
DECISION No. 166
On the approval of Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Decision No.1236 of the Executive Committee of the Jelgava District Soviet of Workers' Deputies, dated 16 September 1948

The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR resolves:

1. To approve Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Decision No.1236 of the Executive Committee of the Jelgava District Soviet of Workers' Deputies of 16 September 1949:

a) to displace kulak Valdemārs Ārons from "Ošiņi" homestead in Zaļenieki pagasts and to give the "Ošiņi" household with the 29.8 ha of land in charge of the Zaļenieki School for the Leading Staff of Kolkhozs;

b) to leave 14.0 ha of the "Aptieka" farmland to peasant Jānis Alksnis for usage and to entrust the "Aptieka" buildings with 1.0 ha of land in charge of the Zaļenieki School for the Leading Staff of Kolkhozs.

c) to entrust the 1.0 ha large strip[1] of the Zaļenieki Communication Office in charge of the Zaļenieki School for the Leading Staff of Kolkhozs.

2. To entrust the Director of the Zaļenieki School for the Leading Staff of Kolkhozs with the duty to leave citizen J.Alksnis his dwelling premises in the "Aptieka" homestead for usage on the basies of the lease agreement.

3. To commission the Executive Committee of the Jelgava District Soviet of Workers' Deputies with the duty to lease the "Ošiņi" building to the Zaļenieki School for the Leading Staff of Kolkhozs.

V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

I.Bastin, Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

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[1] A plot of land that is beyond the borders of the basic plot.

[173]

Excerpt from the speech of J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL, at the meeting of the Secretaries of the Party Committees of *pagasts*, Party organizers for *pagasts* and the Secretaries of the Party primary organizations of rural localities on the course of collectivization, 7 April 1949

7 April 1949

(..)

Owing to the recent operation[1], carried out in Soviet Latvia, which was basically correct, as well as the accomplished great political work, for the first time in history, the poor and middle-class peasantry absolutely freely expresses its wish, its hidden desire to unite in kolkhozs without delay and to take the road outlined by comrade Stalin.

Today we have 3500 kolkhozs, which have united 60% of all peasants' farms of Latvia, cattle, arable land, etc. are united to even higher percent.Many officials of the Party and Soviet bodies in *pagasts* understand the great changes, which take place in our Republic and our *pagasts*, however all employees of Soviet bodies haven't understood them. There are the employees, who are the detached observers of these important tasks.

How else could one explain the fact that in the countryside there are still the *pagasts* with no or 1–2 kolkhozs. A characteristic example of the above is the speech of the head of the Agricultural Department, who expressed the opinion that it was too early to do, [that] it had to be done slower, carrying out discussions, nobody knew what would come out of it, etc. It gives proof to the fact that the Party officials of *pagasts* still live in the old way, as they lived in 1945–1946, flirt with the individual farms and consider that collectivization will roll over Latvia like a whirlwind and that it isn't still known whether it will touch some *pagasts* or won't. I would very much like that these wrong views are overcome at this meeting. And it's high time to understand that the great transformation of agriculture is as inevitable as is the existence of Soviet power, as inevitable was the October Revolution, etc. (*Stormy applause.*)

One should say straight and frankly that the Party officials, who have worked in a definite *pagasts* for 2–3 years and have not been able to organize a single kolkhoz

[1] The deportation of 25 March 1949 is meant here.

there, have worked in vain. I would like to say that there are no bad *pagasts*, administrative districts and farmers, but there are bad Party officials of *pagasts* and administrative districts. The number of kolkhozs grows, and the whole peasantry has risen to work in a new way, in accordance with Soviet standards. Communists have no rights to delay this movement, but they have to be in the vanguard and to get rid of everything that hampers this movement, they have to break the resistance of kulaks and to bring the question of kulaks to the final end.

(..)

One shall not forget that in spite of the accomplished operation, the class enemy is not liquidated in our Republic. A comrade from the administrative district[1] of Sigulda said if we were entrusted to carry out the operation, we would have done it so that no enemies were left in Latvia. That is wrong. Neither the Central Committee of the Party, nor the Party organization of the administrative district can do it. It is not possible to achieve in an instant that nothing of the old is left and that there is only the new. That is an illusion. It had never been so, and there was such a possibility neither in Moscow, nor Leningrad. And also in Latvia it is not possible to liquidate all class enemies by a single operation. The political consciousness of people shall be increased. And if all collective farmers, officials of the Party and Soviet bodies and all our deputies are vigilant and do not allow the enemy to sit, where it may not sit, if it is timely unmasked, we will cope with this matter then. And I think that definite hatred against the enemies of our country has to be inculcated, since there were very many who cried, etc.[2], and that means there is too little of hatred (..).

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[1] That's how in text. Correct: the *pagasts* of Sigulda.

[2] The people, who saw the deportation of 25 March 1949, are meant here.

[174]

Excerpt from the speech of P. Litvinov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL, at the meeting of the Secretaries of the Party Committees of *pagasts*, Party organizers for *pagasts* and the Secretaries of the Party primary organizations of rural localities on the course of collectivization, 7 April 1949

7 April 1949

(..)

If in two months, from 25 January, from the 10th congress [of the C(B)PL] until 25 March, 570 kolkhozs were organized and 11 000 farms joined the kolkhozs, then during 11 days, from 26 March to 6 April, 1740 new kolkhozs are established in Latvia. During this period, about 84 thousand farms joined the kolkhozs. In the Republic on the whole the percentage of collectivization increased from 10 to 56%. Until 5 April, all 284 farmers of 510 *pagasts* joined the kolkhozs.

(..)

[175]

Report of A. Koshelev, Deputy Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR, concerning the moving of rural inhabitants to Riga and other cities

SECRET

No. 7/6–738-s Riga, 25 June 1949

Ministry of the Interior of the Latvian SSR
Administration of the Militia

To: comrade V. LĀCIS,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

The Administration of the Militia of the Ministry of the Interior of the Latvian SSR has established that in the first half of 1949, 60–70 persons per day arrive in the city of Riga from the countryside of the Latvian SSR, especially from the administrative districts of Ludza, Rēzekne, Tukums, Jelgava, Kuldīga and Daugavpils. This number includes also qualified persons (accountants and others), who are needed also in agriculture. There is a similar situation also in some other cities (Liepāja and Daugavpils)

The Administration of the Militia has also established that the local Soviets of Workers' Deputies of *pagasts* and villages freely issue references to these persons, [which certify] that they are not connected with agriculture.

Having secured themselves with such references, these persons fill cities, where the heads of different institutions and enterprises, in spite of the possibilities to chose the necessary employees in their own cities, ask militia to register the residence of the persons, who have arrived from the countryside, or try to accept them without the registration of residence.

I have provided the above information for your knowledge.

Koshelev
Deputy Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR,
3rd rank commissar of the militia

Notes in the document:
For information of the members of the Bureau of the Council of Ministers.
To comrade Audriņš: to give a conclusion, what legal measures can be taken in this matter. V. Lācis. 27/VI, 49.

[176]

Excerpt from the speech of J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL, at the meeting of the chairmen of the kolkhozs of Riga District, on the discipline of work in kolkhozs, 16 October 1950

16 October 1950

(..)

These things have to be put in order. In case somebody wishes to leave the kolkhoz without the permission of the Board, he may not do it, but if he does leave, he shall be looked upon as a deserter nobody may take on. (..)

[177]

Reference of V. Kubrakov, head of the Agricultural Group of the Administrative Department, Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, concerning the fact that collective farmers deliberately go away from kolkhozs

8 June 1954

To: comrade M. PLŪDONIS,
Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

Reference

Recently the cases when collective farmers deliberately go away from kolkhozs occur more frequently. Often the collective farmers leave kolkhozs without a sufficient motivation, because of the negligence of the Boards of kolkhozs and the Soviets of villages, the documents, certifying the rights to cancel the registration of residence in the countryside, are being falsified, etc.

The agricultural group considers it necessary to instruct the district executive committees for them to inform the Soviets of villages and Boards of kolkhozs, as well as the bodies of the militia, which manage the registration of residence of citizens and cancel this registration, that, in canceling the registration of the collective farmers' residence, it is not only necessary to have the decision of the General Meeting, concerning the permission to leave, and the reference of the Soviet of the village, but also to mark these documents at the district executive committee, that it is categorically forbidden to cancel the registration of collective farmers' residence without the consent of the General Meeting of Collective Farmers, supported by the executive committee of the district, and that the prohibition to take on the collective farmers, who have deliberately left kolkhozs, shall be strengthened.

V. Kubrakov
Head of the Agricultural Group

Notes in the document:
To comrade Kubrakov. Regions have all laws and it's not necessary to issue new ones.
9. VI. Plūdonis

[178]

Excerpt from the Decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, dated 24 September 1953, on the involvement of pupils and students in harvesting work

Riga, 24 September 1953

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR

DECISION No. 976

On the involvement of the pupils of secondary, technical and vocational schools and the students of higher educational institutions in the harvesting of agricultural crops of 1953

In accordance with the Decision No. 2459 of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 19 September 1953, and taking into account the backwardness in the harvesting of agricultural crops, as well as the possible losses of the harvest, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR resolves:

1. To involve the pupils of class 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the secondary schools of cities and rural areas and their teachers, as well as the students of all higher educational institutions and the pupils of technical and vocational schools in harvesting works for two weeks; to send to districts (20 400 persons) from Riga, 1800 – from Liepāja, 2000 – from Daugavpils, 1300 – from Jelgava, 800 – from Ventspils and 800 – from Rēzekne according to Appendix.[1]

2. To commission the Ministry of Agriculture and Supply of the Latvian SSR (comrade Nikonov), the Ministry of Education of the Latvian SSR (comrade Samsons), the Ministry of Culture of the Latvian SSR (comrade Ostrov), the directors of the higher educational institutions, technical, secondary and vocational schools, chairmen of the executive committees of cities and districts with the task to take care about the organized transportation of the involved pupils and students to the harvesting works, taking into consideration their health condition and provision with the necessary clothes and footwear.

[1] Not published.

To this purpose, not later than by 24 September 1953, the executive committees of districts shall send their representative to the respective executive committees of cities with the transport in good order and necessary monetary resources for the duly and safe transportation of the engaged people to the places of work (..).

V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR

J. Kacens, Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR

[179]

Report of V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, and J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, to G. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the AUC(B)P, and J. Stalin on the necessity to move collective farmers from individual farms to the villages of kolkhozs, 13 April 1952

No. b/n Riga, 13 April 1952

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
and
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST (BOLSHEVIK) PARTY OF LATVIA

To: comrade G. M. MALENKOV, Secretary of the CC of the AUC(B)P
comrade J. V. STALIN

The collectivization of agriculture is accomplished in the Latvian SSR. At the present moment, there are 1513 kolkhozs in the Republic, which have united 223 656 farming households.

The existing individual farms hamper the development of agriculture, the organizational and economic strengthening of kolkhozs and the growth of public farming. They are an obstacle to use tractors and complicated agricultural machines.

In order to create conditions for a more rapid development of the kolkhoz production and further organizational and economic strengthening of kolkhozs, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR and the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia consider it necessary to move 100 thousand individual farming households to the villages of kolkhozs and to build 13 thousand new houses for collective farmers during the period of 1952–1955.

The houses of collective farmers, which are situated in the territory of the planned kolkhoz villages, brigades and [cattle] farms, are not subject to transference.

The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR and the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia apply to you, comrade Malenkov, with a request to consider the enclosed draft Resolution[1] of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and to render the Latvian SSR the necessary assistance to solve the questions brought up.

(V. Lācis) Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

(J. Kalnbērziņš) Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

[1] Not published.

[180]

Excerpts from the speech of J. Kalnbērziņš, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL, at the Plenum of the CC of the CPL, 22–23 June 1953, on the situation in agriculture

(..)

At the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, I have to say frankly that though our Republic has received enormous assistance, the bodies of the Party, Soviets and agriculture haven't used all possibilities to enhance agriculture. We haven't reached the pre-war level in the most important branches of agriculture. The Plenum of the Central Committee shall know that in our Republic, the total crop area reaches only 80% of the pre-war level.

Stock-breeding faces a similar situation. At the present moment, the total number of cattle is smaller by 174 thousand than it was before the war, but that of cows – by 400 thousand smaller than the pre-war one. Also in other branches of stock-breeding we are far from the pre-war level. Recently the annual produce of butter comprises only 60% of the pre-war produce.

In many regions and kolkhozs of our Republic, the great backwardness of agriculture is caused mainly by the fact, that the bodies of Soviets and agriculture haven't differentiated their approach towards separate regions and kolkhozs. Hence many kolkhozs have tiny income and in these kolkhozs the collective farmers receive less and less money and grain for the work days. For instance, if we take 100 for the average value of a work day in the kolkhozs of our Republic in 1949, then in the following years the pay for a work day in kolkhozs can be characterized by the following numbers: the sum, paid in cash for a work day in 1949 – 100, in 1950 – 97, in 1951 – 84 and in 1952 – 57; grain given in 1949 – 100, in 1950 – 61, in 1951 – 47 and in 1952 – 35.

In 1952, there were already 234 kolkhozs, which gave half a kilogram and even less grain for a work day, but 16 kolkhozs of our Republic didn't give any grain for work days. Last year 398 kolkhozs of our Republic didn't pay collective farmers any money for work days (..).

[181]

Excerpt from the speech of J. Vanags, Rector of the Academy of Agriculture of the Latvian SSR, at the closed Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL, 7–8 July 1959, on the situation in agriculture

(..)

I won't touch upon the matters, which I don't know. Yet I will say, what I have to say about agriculture. Let's take the congresses and Plenums from 1950 to 1955. Since 1950, our agriculture went down, down and down, and in 1950 the grain yield had fallen to 5 centners[1] per hectare. However, judging from congresses and plenums, we make more and more.

I will give an example here. The gross yield of grain in the Republic equals one third of the pre-war yield. The level of stock-breeding is far from that of the pre-war one. We have 540 000 milch cows, but we had about 870 000 before the war. We haven't reached the pre-war level neither in the production of meat, nor milk.

(..)

[1] 1 centner = 100 kilograms.

[182]

Proportion of different categories of farms, involved in the agricultural production of Latvia (%, 1982)

	State farms	Other state-owned farms	Kolkhozs	Personal auxiliary farms
Sowing area	43.1	1.2	50.2	5.5
Cereals	44.9	1.1	52.1	1.9
Cattle	35.5	1.2	43.0	20.3
Cows	32.7	0.8	39.2	27.3
Poultry	54.6	0.7	27.9	16.8
Gross produce	34.1	2.7	36.0	27.2

CHAPTER 10

Colonization and Russification

The Soviet occupation initiated colonization and Russification of Latvia, and with the course of the time it became more extensive. Already in 1940–1941, many functionaries of the Communist Party, senior officials of People's Commissariats and other institutions, and commanders of the Red Army and their family members arrived in Latvia from the USSR, but in the period after World War II, this immigration became especially intense.

The accommodation of the demobilized soldiers and officials of the USSR in Latvia, and first of all – in Riga, was among the measures of the purposeful and planned colonization of Latvia. The first demobilized military of the USSR arrived in Latvia right after the war [183, 184]. Since their flow to Latvia did not slow down, the leaders of the city of Riga prepared a special report to the government of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU, in which they asked to limit the sending of the demobilized officers to Riga [185, 186]. However, the request was not taken into consideration. Moreover, after the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a law "On the New Considerable Decrease of the Armed Forces of the USSR" in 1960, but the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU took a decision securing the demobilized officers with job and flats, the desire of the demobilized military to settle in Riga became even more ardent [187, 188]. Until the collapse of the USSR, the demobilized officers enjoyed the greatest privileges, among them in the allocation of flats.[1]

The colonization of Latvia took place also by making the civilians of other USSR republics move into Latvia. Already in 1946, more than 41 000 people arrived in Latvia from other regions of the USSR, 30.2 thousand of them settled in Riga. In the period from 1935 (the last census of the Republic of Latvia) till 1959 (the first post-war census), the number of Latvians decreased from 1 million 472.6 thousand (75.5% of the whole population) to 1 million 297.9 thousand (62% of all inhabitants), but the number of Russians increased from 206.5 thousand (10.6%) to 556.4 thousand (26.6%) and of Belorussians – from 26.9 thousand (1.4%) to 61.9 thousand (2.9%).

During the years of Soviet occupation, migration was one of the main ways how to provide labour resources in Latvia, especially for the many big industrial enterprises, which were created both in Riga and other cities of Latvia. It was also to meet the political end – to decrease the proportion of Latvians in these places. By the influx

[1] See also Chapter 8, documents 154–157.

of immigrants, the leadership of the USSR sought to attach closer the occupied Baltic States to the Soviet Union.

The newcomers from Russia, Belorussia, the Ukraine, as well as other areas of the USSR, in their turn hoped to improve their lodging conditions in Latvia, to provide themselves with the necessary goods and job, to live under better social and cultural conditions.

Such an influx of immigrants in Latvia, especially in Riga, was connected with the discrimination of indigenous population, and some major officials of the leadership of the Latvian SSR had a motivation to point it out [189].

The reviews of the labour balance, prepared by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR, gave evidence to the large scale of migration [190]. The intensive development of industry needed more and more workers every year. The officials of Moscow had planned especially great increase of employees for the enterprises and organizations of All-Union subordination, which were situated in Latvia [191, 193] and did not develop by trying to improve the efficiency of work and rational use of the existing labour resources, but by increasing the number of employees [192]. As it is proved by the data of the study, carried out in 1967, the social conditions of the indigenous population catastrophically became worse because of the rapid increase of the number of imigrants [194].

From the total number of the population of Latvia, the proportion of Latvians decreased constantly [195, 196]. In 1979, the proportion of Latvians comprised only 53.7%, but that of Russians – 32.8%, Belorussians – 4.5% and the Ukrainians – 2.7%. The occupation of Latvia brought along also purposeful and more active Russification. The "senior officials" and "irreplaceable specialists" of different ranks were sent to Latvia. Immigrants from Moscow, Leningrad, as well as many other regions of the USSR pompously took the leading posts in the bodies of the Communist Party and Soviets, the Soviet of People's Commissars, different commissariats, factories and plants. Their arrival commenced the replacement of the Latvian language with the Russian one at different meetings, conferences, in the office and routine work. Not only in Riga, but also in the institutions of administrative districts, machine and tractor stations, kolkhozs and on state farms, immigrants were appointed to the leading positions. They did not know the Latvian language, did not learn it, but prepared and sent all their instructions and orders only in the Russian language, which the majority of Latvians, especially in the countryside, didn't understand. Objections against such a policy of Russification were called the "bourgeois nationalism", but the persons, who voiced them, were dismissed from the post. For instance, E. Kusins, who in 1946 sharply turned against the more and more extensive policy of Russification in Latvia, was dismissed from an important position: the local inhabitants were not promoted then, but the leading positions

were taken mostly by the imigrants from the USSR [197, 198, 199]. The Russification slowed down a little in 1953, when, after the death of J. Stalin, L. Beria, Minister of the Interior of the USSR, seeking to implement his own policy, which differed a little from that realized by the central institutions of the USSR, looked for the support in the national republics. During that period, also the functionaries of the Communist Party of Latvia, according to the direction of Moscow, found slight fault with themselves for the derogation of the local employees. However, after the arrest of L. Beria (July 1953) and his shooting, the Russification of Latvia, started in 1940, continued with new energy. One should admit that some senior officials of Latvia, the so-called national communists[1] (in the first place E. Berklavs, Secretary of the Riga City Committee of the CPL, later deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR) tried to hold back, within the limits of their possibilities, the influx of immigrants and the construction of big industrial enterprises, as well as the forcing and spreading of the Russian language. Unfortunately their efforts were in vain. Already in summer 1959, the special brigade of the Central Committee of the CPSU was sent from Moscow to Latvia, which discovered there the most different violations of the "Leninist national policy", primarily the "restriction of the rights" of immigrants. At the same time, the closed Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL was convened on the instruction of the Central Committee of the CPSU, which severely criticized national communists and dismissed them from the leading posts, but the persons, who supported and favoured Russification, got the freedom of action for a long period [200, 201]. For instance, in the position of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL, J. Kalnbērziņš was replaced by A. Pelše, one of the most active promoters of the policy of Russification. Later A. Pelše was substituted by A. Voss, who during the years of his long "rule", was especially active in supporting the use of the Russian language [202].

The colonization and Russification of Latvia continued even until the regaining of its independence in 1990.

[1] Don't mix with the promulgators of Stalinist national communism, mentioned in Chapter 1 of the present book.

[183–188] Influx of demobilized officers into Latvia

[183]

Excerpt from the telegram of V. Lācis, Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR, to A. Kosigin, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR, concerning the arrival of the demobilized soldiers in Latvia and the care about them, 26 December 1945

Moscow, the Kremlin 26 September 1945

Telegram of the Government

Series G

To: comrade A. KOSIGIN,
Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR

During the whole previous period until 23 December 1945, the following number of persons have arrived: 22 974 demobilized soldiers, among them 13 617 have resided in the Latvian SSR before, have not resided – 9357. 8745 have been accepted in Riga, among them have not resided in Riga before – 5864 (..).

(Lācis)
Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars
of the Latvian SSR

[184]

Excerpt from the Report of A. Deglavs, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and lieutenant-colonel Gostev, Military Commissar of the city of Riga, concerning providing to the demobilized soldiers of the Soviet Army a job and rendering of material aid, 10 October 1947

SECRET
Copy No. 1
No. 1/-1468 10 October 1947

Riga City Military Registration and Enlistment Office of the Latvian SSR

Department No. 1

To: Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

C o p y: Military Commissar of the Latvian SSR

Herewith I provide information about the getting to the demobilized soldiers of the Soviet Army a job and the rendering of material aid until 1 October 1947.

Work done to get the demobilized soldiers a job and to render material aid	Total	Among them	
		Officers	Men and sergeants
1. Altogether registered and demobilized	27098	7050	20048
2. Among them:			
a) have resided in the Latvian SSR before	7784	685	7099
b) haven't resided in the Latvian SSR	19314	6365	12949
3. Among the arrivals:			
a) men	24241	6473	17768
b) women	2857	577	2280

(..)

Deglavs, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Riga City

Lieutenant-colonel *Gostev*, Military Commissar of the City of Riga

[185]

Report of V. Lecis, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and I. Biniatian, Secretary of the Riga City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, to V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, and J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, concerning the preparation of a draft letter to the Government of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU to restrict the sending of the demobilized officers of the Soviet Army to Riga, 31 August 1956

31 August 1956

To: comrade V. LĀCIS,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR
comrade J. KALNBĒRZIŅŠ,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

Owing to the very hard situation, which has occurred in providing the inhabitants of Riga with the dwelling space, the Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies and the Riga City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia ask you to hand in an appeal to the Government and the Central Committee of the CPSU, in order to resolve the question concerning the restriction to send the enlisted in the reserve and retired officers of the Soviet Army to Riga.

E n c l o s u r e: draft letter.

V. Lecis, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies

I. Biniatian, Secretary of the Riga City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

[186]

Draft letter of V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, and J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, to N. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and N. Khrushchov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, on the necessity to restrict the sending of the demobilized officers to Riga[1]

Draft

No. ... "..." August 1956

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LATVIA

To: comrade N. BULGANIN,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR
comrade N. KHRUSHCHOV,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU

The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia consider it necessary to inform the Government and the Central Committee of the CPSU about the extremely hard situation, which has occurred in providing the inhabitants of Riga with dwelling space.

Owing to the development of industry during the post-war years, the number of inhabitants of Riga has increased twice, at the same time the increase of available housing comprises only 5%.

At the present moment, the majority of workers and civil servants are not provided with any dwelling space. More than 16 thousand families queue up for several years. However, because of the lack of the available housing, the Executive Committee of the City of Riga cannot provide them with any dwelling space. At the same time, in spite of the measures taken to register the residence in Riga, the constant flow of citizens can be observed, especially on the account of the persons, who have privileges to be provided with the dwelling space.

As a result of the above, it is necessary to immediately provide flats for more than 2000 demobilized officers, old Bolsheviks, persons receiving special pensions, and the families of the rehabilitated and repatriated citizens.

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[1] Only the present draft letter was available to the authors. The letter itself was sent to Moscow, the second copy of the document has not been preserved.

In order to secure only this category of citizens, one needs more than 50 thousand square meters of dwelling space. At the same time, this year the City Soviet will receive only 5.5 thousand square meters of dwelling space from its own housing construction, as well as from the 10 percent of the departmental housing construction.

Recently very many demobilized officers of the Soviet Army have arrived in the city, who have not lived in Riga before. Only in the first half of this year, more than 380 families of the officers have been registered, who by the draft into military service have lived in the regions of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and other republics. Besides the part of them already have the dwelling space in other cities and rural populated areas, yet they arrive in Riga and demand to allocate them flats.

Because of the lack of the free dwelling space, the Executive Committee of the city has no possibilities to provide all officers with flats. Until the present time, more than 500 families of the earlier demobilized officers are on the register for quite a long time and cannot receive dwelling space. They are dissatisfied with the above situation and hand in mass complaints to the bodies of the Party and Soviets.

Taking into account the above, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia ask you to give instructions to the Ministry of Defence of the USSR to restrict the sending of the enlisted in the reserve and retired officers to Riga, and give the right to chose Riga as the place of permanent residence only for the officers, who have lived here before the call to military service, or for the ones, who are demobilized from the units of the Riga garrison.

(V. Lācis)
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR

(J. Kalnbērziņš)
Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Latvia

[187]

Request of lieutenant-general Baukov, Acting Commander of the Troops of the Baltic Military District, to improve the provision of the officers, demobilized from the Soviet Army, with jobs and flats, 21 September 1960

No. 3504 23 September 1960

Commander of the Troops of the Baltic Military District

To: comrade A. PELŠE,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia
comrade J. PEIVE,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

On 15 September 1960, the Military Council of the District discussed the question concerning the provision with jobs and dwelling space for the retired and enlisted in the reserve officers, who are pensioned off on the basis of the law of 15 January 1960 "On the New Considerable Decrease of the Armed Forces of the USSR".

The Military Council pointed out that in accordance with the Resolution No. 74 of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 20 January 1960, the Party and Soviet bodies of the Latvian SSR, as well as military registration and enlistment offices, had carried out a great preparatory and practical work to secure the officers, to be pensioned off the military service, with job, as well as to settle their social and living conditions.

During eight months of 1960, 1312 officers have registered themselves at the military registration and enlistment offices, 1105 of them had to be provided with jobs, and 494 persons – with dwelling space. During this period, the job was provided for 723 persons, and the dwelling space was secured for 185 officers, pensioned off after 15 January 1960, and for 30 more persons, pensioned off before 15 January 1960.

Hence in the Republic, 382 officers are still not provided with jobs (among them 178 persons, who had arrived at the chosen place of residence more than a month ago) by 1 September 1960, and 309 officers, pensioned off after 15 January 1960 are not secured with dwelling space (among them 11 persons for more than 3 months), as well as 276 officers, pensioned off still before 15 January 1960. It is utterly necessary to provide 61 of them with dwelling space, since their present living conditions are extremely hard. As concerns the provision with dwelling space and jobs, the city of Riga has the most unfavourable situation, since 382 retired officers are not provided with jobs, and 532 – with dwelling space there.

As it is reported by the military commissar of the Military Registration and Enlistment Office of the Republic, by the end of 1960, the local bodies of Soviets plan to allocate 10 500 square meters of dwelling space to provide the retired and enlisted

in the reserve officers with flats. The above dwelling space makes about 350–400 flats and is not enough to provide with dwelling space the 585 persons queuing up already now.

Owing to the fact that still more officers will appear at the military registration and enlistment offices of the Republic by the end of the year, who will pension off both in our – Baltic and other military districts, the allocated amount of dwelling space does not satisfy the actual needs.

That is why the Military Council has commissioned major-general I. Čaša, Military Commissar of the Military Registration and Enlistment Office of the Republic, to report, in September-October this year, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia and the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR about the situation concerning the provision of the officers to be pensioned off with jobs and dwelling space, and the measures to be taken in order to secure the officers to be pensioned off with dwelling space and jobs in due time, in accordance with the Resolution No. 74 of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 20 January 1960.

With respect to the above we ask you:

1. To look into to the reports of the military commissar of the Military Registration and Enlistment Office of the Republic, as well as the chairmen of the commission of the republic and separate city commissions about the provision of the officers to be pensioned off with jobs and dwelling space, and the measures to be taken to secure the fulfillment of the Resolution No. 74 of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 20 January 1960, concerning this matter, and take the relevant decision.

2. Based on the experience of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Council of Ministers, to consider the question of reducing the sanitary norm[1], when registering the residence of the retired officers and their family members at the temporarily allocated dwelling space. The reduction of the sanitary norm will make the provision of the retired officers and their family members with temporary dwelling space in the territory of the Latvian SSR easier.

Lieutenant-general *Baukov*,
Acting Commander of the Troops of the Baltic Military District

Lieutenant-general *Maltsev*,
Member of the Military Council –
Head of the Political Directorate of the District

Notes in the document:
To file. Reviewed at the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia. 22. XI. 1960. Voronin.

[1] Sanitary norm – the fixed minimum of dwelling space to register the residence of a person.

[188]

Excerpt from the decision of the Riga City Commission for Jobs, Dwelling and Social Conditions of the Military, Retired from the Armed Forces of the USSR, concerning the provision of the demobilized officers with flats

27 January 1989

Minutes No. 1
of the Riga City Commission for Jobs, Dwelling and Social Conditions
of the Military Retired from the Armed Forces of the USSR

1. The request of the Department of Cooperative Housing Construction of the Riga City Executive Committee to provide the retired 1st rank captain Oleg Mikhailovich Ivanov (the composition of the family – 2 persons: he and his wife) with dwelling space in the 1st quarter of 1989. In the dwelling space waiting list since 28 November 1986. Works as a senior engineer in the Department of Cooperative Housing Construction of the Riga City Executive Committee.

D e c i d e d: to allow to provide in 1989.

2. The application of Igor Petrovich Shishov, major of the reserve (the composition of the family – 3 persons: he, his wife, a daughter, b. 1987). In the dwelling space waiting list since 23 June 1988. Asks to include his daughter Marina, b. 1988, in the family and to enter 1 additional person in the waiting list.

Decided: to include the daughter Marina, b. 1988, in the family.

3. The application of Mikhail Vladimirovich Makeyev, major of the reserve (the composition of the family – 4 persons: he, his wife, a son, b. 1978, and a daughter, b. 1976) with a request to register his residence temporarily, as a subtenant, until the receipt of the flat, with a private person in Rainbergs Boulv. No. 7, flat 5, where the residence of 3 persons is registered in the 2-room flat (floor space 32.46 sq. m), and 3 persons live there, and to enter 4 persons in the dwelling space waiting list. Agreed to join the cooperative of housing construction.

D e c i d e d: to register the residence of and to enter 4 persons in the dwelling space waiting list. To include in the plan of the cooperative of housing construction for 1989.

4. The request of the Lenin District Military Registration and Enlistment Office of Riga concerning the provision of lieutenant-colonel Vladimir Fiodorovich Sidorenko (the family composed of 4 persons: he, his wife, a daughter, b. 1964, and a son, b. 1970) with dwelling space in 1989. Entered in the waiting list on 26.06.87. Since 01.06.87 is in social service of the Lenin Region Military Registration and Enlistment Office.

The Office gives him a positive reference.

D e c i d e d: to provide with the dwelling space in 1989.

5. The request of the Lenin District Military Registration and Enlistment Office of Riga concerning the provision of the captain of the reserve Vladimir Yakovlevich Grigorenko (the family consists of 1 person) with dwelling space in 1989. Entered in the waiting list on 26.06.87. Presently, having had a heart attack, is in serious condition.

Decided: taking into consideration the condition of health, to allow providing with dwelling space in 1989.

6. The application of the captain of the reserve Andrei Viacheslavovich Afanasyev (the family consists of 1 person) with a request to register his residence temporarily, as a subtenant, until the receipt of the flat, with a private person in Maskavas Street No. 291/5, flat 59, where the residence of 1 person is registered in the 2-room flat (floor space 29.08 sq. m), and 1 person lives there, and to enter him in the waiting list. Agrees to join the cooperative of housing construction.

D e c i d e d: to register the residence of and to enter 1 person in the dwelling space waiting list. To include in the plan of the receipt of cooperative flats for 1989.

7. The application of the 2nd rank captain of the reserve Aleksandr Pavlovich Zinovyev (family composed of 3 persons: he, his wife and a daughter, b. 1973) with a request to register his residence temporarily, as a subtenant, until the receipt of the flat, with a private person in Sarkanarmijas Street No. 71, flat 16, where the residence of 1 person is registered in the single-room flat (floor space 20 sq. m), and 1 person lives there, and to enter 3 persons in the waiting list.

Decided: to register the residence of and to enter 3 persons in the dwelling space waiting list. Warned about the terms of the provision with a separate flat with all amenities in a new house (5–7 years). Agreed to wait. Refused to join the cooperative of housing construction.

(..)

V. Merekina, Secretary of the Commission

[189]

Excerpts from the speech of E. Berklavs, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, on the restriction of immigration at the closed Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL, 7–8 July 1959

(..)

During all post-war years, almost 700 000 people have arrived in Riga, and as a result of the mechanical movement, the increase of the population of the city reaches 310 600 people during these years. Only in 1958 we have registered the residence of 28 000 persons in Riga, among them 10 500 are Latvians and 17 500 – persons of other nationalities. In 5 months of this year, the residence of almost 8500 persons has been registered in Riga, among them Latvians are less than 3000. In 5 months of the last year, the residence of 514 soldiers was registered only in communal and private flats of Riga, but in 5 months of 1959, that number increased by 140 persons and more (..).

I wish to ask you to think about the situation we could have had in our Department of Communal and Public Services of Riga had we registered the residence of all 200 000 citizens in Riga, who applied to the bodies of the militia for the registration of residence in 1959 and 1958.

I am asked to admit having invented, to some purpose or in the best case just so, restrictions to discriminate the non-Latvian part of inhabitants. I decline this accusation (..).

It was said here that non-Latvians were discriminated also with regard to the allocation of dwelling-space and the delivery of warrants for living accommodation. Facts rather give proof of the opposite. Here are the official data.

In 1958 and five months of this year, 3355 families received dwelling space in Riga, among them 1089 Latvian families, i.e., less than one third. That's the truth. Who will say how to call the attempts of some persons to distort the real situation at any price, to prove that injustice is done to Russians or other non-Latvians?

(..)

There are only 202 Latvians of 552 directors of the enterprises belonging to the Council of National Economy, but only 160 Latvians are the chief engineers of these enterprises, i.e., a little more than one fourth.

From among 36 managers of the motor parks of the Ministry of Motor Transport, only 11 are Latvians, from 43 heads of the repair offices of the Ministry of Municipal Services, Latvians are 18. From 46 heads and chief engineers of building departments and trusts, 2 are Latvians.

Among 44 chief doctors of the medical institutions of the Republic, Latvians are 18, but in Riga, there are 19 Latvians among 53 chief doctors of medical institutions.

There are 20 057 employees under the Ministry of Commerce in the Republic, among them there are 11 185 persons of Latvian nationality; among the heads of eating-houses Latvians comprise only 29.6%.

There are 1334 employees within the system of the Ministry of the Interior in Riga, but only 361 of them are Latvians.

(..)

[190]

Excerpt from the labour balance of the Latvian SSR, prepared by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR on 8 June 1963

[8 June 1963]

(..) in all post-war years the Latvian SSR had spontaneous mechanical growth [of the employed], which in recent 10 years is characterized by the following numbers:

Years	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Mechanical growth (thousand persons)	29.8	24.1	21.3	39.1	19.0	4.5	11.6	18.4	15.3	16.5

(..)

B. Mežgailis, Head of the Program

[191]

Appendix No. 10 of the Decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR "On the State Plan of the Economic and Social Development of the Latvian SSR for 1980"

SECRET
Appendix No. 10
Table No. 70

The limit[1] of the maximum industrial production personnel of the organizations and enterprises of All-Union subordination located in the territory of Latvia

1980		Persons
Organization l/b[2]	G–4295	36 400
Organization	V-2311	12 300
Organization	V-2868	17 500
Organization	A-1736	6 250
Organization l/b	A-1501	9 600
Enterprise l/b	V-2853	2 400
Organization l/b	M-5222	7 200
Organization l/b	R-6801	1 140
Organization l/b	A-1073	1 140

(J. Šneiders) Administrative Director
of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[1] Maximum admissible number.
[2] A letter-box (*почтовый ящик* – п/я in Russian). That is how the military enterprises were marked.

[192]

Excerpts from the explanatory information of V. Leitāns, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Latvian SSR, and V. Burtnieks, head of the Department of Labour, Wages and Training of Specialists of the State Planning Committee of the Latvian SSR, concerning the increase of the number of the employed

Explanatory Information

In 1985, the increase of labour is planned in the amount of 3.3 thousand persons and only on the account of the mechanical growth of the able-bodied inhabitants.[1]

(..)

As the report of 1984 shows, some ministries and departments of All-Union subordination, as well as the enterprises, which are located in the territory of the Republic, don't secure the rational use of labour resources.

Separate enterprises of All-Union subordination continue to keep the industrial production personnel above the limit, simultaneously reducing the efficiency of work in comparison with 1983. Among them – the Milking Equipment Plant of Rēzekne (+ 158 employees and –6.3%), the Daugavpils Locomotive Repair Plant (+ 47 employees and –1.3%), the Riga Agricultural Machine Factory (+ 25 employees and –1.4%) (..).

(..)

V. Leitāns, Deputy Chairman
of the State Planning Committee of the Latvian SSR

V. Burtnieks, Head of the Department
of Labour, Wages and Training of Specialists
of the State Planning Committee of the Latvian SSR

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[1] In all years of Soviet occupation, but especially after the defeat of the so-called national communists in 1959, many big industrial enterprises were established in Latvia, which had everything – specialists, workers, equipment and raw materials – brought in from Russia and other republics of the USSR, but their produce was taken out of Latvia. The aim of such a development of industry was to increase the number of Russian inhabitants in Latvia to have their prevalence there. Hence the mechanical growth of inhabitants was favoured also to reach a political end.

[193]

Information of S. Sitarian, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, to the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR on the planned limits of workers and civil servants for the ministries and departments of the USSR, 2 February 1985

SECRET

No. 778-s 2 February 1985

STATE PLANNING COMMITTEE OF THE USSR
To: Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

In accordance with the fixed planning procedure of the number of workers and civil servants for the ministries and departments of the USSR, distributing them by Union republics, the State Planning Committee of the USSR sends you herewith the 1986 limits of the workers and civil servants of the branches of defence, associations of civil aviation, enterprises, organizations and institutions (including the persons employed in construction and design organizations, as well as those working half-time and at home).

Enclosure: list No. 769-s, 1 p.

S. Sitarian, Deputy Chairman
of the State Planning Committee of the USSR

SECRET
Copy No. 1
Form 2s

Previous limits of workers and civil servants in the Latvian SSR

		1986 Thousand people
In total		71.25
Among them:	Ministry of Shipping Industry	3.14
	Ministry of Aviation Industry	0.3
	Ministry of Radio Industry	0.1
	Ministry of Communications Industry	46.47
	Ministry of Electronic Industry	12.57
	Ministry of General Machine Building	0.04
	Ministry of Civil Aviation	8.63

V. Sichov, Head of the Labour Department
of the State Planning Committee of the USSR

[194]

Excerpts from the explanatory information of M. Ramāns, Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Latvian SSR, concerning the labour balance of the Latvian SSR for 1969, 23 July 1968

SECRET
23 July 1968

Explanatory information
on the labour balance of the Latvian SSR for 1969

(..)

The proportion of the total mechanic growth of inhabitants is very high in the Republic. For instance, if in the early 50s it comprised only one third of the whole growth, after 1960 it exceeded the natural growth, but in the period from 1965 to 1967, its proportion reached 62.3 percent of the total growth. From among the Union republics, only in the Latvian Republic the mechanical growth exceeds the natural one.

(..)

Owing to the fact that recently the reproduction of inhabitants in the Republic turned out to be unfavourable and the birthrate decreased by every year and was the lowest not only among the Union republics, but also was among the lowest ones in the world, and that this situation was determined by the low natural growth and high mechanical growth, and the tense labour balance, it was urgent to study the effect of socio-economic and sanitary living conditions on the birthrate.

To this purpose (in the period from 1966 to 1967), the Latvian branch of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistics Board, in cooperation with the specialists of the health protection of the Latvian SSR carried out the special poll of the women, who had registered their marriage in 1959. From among 23 thousand women of the Republic, who had registered their marriage in 1959, 14 thousand women or 60.9% of their total number were polled.

(..)

The data of the study give evidence to the fact that the bad dwelling conditions, which grew worse by every year because of the mechanical growth of the inhabitants of the Republic from other regions of the state, were one of the main reasons for the voluntary restriction of birthrate, especially among the indigenous population. More than one third of workers and civil servants live in communal flats, but the families, which live in separate flats, have 2 persons per room in the average. Eleven percent of the families of workers and civil servants have 4 sq. m of dwelling space per family member. The newly married couples are in the worst situation (..).

M. Ramāns, Chairman of the State Planning
Commission of the Latvian SSR

[195]

National composition of the inhabitants of the Latvian SSR

	Number of inhabitants as of 1959 census		Number of inhabitants as of 1 Jan 1969 (estimated data)	
	thousand	percent	thousand	percent
Altogether in the Republic				
among them:	2 093	100	2 323	100
Latvians	1 298	62	1 336	57
Russians	556	27	57	29
Other nationalities	39	11	330	14
In Riga				
Altogether	580	100	707	100
Among them:				
Latvians	259	45	308	44
Russians	229	39	290	41
Other nationalities	92	16	109	15

N o t e: inhabitants themselves determine the nationality during the census, but parents determine the nationality of their under age children. The nationality of children, who were born after the census, is determined according to the nationality of the mother, therefore these data may differ from the data of the census.

[196]

Excerpts from the report of the Central Statistics Board of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR on the preliminary data of the 1970 All-Union census in the Latvian SSR

SECRET

(..)

Between two censuses the proportion of the people of Latvian nationality in the total growth of inhabitants comprises about 10 percent, but, starting with 1967, it doesn't exceed 5 percent. To a great extent it can be explained by interrepublic migration processes, as well as by the age structure of the Latvian inhabitants, i.e., with the great proportion of the aged people. If the natural movement of inhabitants maintains the present tendencies, in 1972 or 1973 the decrease of Latvian inhabitants on the account of the natural movement will be observed for the first time in the post-war period.

(..)

Under the conditions of the Latvian SSR, having utterly low natural growth, the number of inhabitants increases mainly on the account of the mechanical movement. For instance, in the period from 1959 to 1969, the number of the inhabitants of the Republic increased by 157 thousand people on the account of the mechanical growth that comprised 58 percent of the total growth. Yet because of the fact that mainly the people of working age arrive in the Republic (men from the age of 16 to 59 and women from 16 to 54) and mainly men, the sex and age structure of inhabitants improves on the account of the mechanical growth and the labour balance is complemented (..).

E. Āboliņš
Chairman of the Central
Statistics Board of the
Latvian SSR

[197]

Excerpts from the report of J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL – on the national composition in the general activities of the Party, Soviet and economic bodies – at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL, 22–23 June 1953

(..)

The majority of the personnel of many Party, Soviet, economic and other bodies do not know the Latvian language, local conditions, traditions of the inhabitants, social life, culture (..).

Among the deputies of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and senior officials, Latvian are only 44%. From 74 ministers and their deputies only 41 persons are of the Latvian nationality. Among the chairmen, deputies chairmen and heads of departments of the Executive Committees Latvians are only 59%.

(..)

The composition of the business personnel is especially dissatisfactory. We take too little interest in the national composition of this personnel, although among the directors and chief engineers of factories the number of Latvians does not exceed 22.5%, among the directors of the state farms – 12%, their deputies – 9%, directors of Machine and Tractor Stations – 45% and among the heads of the Political Departments of the MTS – 39% (..). From 56 representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Supply only 21 persons are of the Latvian nationality, from 72 heads of the Financial Departments of cities and districts – 32, from 306 tax inspectors – 235, from 58 chairmen of the co-operative societies of districts – 27, from 158 chairmen of the rural co-operative societies only 105 persons are of the Latvian nationality (..).

The Party organization of the Republic has 29.2% of Latvians, among them in Riga – 20.4% and Jelgava – 21%.

(..)

In many enterprises and kolkhozs the political work is not carried out in the Latvian language.

Let's take, for instance, Riga. How the referent group of the Party Committee of the city is composed? There are 98 persons in this group, but only 11 of them make reports in Latvian. There are 572 specialists at the regional committees in Riga, however only 117 of them make reports in Latvian. In the period from January to May this year, 5055 reports have been delivered in Riga. Among them only 1219, i.e., less than one fourth, were in Latvian. That means the propaganda work is carried out mainly in the Russian language.

(..)

[198]

Excerpts from the speech of E. Mūkins, Secretary of the Daugavpils City Committee of the CPL – on the Russification of the eastern regions of Latvia – at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL, 22–23 June 1953

(..)

The situation turned out to be especially unendurable in many districts of Latgale, which were erroneously looked upon as the Russian areas. In many of those districts, very few local inhabitants were appointed to the important positions, or none at all; local employees went to Riga. Owing to the above, in the districts of Latgale, the political work among the inhabitants was and is on a low level. The fact that in the majority of kolkhozs the newcomers, who don't know the language of the local inhabitants, are the chairmen of the kolkhozs, but not the local people, shall be considered as one of the greatest mistakes. This can be singled out as one of the reasons for the backwardness of the kolkhozs of Latgale.

(..)

One shall admit that there were people in the Republic who criticized the distortion of the national policy. Yet we didn't listen to them. Just on the contrary, the attitude towards such an opinion was rather ill-disposed, it was qualified as the expression of the bourgeois nationalism.

I will mention an example. In one of the Plenums of the Central Committee of the CPL, I think it was in 1948, comrade Ozoliņš, being the editor of the newspaper "Cīņa" then, pointed out that the Party Committees of Aizpute and Lenin Region (of the city of Riga) had done it wrong by organizing all propaganda work in the Russian language. He expressed an idea that the Party and Soviet officials should know the local language, but those, who didn't know this language, should learn it. However, the correct idea didn't find the relevant support and it was condemned(..).

(..)

[199]

Excerpts from the speech of J. Avotiņš, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPL – on the ignoring of the Latvian language – at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL of 22–23 June 1953

(..) In choosing the personnel correctly according to their political and professional qualities, we often ignore the national aspect or that of the language, as if the national peculiarities were liquidated together with the liquidation of classes. That was how it turned out that there was no difference whether an institution was headed by the people, who knew the language of local inhabitants or didn't know it. Besides if we take into consideration also the fact that we were afraid to be called nationalists if we appointed Latvians to all leading positions, it becomes clear why so many positions are taken by the comrades, who don't know the Latvian language, traditions and way of life of the Latvian people. The same explains also the fact why in all our institutions the office work was carried out in the Russian, but not in the Latvian language.

That was in the same hall when it was pointed out (also from the side of comrade Kalnbērziņš) that it was necessary to stop discussing the necessity to carry out the political work among Latvian workers in the Latvian language and that in many enterprises of Riga and kolkhozs it was not done so. Comrade Kalnbērziņš, too, undoubtedly feared that a politically immature communist would call him a nationalist if he supported such ideas. But propagandists made of it a conclusion that it wasn't necessary to discuss the questions of language in the future, that one had to be satisfied with the situation as it was. Now it's obvious that such an approach was wrong.

(..) Ignorance in regard to the Latvian language was so great that during the recent session of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies even Latvians, who knew their mother tongue well, delivered speeches in Russian (..). Even the decision of the session wasn't read by comrade Straujums in Latvian, although he knew it well.

Recently the ceremonial meetings weren't also held in Latvian, although the reports were delivered by our honourable comrades Jānis Ostrovs, Kārlis Ozoliņš and Arvīds Pelše.

(..)

[200]
Excerpts from the speech of J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia – on "mistakes" in the realization of the national policy – at the closed Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL, 7–8 July 1959

(..)

(..) The most serious mistake in the work with personnel, the violation of the Leninist principle of the work with personnel has manifested itself in the condition that several leaders of the Party, Soviet and economic bodies, when promoting the leading officials, don't base on their professional and political qualities, but first of all on the national principle.

In the decision of 30 November 1956 of the Riga City Committee of the Party, which was supported by comrade Berklavs, when he was the First Secretary of the City Committee of the Party, it was expressly pointed out that in taking on the staff, their knowledge of the Latvian and Russian language had to be considered together with the professional and political qualities. It is the rough distortion of the Leninist principle of choosing the personnel, actually its replacement by an invented new principle – by the selection according to the national principle.

(..)

Lenin's directions that the voluntary principle has to be strictly observed when mastering the Latvian and Russian language, have been roughly violated, too. In this respect we started to administer by categorically asking to learn languages, especially the Latvian language. We even started to fix concrete terms. So in the above decision of the Riga City Committee of the Party, there was a requirement for the staff to master the Latvian and Russian language within 2 years. In accordance with the decision, the heads of the enterprises and organizations were ordered to consider whether it was possible to employ persons, who had not mastered languages in the fixed term. Thus the employees of different nationalities could be put in unequal situation, since the majority of Latvians residing in Riga and other cities of the Republic, know Russian long ago, but the employees, who had come to Latvia from other republics, had to study the second language. In such a way the decision of the Riga City Committee of the Party was actually turned to the pushing out of the non-Latvian personnel under the pretext that they didn't know the language of the indigenous population.

(..)

There were attempts to turn the Party organization off the right Leninist way and to establish national isolation and seclusion in our country. For instance, comrade Berklavs, the member of the Bureau of the Central Committee, when the seven-year

plan was discussed at the joint meeting of the Bureau of the CC and the Council of Ministers in October last year, openly opposed the general Party line to develop heavy industry and persistently asked not to expand the Railway Carriage Plant and Diesel Plant and not to increase their output. What was the motivation of his objections? The only proof he gave was that recently the number of population in the Republic had increased by 450 000 on the account of the workers, who had arrived from other places, and that the construction and expansion of plants would demand further import of labour (..).

(..)

Also several other officials proposed different arguments concerning the fact that it was not useful to develop definite branches of industry. Comrade Reimanis – literary co-worker of the newspapers *"Padomju Jaunatne"*, expressed his opinion in the most open nationalistic spirit. In his letter, sent to the newspaper *"Pravda"*, it was said: "Some estimations of the industrialization of Latvia cause surprise. Several big enterprises are established here, which have everything brought from Russia – equipment, specialists, workers and raw materials. The production is taken back to Russia. One has to ask what is the sense for establishing such factories in the territory of national republics, if only to increase the number of Russian inhabitants, to reach their prevalence, and then one fine day, grounding on this majority, to declare the liquidation of this Union republic."

These are politically harmful, bourgeois nationalistic views (..).

(..)

[201]

Excerpts from the speech of K. Ozoliņš, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR – on the "mistakes" made in the problems of personnel and language – at the closed Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, 7–8 July 1959

(..)

What mistakes have we made? My opinion is that we have made many mistakes, yet the principal mistake is that we misinterpreted the problems of personnel and language. We adopted a resolution and considered that the resolution could solve the problems. The problems of personnel and language cannot be solved this way (..).

The adopted resolutions concerning the languages caused uncertainty and nervousness among Russian comrades, since after the publication of the resolutions, Russian comrades felt that they should leave the Republic. Did we have any rights to create such a nervousness and uncertainty among Russian comrades? Certainly we did not have such rights (..).

(..)

[202]

Excerpts from the report of A. Voss, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, on the expansion of the teaching of Russian at the conference "The Development of National Relations under the Conditions of Developed Socialism", 29–30 June 1982

(..)

In our Republic, the majority of workers' collectives are multinational collectives. The composition of comprehensive, professional technical schools and institutions of higher education is usually multinational. Millions of people change their places of residence every year and often they cross the borders of Union and Autonomous republics. And everywhere there appears a common problem for everybody – the problem of human contacts. But under the conditions of our multinational country, the knowledge of Russian undoubtedly considerably helps to widen these contacts.

(..)

Everywhere people very much strive for mastering the Russian language, and this striving manifests itself more and more widely. Therefore the Party organizations and Soviet bodies constantly have to see to it that all conditions are created to satisfy the wish, which in our country is caused by the objective logic of the building of communism.

(..)

CHAPTER 11

Communist power and the Church

After 17 June 1940, the civil servants, appointed by the administrative apparatus of the occupying country – the USSR, gradually started to restrict the activities of religious denominations. In the Soviet Union the Church was considered the "remnant of the past", therefore in Latvia the new power started the liquidation of the so-called differences between the old and new republics. Documents give evidence of the active anti-religious propaganda during this period. In 1940–1941 several churches were closed, but this phenomenon wasn't of mass character. The implementation of measures turned against the Church, which were planned by many Soviet officials, was interrupted by the war [203, 204].

In the middle of the 40s, when the Soviet occupation regime renewed control over the territory of Latvia, Stalin's policy against the Church had become more tolerant, particularly in regard to the Russian Orthodox Church [211, 212]. Showy anti-religious propaganda could not be observed in the press – to a certain extent that was determined by the considerations of foreign policy. However, the liberalism did not affect the Churches, which resisted to the measures of the occupation institutions and, e. g., refused to call the national partisans to stop resisting and legalize themselves. [205, 206]. Chekists arrested the parsons of disobedient parishes and succeeded in appointing people, loyal to the Soviet power, to important positions, as well as recruited agents to ensure complete control over the Church.

In the 40s, special measures were taken against the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, the members of parishes of which for the most part were Latvians [209, 210]. Numerically smaller religious denominations were joined to Lutherans and Baptists (Herrnhuters, Methodists, Pentecostalists, etc.). The aim of the measure was to decrease the number of congregations, simultaneously making the bigger denominations responsible for the members of the added congregations [207, 208].

In the late 40s, the situation of all religious denominations became worse in the territory of the USSR. In Latvia, group preparation of young people for confirmation was forbidden in 1949.

The negative attitude of the authorities towards the Church continued also in the 50s [213]. In 1953, during the struggles among the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, a decision was taken, which anticipated to strengthen anti-religious propaganda. Yet the announced measures weren't lasting, since already in late 1954, the Central Committee of the CPSU turned against the exaggerations of the anti-religious struggle. It resulted in more active work of congre-

gations, taking into consideration also the general liberalization of the regime, although the authorities put obstacles in its way [214, 215, 216]. In the second half of the 50s, the policy of Soviet power against the religion again became less tolerant.

The measures, which the representatives of the occupation power put into practice in the early 60s, can be viewed only as a clear opposition against the Church and the persecution of people because of their religious conviction [217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223]. Mass closing of Lutheran and Orthodox churches took place in Latvia, several clergymen were arrested.

In the middle of the 60s, after the dismissal of N. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the anti-religious activity weakened [224, 225], although the officials quite often visited churches and controlled the correspondence of the work of congregations to the legislation of the USSR.

In the period, when L. Brezhnev was the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU – during the so-called time of stagnation, the authorities didn't oppose the Church openly. Starting from the 70s, several well-known figures of culture spread the idea that churches, as the monuments of architecture and art, should be protected against damaging, since the closed buildings of the cult were often left without supervision or adapted to operational needs as ware-houses. During this period, the higher officials of the Churches were mostly obedient executors of the instructions given by the authorities [226], and that weakened their prestige among the people. In the 80s, with the liberalization of the home policy, informal groups were organized within congregations, which were in opposition to the official leadership of the Church [227, 228, 229, 230, 231]; later they succeeded in changing the higher leadership, loyal to the Soviet regime.

[203–204] Attitude towards the Church in the first year of occupation

[203]

Excerpt from the minutes of the first conference of the Liepāja city organization of the C(B)PL, 8 December 1940

8 December 1940

(..)

Comrade Spure. (..) On the black coats[1]. A comrade appeared asking to use reprisals against the Church and the black coats. It is wrong. Too early. The comrade hasn't thought it over properly. The beating of black coats, breaking of crosses and the use of open pressure against the Church – these measures may be in favour of the enemy. One needs to carry out political preparatory work – by using administrative means the situation will only get worse. It is necessary to act cautiously, each question has to be thought over thoroughly. (..)

[1] Clergymen (contemptuosly).

[204]

Excerpts from the minutes of the meeting of the secretaries and Party organizers of the Liepāja District primary organizations of the C(B)PL, 17 June 1941

17 June 1941

(..)

I.

Accomplished work

(Comrade Vrubļevskis reports)

First of all the work is meant here that has been carried out during these days – the cleansing [among] undesirable elements (citizens, who didn't want to obey the Soviet power). They had a conviction that the Soviet power was afraid of them, and they started to ignore the directions of our government and organized illegal organizations. That was why the government issued a special decree to deport all hostile elements to other republics.

II.

Cleansing of the Soviet apparatus

(..)

(Comrade Vrubļevskis reports)

The accomplished work is also accompanied by the second problem. That was the first stage of the class struggle. We made the first step [in the struggle] with our internal enemy only now. We will have to work much, in order to purge our republic. (..)

Questions

(..)

Comrade Bražis – The parson of Embūte carries out open propaganda, the secretary does it, too, yet they are not taken.

Comrade Vrubļevskis answers the questions.

Referring to the question that some were taken inappropriately, I can say that there were directions from the C[entral] Committee to take commanders, officers, merchants, former big houseowners and also the persons against whom there were concrete compromising materials. One had to avoid taking parsons for the time being. (..)

[205]

Report of a KGB agent, dated 14 May 1945, concerning the disposition of K. Lāceklis, Bishop of the Baptist congregations of Latvia

(..)

For instance, in the report of 14 May [19]45, agent "Gordeyev" reported about the public address of Lāceklis:

"(..) We all agree that we have to join the All-Union Union of Evangelical Christians and Baptists. Yet there is a question, what should this joining be like, since for 80 years we had our own independent union, and it is hard for us to lose it. During the Tsarist period we were also under the common authority with Russia, yet we had our own union, the Latvian one. We wish to have our own conferences and congresses held in our native tongue, as it has always been, and don't wish that all questions are decided individually through the representatives of the All-Union Union of Evangelical Christians and Baptists. We, Latvians, are old fighters for freedom. (..) What shall we do with Russian magazines and literature, which will be sent to us from Moscow, who of us can read in Russian? We wish to have our own publishing house that we always had... We ask our brothers, the representatives of the All-Union Union of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, isn't it possible to leave everything in the old way?"

(..)

[206]

Report of V. Šeškens, representative in the Latvian SSR of the Council of Religious Affairs, Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR, on the disposition and activity of K. Irbe, Acting Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, October 1945

Riga, October 1945

On the anti-Soviet disposition and activity of K. IRBE,
Acting Archbishop of the Lutheran Church of Latvia

With the establishment of Soviet power in Latvia in 1944, Irbe has chosen the old leit-motif for his activity – the worse, the better, and keeps to it constantly, and even doesn't always conceal it.

I have never received a concrete complaint from Irbe concerning the misbehaviour of the authorities in relation to churches, the premises of congregations or the oppression of the servants of the cult.

When I asked him openly about the reasons of the "well-being" in his eparchy[1], he answered that he didn't know it was possible to make complaints against Soviet power to the power itself, and he didn't believe that one could expect any results of the lodged complaints.

Soon after that conversation, there was a phone call from the Executive Committee of Stalin's District of Riga that the parson of the Estonian Lutheran congregation had visited them and accused the Red Army unit, residing in Citadeles Street, of having befouled it, torn the icon, littered the premises, broken glass, disentombed the clergymen buried in the altar part, thrown about their bones, obviously robbing them first, etc. In order to check the application, the Executive Committee formed a Commission, but I called the military prosecutor of the garrison, who delegated a representative to the Commission. During the field examination, the claim of the parson didn't prove true and it was established that it was the work of Germans and the result of the negligence of the keeper of the church. When I voiced a protest to Irbe in connection with the insinuations of his clergy, he declared that he didn't believe the statement of the Commission, as it wasn't written there that Germans did it and not the Red Army.

No more complaints have been received from him.

When I recently asked Irbe, why the registration of his congregations was so slow, as well as the election of the executive bodies [of the congregations], he answered me

[1] The area under the authority of the Bishop. The term, related to the Orthodox Church, is often used in the report.

openly: "People are afraid to do something, since the terror rules everywhere; when it's over, everything will get settled." To my surprised question, what terror he meant, he replied: "Why, everybody knows that both inhabitants and clergymen are arrested everywhere, that's why they are afraid." When I said that it was only a mere instigation, he shrugged his shoulders – "That's true, there is nothing to keep secret."

Last month I had a discussion with Irbe concerning the epistle to the clergy and secular [people], as well as the epistles of other denominations.

Irbe categorically refused [to sign it] and declared that he didn't believe the promises made by Soviet bodies concerning the immunity of the persons, who had come out of the forest and considered the announcing of such an epistle impossible, until the government didn't publish a decree on the amnesty of all prisoners, starting from 1940.

"Give back all our martyrs whom you took away in 1940–1941, then we will believe you."

To the remark that it meant that he considered the fact that bandits and their supporters were in the forest normal, Irbe answered "Nothing doing, the Church doesn't wish to interfere with the politics and it won't do it."

Several Lutheran congregations don't wish to accept parsons, appointed by Irbe (Sigulda, Ikšķile), who have returned from Kurzeme, saying – let them stay with the Germans. Irbe himself came to persuade the members of the congregations, informing them that their refusal to accept the new parsons would bring the Lutheran Church to liquidation in Latvia.

Basically the activity of Irbe is hostile towards the existing order and it seeks to unite the anti-Soviet layers of clergy for the struggle against the Soviet power under the banner of the Lutheran Church.

Šeškens, Representative in the Latvian SSR

[207]

Letter of Y. Chadayev, Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 20 December 1947, to V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, concerning the congregations of Herrnhuters in the Latvian SSR

SECRET

No. s - 12749 20 December 1947

To comrade V. LĀCIS,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

(..)

I am applying to you with a request to inform me about your opinion concerning the letter of the Council of the Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers on the procedure for the registration of the Herrnhuters' congregations.

Enclosure: copy of the letter No. 8281 of 12. 12. 1947.[1]

Y. Chadayev, Administrative Director of the CM of the USSR

Notes in the document:

To c. Ostrov. Please, get acquainted, discuss with c. Šeškens and Pelše. I personally agree to the opinion of c. Polansky. Prepare a reply. 24. 12. 47. V. Lācis.

[1] The document is not published.

[208]

Reply of V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, dated 10 January 1948, to Y. Chadayev, Administrative Director of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, concerning the congregations of Herrnhuters in the Latvian SSR

SECRET
10 January 1948

To c. Y. CHADAYEV,
Administrative Director of the CM of the USSR

From 57 congregations of the so-called Herrnhuters, existing in the Latv[ian] SSR, only 9 demand independent registration. Other congregations have actually merged with Lutherans.

[Only] the above 9 congregations categorically refuse to join some other denomination and object to their registration together with the Lutheran Church, which, in their opinion, until the establishment of Soviet power in Latvia, persecuted their congregations and tried to subjugate them.

G. Tūrs, Acting Archbishop of the Ev. Lutheran Church of Sov[iet] Latvia, expressed his opinion that the Luth[eran] Church considered it completely possible that later those congregations join the Ev. Lutheran Church of Latvia.

Taking into account that the present leadership of the Ev. Lutheran Church of Sov[iet] Latvia is inclined towards unconditional co-operation with the Soviet power and its complete compliance to the effective Soviet legislation, one may consider that this statement is sufficiently authoritative and to a certain extent motivated.

(..)

At the present moment there is no sense to register the Herrnhuters as an independent church in the Latvian SSR, since only 9 congregations demand the registration. Yet it is a little untimely to liquidate these congregations because of the fact that they have refused to get registered as the branches of the Lutheran Church, since they will continue their activity, by becoming illegal, perhaps even under more favourable conditions as the denomination, persecuted by the authorities.

As the question, concerning their registration together with the Ev. Lutheran Church, is raised concretely enough now, such measures will be taken as the visits of the representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs to the places, activation of the clergy of the Ev. Lutheran Church in this direction, relevant influencing of the leaders of Herrnhuters, etc.

In the nearest future, the set of these measures will give a possibility to decide the question concerning the character and course of the further activity, in order to liquidate it as an independent church in a peaceful manner.

V. Lācis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[209]

Excerpt from the report of V. Šeškens, representative of the Council of Religious Affairs in the Latvian SSR, Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR, dated 13 June 1945, to I. Poliansky, Chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs, Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR, on the situation in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia

SECRET
13 June 1945

To comrade I. POLIANSKY,
Chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs,
Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR

(..)

One has to conclude that if the old traditions of the Luth. clergy are not broken radically, the Lutheran Church cannot continue existing in the future. Taking into account such an important fact as the absence of many parsons, saying nothing of their shaken reputation, if the Synod of the Latvian Lutheran Church is convened, the secular persons will form the majority of it, and it will be easier to come to terms with them. Sooner or later it will be necessary to convene it, since regardless of the fact that the Latvian Lutherans don't stand out for particular devoutness, we cannot liquidate the Lutheran Church. Their number doesn't allow it – according to the official statistics of 1935, there were 1 075 641 Lutherans in Latvia, i.e. 55.14% of the population.

At the present moment I make use of certain Vaskis, a fanatic of the social religion, the declaration of whom [produced by whom] I sent to you earlier. He, without suspecting it himself, finds out the sentiments of the clergy for me to choose the most active members who will establish order in the Luth[eran] Church.

I had a discussion with some potential activists by asking questions indirectly, and I think that an initiative group can be formed of the parsons and secular persons that will sharpen the necessary questions and ask to convene the Synod, in order to do away with the present Central Board of the Church and elect a new Archbishop. If the sufficient number of signatures are gathered under the declaration of the initiative group, which is being worked out now, and it [is supported] even by full congregations, it would be possible to convene the enlarged meeting of the group, where the Organizing Committee for the convention of the Synod and the working

out of its resolutions and decisions is elected. In order to avoid untimely dismissal of the Central Board and not to interfere with its activities, the most loyal member of the Central Board has to be elected in the Committee. The declaration of the initiative group will expressly point out that [taking into account that] the leadership of the Luth[eran] Church has brought it to the decay, hasn't observed the canon law, that the pro-fascist policy of its leadership has brought to many victims among believers, the present Central Board of the Church shall be considered (..) unlawful and incompetent to get rid of the German influence for ever, to liquidate the consequences of the Hitlerite propaganda, to start educating the religious inhabitants in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, etc.

During the Synod the question has to be raised about the renaming the Luth[eran] Church from the Evangelical Lutheran into the Evangelical Christian one as Luther himself had wanted it during his life-time. Hence the further influence of Germans would be stopped. In the more distant future a question may be raised about the formation of a union with the Orthodox Church, likewise the union of the Lutheran and Anglican Church that existed some time ago. The services shall gradually take over separate Orthodox rituals and manners of serving.

If we succeed in creating the good Central Board of the Church, the prospects will be good, since Lutherans sometimes are fond of different innovations. The many different streams, which are in the contemporary Lutheran Church and which are treated not only tolerantly, but even with interest, give proof to the above.

There remains the last and the most difficult for me question – the candidature of the next Archbishop. For the time being we haven't got a concrete person. However, if the question is raised about the democratization of the leadership of the Church, then at the present moment it is not so easy to make such a nomination. For the time being I study people as far as it is possible for me. Yet I believe that taking into consideration the work of the initiative group and hence the possibility to study people much deeper, such a person has to appear. In any respect, the working programme of the next Central Board of the Church and simultaneously that of the Archbishop, adopted by the Synod, will relevantly restrict it. It won't be purposeful to postpone the question only because of the above reason. In the worst case, if the declaration of the initiative group doesn't give the desirable effect, we as outsiders will be able to take any decision about the fate of the declaration and the initiative group itself. As the situation asks to solve the questions, raised by me, sooner, I very much look forward to your instructions.

Šeškens, Representative in the LSSR

[210]

Excerpts from the report of V. Šeškens, representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs in the Latvian SSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 21 April 1948, to I. Poliansky, Chairman of the Council of the Religious Affairs, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, concerning the convocation of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia

SECRET
[21 April 1948]

To comrade I. POLIANSKY,
Chairman of the Council of the Religious Affairs,
Council of Ministers of the USSR

(..)

The education of Lutheran parsons in the Soviet spirit, carried out during two years, and the promotion of the new most progressive parsons to the leading positions has given results. In all district Synods, where each congregation had delegated 1 parson and 1 secular representative, the Soviet position of the new provisional leadership of the Church was fully accepted, but the planned measures – the convocation of the General Synod, approval of the new Constitution the and election of the Archbishop – received full support.

The General Synod took place in Riga on 14 and 15 March this year, and all 45 delegates participated in it. (..) At the meeting of deans that took place on the opening day of the Synod, Gustavs Tūrs was unanimously nominated, through secret ballot, for the position of the Archbishop. Before the nomination G. Tūrs was the Acting Archbishop. Also at the meeting of the Synod its members unanimously nominated the only candidate – G. Tūrs. During the election Tūrs was **unanimously** elected the Archbishop.

(..)

Šeškens, Representative in the Latvian SSR

[211]

Excerpt from the report of A. Sakharov, Representative of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs in the Latvian SSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 10 January 1952, concerning the situation in the Latvian Orthodox congregations

SECRET
10 January 1952

To comrade G. KARPOV,
Chairman of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs,
the Council of Ministers of the USSR

INFORMATIVE REPORT
on the Christmas celebrations in the Russian Orthodox Church[1]
in the Latvian SSR (1951/1952)

The peculiarity of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Latvian SSR is such that it consists of the so-called "Latvian" and "Russian" Orthodox congregations, where the services take place in Latvian and Russian correspondingly. The specificity of the "Latvian" congregations in its turn is that the Russian Orthodox Church has created them by means of religious missions.

At the present moment, 65 "Latvian" and 54 "Russian" congregations are registered in the Latvian SSR. In the cities and large populated areas the bulk of the "Latvian" congregations have already lost their principal specificity – purely Latvian membership of the congregations, since they to a considerable extent have complemented themselves with Russians. The only thing, which has remained in the "Latvian" congregations apart from the Latvian language (in some congregations the services are held in both languages) is the celebration of the church festivities according to the "new style".

(..)

A. Sakharov, Representative of the Council

[1] In the original: Русская православная церковь.

[212]

Excerpt from the report of Sivko, official of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 11 October 1952, to G. Karpov, Chairman of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR, on the interdenominational relations of Latvians

SECRET
11 October 1952

To comrade G. KARPOV,
Chairman of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs, the Council of Ministers of the USSR

REPORT

(..)

In the populated place of Līdēre, after the self-liquidation of the Latvian Orthodox congregation, part of Orthodox Latvians started to go to the church of Liezere and applied to its parson to satisfy their religious needs. Obviously under such conditions the self-liquidation of the Latvian and mixed Orthodox congregations inevitably causes strengthening of the Lutheran Church and, vice versa, if the Lutheran congregations liquidate themselves, the Orthodox Church grows then.

(..)

Sivko, Deputy Head of the Department of Inspectors

[213]

Application of A. Doms and J. Priede, acting members of the Board of the Pokrov Lutheran Congregation, to G. Tūrs, Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, with the request to prevent the restrictions of the freedom of creed of the Latvian Lutherans

[Spring 1952]

To: His Eminence Archbishop of the Evang. Lutheran Church of the Latvian SSR

From: Provisional Board of the Pokrov Ev. Luth. Congregation, Kachanovo District, Pskov Region

Appeal

Already in 1945, the Pokrov Congregation of the Ev. Luth. Church of Kachanovo District, the Pskov Region, has repeatedly applied to the Supreme Council of the Ev. Luth. Church[1] in Riga and the Representative of the Counc[il] of Rel[igious] Affairs of the Latvian SSR Counc[il] of Min[isters] with the request to register our congregation and to issue the corresponding certificate to it. When after all it turned out that the Pokrov Congregation was in the authority of the Representative of the [Religious] Affairs in the Pskov Region, we applied to him. The question was dealt with from 1946 to 1951. The only result was that the congregation received the oral permission to hold services in the church of the congregation in Kachanovo until the official permission was received. The representatives of the Twenty[2], having failed to register the congregation in Pskov, applied to the Council of the Religious Affairs of the USSR Counc[il] of Min[isters]. Also this step has no results so far.

In January 1951, the Executive Committee of Kachanovo District, in the person of comrade Mogutov took away the key of the church from J. Priede, representative of the Provisional Board of the Church. Now the church is turned into the warehouse of the cooperative society of the District.

The above fact was reported to comrade Skvortsov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Pskov Region.

Having received no reply to the application, on 12 June 1951 we handed in the

[1] The Central Board of the Ev. Luth. Church is meant here.

[2] Persons who have signed the agreement about the registration of the congregation, undertaking, on behalf of it, to meet the obligations towards the state.

second application to comrade Skvortsov in order to speed up the reviewing of the previous application.

Despite of the second application, as well as our oral reminding, neither comrade Skvortsov, nor other above institutions replied.

Knowing nothing of the reasons for such an attitude towards the lawful request of the citizens-Lutherans of Kachanovo District, we apply to you as the head of the Latvian Lutherans and ask you to clear up the incomprehensible attitude, as a result of which about 2000 Lutherans, the citizens of the Soviet Union, are deprived of the possibility to carry out their religious ceremonies.

We ask you to inform our representative Augusts Kārlis' son Doms, residing in Mikhaleva village of Kachanovo District, the Pskov Region, about the results of the clarification. Please find enclosed herewith our application to the Council of the Religious Affairs in Moscow[1] and we ask you to hand it over personally according to the address, and, if possible, to send us the reply of the Council.

Truly yours,
A. Doms and *J. Priede*

Notes in the document:
For information – Tūrs clears up the question in Moscow. J. Restbergs. 05.05.52.

[1] Not published.

[214]

Excerpts from the report of J. Restbergs, Representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, on the work in the second half of 1956

[January 1957]

INFORMATIVE REPORT

on the work of the Representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, in the second half of 1956

(..)

Section one: The plan of work of the Representative of the Council for the second half of 1956 has been fulfilled completely. The Council of the Religious Affairs and the leadership of the Republic have received reports about the fulfillment of each paragraph.

In the reporting period the Party and Soviet bodies were commissioned to deal with the questions, which resulted from the activity of the religious cults.

Owing to the fact that in the second half of 1956, almost all earlier arrested servants of the cult returned from the places of imprisonment, the leaders of the religious congregations started to interpret the government measures as the change of the policy towards religion in general. That was why the questions were put to the Representative of the Council, the deciding and agreeing of which were in the competence of the leading Party and Soviet bodies of the Republic.

For instance, as in early October this year the leadership of the Order of the Capuchin Monks returned from the places of imprisonment, the leadership of the Catholic Church of Latvia raised a question concerning the re-establishment of the Monastery of Capuchin Monks in Latvia. The question was decided negatively.

The leadership of the Evang. Christians-Baptists raised a question concerning the publication of the Church Calendar for 1957 in 3 thousand copies. It should be marked here that in the post-war period this religious organization has never raised such a question. Therefore it isn't understandable why the necessity to publish the calendar has appeared just now, and therefore the question was decided negatively.

On the initiative of the leaders of the religious congregations the question was raised about the resumption of the work of the religious congregations, which had stopped their activity because of different reasons.

(..)

Never before the leadership of churches and religious congregations has so often asked to give back to the congregations the nationalized and municipalized real estate, which has belonged to them earlier. Besides the number of the requests to build new churches or to finish their construction, interrupted by the Great Patriotic War, has grown.

The second major reason that favours the activity of the cults, is the visits of several leaders of churches to capitalist countries, where they have met the servants of the cult – emigrants, as well as had a possibility to get acquainted with the large-scale activities of the religious cults under capitalism. Gustavs Tūrs, the head of the Ev. Lutheran Church, after his coming back from abroad, tried to introduce some methods of the religious cults, existing in capitalism, in the Ev. Luth. Church of Latvia.

The leadership of the Catholic Church has found new vigour by calling the believers to keep away their children from the communist influence. In some cases the ill-disposed clergy called parents not to send their children to boarding schools, since the children would be taken away from the religious education, carried out by their parents.

(..)

Evangelical Lutherans: The meeting of the groups of parsons, organized by Gustavs Tūrs after his coming back from the USA in June 1956, are the bright manifestation of the activity. One of them took place in Riga on 13 July. This meeting was attended by 20–35 parsons, who serve in the congregations of Riga and its vicinity and reside in Riga. The aim of the meeting – the report of Tūrs on his visit to the USA.

The main idea of Tūrs' meeting-report was that we should work as Americans now.

(..)

There have also been attempts to revive the work of the Evang. Lutheran churches by including some songs in the repertoire of their choirs, which are performed by the national and amateur choirs. Often these songs can be heard on the radio.

During the service, conducted by Archbishop Gustavs Tūrs, in the New Gertrude's Church in Riga on 4 November 1956, the choir performed the works of the Latvian composer A. Jurjāns, his cantata "Tēvzemei" (To the Native Land) and his other songs. The leading artist of the Opera and Ballet Theatre of the Latvian SSR Žermēna Heine-Vāgnere took part in the performance of the above cantata. As a result it wasn't a service, but the concert of partly the church and partly secular music. The concerts of the above kind were planned to be held in the Domus and other churches. Due to our interference, the concerts in churches were stopped.

Taking into consideration the fact that on 18 November the bourgeois Latvia celebrated the national holiday in connection with the declaration of the bourgeois

Latvia, Tūrs issued a direction to announce that day as the Day of Mourning in 1956, to organize services in all churches with choirs and "the wreaths of souls". The measures were taken, recommending to categorically forbid the marking of 18 November as the Day of Mourning. As we could observe, the services proceeded in their normal way in the churches of Riga that day.

In Valdemārpils, Talsi District, parson Krūmiņš usually invited a brass band to play in the spire of the church during the church celebrations, in order to gather the greater number of worshippers. The Archbishop is informed of the above and it was recommended to him to warn the parson about the inadmissibility of such an action.

(..)

Section seven: In late October 1956, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia reviewed the question concerning the measures to improve the work of scientific atheism in the Republic, pointing out that the Representatives[1] were not in sufficiently good contact with the local bodies of the Party and that such a situation negatively affected the struggle against the religious prejudices of inhabitants.

The Central Committee of the CP of Latvia asked the Representatives to intensify control over the servants of the church and to prevent their illegal actions. In the first half of this year, we shall develop our work according to the above decisions.

Alongside with the tasks, given to us by the Council of the Religious Affairs, we shall draw more attention to the activity of the servants of the cult, who have returned from the places of imprisonment.

Taking into account the more active work of the clergymen of the main religious congregations, the measures have to be taken in order to restrict their activity in accordance with the present law.

J. Restbergs
Representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs,
Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[1] The Representative of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs and the Representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs are meant here.

[215]

Excerpt from the decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR "On the Violations of the Statute of the Religious Cults", dated 19 December 1956

SECRET

Riga 19 December 1956

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE LATVIAN SSR

DECISION No. 617–87S

On the Violations of the Statute of the Religious Cults

(..)

The Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies shall be commissioned:

a) to prevent building of churches without the relevant permission of the State Committee of the Matters of Building and Architecture, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR.

Building of new churches, using the labour of believers and their resources, shall be allowed only in individual cases with the permission of the Representatives of the Council of Religious Affairs and the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs.

(..)

M. Plūdonis, Deputy Chairman,
Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

J. Kacens, Administrative Director,
Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[216]

Excerpt from the report of J. Restbergs, Representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, dated 12 July 1958, to E. Berklavs, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, concerning the situation in the Lutheran Church of Lestene

[12 July 1958]

In accordance with the direction of comrade Berklavs, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Latvia, comrade J. Restbergs, Representative in the Latvian SSR of the Council of the Affairs of Religion[1] at the USSR Council of Ministers, together with comrade L. Plauciņš, chief architect of the Inspection for the Protection of Monuments, the [State] Committee of the Matters of Building and Architecture, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, and comrade Kreilis, senior engineer of the Local Economic Department, the Executive Committee of the Dobele District Soviet of Workers' Deputies, visited the village council of Lestene, Dobele Distr., on 21 June 1958, and together with the secretary of the Lutheran congregation of Lestene Grosšteins inspected the monument of architecture – the Lutheran Church of Lestene.

(..)

During the post-war years, the congregation by its own means has repaired the tile roof cover, by changing all tiles (has cost about 12 000 roubles) and made 12 temporary benches. All window frames have been made, too, and the glass purchased. The representative of the congregation promised to put the windows in by 13 July this year.

(..)

The information was obtained that those were mainly the helpers of the kolkhoz "Komunārs" who demolished the interior of the church.

The results of the inspection, carried out by the commission, were reported also to comrade Suščenko, chairman of the village council of Lestene (indicating it also to the local representative of the militia). He was ordered to do everything possible to prevent the demolition of the above monument of architecture. The State Committee of the [Matters of] Building and Architecture of the Council of Ministers of the Latv[ian] SSR will also give its instructions on the above question to the relevant institutions.

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[1] That's how in text. Correct: Council of the Religious Affairs.

[217]

Excerpt from the report of G. Tūrs, Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, dated 27 August 1959, to J. Restbergs, Representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, concerning submission to the demands of the authorities

27 August 1959

To: Representative in the Latvian SSR of the Council of the Affairs of the Cults of Religion[1] by the Council of Ministers of the USSR

As I personally have informed you already earlier, taking into consideration your instructions I didn't attend the peace services and the anniversary, as well as the confirmation of the Latvian Lutherans in Biržai – Lithuanian SSR, on 23 August this year, I sent only a relevant telegram.

On 23 August I didn't go also to the anniversary of the Church in Mērsrags, taking into account your information that fishermen's festivity took place there that day, where the presence of Vilis Lācis, the Chairman of the Government of our Republic, was expected. In order to support the fishermen's festivity, I didn't attend the anniversary celebrations of the church of Mērsrags. It was postponed to 20 September, and I informed the Executive Committee of Mērsrags and the Council of the Church about it by wire. On the same day I attended and conducted the planned services in Engure and Dzirciems, which are in Tukums District, but not in Talsi District. During the services I recalled also the victims of Hiroshima nuclear death in accordance with the decision of the Prague Christian Peace Conference. On Sunday, 30 August, I will go to Nereta, Elkšņi and Aknīste, where I will also recall the victims of Hiroshima nuclear death.

(..)

G. Tūrs, Archbishop, President of the Central Board of the Church

Notes in the document:

G. Tūrs is admonished to go nowhere until the harvesting period is over. Restbergs. 31.08.59.

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[1] That's how in text. Correct: Council of the Religious Affairs.

[218]

Excerpt from the report of P. Pizāns, Representative in the Latvian SSR of the Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 13 June 1960, to I. Veselov, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, on the behaviour in relation to the Church

13 June 1960

To comrade VESELOV,
Head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of Latvia

(..)

Usually the bodies of the Party and Soviets do not answer the different inquiries of congregations in writing, since, according to the effective legislation, the congregations have no rights of a legal entity. Therefore it would be desirable that the official of the Executive Committee or Party Committee of Valmiera District calls Nesaule, the chairman of the Council of the Congregation of Sīmanis Church of Valmiera, and explains to him that the facts of the complaint about the interference with the internal affairs of the church are exaggerated. Referring to ill-considered expressions used for the characterization of parsons – the editorial board [of the newspaper of the district "Liesma"] is instructed to prevent such things in the future.

P. Pizāns, Representative in the Latvian SSR,
Council of the Religious Affairs

[219]

Excerpts from the report and minutes of the election meeting of the primary organization of the Party of the Staff of the Representative of KGB in the city of Daugavpils, 23 June 1961

23 June 1961

(..)

Minutes No. 1

(..)

Chalinin. (..) I organized the work with clergymen and the servants of the church so as to discover the contacts of the clergy with foreign centres and to infiltrate our agency within them, as well as to compromise the servants of the church in the eyes of believers, turning them away from the church. Something has already been done in this field. On the initiative of comrade Nefedov important work has been done in order to close the church of Naujene. Roman Catholic priests Keišs, J. Lapkovskis and Jonikāns have been compromised that has resulted in the loss of their authority among the believers. Especially it regards the last person of the above.

(..)

Comrade Prihodjko has proposed the idea and takes measures to close the Andzeļi Church. Analogous measures have been taken in Krāslava [District] and, in relation to the Lutheran church, Daugavpils District.

(..)

I. Ivansons, Chairman of the meeting

Chalinin, Secretary

[220]

Excerpts from the reference of P. Liepa, Representative in the Latvian SSR of the Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 28 November 1962, on the arbitrariness of the local authorities in relation to the religious congregations

28 December 1962

Reference
On several facts of administering in 1962

(..)

Recently the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies of the districts of Valmiera, Talsi, Limbaži, Valka, Aizpute, Ludza and others, as well as of the city of Liepāja, took decisions concerning taking away of churches from several active religious congregations without prior agreeing it with the Representatives of the Councils[1]. (..)

In the districts of Krāslava, Kuldīga, Viļāni and some others, instead of organizing the public remembrance days of the deceased, they forbid the religious congregations to organize the Remembrance Day of the Deceased, replacing it by the new traditions. All institutions receive complaints because of this reason.

The Financial Departments of several districts have increased the income tax for the servants of the cult too much.

(..)

(P. Liepa) Representative in the Latvian SSR,
Council of the Religious Affairs,
Council of Ministers of the USSR

[1] The Representative of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs and the Representative of the Council of the Religious Affairs is meant here.

[221]

Excerpts from the letter of the leadership of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, dated 27 March 1963, to Y. Rubenis, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, on the tax policy of the state in relation to the Church

27 March 1963

To: Esteemed comrade RUBENIS,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

(..)

The insurance (..) has been increased considerably this year; in many churches 3–5, in several – 7–10 and even 16 times in comparison with 1962 and previous years. (..) The closing of churches, especially if it covers larger areas, as it may happen in the countryside (there have already been signals about it, some civil servants even threaten congregations with it), isn't desirable neither from the point of view of the Church, nor the State. It may bring several Lutherans under the influence of sectarians and make them illegal, since the village councils, which have closed several churches already earlier, don't allow Lutheran congregations to hold services in private rented rooms (Birzgale, Strutele, Nīca and Burtnieki). Emigrants and other anti-Soviet elements abroad may use the closing of churches because of the high taxes, for their propaganda thus hampering our work for peace, which the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia has joined, too. Therefore the Central Board of the Church (..) applies to the Council of Ministers and its esteemed Chairman with a request

1) to give directions to the Ministry of Finance of the LSSR, resp. "Gosstrakh"[1], to stop temporarily the realization of the above order until the time, when similar measures are carried out in the whole Soviet Union and Moscow, since we keep to the principle to be like Moscow. (..)

Dr. *Gustavs Tūrs*, Archbishop, President of the Central Board of the Church
Dean *Pēteris Kleperis*, Member of the Presidium – Treasurer
Mag. iur. *Jānis Vegers*, Chairman of the Auditing Commission

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[1] Abbreviation from Russian "Главное управление Государственного страхования" – the institution of insurance, subordinated to the state.

[222]

Decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, dated 21 February 1964, "On Measures to Intensify the Atheistic Education of the Inhabitants of the Republic"

SECRET

21 February [1964]

(..)

On Measures to Intensify the Atheistic Education of the Inhabitants of the Republic

(..)

In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU, dated 2 January 1964, "On Measures to Intensify the Atheistic Education of Inhabitants", the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia decides:

1. To approve "Measures to Intensify the Atheistic Education of the Inhabitants of the Republic"[1], handed in by the Ideological Department of the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia.

2. To recommend the Party Committees of districts and cities, as well as the Party Committees of industrial enterprises to take concrete measures in order to improve the atheistic work considerably according to the above measures.

To ask the Party Committees and ideological institutions of the Republic to inform the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia about the realization of the above measures by 15 June.

A. Pelše, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL

[1] The document is not published.

[223]

Letter of parson E. Spekmanis, dated 28 January 1965, to P. Liepa, Representative in the Latvian SSR, Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR, concerning the liquidation of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation of Snēpele, caused by the policy of the state

28 January 1965

To: Representative in the Latvian SSR, Council of the Relig[ious] Affairs of the Latvian SSR

EXPLANATION

I serve the Ev. Luth. congregation of Snēpele since 1957. The congregation consisted of 200–300 mem[bers]. The number decreased every year, but the Council of the Church, Auditing Commission and the membership of the Twenty carried out their duties scrupulously.

Yet the strong attacks of anti-religious propaganda, started in 1964, considerably changed the situation. According to the members of the congregation, one was made understand that none of the persons, who had contacts with the congregation and cult, would receive pensions.

So there appeared big notches in the membership of the Council and Auditing Commission, as well as of the Twenty and other people do not wish to fill them, since **nobody wishes to get in conflict with the institutions of the State and Party**. At Second Christmas of 1964, on 26 December, after the service, initiated by the chairman of the Council of the Congr[egation], which was attended by about 35 members of the congregation, the members of the Council of the Congreg[ation] and the Auditing Commission, as well as 5 persons of the Twenty came together in the cloak room. The situation of the congregation was discussed there and it was acknowledged that the congregation of Snēpele could not exist because

1) several members of the Twenty had informed the Executive Committee about their secession from the number of the Twenty and there were no new people, who would replace them;

2) the financial condition of the congregation was such that [it] could not ensure payments for the church.

Pars[on] *E. Spekmanis*

[224]

Excerpt from the review of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR, dated 15 March 1965, concerning the application of laws to separate the church from the state and the school from the church, as well as the application of law in relation to the religious cults

15 March 1965

(..)

Pointing out the necessity to eliminate mistakes and violations in the application of law in relation to the religious cults, the meeting recommended the chairmen of the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics to review again the administrative cases and criminal cases, reviewed by courts in 1962–1964 and the ones in which the servants of the cult were called to account. (..)

Council of Criminal Cases,
Supreme Court of the USSR

Department of the Control Over Criminal Cases,
Prosecutor's Office of the USSR

[225]

Report of P. Liepa, Representative in the Latvian SSR, Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 7 March 1968, to V. Kuroyedov, Chairman of the Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR, on the work of the Church

To: comrade V. KUROYEDOV,
Chairman of the Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR

INFORMATIVE REPORT
on 1967

(..) During the first years after the election of Tūrs, he as the head of the Church carried out a certain positive activity by organizing the work of the Church under the new conditions of Soviet reality, by establishing the international relations of the Church, [promoting] its work in the ecumenical movement and the struggle for peace. During this period his relations with the Representative of the Council [of the Religious Affairs] were normal, as [Tūrs] observed Soviet laws, which regulated the religious cults, and followed the recommendations of the Representative of the Council [of the Religious Affairs].

Later, when the Archbishop had already run the Church for quite a long period, evading to convene the Synod, although part of the members of the Central Board [of the Church] had died, he got supporters among the reactionary clergy. When, owing to the international relations of the Church, Archbishop Tūrs became known to the layers of the foreign clergymen, his behaviour changed rapidly. This behaviour manifested itself so that he stopped reckoning with the opinion of other members of the Central Board of the Church, who, it should be underlined here, belonged to the most progressive and most loyal part of the clergy of the Ev. Lutheran Church and reasonably assessed contemporary events and situation, and instead of that started to take the advice of the most reactionary clergymen, and decided the most important questions individually. Sometimes the activity and directions of the Archbishop were just contrary to the decisions made by the Presidium of the Central Board [of the Church].

It should be particularly singled out that recently the Archbishop stopped providing timely and impartial information to the Representative of the [Council of] Religious Affairs about the most important events of the Church. Thereby the earlier existing loyal relations were interrupted and, that was very essential, he didn't listen

to the recommendations of the Representative of the Council [of the Religious Affairs] any more. Just on the contrary, in some cases he agreed to the recommendations in words, but acted just vice versa, thus violating the Soviet legal regulations in the rudest manner.

Apart from Archbishop Tūrs, the following deans are included in the Central Board of the Church: P. Kleperis, V. Ozoliņš and A. Vecmanis. The first two have to be considered as the most loyal ones, who understand the relations between the Church and the state in the right way and who support strict observance of laws in relation to cults. It should be pointed out that all most important questions, relating to the internal work of the Church, were decided and realized with the help of those persons. Kleperis and Ozoliņš enjoy authority and confidence among the best part of the Ev. Lutheran clergy. They have the authority among the clergy of other creeds.

(..)

The Archbishop's relations with the clergy form only part of his negative activities. He actively interferes with the work of religious congregations. There are cases, when the religious congregations voluntarily refuse from using the buildings of the cult and stop their activity (congregations in Zeltiņi, Spāre, etc.). Regardless of the fact that it happened with the knowledge of the Central Board of the Church and the relevant resolutions of the Government of the Republic had already been adopted, the Archbishop sent parsons to the broken up congregations and commissioned them to renew the congregations.

(..)

P. Liepa, Representative of the Council

[226]

Excerpts from the report of I. Fiodorov, manager of the Riga Branch of the All-Union Joint Stock Company "Intourist", dated 10 May 1977, to E. Ratnieks, head of the Department of Foreign Tourism, Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, B. Šteinbriks, head of the KGB Department of the Latvian SSR, on the visit of the church officials of West Berlin in Riga

SECRET
Copy-1
Our ref. 5-s 10 May 1977

To: comrade E. RATNIEKS,
head of the Department of Foreign Tourism,
Council of Ministers of the Latv[ian] SSR
comrade B. ŠTEINBRIKS,
head of the KGB Department, Council of Ministers of the Latv[ian] SSR

INFORMATION
on the work with the tourist group consisting of church officials from West Berlin

The group of church officials consisting of 60 members visited Riga from 22 to 24 March 1977. In West Berlin it was formed by parson Gerdon Wettig (born 1932), who as an individual tourist met the Archbishop of the Lutheran Church Matulis in Riga in October 1976 and carried out the preparatory work to organize the tour.

Parson Wettig has visited the USSR several times, mainly the cities, where there are many churches, as well as Siberia and Central Asia, he speaks Russian well.

In addition to excursions and the visit to the pipe-organ concert, the group of the tourists had a special programme, worked out with the support of the Council of the Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR. The tourists visited services in St.Mark's [Church] and the Church of the Annunciation of Mary, where the Archbishop Leonid of the Orthodox Church of the Latvian SSR addressed them (..).

Archbishop Leonid gave each tourist the photo of the church to remember the visit. Mainly elderly women were in the church, who watched the tourists with curiosity. After the service the latter started to pass out tights, therefore, as soon as it was possible, the guide took the tourists to Gertrude's Church, where they met the representatives of the Orthodox and Lutheran Church. The following persons took

part in the discussion: protopope Vladimir Dubakin, Dep[uty] Archbishop of the Lutheran Church Viktors Ozoliņš and the Prorector of the Theological Courses of the Lutheran Church Roberts Priede.

The tourists asked questions about the situation of the Lutheran Church in the Republic:

– How many believers are there in Latvia?

Answer; they are not registered, but about 400 thousand people.

– How many times a week is it possible to hold services?

Answer: as many as we wish to do it. Usually on Sundays, about 200–300 members of the congregation come together then.

– What resources do you have to maintain the church?

Answer: the donations of the congregations.

– How and where the personnel of the church is trained, do schools carry out religious education of children?

Answer: religious education is not carried out at schools, since the Church is separated from the State (all our schools are managed by the state), [it is carried out] in the religious families at home. If anybody wishes to receive theological education, it can be done at special educational institutions and theological courses.

(..)

Ozoliņš and Dubakin underlined that life changed and the church had changed, but the principal aim remained unchanged – "To benefit people, to struggle for peace in the whole world, not to allow new, the third world war".

The tourists asked the following questions:

– May a parson visit the ill in hospital or at home?

– Why don't the members of the Orthodox Church take part in the singing of songs, don't they know the text [of the songs]?"

One of the tourists, sharing his impressions about the services, concluded that "the congregation is passive, as they only watch and listen".

Parson Wettig asked some questions about the work of the Church of Jesus in Riga, where sermons are delivered in German. V. Ozoliņš said some words about parson Kalniņš, who was the preacher of the church (he was in hospital then). Wettig inquired how often parson Kalniņš went to Kazakhstan to deliver sermons in German and received the answer that once in half a year.

Then tourist Ursula Zumpe (born 1920) spoke and told about the "Days of the Church", which took place once in 2 years in West Berlin since 1949. (..)

(..)

It seems that all "reflection" on the "*Kirchentage*"[1] is nothing else, but the attempts

[1] The Days of the Church (in German).

of the officials of the churches of West Berlin to influence the religious ceremonies in the Republic.

At the end of the 2 hours and 15 minutes long conversation, parson Wettig thanked the clergymen about the organized meeting and said that the tourists had purchased religious literature for their own means and wished to present the books to the officials of our Church (each tourist had in hands 1–2 books of different size).

(..)

I. Fiodorov,
Manager of the Riga Branch of the
All-Union Joint Stock Company "Intourist"

[227]

Excerpt from the report of the KGB agent, dated April 1983, concerning the content of the sermon of parson M. Plāte

April 1983

(..)

Since December 1982, the parson of the Lutheran congregation M. Plāte in his sermons touches upon questions concerning the relations of the church with the state authorities and public organizations. From the rostrum of the church he has several times called the believers to see if there are the representatives of the executive committee and the members of the Young Communist League by their side, who overhear and look for a possibility to abuse the believers. He has urged to drive them out of the church; in a narrower circle of his acquaintances, recommends young people, especially the young parsons, to avoid any contacts with the representatives of the KGB; the young people of the church often discuss the ideas of M. Plāte and some of them start to declare that the Lutheran parsons, who go abroad, are connected with the KGB bodies and fulfil their tasks. (Ag[ent] *"Zenta"* (..)).

[228]
Excerpt from the report of the KGB agent concerning the disposition of priest Y. Rumiantsev, August 1986

August 1986

(..)

Y. Rumiantsev, the priest (hieromunk) of the Bauska congregation, Riga Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, in his conversation with the agent offered him to buy the photocopies and xerocopies of religious and anti-Soviet books, issued abroad; he declared of having an acquaintance of him, who not only took photos, but also bound books; he tried to persuade [the agent] and offered his mediation to get [for him] a deacon's position at the "good" head of a monastery, who works "without the KGB control"; then after a year he would be able to enter the extra-mural courses of Zagorsk Seminary; declared that the servants of the church were taken on staff only with the sanction of the KGB. If the KGB curator agrees, everything will be O.K. both with the Seminary and the work in the church. (Sparinskis, Part 5, Chapter 5, ag[ent] *"Sergei"* (..)).

[229]

Excerpt from the report of the KGB agent concerning the spreading of the religious literature published by "samizdat"[1], 21 March 1987

21 March 1987

(..)

Psalm reader of the Orthodox Church T. Sharmanova gave agent *"Chitatel"* the literature of religious and ideologically harmful content, published by samizdat. (..) During the prophylactic conversation with T. Sharmanova, agent *"Chitatel"* used the tape-recording of the conversation. During the discussion Sharmanova recognized her mistake and promised to use only the issues of the Moscow Patriarchate. (Part 5 Chap[ter] 4. Pokrov., report on the proph[ylaxis] (..)).

[1] Idependent literature, published without the sanction of the regime.

[230]

Excerpt from the report of the KGB agents on processes in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia

(..) Professor of the Seminary R. Feldmanis, the clergyman of the Lutheran church, is negatively disposed towards the existing order, to the agent's mind he prepares soil for "the new type of a church"; in the Lutheran Church, which has almost no middle-aged people, he tries to persuade the believing young people and subjects them to his influence. About 80% of the future teachers of the Seminary come from the congregation of Mežaparks, where Feldmanis is the shepherd of the congregation (where Feldmanis serves), or the people, who are under his influence; has asked the leadership of the Seminary to give him one day a week in order to develop the spiritual life of students; according to P. Grishin (archimandrite Polikarp), has told him that he carries out the thorough selection of students for the Seminary to have no "red ones", but only "honest people who will become good clergymen". Grishin's opinion is that "the right wing" of Lutheran clergymen has a real power, the outcome of any problem, relating to the Lutheran Church, its congregations and members, depends on it. On 27.03.87 has arranged a lecture for students in the Seminary, in which he declared that the Lutheran Church was "rotten" and called "to renew" it (..). (Ag[ent] *"Arnolds"* (..). 03.87, Part 5 Chap[ter] 4 Stabulnieks, ag[ent] *"Mozart"* (..) 03.87, Part 5, Chap[ter]4, Veļičevskis, ag[ent] *"Socrates"* (..) 01.87, Department of the city of Liepāja, Chistilin (..)).

[231]

Excerpt from the report of the KGB agent, dated 24 September 1987, concerning the participation of clergymen in the resistance movement

(..) M. Ludvigs, the member of the movement "Atdzimšana un atjaunošanās" (Rebirth and Revival) of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, A. Zariņš, the object of the DON[1] of the Latvian SSR KGB Department of Alūksne District, L. Doronina, who has been punished for serious state crimes three times, M. Plāte, the object of the DON, and J. Rubenis, the object of the DOP[2] of the Latvian SSR KGB Department of Liepāja, during many meetings tried to create the independent issue "*Auseklis*". During the meetings they repeatedly offered each other, among them also agent "Pols", to become the editor or the member of the editorial board. The following materials have been included in the first issue of the prepared publication "Auseklis": articles on the activity and goals of the group "Helsinki-86"; the [membership] list of the group "Helsinki-86"; the letter of "Helsinki-86" with thanks to 21 senators of the USA; the letter to the newspaper "*Cīņa*" (The Struggle) and "*Padomju Jaunatne*" (The Soviet Youth) on the events of 14 June in Riga; the announcement of the group to the Council of Ministers of the LSSR concerning the arrest of L. Grantiņš in summer this year; the letter of gratitude to Reagan for the announcement in connection with 14 June and 23 August; the appeal of the group to the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the LSSR in connection with 23 August; the appeal of the group to the participants of the Helsinki Conference – the Governments of the USSR and FRG in relation to 23 August 1939; the text of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact with explanations; the war-time conversation of N. Buks (not precisely), the correspondent of the newspaper "Zemgale", with the commissar of Kurzeme Medejs[3] concerning the transformation of the monument, devoted to the liberators of Jelgava; the article by E. Cirvelis (the member of "H-86") on the events of 14 June; the speech of 23 August by J. Rubenis (the clergyman of the Ev. Lutheran Church of Latvia) in the cemetary of Liepāja; the article of Cekuls (not precisely) "Lutheran Church on the Cross-Roads"; the materials of the movement "Rebirth and Revival".

None of the above persons agreed to be the editor of "*Auseklis*", the editorial board was not formed, either. At the same time it was decided to send the application to the Council of Ministers with the request to issue the typewritten magazine "*Auseklis*" with the circulation of 30 copies, which would be independent from the state institutions. The magazine will publish points of view, which are not reflected in the official press. (Part 5 Chapter 3, Rudzītis, ag[ent] "*Pols*", (..)).

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[1] *Дело оперативного наблюдения* in Russian, the case of operative supervision.
[2] *Дело оперативной проверки* in Russian, the case of operative inspection.
[3] That's how in document. Correct: Mēdems.

CHAPTER 12

Communist dictatorship and culture

The development of education and different spheres of culture seemed acceptable and even necessary to the totalitarian communist occupation regime in Latvia, especially after the death of J. Stalin, – provided the development was strictly supervised and the regime could use its fruit in its own interests. Latvia, likewise Lithuania and Estonia, had to become a sort of "a model republic" with relatively higher living standards than in other places of the Soviet Union. That was done to partly mask the fact of occupation and show Western society "the advantages of socialism", as well as to provide comfortable environment for the army officers, functionaries of the Party and state, as well as their family members, when they spent holidays or settled for permanent residence there. The essential part of the comfort was the possibility to use Russian in all spheres of life and to feel like liberators, who had freed the small Baltic nations from the "yoke of capitalists and fascists". It was considered a self-evident fact that each Latvian, Lithuanian or Estonian should be grateful to "the Great Russian nation" for "the brotherly help".

The official propaganda announced free education, realized in the post-war years, to be the especially great "acquisition of workers". Yet it was passed over in silence that the working people themselves actually paid for "the care of Soviet power", since they received low salaries and the surplus value which they produced was appropriated by the totalitarian state. It should be added that already in 1940 the occupation power destroyed the stable and efficient school system of Latvia by transforming the educational work to fit the Stalinist ideology, dominating in the USSR. Since this ideology had gradually transformed itself into Soviet imperialist chauvinism, the number of schools, where the language of instruction was Russian, radically increased in Latvia. The teaching of Russian was intensified in other schools, too. At the same time, the schools with the Lithuanian, Estonian, Polish, Jewish and other languages of instruction were gradually liquidated [232]. In post-war years, the literary language of the Latgalls[1] was not taught at schools any more. Arbitrariness ruled at schools [233], many teachers were persecuted [234][2], but pupils – spied upon [235]. During the first post-war years it happened especially frequently.

Also during the post-war years and the period of post-Stalinism, the purposeful imposing of Russian was continued at schools with the Latvian language of instruc-

[1] The language spoken in he eastern part of Latvia – Latgale.

[2] See also Chapter 3, document 66 and Chapter 7, document 135.

tion. In order to suppress the sense of national identity among Latvian pupils and to create "the united Soviet people" in the future, the development of the so-called mixed schools was facilitated, where the Russian language dominated [237].[1] At the same time, the officers of the USSR army units, stationed in Latvia, and the immigrated Party and state functionaries considered that the Latvian language was a needless embarrassment for their children [236]. Step by step the situation was developed that in many places Latvian children couldn't get education in their language (especially in the eastern part of Latvia), since the schools with the Latvian language of instruction were liquidated there.

During the years of occupation, although schools provided rather large amount of knowledge, the material of the humanitarian subjects was very much deformed to meet the requirements of the ruling ideology. Pupils, who studied at schools with the Russian language of instruction, didn't get any idea about the past, traditions and culture of the Latvian people. They were inoculated with the sense of national superiority.

In the late 40s, the institutions of university education received a heavy blow – the wide-scale "cleansing" of personnel was carried out in the institutions of higher education of Latvia, the university lecturers, the work of whom had always been highly valued by the Latvian nation, were dismissed [238]. The functionaries of the Party impudently interfered with the study process, persecuting any expression of the Latvian national self-respect. They demanded to single out the priority of Russian and Soviet science in all fields and forced the Stalinist dogmas upon lecturers [239]. It happened that even the University rector became the informer of the cheka and denounced his students [240]. The "cleansing" affected also the Academy of Sciences, established after the war [241]. The functionaries of the Party and science, who had lived in the Soviet Union in the 20s and 30s, took very active part in the "cleansing" of personnel at universities and in scientific institutions, as well as in other ideological undertakings. Those people had either partly or completely lost their sense of belonging to the Latvian nation, they were frightened by the experienced reprisals. That was why they served the regime particularly assiduously.

The attitude of occupants towards the Latvian culture is characterized by, e. g., the fact that they sentenced to death Latvian writer Aleksandrs (Jēkabs) Grīns for the patriotic works he wrote during the years of independent Latvia [242], that the sergeants and lance-corporals of cheka tried Milda Brehmane-Štengele, the prima donna of the National Opera House [243], but meanwhile "a liberator" took her flat hastily [244]. Party functionaries, as well as the mediocrities of literature and art forced their rules upon writers and artists during the years of Stalin's tyranny [245], as well as in a more decent manner later [246]. Literature [247], music [248], theatre

[1] See also Chapter 10, document 202.

[249], cinema [250] and other fields of art were subject to censorship[1]. The communist authorities turned against, what they thought, undesirable books especially fiercely – also in this respect they didn't lag behind the national socialists. They destroyed the books [251][2], or put them into special depositories, the so-called special funds, which were available to a very restricted number of readers. Only in Riga in November 1946, about 5 million copies of books were withdrawn from libraries to be destroyed later [252]. But, about 90% of the books, which were received from abroad in November 1958, were put in the special funds, and only 10% of them were allowed to be delivered to the addressees. The functionaries of the regime sought to subdue the Song Festival to their propaganda aims, the participants of the Song Festivals were spied upon [255]. The folklore performances seemed suspicious to them, too [254].

After the death of J. Stalin, the institutions of higher education, scientific research institutes and institutions of culture (clubs of culture, theatres, museums, libraries) could function a little more freely. Yet also in the following years these institutions were considered the "vanguard of the ideological struggle", therefore a number of the propaganda measures were forced upon them [256]. However, also under those conditions the institutions of higher education realized their main task: they prepared sufficiently qualified and intelligent specialists. Many of them gave a considerable contribution to the science, national economy and culture of Latvia. The employees of the institutions of culture, in their turn, found a possibility to sidestep the censorship of the regime (which became especially severe after the defeat of national communists in 1959) and to inspire self-confidence and self-respect of Latvians through exhibitions, theatre performances and concerts, and to speak about the questions, important for the survival of the nation and its future. If the inefficient model, in comparison with that of Western countries, forced by the communist occupation power, doomed the economy of Latvia to more and more greater backwardness, the backwardness was not observed in the sphere of culture. The extraordinary high influence of the authors of the brightest literary works, composers, artists and other representatives of the so-called creative professions in Latvia, gave evidence to the fact that the people understood the importance of culture in the preservation of the national identity. Besides the representatives of creative professions both in their creative work and the official events, organized by the occupation regime, opposed the lies of propaganda, censorial restrictions and persecution of the national traditions of the people [257]. During the years of M. Gorbachev's "*perestroika*" (transformation), when the regime became more liberal, the professional unions of creative people more and more boldly defended the basic interests of the nation, threatened by colonization and Russification [258], rousing wide layers of the inhabitants of Latvia to conscientious political activity.

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[1] Censorship was realized by the institution, which changed its name several times, but usually it was called "Glavlit" – the Central Board of Literature.

[2] See also Chapter 3, document 56.

[232] Transformation of the educational work at schools, carried out by the occupation power

[232]

Excerpts from the report of P. Valeskalns, Deputy People's Commissar of Education of the Latvian SSR, at the meeting of the secretaries of the regional and district committees of the CPL, concerning the transformation of the educational work at schools, August 1940

[August 1940]

(..)

Religious instruction (the course of religion) is dismissed from the syllabus.

At all school levels, starting from the 3rd year of the primary schools, compulsory Russian is introduced and a course of Stalin's Constitution is introduced. There were different suggestions concerning the introduction of the Russian language at schools. One of them was that Russian should be taught only starting with the 5th year. Some teachers pointed out that it was not correct from them pedagogic point of view to start teaching foreign languages earlier. (Voice from the audience: "Did Lieknis say it?") Now it is decided that also in Latvia, likewise in all other republics of the Soviet Union – the Ukraine, Georgia and others, the Russian language would be a compulsory subject already from the 3rd year. In the Soviet Union, the course of Stalin's Constitution is the subject of the 7th year. The All-Union Constitution, supplemented with the Constitution of Latvia will have to be taught at schools of Latvia.

(..)

Abrene [Secondary School] and the 2nd Secondary School of Daugavpils are transformed into schools with the Russian language of instruction because the majority of their pupils are of the Russian nationality. Also several Latvian and mixed schools (also with the Latvian language of instruction) are transformed into schools with the Russian language of instruction. There is a question for discussion here. I have asked Moscow to give instructions concerning this matter, but the answer isn't received yet. The question is as follows: is it necessary to include the compulsory course of Latvian also at schools of other nationalities. The question is not clear for me yet. (Voices: "Not necessary!")

Schools with the Belorussian language of instruction have been organized in Riga and Latgale. In the future it won't be possible to keep schools of other nationalities, which have a small number of pupils – e.g., Estonian schools with 20–30 pupils. It is planned to preserve only such schools of other nationalities, which have a sufficient number of pupils. (..)

[233]

Excerpt from the report of M. Krēsliņa, employee of the Professional Efficiency Institute of Teachers, Ministry of Education of the Latvian SSR, to R. Miķelsons, head of School Board, Ministry of Education of the Latvian SSR, "On the Political Situation and Political Education at the Secondary Schools of Madona and Gulbene, Madona District", May-June 1946

[[May-June 1946]

When visiting the above schools during the spring inspections I found out the facts of anti-Soviet character, which had occurred in this school year.

Still in the previous year several pupils of the Lubāna Secondary School ran away to the forest and took part in anti-Soviet actions there.

During this school year in November 1945 they were tried in Madona, in an open court session and were convicted; some of their parents were convicted, too.

In spring this year 2 pupils of this school were arrested – a boy and a girl of class 8. The director and teachers of the school characterize the arrested pupils as the best ones as to their studies and behaviour. The school knows nothing about the reasons of the arrest.

The teacher of the nature studies Arklons and his wife were also arrested this year. Arklons was released after six days, but his wife – after a month.

These are the facts.

What is the attitude of teachers towards the above facts? – They are completely perplexed and indignant at the attitude of the local functionaries of Soviets and Young Communist League towards the school. Teachers told me about the following facts. Last school year the former Komsomol organizer visited their school in order to recruit pupils for FZO schools[1]. Without the knowledge and permission of the director she went into classes and made a list by force – besides she expressed threats that the pupils, who would take the liberty to disobey her orders, would be deported to Siberia. Just the threats (in teachers' opinion) caused the fleeing of pupils to the forest. The present Komsomol organizer Drozdov has authority neither among teachers nor pupils. He often appears tipsy, is rude and tactless. Once, being drunk, he broke in the flat of a teacher and threatened to shoot her so that she had to escape through the window.

When the school decided to stage the play of the Latvian literary classic Blaumanis

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[1] Школы фабрично-заводского обучения in Russian (the vocational schools of factories and plants).

"The Prodigal Son", Komsomol organizer Drozdov forbade it and offered a play, written by himself. A conflict broke out, the newspaper of the district interfered and the question was decided in favour of Blaumanis.

Hence it's clear, why there isn't and can't be the Komsomol organization at shool, and why there are 38 pioneers (from among 353 pupils).

The officers of the militia behaved in a similar way. Teachers told how the armed officers of the NKVD had arrived at school. Ignoring the director, they went into classrooms during the lessons and checked the political level of pupils. Such a behaviour had a heavy influence upon teachers and pupils. I wish to point out one more fact. During the examination of the Latvian language and literature in form 8, I noticed a schoolgirl, who was about 15–16 years old. She was beautiful. I, being an experienced pedagogue, observed certain too early mental changes in her. Later teachers told me that already starting from March the local security official had called the girl for questioning. They lasted till 2 a.m. The master of the class (with whom the girl is open) thinks that this is how he gives attention to her.

The local Soviet officials openly call teachers fascists. Until recently teachers were checked in their flats at nights. The atmosphere of depression and fear rules among teachers and pupils. When I entered the school and classrooms, I saw fear in the eyes of pupils. I have to admit that I felt both bitterness and pain, and pitty, pitty for the little human beings. (..)

[234]

Report of M. Orlov, Secretary of the Aizpute District Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, A. Dudnikov, Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies of Aizpute District, and B. Turks, head of the Department of People's Education (DPE) of Aizpute District, to F. Titov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, and K. Strazdiņš, Minister of Education of the Latvian SSR, concerning the inspection and "cleansing" of teachers, 13 August 1948

13 August 1948

To: c. TITOV,
secretary in the personnel matters, Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia
c. STRAZDIŅŠ,
Minister of Education of the Latvian SSR

In the administrative district of Aizpute, the inspection and cleansing of personnel is carried out regularly, however, there have remained many *aizsargs*, members of other organizations and assistants of Germans. During 3 years 56 persons were dismissed.

This year the certification commission released only 10 directors of schools from among 23. 6 persons have been selected from among teachers and approved for the position of the director. We lack – 4.

The conflict commission dismissed 8 teachers, who didn't seem politically loyal (*aizsargs*, etc.) and found 9 teachers unfit for the work at Soviet school.

All schools of the administrative district need altogether 210 teachers. At the present moment there are 195. We lack 15 teachers. If 14 more teachers are dismissed, who were *aizsargs*, but are still kept at work, then 29 teachers will be needed to replace them. We still need 4 directors of seven-year schools and the school inspector of the DPE of Aizpute District, who can't be found here.

We apply to you with a request to appoint urgently one school inspector, 4 directors of seven-year schools and at least 15 teachers to Aizpute, and in addition to that, if possible, 29 teachers, who would help to completely clear the schools of alien elements.

Dudnikov, Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee of Aizpute District
Orlov, Secretary, of the Aizpute District Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia
Turks, head of DPE of Aizpute District

[235]

Excerpts from the minutes of the closed meeting of the primary organization of the Party of the staff of the Representative of KGB in Ogre District, 21 January 1957

21 January 1957

(..)

Minutes No. 3

(..)

Listened to:

Communist comrade Ziediņš – on the second issue. He read the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

(..)

Entered into discussion:

Ziediņš (..) A special attention shall be devoted to the work with youth among pupils. There have been nationalistic expressions.

(..)

Reinforcements have to be found from among the pupils of senior classes. Previously it was easier to find the reinforcements. Now people have to be examined and studied carefully to avoid the mistakes of recruiting. (..)

Ziediņš, chairman of the meeting
Mehtyeva, secretary of the meeting

[236]

Letter of major-general F. Voronin, head of the Political Directorate of the Baltic Military District, to the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia concerning the necessity to free the children of officers from learning Latvian and Lithuanian, 20 September 1947

20 September 1947

To: Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik)
Party of the Latvian SSR[1]

This is to ask you to issue the special decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Bolshevik[2] Party of Latvia and the Council of Ministers of the Republic, which will instruct the bodies of people's education to free the school-children of the officers of the Baltic Military District from the compulsory study of the Latvian and Lithuanian language.

The reasons of the above are as follows:

The first. As it is known, the units of the BMD are dislocated in the territory of the Latvian SSR, Lithuanian SSR and Kaliningrad Region of the RSFSR. Official duties often make the officers change their place of residence. Their families, certainly, move with them. Hence, the children of officers cannot study the local national language regularly and well. On the other hand, the compulsory study of the national language reduces the school results of the children of officers, since each time they actually have to start the language studies anew.

The second. Officers are regularly transferred not only within the Baltic Military District, but also to other Military Districts of the USSR Armed Forces, where the Latvian and Lithuanian language lose practical importance and sense for the children of officers.

The third. The families of officers from other Military Districts of the USSR Armed Forces arrive in the Baltic Military District. The children of these officers, who have already studied 6–8 years somewhere at the Volga River, Siberia, etc., haven't, certainly, studied Latvian and Lithuanian there. Yet when they continue their studies at schools of the Latvian SSR and Lithuanian SSR, they are forced to pass exams within the full course of the national language[3]. Hence the school results

[1] That's how in text.
[2] That's how in the document.
[3] The statement isn't true.

become worse and the further studies of the children of officers are made more difficult.

The above conditions cause the necessity to free the children of officers from the compulsory lessons of Latvian and Lithuanian at schools.

It would be more purposeful to set for the children of officers higher demands in mastering the Russian language.

Major-general *Voronin*,
Head of the Political Directorate, Baltic Military District

Notes in the document:

To Legzdiņš. Call the meeting and discuss the question in the Department of Schools of the Central Committee. 22.09.47. Kalnbērziņš.

[237]

Excerpts from the decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL "On the Tasks of the Party Organization of the Republic in Realizing the Decision of the CC of the CPSU "On the Situation of the Educational Work with the Young Ones at Schools of the Latvian SSR", 29 March 1962

29 March 1962

(..) Taking into account the voluntary principle of language studies, the explanatory work shall be strengthened among school-children about the importance of the Russian language studies as the means of international communication and the means of co-operation among all nationalities of the country. (..)

The experience of secondary and boarding schools shall be supported and spread to form the groups, completely on a voluntary basis, in which the instruction takes place both in Latvian and Russian.

(..)

[238]

Excerpts from the report of J. Jurgens, Rector of the Latvian State University (LSU), to the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia about the realized "cleansing" among the personnel, 29 July 1950

29 July 1950

Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

Reference
(on the personnel of the Latvian State University)

As of 1 January 1949, the personnel of the Latvian State University consisted of:

1) professors and lecturers	–	589 persons,
2) auxiliary teaching staff	–	198 persons,
3) administrative business personnel	–	363 persons,
4) students	–	5092 persons.

Persons dismissed as socially alien and unfit for the work at the University:

a) from among Professors and lecturers	–	121 persons,
b) from auxiliary teaching staff	–	74 persons,
c) from administrative business personnel	–	56 persons.
d) from among students	–	866 persons.

I feel certain to say that at the University nobody has dealt with the personnel studies. The proof to the above is the fact that the study department hasn't controlled the work of professors and lecturers, and the only response to the signals of the more progressive students was the fear to do anything that could hurt the "old specialist".

Actually the majority of the persons, who voiced their bourgeois nationalistic views, turned out to be either rather weak specialists or firm fascists.

Organizing regular control over the work of professors and lecturers and examining people, 235 bourgeois nationalists were discovered, who belonged to hostile classes, were hostile to Soviet power and of other character. This number comprised 23% of the whole teaching staff.

The cleansing of the University staff was made difficult firstly by the fact that the majority of the alien elements were very loyal during the lectures, yet they influenced the young ones individually during private conversation and individual tuition. They didn't at all hide their belonging to different anti-Soviet parties and organizations.

Secondly, one couldn't get rid of the bourgeois fascist disease at one stroke. It was necessary to find good Soviet specialists and promote talented and loyal young people.

It is relatively easy to dismiss bourgeois nationalists, yet one first of all had to crash and unmask their ideological views, thus educating students and the bourgeois specialists, who wanted to work with us.

(..)

3. **J. Endzelīns** – head of the Chair of the Latvian Language of the Faculty of Philology, Professor, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the full member of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR, convinced bourgeois nationalist, openly spoke against Soviet linguistics.

4. **Štālbergs** – head of the Chair of Architecture, full member of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR. He educated students in the spirit of formalism and constructionism. Didn't consider it necessary to respond to the repeated criticism in the press and at the meetings.

(..)

The number of the discharged students (during the reporting period), admitted to the University from 1944 to 1948 – 866 persons (17%),

among them:

a) the ones, who have entered the University,
producing forged documents,
concealing criminal record, etc. – 97 pers[ons];

b) of alien classes and hostile elements
(former policemen, members of armed gangs,
active fascists, who had struggled against Soviet power
with arms in their hands, sectarians, etc.) – 207 pers[ons];

c) whose parents were subject to reprisals
by the bodies of Soviet power according to Article 58
of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR – 77 pers[ons];

d) the backward ones – 222 pers[ons];

e) for regular breaches of the discipline
of work and missing lectures – 5 pers[ons];

f) because of the change of the
educational institution – 37 pers[ons];

g) discharged at their own will, yet later it had
turned out that many persons had left the University
fearing that their previous anti-Soviet activity would
be discovered or because
of their social past – 255 pers[ons].

[239]

Excerpt from the confidential report of O. Strods, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL, to Churkin, instructor of the Central Committee of the All-Union C(B)P, "On the Manifestations of the Bourgeois Nationalism in the Latvian SSR and the Struggle against them", April 1951

[April 1951]

(..)

The facts of the bourgeois nationalism were established at the State University, too. For instance, Grase, lecturer of the State University, refuses to transform the teaching of the Latvian language so as it fits the works of comrade Stalin on linguistics, but teaches it according to Endzelīns. Professors Štālbergs and Endzelīns were not unmasked for a very long period.

In his lectures, J. Balsars, reader of the Academy of Agriculture, ignored Soviet equipment, orientated students towards using primitive study methods and remembered the old "good" times, when the Chair had facilities. In the lecture of 29 September 1950, in which he had to expound the theme "The Dynamometer of Acad[emician] V. Goriachkin", Balsars only mentioned that there was such a device. Neither the description of Goriachkin's dynamometer was presented, nor its scheme shown during the lecture, but a foreign dynamometer was demonstrated instead, and the reader said that the latter device had remained from the time of the Academy of Jelgava. Reader Balsars is dismissed from the position of the head of the Chair.

Comrade Karpovics, head of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of the Latvian State Pedagogical Institute, declared and tried "to prove" that in the Latvian republic the comrades, who didn't know the Latvian language, couldn't take the positions, in which they had contacts with people (e.g., shop-assistants). The Bureau of the Party Committee of the City discussed the above fact and gave Karpovics a severe reprimand.

(..)

O. Strods
head of the Propaganda
Department of the CC of
the C(B)P of Latvia

[240]

Excerpt from the report of J. Jurgens, rector of the Latvian State University, to N. Muravyev, Deputy Head of the Department of Culture and Science of the Central Committee of the CPL, concerning the literary circle of students at the LSU

TOP SECRET

To: comrade B. MURAVYEV,
Deputy Head of the Department of Culture and Science,
Central Committee of the CP of Latvia

C o p y: comrade J. VĒVERS,
Chairman of the Committee of State Security (KGB),
Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

It has become known to the leadership of the Latvian State University that there is a thoroughly masked group of senior students at the Faculty of History and Philology. The group spreads decadent spirits among students, practices immoral way of life and urges others to do the same. The group pretend to be a literary circle. The above group deals with discussing the decadent "creative work" of their writers and poets.

(..)

The present information is provided for your knowledge and for taking the relevant measures.

Professor *J. Jurgens*,
Rector

[241]

Excerpt from the report of J. Peive, academician-secretary of the Academy of Sciences (AS) of the Latvian SSR, and J. Vecvagars, secretary of the Bureau of the primary organization of the Party of the Academy of Sciences, "On the Decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, dated 23 May 1950, concerning the work of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR"

[Second half of 1950]

I. Staff

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia commissioned the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences and the Party organization with the task to clear the Academy of Sciences and its institutes of politically alien persons and of the ones, who weren't connected with science; to be braver in promoting young personnel, who were able to advance Soviet science. Already during the work of the Commission of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, which inspected the activity of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR, certain work was carried out to clear the academy of politically alien persons and those, who weren't connected with science.

In order to realize the section of the decision, adopted by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, concerning the personnel, completely and in due time, the Party activists of the academy were asked to help the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences and the directors of the institutes. In order to help the directors of the institutes to study their personnel, the Bureau of the Party organization of the academy attached two communists of the Party activists to each institute, who assisted the directors of the institutes and the Party organization in carrying out the detailed analysis of the scientific and scientific technical personnel from the professional and political aspect.

The everyday work of the Personnel Department and the Presidium of the academy includes the problems of the selection and placing of personnel at the academy. As a result of this work the Academy of Sciences is to a great extent cleared of politically alien and insufficiently qualified people, from the persons, who were active supporters of the fascist regime in Latvia, the henchmen of German occupants, legionaries, *aizsargs*, etc.

Altogether 59 persons were dismissed from the system of the Academy of Sciences of the Latv[ian] SSR during the realization of the decision, adopted by the

Bureau of the CC of the C(B)P of Latvia. Among them there were 26 researchers, 10 laboratory assistants and technicians, 19 administrative managerial employees and 3 post-graduates.

As to the motives of the dismissal, the above persons can be divided into the following groups:

1. The supporters of the fascist regime in Latvia, former *aizsargs* and bourgeois nationalists – 12 pers[ons];
2. The henchmen of German occupants and legionaries – 15 pers[ons];
3. Former social democrats in bourgeois Latvia – 5 pers[ons];
4. Alien persons as to their political views and the ones who seem politically disloyal – 17 pers[ons];
5. Disinterested in the scientific work and unfit for the post they hold – 10 pers[ons].

(..)

[242]

Sentence passed on writer Aleksandrs (Jēkabs) Grīns by the Military Tribunal of the Stalingrad Garrison, 10 November 1941

TOP SECRET

10 November 1941

SENTENCE

IN THE NAME OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Military Tribunal of the Stalingrad Garrison of the following composition – 3rd rank military jurist LEMAYEV, chairman of the session, and members – senior political instructor G. NATANKOV and MUROMTSEV, with the participation of the secretary – 2nd rank technician-quartermaster comrade MOISEYEV, at the closed session in Astrakhan

heard the case of captain GRINS Yakov Yakovlevich, commander of the platoon of artillery regiment 613 of the Baltic Special Military District – born in 1895, farmstead Ziedi, Birži *pagasts*, the administrative district of Jēkabpils of the Latvian SSR, non-Party, Latvian, unfinished university education, from peasants-kulaks, unconvicted, married, in the Red Army since October 1940 – accused according to Article 58^4 and 58^{10} Part 1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

The following was found proven by the materials of the case: through his counter revolutionary compositions the accused GRINS Yakov actively spread his anti-Soviet ideas, defamed the bodies of Soviet power and actively struggled against the revolutionary movement in Latvia, i.e., committed the crime anticipated in Article 58^4 and 58^{10} Part 1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

Basing on the above and according to Article 319 and 320 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the RSFSR

it was RESOLVED :

in accordance with Article 58^4 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, to sentence, as to the body of crimes, GRINS Yakov Yakovlevich to the capital criminal punishment – shooting with the confiscation of property.

The appeal lies to the Military Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR, by lodging a complaint at the Military Tribunal of the Stalingrad Garrison within 72 hours from the delivery of the copy of the sentence to the convict.

Chairman, 3rd rank military jurist (Lemayev)

Secretary, 2nd rank technician-quartermaster (Moiseyev)

[243]

Excerpt from the sentence passed on opera singer M. Brehmane-Štengele by the Military Tribunal of the NKVD Internal Troops of the Latvian SSR

Case No. 1035
TOP SECRET

SENTENCE
IN THE NAME OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Military Tribunal of the NKVD Internal Troops of the Latvian SSR of the following composition: senior lieutenant of justice Pavlov, chairman of the session, and members – sergeant Ostroverkhov and lance-corporal Zhuravlov, with the participation of the secretary – lieutenant of the adm[inistrative] s[ervice] Isayeva, at the closed session in the premises of the Military Tribunal in Riga on 10 April 1945,

without the presence of the representative of the public prosecution and an advocate,

heard the case of Brehman-Shtengel Milda Yanovna – born in 1893, in Riga, the Latvian SSR, of Latvian nationality, citizen of the USSR, non-Party, graduated from Lomonosov Gymnasium and the Tsarist Musical School, divorced, maintains 2 years old grand-daughter, a civil servant, singer of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, has resided in the temporarily occupied territory of the Latvian SSR from June 1941 to October 1944, unconvicted – accused of the crime anticipated in Article 58^{1a} of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

Established: In early July 1941, when Germans occupied Riga, defendant Brehman-Shtengel, showing her joy for their coming, took an active part in the welcoming procession of German soldiers and officers, gave them flowers and treated them to food-stuffs.

In late July 1941, answering the offer of German henchmen, defendant Brehman-Shtengel gave a journalist the interview of defaming anti-Soviet character about the Soviet reality which was broadcasted to the inhabitants of the Latvian SSR on the radio.

Moreover, after the Red Army liberated Riga from German occupants, in January 1945, during the film demonstration, being together with her acquaintances, she laughed at the head of the Party and Soviet Government.

(..)

Basing on the above, the Military Tribunal, bringing a verdict of guilty against Brehman-Shtengel according to Article 58^{10} part 2 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, and not according to Article 58^{1a} of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, in

compliance with Article 319 and 320 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the RSFSR, and taking into consideration the background of the case and the personality of the defendant,

r e s o l v e d:

to sentence Brehman-Shtengel Milda Yanovna, in accordance with Article 58^{10} part 2 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, applying the sanction of Article 58^{2} of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, to seven (7) years in prison, serving the sentence in the correction colony and depriving her of rights, according to Article 31 sub-paragraphs "a", "b", "c", "d" and "f" of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, for three (3) years, with the confiscation of all her property.

The beginning of the term of Brehman-Shtengel shall be 29 January 1945.The sentence is final and without appeal.

Chairman (a signature)
Members (signatures)

[244]

Report of E. H. Pļaviņš, Prosecutor of the Proletarian District of the City of Riga, to the chairman of the Military Tribunal of the NKVD Internal Troops of the Latvian SSR concerning the fact that a certain Pastushenko has taken up the flat of M. Brehmane-Štengele, 18 June 1945

To: major of justice comrade BOCHKOV,
Chairman of the Military Tribunal,
NKVD Internal Troops of the Latvian SSR

This is to inform you that in accordance with the warrant for living accommodation issued by the Housing Department of the city, PASTUSHENKO resides in the flat of Milda Yanovna BREHMAN-SHTENGEL – Baznīcas Street No. 35, flat 10.

As the flat cannot be vacated by administrative means, it is possible to evict Pastushenko only through court.

The explanation concerning the right of BREHMAN-SHTENGEL[1] to claim the eviction of PASTUSHENKO, was given to her representative.

Pļaviņš, counselor of justice,
Prosecutor of the Proletarian District
of the City of Riga

[1] A. Kirhenšteins, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, had asked to release M. Brehmane-Štengele from the punitive camp, and she, as an exception, was discharged.

[245]

Excerpt from the draft resolution of the meeting of the Party primary organization of the Soviet Writers' Union of Latvia, on the situation in Latvian literature, 28 August 1946

[28 August 1946]

Today sickly and harmful phenomena have appeared in our literature, particularly in poetry. Apolitical poems and the ones permeated with individualism-decadence and mysticism, which have nothing in common with the reality of Soviet life, appear in the magazine *"Karogs"* and newspaper *"Literatūra un Māksla"* more and more often. Three stories, which misrepresent and distort the Soviet reality, have been published in the issues of the Writers' Union, too.

Issue No. 1 of *"Karogs"* of this year includes a story by Laimonis Purs "Two Men" (*Divi cilvēki*), in which a Soviet man, the participant of the Patriotic War, is depicted as a coward, who survives due to the mercy of a Soviet enemy-bandit. Afterwards the bandit becomes reconciled to his father – the active supporter of bandits. The author – a young writer has got on the way of harmful psychologism. A similar ideologically wrong theme runs through the story of Elīna Zālīte "The Lichen" (*Ķērpis*), published in *"Karogs"*, No. 7/8. A large estate owner, the enemy of Soviet system is depicted as a simpleton-crank, who doesn't recognize the modern agriculture and doesn't wish to live in comfortable flats. It doesn't correspond to the reality of life. One very well knows, that large estate owners weren't fools, but the class, which was conscious of its interests, completely realized their parasitical ideology, lived in prosperity and luxury, etc. Besides these two stories justify the sons of kulaks – the young generation of big landlords, which were and are the fiercest enemies of Soviet system. The story by A. Brodele "Neighbours" (*Kaimiņi*), which is published in the newspaper "*Literatūra un Māksla*", also depicts the Soviet reality of life in an ideologically wrong way. The editorial staff has made a political mistake by publishing these works. It gives evidence of the fact that the editorial staff is overwhelmed with sickly spirit of "friendship", harmful tolerance and lacks alertness. It also shows that the editorial staff lack sufficient political knowledge and therefore they cannot get their bearings and don't understand the tasks of Soviet literature. Because of the above reason, as well as because of the inactivity of the Board of the Writers' Union, and especially the primary organization of the Party, these works could appear. It was impossible to publish the story by J. Niedre "The

Stranded" *(Strandējušie)* because of its weak finish. The stories by V. Bērce, published in "*Literatūra un Māksla*" are also superficial, but the story "Your Son" (*Tavs dēls*), published in "*Karogs*", No. 7/8, proves that the author knows neither the subject-matter, nor the form.

A number of our poets – like M. Ķempe, V. Brutāne, J. Plaudis, P. Vīlips, A. Čaks, Valdis Grēviņš, Valts Grēviņš, E. Damburs, C. Dinere, A. Ķeniņš, M. Bendrupe, N. Rudzītis, etc., and recently even A. Balodis – have got stuck in fruitless, hostile indifference to politics, individualism and mystical decadence.

Nearly all poems of Mirdza Ķempe suffer from political apathy and ideological poverty. The keynote of her book "The Wind of the Morning" (*Rīta vējš*) serves the idea "art for art's sake", the poems worship nature and depict real nonsense. The poetry of Valija Brutāne stands in the position of a consistent passive observer. Such poems as "Conversation without Words" (*Saruna bez vārdiem*), "The Banner Unfurls" (*Atvijas karogs*) and "The Feast" (*Dzīres*) give nothing to Soviet readers, since the author speaks about her petty intimate life, getting stuck in "the art for art's sake" and writes the salon poetry.

The talented poet Jānis Plaudis, being unable to get rid of the false view of individualism "art for art's sake", regularly publishes his poems in "*Karogs*" and "*Literatūra un Māksla*", which depict only intimate emotional feelings, which are alienated from the real life and praise nature. The poet wanted to show Soviet life in allegorical way, yet the poems are inconcrete and ambiguous so that they can be referred to any other former system, hostile to the working people.

The publication of Valdis Grēviņš' book "Leaves Fly, Leaves Sound" (*Lapas lido, lapas skan*), written in the spirit of Ahmatova, is an especially serious political mistake. Although Valdis Grēviņš chooses topical themes for his poems, written in the Soviet period, however, being unable to get rid of formalism, he hands in poems, which lack true feelings of a Soviet person.

In his long poem "The Dune of the Cours[1]" (*Kuršu kāpa*), Atis Ķeniņš, the poet of the senior generation, suffers from decadence. Ķeniņš has devoted no poems to any topical Soviet theme as yet. In the cycle of poems "Soviet Peoples Call to One Another" (*Padomju tautas sasaucas*) also Mirdza Bendrupe is formal, has included the materials of geography and encyclopaedia, and is unable to show the typical and positive features, which are characteristic only of Soviet peoples and can be found only in the socialist society.

Several poets, e.g., Pāvils Vīlips, though choosing topical themes, fall into formalism, being unable to perceive the feelings characteristic of a Soviet man. Also the poem by Pāvils Vīlips "The Sultry of Rumbula" (*Rumbulas buls*) has to be considered a failure.

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[1] An ancient Latvian tribe.

Quite often also the poetry of Aleksandrs Čaks is devoid of principles and ideals. His long poem "Signaller of Love" (*Mīlas sakarnieks*) is a bright example of the above. The poem "Shoemaker Grozs" (*Kurpnieks Grozs*) is far from the reality of life, too. The play with comparisons, rhyme, etc. overwhelms the content.

Meinhards Rudzītis, who has always dealt with the urgent problems of the day, lately has taken the position of a passive observer. He writes neutral poems about rye-fields and love. Even Andrejs Balodis, who has always used true Bolshevik approaches in his lyrical themes, has published the poem "Nothing is More Beautiful than Love" (*Par mīlu skaistāks nav nekas*).

But Edgars Damburs starts deviating from topical themes and devotes his works to intimate love themes, alienated from the public life. Lately even the tendencies of mysticism can be observed in his poetry. (..)

(..)

[246]

Excerpt from the report of A. Voss, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL, at the 21st congress of the Communist Party of Latvia, 25 February 1971

25 February 1971

(..)

A writer and artist, certainly, may turn to any phenomena of our reality, among them also to its shady sides. However, whatever they depict, the firm Party and class approach shall be preserved.

Yet not everybody has the clarity and not always. Lately the above can be said about some compositions of historical character. When depicting the revolutionary events of the past, e. g., the year 1905, some writers use mainly the aspect of national liberation and forget about the bright class and international character of Latvian workers and landless peasants. As a result of this, there appear ideologically and artistically deformed works of art, which are under the thumb of the bourgeois historography and cause the motivated criticism of the public.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, Bureau of the Party Committee of Riga and plenums, as well as the press have expressed a principled opinion of some ideologically hostile works by Vizma Belševica, Māris Čaklais and some others.

The appearance of the ideologically hostile works proves the fact that the ideologically political educational work, carried out by the Party organizations of some creative unions and some Party committees among the creative intellectuals, still have many shortcomings. For instance, the Party organization and leadership of the Writers' Union have received many signals about the unfavourable situation in the Association of Young Writers of Riga. However, decisive measures, to set things in order, were taken with great delay and only after the openly nationalistic speeches, delivered by some leaders of the association at a social gathering held in the House of Knowledge.

(..)

[247]

Excerpts from the report of A. Luceviča, head of the Central Board for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press (Glavlit), Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia concerning the censorship in the press, 5 February 1980

SECRET
Copy No. 1
Central Board for the Protection of
State Secrets in the Press,
Council of Ministers of the LSSR

5 February 1980

To: Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

On the remarks of ideological and political character
on printed matters, prepared for publication in the Republic

In the 4th quarter of 1978 and in 1979, the Central Board, under the orders of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPL, has made 36 remarks with ideological and political motivation.

(..)

The majority of remarks made in materials, which assessed the heritage of the past in literature and science, referred to their content. A number of materials took pleasure in the life abroad or bourgeois Latvia, besides the clear class approach of the authors couldn't be felt. Too many references have been made to different representatives of bourgeoisie and emigrants, their "theories" and books, the fragments of their works were included in the publications too many times, etc.

There have also been cases, when our life and system was indirectly defamed in the materials.

(..)

The monograph of I. Kiršentāle "Latvian Novel", which reveals the development and origin of the genre, among the other analyzes more than 20 works, which are withdrawn from the funds of general use. Yet no impartial opinion is given about them and the author's Party attitude towards the compositions and their authors is not clear.

(..)

Z. Skujiņš' book "The Bending of Lightening" (*Zibens locīšana*) includes the reminiscences on the writers of the Republic. There is also the author's letter to People's Poet J. Sudrabkalns, in which he asks Sudrabkalns to use his authority to rehabilitate poetess Aspazija, who, in the author's opinion, is insufficiently recognized at present.

(..)

The reminiscences on People's Writer V. Lācis include much information about the fact that during the bourgeois Latvia the writer was invited to the press balls at "the king of the press" A. Benjamiņš and that during the first showing of the film "The Fisherman's Son" he had been together with President Ulmanis in the same box. A little below a fact is mentioned that soon after V. Lācis was awarded the State Prize, he was publicly accused of anti-Party approach when developing the problem of fathers and sons in the novel "To the New Coast" (*Uz jauno krastu*).

The collection of poems by T. Treičs "Care" (*Rūpes*) contains a false statement that the Memorial Warriors' Cemetary of Riga is the place where only the Latvian riflemen killed in the battle-fields of World War I lie buried. Yet it is very well known that the rulers of bourgeois Latvia widely used the place for the burials, as well as the propaganda of their anti-Soviet goals.

(..)

The memoirs by E. Kliene "The Sparks of Memories" (*Atmiņu dzirkstis*), where the author took pleasure in her experiences in bourgeois Latvia, told about her correspondence and meeting with Norwegian writer K. Hamsun, about the trip to Czechoslovakia and meeting with E. Benesh, President of bourgeois Czechoslovakia, fervently described the celebrations of the nationalistic youth organization "Sokoli", etc.

The editorial staff of the magazine ["*Karogs*"] had prepared for publication J. Lapsa's novel "Bitterness" (*Rūgtums*), which described the life of fishermen. It included episodes which described how Soviet fishermen fished in the forbidden zones of the World Ocean, craftily circumvented the international control, because otherwise they couldn't fulfil the plan.

In connection with the centenary of [Latvian poet] K. Skalbe, the editorial staff had prepared I. Bērsons' article, which contained many facts, cited from [the works of] Z. Mauriņa, the writer and philosopher of bourgeois Latvia, but later a staunch anti-Soviet emigrant.

(..) It was planned to publish, in several sequels, the material "Not Only Cranes Need Marsh-Lands" (*Ne dzērvēm vien purvu vajag*) in the magazine "*Draugs*", starting from No. 6 of 1979. The material in categorical way altogether doubted the usefulness of the draining of the bogged up lands. An example was given that after the land amelioration in the neighbourhood of Lake Lubāns and the purification of the

small rivers of the vicinity, the spawning areas were destroyed, the erosion of soil started in two neighbouring districts, etc.

(..)

In September 1979, the Society of Readers prepared for publication the brochure of book plates by artist J. Plēpis. The book plates, made for 4 family members of K. Goppers, the most reactionary official of bourgeois Latvia, artist N. Strunke, at present the reactionary emigrant, A. Benjamiņš, the press tycoon of bourgeois Latvia, V. Tepfers, court general of bourgeois Latvia, and others were singled out as the best works of the artist.

A. Luceviča
Head of the Central Board

Notes in the document:

The relevant work has been carried out with the editors of newspapers and magazines, directors of publishing houses and the officials of the Ministry of Higher and Special Secondary Education concerning all facts, mentioned in the letter of the Glavlit of the Latvian SSR, that give evidence of the lack of demands, when the ideological content of the materials prepared for publication is examined.
6.V.80.
L. Freibergs.

[248]

Resolution of the Ministry of Culture of the Latvian SSR and the Council of Trade Unions of Latvia on the control over musical recordings, 19 June 1961

No. 25/1768 19 June 1961

MINISTRY OF CULTURE OF THE LATVIAN SSR

On the control over recordings played in public institutions

The Presidium of the Council of Trade Unions of Latvia and the Board of the Ministry or Culture of the Latvian SSR point out that often the musical recordings played in a number of institutions of the Republic: clubs, cultural centres, educational institutions, picture houses and restaurants, are of low quality and alien to the nature of Soviet people.

The committees of the trade unions of the republic, factories and plants and the local committees, the departments of culture of districts and towns exercise insufficient control over the repertory of recordings and entrust their production to odd people.

In order to further improve the ideological content of the musical recordings played in public institutions and to strengthen the responsibility of the leaders of cultural institutions and organizations for the repertory, the Presidium of the Council of Trade Unions of Latvia and the Board of the Ministry or Culture of the Latvian SSR

resolve:

1. To commission the committees of the trade unions of the republic, factories and plants and the local committees, the departments of culture of districts and towns and the House of People's Art of the Republic with the task to examine the content of musical recordings in public organizations and to withdraw the musical compositions, which are devoid of principles and ideals and alien to Soviet reality by 25 July 1961.

2. To ask the Council of Art of the Factory of Sound-Recording "Līgo" to improve the ideological content of the music they record and to revise the plan of recordings.

3. To commission the leaders of the institutions of cultural education and other public instances, chairmen of the committees of the trade unions of factories and plants and local committees with the task to exercise firm control over the ideological content of the musical recordings.

It shall be established that the repertory of musical recordings is by all means approved by the departments of culture of the respective districts (towns).

Chairman of the Council of Trade Unions of Latvia (V. Blūms)	Minister of Culture of the Latvian SSR (V. Kalpiņš)[1]

[1] Voldemārs Kalpiņš wasn't the defender of "the staunch line" of the Party. At the plenums of the Central Committee of the CPL and the meetings of the Bureau of the CC, he had received repeated criticism for insufficient struggle against "the nationalistic tendencies". One may think that also the present document was produced under the pressure of the Central Committee of the CPL, when the revanchist campaign of neo-Stalinists, started after the defeat of national communists in 1959, still continued.

[249]

Excerpts from the report of V. Agafonov, head of the Central Board for the Protection of Military and State Secrets in the Press (Glavlit), State Committee of the Press of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, to A. Voss, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, concerning the manuscript of the play "With the Eyes of the Day" (*Tās dienas acīm*), 26 February 1966

26 February 1966

To: comrade A. VOSS,
Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL

The Ministry of Culture of the Latvian SSR has submitted to the Central Board of Literature[1] for control the dramatic long poem "With the Eyes of the Day" produced by Edgars Liepiņš according to motives of the literary works of poet Ojārs Vācietis. The play is staged by the State Youth Theatre of Lenin's Komsomol.

Having got acquainted with the text of the play, the Central Board of Literature is of the opinion that the present edition is not fit for staging, since, due to its ideological line, the play may only do harm to the ideological political education of young people.

The action of the play takes place at a rural secondary school of the Republic and in its neighbourhood in 1948–1949. The historical importance of the period – when the collectivization of agriculture was carried out and the Party took measures to isolate and liquidate the class enemies and the fierce clashes between classes took place – is generally known for the life of Latvian people. The authors have set a task to show the destinies of young people brought into the whirlwind of class struggle of the time, to show how they grew up, got stronger in the struggle and how they joined the ranks of the conscientious and active builders of the new life.

It is quite understandable that the true depiction of the period in the dramatic long poem, permeated with fighting and Party spirit, would be a good contemporary weapon of ideological struggle. It would help young people to better understand the anti-national nature of class enemies, their methods of struggle and would facilitate the upbringing of the youth in the spirit of Soviet patriotism.

However, in their dramatic composition, the authors, depicting the heroes of 1948–1949, weren't able to give a clear and true answer from the Party position to the

[1] In the original: "Главлит".

problems they had dealt with, – the answer which would assess the social phenomena of the recent historical past from the contemporary positions.

Moreover, in some places the play is quite a mess, it lacks clear, civic attitude of the authors and is full of ambiguous political conclusions and hints that particularly regard the many insertions of the poems by Ojārs Vācietis (..). In a number of cases, when assessing the events, the authors take the position of bourgeois objectivism and ideological unscrupulousness.

In criticizing the lawlessness of the period of [Stalin's] personality cult and the unjust reprisals which took place then, the authors obviously exaggerate the harm done by the personality cult. Through the mouth of their positive heroes the authors declare that young people knew nothing about their future in those years and didn't know whether they would be able to build the new life or they would be taken to the fringe of a forest and shot dead the next day.

It is very well known that the Party has already cleared up the causes and culprits of the personality cult long ago, but the authors continue voicing different misty conjectures, but in some places they clearly assert (..) that completely all have to be blamed that the cult could occur, that the unlawfulness in regard of an individual is a fatal inevitability which chases us, although the time is before us when the lawlessness will disappear.

We admit that the authors may object and say that these are the ideas and conclusions of the heroes, who lived in the 40s and early 50s. However, one may not, behind the name of the play "With the Eyes of the Day", give the young audience ambiguous hints and guesses about the problems, which have already been solved today and about which we have clear opinion. By doing so we ideologically disarm the contemporary young spectators and bring doubt and disbelief in their minds. (..)

V. Agafonov
Head of the Central Board for the Protection of
Military and State Secrets in the Press,
State Committee of the Press,
Council of Ministers of the Latv[ian] SSR

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Report of V. Agafonov, head of the Central Board for the Protection of Military and State Secrets in the Press, Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia concerning the censorship regulations for the documentary films and news-reels, 2 March 1962

SECRET
Copy No. 1
2 March 1962

Central Board for the Protection of Military and State Secrets
in the Press ("*Glavlit*"), Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR

To: Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

In compliance with the Regulation on the Central Board for the Protection of Military and State Secrets in the Press of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, issued on 24 February 1958, the bodies of Glavlit are commissioned with the task to protect the military and state secrets in news-reels, topical, scientific technical and documentary films. According to the established procedure, the film studio shall submit to Glavlit for control the montage sheets of the topical documentary films, provide the censor with a possibility to see the copy of the newly produced film and receive his permission for the demonstration of the film.

The Riga Film Studio, ignoring the censorship procedure, established by the authorities, has released the news-reel "Sport Review", No. 1 of 1962, without the permission of the Glavlit of the Latvian SSR.

We ask you to reprimand the leadership of the Riga Film Studio not to allow such violations in the future.

V. Agafonov
Head of the Central Board for the Protection of
Military and State Secrets in the Press,
State Committee of the Press,
Council of Ministers of the Latv[ian] SSR

[251]

Letter of S. Shustin, People's Commissar of State Security of the Latvian SSR, to J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia, with the recommendations to speed up the withdrawal of books, undesirable to the occupation power, from circulation, 10 March 1941

TOP SECRET
Riga, 10 March 1941

Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR

To: comrade KALNBĒRZIŅŠ (ZAĶIS)
Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia

The many documents, available to us, give evidence to the fact that the book market of Latvia is essentially polluted with counter revolutionary, idealistic, pornographic and anti-artistic literature. They are openly sold in news-stands, second-hand bookshops, private bookshops and small markets and are delivered for reading in the public libraries of towns and cultural centres, as well as in private libraries.

The measures taken by the State Publishing House, Central Board of Literature[1] and the bodies of the People's Commissariat of Education are very slow and insufficient.

Informing you on the above, I ask you of the following:

1) to warn the leadership of the People's Commissariat of Education, State Publishing House and the Central Board of Literature about the necessity to speed up the examination of the whole fund of books and the withdrawal of the ideologically inimical literature;

2) whereas the Central Board of Literature has not made the complete list of literature to be withdrawn from circulation and sale, the People's Commissariat of Education, State Publishing House and the Central Board of Literature shall instruct bookshops, libraries and news-stands that – until complete lists are made and the unfit literature is withdrawn – only the literature, which is of ideologically uniform and unambiguous character, and the spreading of which is allowed in the territory of the USSR, may be put on sale and into circulation;

3) the nationalization of the private book sector shall be carried out in the nearest future.

Shustin
Captain of State Security,
People's Commissar of State Security of the Latvian SSR

[1] In the original: "Главлит".

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Excerpt from the decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia "On the work of the Board for the Matters of Literature and Publishing Houses (Glavlit), Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR", 5 November 1946

5 November 1946

(..)

Quite often politically inimical literature is sold in the markets of Riga and other cities. The politically inimical books, withdrawn by the bodies of censorship, are not destroyed, but the large quantities of them are accumulated in libraries. The directors of several libraries (of Liepāja, etc.) obstinately keep off the literature under the pretext that they are making the special funds. Five million of politically inimical books, withdrawn from the libraries of Riga, are concentrated in the warehouses of the Administration of Cellulose and Paper Industry. The Board for the Matters of Literature and Publishing Houses alone carries out the clearing of the book fund. The Ministry of Education of the Latvian SSR, the Administration of Cultural and Educational Institutions of the Council of Ministers, the Trust of Book Sale and the Central Board of Trade Unions of Latvia have evaded this work and didn't take care that the affairs of libraries and the book market were set in order. (..)

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia r e s o l v e s:

(..)

3. The collections of poems by Valdis Grēviņš and Anna Brodele shall be withdrawn from public libraries and the book market.

Jaunzems, head of the Board for the Matters of Literature and Publishing Houses, and comrade Dukurs, director of the State Publishing House of Latvia, shall be commissioned with the task to reconsider all fiction, published in 1945/46, and establish its compliance with the decisions of the Central Committee of the AUC(B)P on the magazines "Zvezda" and "Leningrad", and hand in their opinion about it to the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia.

4. Comrade Jaunzems, head of the Board for the Matters of Literature and Publishing Houses, shall establish that the materials of LTA[1] undergo preliminary control.

5. In order to carry out the control over political programmes, comrade Lēmanis, chairman of the Radio Committee, shall establish the preliminary listening to the materials, transmitted by announcers.

6. The Ministry of Education of the Latvian SSR (comrade Strazdiņš), the

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[1] Latvian Telegraph Agency.

Administration of Cultural and Educational Institutions (comrade Āboliņš), the Central Council of Trade Unions of Latvia (comrade Putniņš) and the Board for the Matters of Literature and Publishing Houses of the LSSR (comrade Jaunzems) shall clear all book funds of the republic of the politically inimical and outdated literature by 1 January 1947.

Comrades Strazdiņš, Āboliņš and Putniņš shall be warned of being personally responsible for a timely and complete clearing of the book funds of the libraries under their authority of the politically inimical literature.

7. Comrade Mishutin, Prosecutor of the Republic, shall call to account persons who sabotage the clearing of libraries of anti-Soviet literature.

(..)

J. Kalnbērziņš
Secretary of the Central Committee
of the C(B)P of Latvia

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Letter of J. Kalnbērziņš, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C(B)PL, and M. Plūdonis, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, to K. Voroshilov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and G. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the AUC(B)P, with the report on the Song Festival of 1948 and the request for the permission to organize the Song Festival in 1950, 15 September 1948

SECRET
Riga, 15 September 1948

No. 969 s

To: comrade K. VOROSHILOV
Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR
comrade G. MALENKOV
Secretary of the Central Committee of the AUC(B)P

The song Festival of Soviet Latvia, which took place in all administrative districts and Riga in July 1948, proceeded as the festival of all people and had a high political, ideological and artistic level.

More than one thousand choirs with 82 583 singers took part in the Song Festivals of administrative districts. The Song Festival of the republic had about 20 thousand singers. The Song Festivals of administrative districts were attended by 360 thousand people, the [Song] Festival of the republic – by 200 thousand listeners.

The Song Festival of Soviet Latvia was a strong blow to bourgeois nationalists and a bright demonstration of friendship among Soviet peoples, the confidence of Latvian people in Soviet power, Bolshevik Party and great Stalin. The Song Festival was also the important achievement of Latvian Soviet culture – national as to the form and socialistic as to the content.

In order to consolidate the achieved results, to further develop Latvian amateur art and bring up the working people of Soviet Latvia in the spirit of communism, the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR and the Central Committee of the C(B)P of Latvia apply to you with a request to allow the organization of the second Song Festival of Soviet Latvia in 1950 devoting it to the tenth anniversary of Soviet power in Latvia.

Kalnbērziņš
Secretary of the Central Committee
of the C(B)P of Latvia

M. Plūdonis
Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Latvian SSR

[254]

Excerpt from the letter of O. Reihmanis, head of the Department of Culture of the Executive Committee, Soviet of Workers' Deputies of the City of Riga, to P. Cherkovsky, Deputy Minister of Culture of the Latvian SSR, on the usefulness of the amateur People's Theatre "Saulgrieži"[1]

30 June 1959

Department of Culture
Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies of Riga

To: comrade P. CHERKOVSKY
Deputy Minister of Culture of the Latvian SSR

C o p y: comrade A. DEGLAVS, Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee, Soviet of Workers' Deputies of Riga

(..)

The approach of the Department of Culture of Riga is that it agrees that the ethnographic group, which makes its repertory only of the materials of the old folklore, is useless today. Whatever attempts the group may make, yet one cannot understand why we seek to sing the praise of and revive the ancient past, which is forgotten long ago. Scientists study the past and they are likely to write more than one paper about the past of our people, archeologists will dig up one more burial-ground and find more than one place inhabited in ancient times. Yet art shall go in one step with life, with this day, with the tasks of the society, state and the Party. The performances of neither "Saulgrieži" nor "Sērdieņi" can qualify for up-to-dateness, yet they are the echo of the distant past.

(..)

O. Reihmanis
Head of the Department of
Culture of Riga

A. Punāns
Head of the Planning-Finance Department

[1] The amateur People's Theatre "Saulgrieži" was closed during the persecution campaign of the "nationalistic tendencies", which took place after the defeat of national communists in 1959.

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Excerpt from the minutes of the meeting of the Party primary organization of the Department of Kuldīga District, KGB of the Latvian SSR, on the work of chekists during the Song Festival, 11 July 1973

Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR
KGB Department of Kuldīga District
Minutes No. 11
of the meeting of the Party primary organization
11 July 1973

(..)

A g e n d a

1. Ensuring of security measures during the preparatory period of the song festival, devoted to the 50th anniversary of the USSR and the centenary of the song festival, and during the procedure of the festival (comrade Rubenis reports)

(..)

I

Listened to – comrade Rubenis, who pointed out that the song festival, devoted to the 50th anniversary of the USSR, would take place in Riga from 15 to 23 July. Amateur groups will arrive from each district of the republic. A considerable number of Latvian emigrants from capitalist countries and other foreigners will be in Riga during the period, too. This may bring to undesirable contacts between foreigners and local inhabitants. That is why during the celebration period it is necessary to send to Riga one of the operational officers together with the amateur groups. It is also necessary to involve and give relevant instructions to our activists, as well as other confidential agents.

The Department of Culture of the district has to be asked to hand in the lists of participants of the groups in order to prevent the inclusion of undesirable persons in the groups. Discussions have to be carried out with the people of our interest about possible contacts with foreigners.

Spoke – 1) comrade Kuznetsov, who recommended to send communist Kondratov to Riga during the festival in order to ensure that the necessary measures were taken. In their areas the officers shall see to it that the persons, who are hostile towards Soviet system, or [may] also commit treason, do not go to the capital city. All measures have to be taken to prevent the arrival of [the] foreigners, who haven't got the necessary permission, in the territory of the district.

(..)

Kondratovs, Chairman of the meeting
Kuznetsov, Secretary

[256] Involvement of the figures of culture and art in the ideological measures of the CPSU

[256]

Excerpt from the order of the Ministry of Culture of the Latvian SSR concerning the measures to be taken in connection with the political and economic events in the USSR, 24 January 1983

Riga No. 3724 January 1983

MINISTRY OF CULTURE OF THE LATVIAN SSR

ORDER

On the plan of the principal measures
of the Ministry of Culture of the Latvian SSR for 1983

1. To confirm the plan of principal measures of the Ministry of Culture of the Latvian SSR for 1983, acknowledged by the Board [of the Ministry of Culture], taking into consideration the tasks, proceeding from the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU of May (1982) and November (1982), from the resolutions and conclusions set forth in the speeches of comrade Y. Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, at the Plenum of November and the grand meeting devoted to the 60th Anniversary of the USSR, as well as from the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On the creative relations of literature and art magazines with the practice of the building of communism".

2. To ensure that the materials of the Plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU of May (1982) and November (1982), the speech of comrade Andropov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and the Plenum of November and the grand meeting, devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR, are studied at all institutions, organizations and educational establishments of the Ministry of Culture of the Latvian SSR.

3. The principal line of work of the institutions of culture and art shall be the propaganda and realization of the decisions of the 24th congress of the CPSU and Plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU of May (1982) and November (1982), by mobilizing working people for the fulfillment of the 11th five-year plan of the national plans of social and economic development and the Food Programme of the USSR.

4.The creative efforts of artists shall be turned to the creation of the works, devoted to the contemporary stage of the development of society, struggle of the Party and

nation for the realization of the decisions of the 24th congress of the CPSU, Food Programme of the USSR and the problems of international life. Special attention shall be devoted to the preparation for the [celebration of] 40th anniversary of the Victory of Soviet people over the fascist Germany.

5. In accordance with the decisions of the 24th congress of the CPSU, the propaganda of the home and foreign policy of the CPSU and the principal line of the social and economic development of the state shall be intensified through public activists in the clubs of culture, cultural centres, libraries, museums and parks.

All political and mass activities shall facilitate the realization of the principal tasks of the present stage of the development of society, firstly in connection with the course of the CPSU towards the intensification of economy, perfection of production relations and the upbringing of the young ones.

(..)

V. Kaupužs, Minister

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Excerpts from the speeches of writers at the 5th congress of the Writers' Union of Soviet Latvia on 16 December 1965[1]

16 December 1965

(..)

Ojārs Vācietis

(..)

I, for instance, cannot understand why the *Līgo* (midsummer night) Festivity has fallen out of our calendars. I very much doubt that it happened simply because of the proof-reader's mistake and that he had omitted it (*laughter in the audience*), because the previous responsiveness, which was in the press, public, on the radio, etc. gives proof to the opposite. I don't want to play Antiņš (Simple Simon) here. Evidently there was a hint from somewhere. I cannot explain why. By the Līgo Festivity, by being silent about it, – actually one needn't speak about it, people celebrate it anyway (*applause*)... Some people say that this is a pagan festivity. I'll try to prove why the Līgo Festivity is necessary, in order to show that I don't say it because I only want your applause. By losing the Līgo Festivity, we lose much of our people's creative work and of our folk songs (*dainas*), too. Many writers have to revise their already written and published works, which mention the Līgo Festivity. The manuscript of the opera "*Baņuta*" is already prepared for publication and the publishing house has it, yet nothing is done with it for the time being.

And the last, but not least is that one must be rather politically short-sighted not to use already established tradition, which has roots in the people. The Līgo Festivity is celebrated between the spring and autumn works, it is the festivity of working people. It is the festivity of those who work. Lazybones are chaffed much better in Līgo songs than it may be done by one hundred "Sharp Brooms"[2] taken together (*applause*).

Why do we have to invent a new tradition, perhaps by nursing it, giving it a dummy and at the end by disputing about what has come out of it, if the tradition is ready and it is of mass character? One has to make use of it. One must think about its advancement and not about the prohibition.

(..)

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[1] At the congress, the voting changed the leadership of the Writers' Union of Soviet Latvia. The writers, who were critical towards the regime, became a majority in the Board. This fact had a positive importance for the further development of Latvian literature and public activities of intellectuals.

[2] Satirical supplement to the newspaper "Padomju Jaunatne" (The Soviet Youth).

V[izma] Belševica

(..)

Lies are dangerous, and one may write a lot about the question here and estimate how much it costs to the state. And, if the Board of Statistics has to receive false data and to plan its work, it is easy to understand that little of truth is there. In our country the leadership of enterprises is united with our ideological leadership. Sometimes the situation of the leadership may be compared with that of our parents, when they think that children don't see what they do. If the leadership has two eyes, the subordinates have two hundred eyes. And it's clear that the two hundred eyes see much more than two eyes. And I think this fact heavily affects the people, who lead. Everybody see it. The fact of falsification is accepted.

Now we have to think how it is with other facts, let's take, for instance, the ideological aspect.

In the 50s, I was in the editorial board of a children's magazine. Once we received a newspaper from Moscow, where there was a big headline "All pioneers ski". And there were colour pictures which depicted children with skis and snow. But since the issue had come out in Moscow, also our newspaper had to have the same headline – "All ski". Yet we didn't have snow at the moment, it hadn't snowed then. What to do? The editor suggested to look for a place where there was snow, for instance in Cēsis. Snow has melted, the photographer takes photos, we include a photography – children with sledges on the piles of superphosphate at the railway station. So we had the issue with skis and sledges.

If the children have become sceptics and nihilists, I won't be surprised, since they were present when the things were done.

(..)

Harijs Heislers

(..)

Very many years ago my first book was issued. And it was delayed for half a year only because of the fact that the artist had depicted the silhouette of Riga and there was also the Domus Church. This was called the propaganda of religion and one didn't dare to publish such a heretical picture. One couldn't do anything and we had to tear it out and draw a new picture. Later there was again another misfortune. Two poems were found with the help of a loupe, which weren't fit for publishing – "A New Song" and "Rivers have Green Banks". Meaning that our rivers have only red banks and we don't need any new songs. It happened long ago. Four years ago, the cover of the June issue of the magazine "*Liesma*" depicted Latvian girls with garlands in their hands, and there had to be my poem "A Fern". When the magazine was ready, one of the men or old chaps found that it wasn't possible to print such a heresy. As the cover had already been printed, it had to be torn off and a new cover

had to be made. This time it was printed without the poem. There was the following lines in the poem, – "and yet I believe that one will see the fern blossom with silver blossoms". – What silver blossoms are meant here? That must be the power of Ulmanis, President of bourgeois Latvia, that I was looking forward to. The poem was thrown out, and it was done with such a strength that the editor was given the hook, too. So to say – to pour the water out of the bath together with the child. (Excitement in the audience.) The things happened. I would like to express my conviction that such things won't happen any more.

(..)

[258]

Excerpts from the open letter of the Board of Culture of the Creative Unions of Latvia to B. Pugo, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPL, and A. Drīzulis, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Latvian SSR, concerning the demographic situation in Latvia, July 1988

[July 1988]

(..)

The basic nation has the right to ask that the real consequences of economic policy don't put it into the situation that it is endangered numerically, as well as in a socially unjust situation. Evidently after the All-Union census of 1989, the Latvians will turn out to be a minority in their own territory for the first time in their hard history. The administrative bureaucracy object – give birth to more children, but the most cynical ones even recommend to satisfy oneself with showing the national identity only in the family and culture. Let one ask in return – whether the birthrate of a nation has to keep pace with the speed of the irrational inertia of the planners of Brezhnev's extensive economy, who try to take refuge in Latvia. If the balance is not regained by the means of intensive economy for the Latvian nation to have just numerical proportions in the republic, the people will come to the deep social apathy, national depression and political stagnation. The stagnation, yes, since just the stagnation has essentially and malignantly affected the psychology of many nations in the period, when the national question was cynically ignored in the public in favour of the low-quality production, yet the quantitative one.

(..)

We wish to remind you of the fact that the Latvian republic is the only one in the whole Soviet Union, as well as the only one among the economically developed countries, where the indigenous inhabitants, if estimated per each family member, are not provided with the dwelling space ... on the pre-war level. At the same time 75 thousand families are on the waiting list for flats in Riga today. It is 8 times more than in 1981, when 9170 families waited for flats. One has to ask what are the leaders of the republic, as well as the leaders of the city of Riga looking forward to.

(..)

CHAPTER 13

Resistance movement in Latvia

According to its attitude towards occupation power, Latvia's population could be divided into three basic groups, the size of which was inconsistent. The first group was composed of active collaborationists – leaders of the Communist Party and Komsomol, employees of repressive institutions, etc. This group included the majority of the Communist Party of Latvia (CPL) (the membership of the CPL was 3592, as of the beginning of 1945, 175602 members, in January of 1990), as well as non-Party activists. The second group of Latvia's population was "the silent majority", who mainly did their jobs, obeyed the instructions of occupation power and didn't directly join in politics. The third group was composed of members of the active national armed resistance movement (about 20000 men) and the participants of non-violent resistance movement (about 100 000 people).

In Latvia, resistance movement against the occupation power was a spontaneous popular action conditioned by impossibility of open struggle. During the first post-war decade, the armed and non-violent resistance movements were closely interrelated.

Patriotism should be regarded the prime cause of resistance, for the aim of participants of both forms of resistance was the restoration of a democratic independent State of Latvia. Neither imperial tendency of the USSR, nor the communist world outlook imposed, was acceptable to Latvian nation. The second cause of resistance movement was the terror of occupation power; it was not acceptable to Latvian society, the basic values of which were democracy and Christianity. Thirdly, the resistance movement was called forth by conventional norms of human rights, which not only grant citizens a right, but also obliges to struggle for maintaining democracy and to turn against the state power, disclaiming or restricting democratic order and freedom of creed. The resistance movement manifested the nation's rights for resistance (*ius resistendi*) and it was the extreme means of struggle against occupation. Since the violent occupation of Latvia *(occupatio bellicare)* was illegal from the point of view of international law, the resistance movement against the occupation power was legal. In Latvia, the resistance movement involved people of different nationalities, creed and both sexes. However, the majority were Latvians.

The first groups of national partisans were formed already in 1944 under the guidance of Central Council of Latvia. Later on the national partisans included the warriors, who were instructed in Germany for, the so-called, small war in the rear of the Red Army. The national partisans involved those people who had evaded the draft

into "volunteer" Latvian Legion or the Red Army or deserted from either army. In the end of 1943 and the first half of 1944 their number increased with the intensifying illegal (violating The Hague Convention, prohibiting mobilisation in occupied countries) draft into the German Army and the Red Army. National partisans were also the people who didn't recognize the occupation power, who had owned some property or whose relatives were deported to the Soviet Union and therefore felt endangered.

These groups consolidated around opinion, that the occupation power would expand the deformed model of "socialism" in the USSR in the end of the 30s in Latvia, too. Therefore, national partisans and their supporters came to understanding that there were two possibilities – either the destruction of democratic society or smashing of occupation regime. Yet, the members of resistance movement hadn't taken into consideration that for some time Communist totalitarianism might work efficiently in the form of self-defence, disregarding the material and manpower losses in reaching its aims. The participants of Latvian national partisan war faced great hardships in their struggle.

F i r s t l y, the National partisan war of 1944–1956 in Latvia was not directed and supported by any force from abroad. The four unions[1] of Latvia's national partisans were fully independent and volunteer organizations. They operated in accordance with the Statutes, part of partisans had made a vow [259] and the majority of them unquestioningly observed the statutes and instructions issued on the basis of statutes [260], as well as written and oral orders. S e c o n d l y, only a small part of national partisans were trained (in German Army) for the needs of partisan war. Most of partisans were not specially trained and, consequently, the national partisan movement often was spontaneous and sometimes the staff was not capable to direct them. T h i r d l y, the participants of Latvia's national partisan war felt a shortage of military equipment, ammunition and medical care, as well as organized agents. F o u r t h l y, often the leaders of national partisans and fighters had no idea of the enemies fighting capacity, its possible reconnaissance by using agents, the special fighters of NKVD and their infiltration into partisan movement. F i f t h l y, national partisans not only fought against occupation forces and destroyers (years of 1945 –1950 saw 1572 fights), but also issued more than 10 underground newspapers and journals, the circulation of which amounted sometimes to 400 per month in 1945–1947, as well as hundreds of leaflets [262]. It presented additional difficulties. S i x t h l y, under the conditions of cold war the national partisans were too much influenced by the radio broadcasts from abroad

[1] Latvian Union of Fatherland Guards (partisans) – in Eastern Latvia, Latvian Union of National Partisans – in Northern Latvia, Latvian Organisation of National Partisans – in Northern Kurzeme and *"Tēvijas Vanagi"* (The Hawks of Fatherland) in Southern Kurzeme.

and expected too much from foreign countries. Therefore they too often trusted "foreign" representatives sent in by NKVD. Most of partisans didn't believe that defenders of Latvia's independence in Western democracies would not even listen to partisan movement and used partisans only for the needs of their security services.

The struggle against national partisans was led by the Central Committee of AUC(B)P. Since 1944, the 5th Special task division (3000–5000 men) of the USSR NKVD Internal Troops operated in Latvia, which was directly subordinated to the USSR NKVD-MGB. The said division was led by major-general P.Leontyev and its headquarters was located in Riga. Under the same subordination there operated the battalion of destroyers of the Latvian SSR (about 16 000 men) together with groups of district and town activists of the Communist Party. The struggle against Latvia' s national partisans was directly organized by the headquarters of the CC of the C(B)P of Latvia under the leadership of the 2nd Secretary of the CC of C(B)P of Latvia F.Titov. In 1945–1946, almost each month the Bureau of the CC of C(B)P of Latvia secretly discussed the questions referring to the struggle against partisans and put forth concrete tasks [263].

During the National Partisan War (1944–1953) 3253 occupants and collaborationists were killed or wounded and 2422 national partisans were killed. Adding those 498 fighters, who were killed during the first post-war years in the Riga Central Prison, it can be said that about 3000 national partisans were killed, apart from those who perished as a result of terror of occupation power. It implies that Latvia's National partisan war took almost the same number of fighters as the Latvian Liberation war of 1918–1920. It demonstrates that the partisan war, when supported by the people, can be sustained for a long period and with relatively small manpower losses even without help from outside.

The suppression of Latvia's National Partisan war in early 50s initiated a transition to new forms of struggle. The movement of armed resistance was replaced by non-violent resistance, which, in the 40s and 50s manifested itself in Latvia in four forms. F i r s t l y, it was the resistance movement of young people and students in particular [265]. S e c o n d l y, the movement of Latvia's intellectual circles, which was turned against communist ideology and coercive restructuring of Latvian science and culture in accordance with the model of the Soviet empire. T h i r d l y, it was the resis-tance of the Christian Church, which resisted the economic and ideological suppression of the church and the endeavors to replace the Christian monotheism, existing for 800 years in Latvia, with atheistic Marxism-Leninism. F o u r t h l y, the latter half of the 50s saw the development of the movement of national communists, which differed essentially from the rest of the resistance movement by not turning against the communist ideology, but rather by implementation of communistic slogans into practice and was aimed at preventing the russification of Latvia.

In the 50s, the institutions of occupation power carried out a number of measures against non-violent resistance in Latvia, four jammers of foreign broadcasts were urgently built [267] and distribution of foreign magazines and newspapers was under strict control. In the latter half of the 50s, e.g. the period of Khruschov's thaw, tens of thousands of exiles returned to Latvia. For that reason, in 1957, the CC of the CP of Latvia succeeded in passing a decision that the leaders of national resistance were not allowed to return to Latvia. However, judging from the reports of the KGB of the Latvian SSR, the national resistance movement became more intense: leaflets against the occupation power were circulated, the flags of the USSR and Latvian SSR were taken down, and the flags of independent Latvia were hung out, etc. [266].

Likewise, in the following years the occupation power carried out total supervision over people and did strategic misinformation by means of press and broadcasting, etc. The most active spokesmen of freedom ideas – G.Astra [268], G.Rode, G.Freimanis, J.Būmeistars, and others were put under arrest.

In the 60s, 70s and 80s the role of silent and intellectual resistance increased. This form of resistance turned into the movement of all non-conformist people and could be regarded the third period of resistance movement. The silent resistance of people manifested itself in mass lighting of candles on the grave of J. Čakste, the first President of the State of Latvia, in the Memorial Warriors' Cemetery and on the graves of fighters for freedom or martyrs of NKVD all over Latvia – particularly on 14th June in commemoration of the first mass deportations, and, on the so-called "Day of Candles" (memorial day of the deceased) in November. Non-violent resistance of Latvian national communists was continuing. In 1971, E.Berklavs drew up and sent abroad "The letter of 17 Latvian communists", blaming the policy of russification of the communist regime proved by facts.

Regardless of sweeping resistance movement, the communist ideology directly or indirectly exerted influence upon the generation that was born and educated during the Soviet occupation. This influence manifested itself as simplified notion of Latvian and foreign culture, as aspiration for living "at the expense of the state", and as the lack of intellectual and business initiative.

The National non-violent resistance movement paved the way for Awakening (*Atmoda*) [270], which linked up with the resistance movement of Latvians in exile [271], and was supported abroad [272]. Joint attacks on the Soviet totalitarian regime by the Baltic and East European exile organizations [273, 274] intensified to such an extent that even counter-propagandists couldn't conceal them. The silent resistance of most people in Latvia reciprocated by open resistance of the exile contributed to the collapse of the Soviet empire.

[259–262] Documents and records about Latvian national partisans

[259]
The solemn vow of the Union of Latvian National partisans

[Year 1947]

Solemn vow of the partisans

I, national partisan of Latvia, solemnly vow to observe the charter of the Union of Latvian National partisans, the instructions, orders based on the charter and to obey my chiefs without objection.

I vow to be fair to everybody, to observe the laws of Latvia and to carry out all the duties entrusted upon me in all conscience in honour of God and my native land – free, independent L a t v i a.

[260]

Secret instruction of the Operations Department of the General Headquarters of the Union of Latvian National Partisans about the action against occupants and collaborators

5 July 1947

INSTRUCTION

to the ULNP and the defense units about action for dealing with war prisoners and persons arrested during the liberation war.

I

To execute immediately death penalty to all war prisoners who have been fighting with arms against independence of the state of Latvia.

II

a) During the liberation war to arrest immediately the following categories of officials and supporters of the Bolshevik occupation power, to treat them further in accordance with sections b) and c) of this instruction:

1. Employees of militia and destroyers whose participation in the political arrests of private persons, in ambushing and espionage, in active struggle against Latvian national partisans and armed plunder has been proved.

2. Employees of the Bolshevik administrative establishments whose pernicious activity against the state of Latvia and the vital interests of Latvian nation, in espionage and treason has been proved.

3. Members of the C(B)PL and YCL whose activities mentioned in paragraph 1 and paragraph 2 are proved.

4. Private inhabitants whose activities of fulfilling the tasks of informers, spies and betrayers of Latvian national partisans and civil inhabitants have been proved with or without consequences of the reporting and treason.

5. The character of the proofs must be specified: when, where and against what the criminal action has been directed. Especially important are the indications mentioned in section d).

b) To execute immediately death penalty to all the arrested with whom the arms for fighting against the independence of the state of Latvia have been found.

c) To arrange War Tribunals of three persons in the units of the ULNP and in the Defence units which immediately examine the cases of the arrested and depending on evidence about hostile activities against the independence of Latvia and vital interests of Latvian nation during the occupation period; to condemn and execute

death penalty in accordance with the Law on War Penalty of Latvia for the treason of state and nation.

d) The task of the ULNP, the Defence units and the Partisan War Tribunals is to strictly follow that there is no revenge due to personal hatred using the opportunity of the civil war conditions. To compile written protocols of the complaints and evidences of the civil inhabitants against the prisoners signed by the plaintiff or the witness confirming the truthfulness of the said being informed about the consequences of false evidence when the Partisan War Tribunal may have doubts about their truthfulness.

Operations Department of ULNP

[261]

Underground periodical issues of the Unions and Unit headquarters of the Latvian National partisans from 1945 till 1948

No.	Name of the issue	Publisher	Publishing place
1.	Sudrabotā Saule	Union of Latvian National partisans (ULNP)	Vidzeme
2.	Tēvzeme un Brīvība	ULNP	Vidzeme
3.	Dzimtene	ULNP	Vidzeme
4.	Tēvzeme un Brīvība	Organization of Latvian National partisans (OLNP)	Kurzeme
5.	Kurbads	OLNP	Kurzeme
6.	Mūsu Sauksme	OLNP	Kurzeme
7.	Tēvzemes Sargs	Union of Latvian Fatherland Guards (partisans) (ULFG(p))	Latgale
8.	Vilkaču Sauciens	ULFG(p)	Sēlija
9.	Latgales Partizāns	Latgale National Army	Latgale
10.	Vanagi	Tēvijas Vanagi	Southern Kurzeme

[262]

"Latvians" – appeal of the Union of Latvian Fatherland Guards (partisans)

[Year 1945]

Let us haloo, Latvians, who have remained still alive!

LATVIANS

On 18 November 1918 through the blood sacrificed by many our brothers and fathers a national, free and independent Latvia was founded. The state of Latvia was *de iure* recognized by all the states of the world, also the Soviet Union, the present robber of our freedom and independence. Material and spiritual culture prospered in our country Latvia through all the years of its existence and we, its inhabitants, have been very happy. But on 17June and 21 July 1940 with fraud and brutal power the Soviet Union took away everything – also freedom and independence. Remaining in this situation today we, all Latvians, face extinction either in the torture cells of the KGB or in prisons, or from the forced labour in exile starving and naked in cold.

We, Latvian Fatherland Guards – partisans, seeing all the inhabitants of Latvia, even the aged people and children and thousands of sufferers in the distant Siberia, seeing them standing and looking open-eyed in the face of horrible death, solemnly vow to fight as heroically against the red dragon – communism, as our fathers and brothers did in years 1918, 1919 and 1920 until its total expulsion from our land. But if the Almighty would decide that we must die defeated by the superpower then we will die and let our Fatherland, the sacred land, absorb the blood it had given to us.

To completely realize the aforesaid there has been founded the UNION OF LATVIAN FATHERLAND GUARDS (partisans), the promulgator of the inseparable strivings and desires of the whole Latvian nation.

With this the presidium of the ULFG(p) appeals to all inhabitants of Latvia: "Latvians, those who are capable of carrying arms, who stand for the future of our nation, for whom the name of a free and independent citizen is dearest of all, join the rows of FATHERLAND GUARDS – PARTISANS in order to regain the rights of our nation with arms in our hands. If we spare our lives now slavery and shame will be our share, if we spare property we lose everything. They who have come to our country with force must be evicted with force."

God, bless Latvia, its land and nation!

Union of Latvian Fatherland Guards (partisans)

[263]

Questions about the struggle against the armed national underground secretly discussed by the Bureau of the CC of C(B)PL in 1945 and 1946

No.	Date	Protocol No.	Question
1.	16.04.45	107	About actions to intensify the struggle against banditism and to strengthen the battalions of destroyers.
2.	28.05.45	112	About actions to intensify the struggle against banditism in the territory of the Latvian SSR.
3.	8.06.45	114	About additional activities in the struggle against banditism in the republic.
4.	16.06.45	115	About additional activities in the struggle against banditism and for the strengthening of battalions of destroyers in the republic.
5.	14.08.45	127	About the situation of the battalions of destroyers in the republic and the activities in order to improve their operation.
6.	31.10.45	134	About activities to intensify the struggle against the counter-revolutionary national underground and banditism.
7.	15.01.46	144	About the situation of the battalions of destroyers in Jēkabpils administrative district.
8.	7.05.46	165	About the intensification of struggle against counter-revolutionary national underground and banditism.

9.	5.06.46	172	About activities to intensify the struggle against the counter-revolutionary national underground and banditism in Alūksne administrative district.
10.	1.06.46	173	About activities to intensify the struggle against the counter-revolutionary national underground in Bauska administrative district.
11.	16.07.46	181	About the execution of the decision of the CC of C(B)PL "About the intensification of struggle against counter-revolutionary national underground and its armed gangs in Cēsis administrative district".
12.	22.08.46	187	About the assistance to Viļaka administrative district in the liquidation of banditism and strengthening of the battalion of destroyers.
13.	16.09.46	190	About the intensification of work in order to demoralize the murderous underground.

[264]

Occupants and collaborationists killed and wounded during Latvian national partisan war (from July 1944 till October 1953)

No.	Category	Killed		Wounded		Together
		Number	%	Number	%	
1.	Most active members of Soviets, Party and Komsomol and KGB informers	1070	48.5	281	27.1	1351
2.	Employees of NKVD, MGB	680	30.8	433	40.9	1113
3.	Soldiers and employees of NKVD, MGB	259	11.7	222	21.5	481
4.	Fighters of the battalions of destroyers	199	9.0	109	10.5	308
	Total	**2208**	**100. 0**	**1045**	**100.0**	**3253**

[265]

Report of the First Secretary of the CC of CPL J. Kalnbērziņš to the Secretary of the CC of CPSU G. Malenkov of 28 February 1953 about the intensification of the youth of anti-Soviet movement

TOP SECRET
28 February 1953

To the Secretary of CPSU comrade G.MALENKOV

During the last six months in Latvia there are more frequent manifestations of the school youth bourgeois nationalism and anti-Soviet activities. The organs of KGB in Riga, Jelgava and regional centre Talsi have disclosed 8 youth underground anti-Soviet groups the members of which have been engaged in spreading anti-Soviet leaflets and provocative rumours of "The Voice of America", BBC broadcasts [materials], pornographic literature and photos, petty larcenies and hooligan behaviour in the streets[1].

There were 51 persons engaged in underground groups aged from 10 to 25 years, among them 5 members of the YCL and 11 pioneers. There were from 4 up to 8 participants in each group. The group leaders usually were the sons of parents repressed by the Soviet power (big kulaks, house owners, former policemen etc.).

Thus there were 7 persons in the group "Youth of Free Latvia". The group was headed by Timermanis Kārlis, son of Arvīds, born in 1931, Latvian, from a big kulak family repressed in 1949, having studied at the Faculty of Philology of Latvian State University. The group considered its aim the struggle against the Soviet power, spreading anti-Soviet leaflets and in case of war against the USSR it anticipated the organisation of armed uprising in the rear of the Soviet army. The other 7 groups are similarly characterised.

The cause of the rise of anti-Soviet groups within the youth is the pollution of the teaching staff, insufficient educational and tutorial work in a number of schools in Riga, Jelgava and Talsi district and the weak job of the pioneer and Komsomol organisations. In the school year 1952/1953 the teachers ill-disposed against the Soviet power have activated the work in creation of youth underground groups and are trying by all means to avert the pupils from joining the pioneers and YCL and to take the hold of the morally weak part of youth.

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[1] No doubt that the crimes are wrongly recorded.

(..)

In order to improve the tutorial job with youth, to activate the fight against the bourgeois nationalistic and anti-Soviet manifestations among the schoolchildren,

the CC of the CPL requests the permission to appoint 99 discharged[1] comsorgs of the CC of the YCL in addition to the already present [discharged comsorgs] at 11 secondary schools of the republic.

J. Kalnbērziņš,
Secretary of the CC of the CP of Latvia

[1] Here paid employees discharged of any other duties are meant.

[266]

Excerpts from the report of the Chairman of the KGB of the Latvian SSR to the CC of the CPL about the illegal activities in May and June 1959

TOP SECRET
27 June 1960

Anonymous documents spread in **May and June 1959**:
anti-Soviet leaflets – 6 cases – 58 pieces
(..)
anti-Soviet inscriptions – 3 cases – 9 inscriptions
(..)
anti-Soviet letters – 11 cases – 21 piece
(..)
Torn down flags of the USSR and LSSR – 3 cases – 6 pieces.
(..)
At night-time from 14 to 15 May the flag of the bourgeois Latvia has been hanged out – one piece.

Major-General *Vēvers*,
Chairman of the KGB
Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR

[267]

Excerpts from the decision of the Bureau meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia on 20 October 1953 about the course of building of the radio broadcast jammers in Riga, Daugavpils, Liepāja and Ventspils

TOP SECRET
20 October 1953

DECISION
On the building of the special task radio objects

According to the decision of the Council of Ministers of the Union of SSR No.4809-209-ss from 4 December 1950, decision No.9370-ss from 12 June 1951, decision No.48-240-ss from 17 February 1953 and the decision of the Council of Ministers of Latvian SSR No. 236-ss from 11 March 1953 and decision No.1799-s from 26 September 1953 about further improvement of radio broadcasts and intensification of struggle against hostile radio programs, the commissar of the Ministry of Transport of LSSR (comrade Aleksandrov), Ministry of Housing and Civil Construction of LSSR (comrade Bezelis), Soviets of Workers' Deputies of Daugavpils, Liepāja and Ventspils in year 1953 must build and start the operation of radio works No.611 in Riga, No.62 in Daugavpils, No.63 in Ventspils and No.64 in Liepāja and a synchronous broadcasting radio station in Kuldīga and Valmiera. But the construction jobs are completely non-satisfactory and the launching within deadlines determined by the government is threatened.

(..)

The Bureau the CC of the CP of Latvia d e c i d e s:

1. To assume for knowledge the announcement of the Minister of Housing and Civil Construction of the Latvian SSR comrade Bezelis that building of the technical constructions will be finished until 1 November and the fencing of the territory of object No.611 until 10 November. (..)

2. To entrust the Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies of Daugavpils (comrade Pakalns), Liepāja (comrade Lejiņš) and Ventspils (comrade Vaļenieks) to finish the construction of premises, fencing of territories, energy supply and allotment of dwelling objects for the service staff until 31 October.

Secretary of the CC of CP of Latvia *J. Kalnbērziņš*

[268]
Excerpts from the last word of the Latvian freedom fighter Gunārs Astra at the Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR on 15 December 1983

15 December 1983

(..)

It hurts and I feel humiliated stating that my native tongue must shrink away to reservations – Open-air museum, to a few theatre stages, to the activities of mass-media – and there too it is slowly and confidently suppressed by the grand Russian tongue.

It hurts and I feel humiliated stating that the overwhelming majority of Russians born and bread in Latvia do not learn and do not want to know the Latvian language, that for the holder of the certificate of secondary school the Latvian language is the object of disdain and scoffing and that none of the examiners ask from the Russian pupil knowledge of this language, but for the Latvian pupil the knowledge of the Russian language is obligatory.

(..)

I am deeply insulted and humiliated when in a public place – shop, office, transport vehicles, in the street in the territory of Latvia – on every step I have to experience haughty, chauvinistic attitude towards my language – in the best case hearing: "Chevo, chevo? Po russky!"[1] – in the worst – the addressee gazes at me as if I were a window pane and then I can admire his back.

(..)

I believe that this time will fade away as an evil nightmare. It gives me strength to stand and breathe here. Our nation has suffered a lot and therefore it has learned and will weather also this dark period.

[1] "What, what? Russian!" (in Russian).

[269]

Excerpts from the report of the Chairman of the KGB of the Latvian SSR L. Avdjukevičs dated 27 July 1964 to the Secretary of the CC of CPL A. Voss about the resistance campaigns in the Warriors' Cemetery

SECRET
Riga, 27 July 1964

To the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia
comrade A. Voss

Reference
On the Warriors' Cemetery in Riga

(..)

The Warriors' Cemetery is also nowadays the place aspiring nationalistic elements; even on ordinary days one can see flowers laid on the graves of reactionary generals of bourgeois Latvia like Radziņš, Simansons[1] and others. Every year on 18 November and especially on the commemoration day of the dead one can see quite many people there. On the graves of the so-called "heroes of liberation fights" separate elements put lit candles and flowers with the colour composition reminding the flag of bourgeois Latvia. There were two reckless nationalistic escapades in this cemetery in 1959 and later: the flag of bourgeois Latvia was hung out and the thrown bottle with acid burned the red panel for covering the statue of the so-called "mourning Mother Latvia" on the anniversary of Soviet Latvia. In 1963 the student of the Riga Institute of Civil Aviation Javoišs who hanged out the flag of bourgeois Latvia on the radio tower [in Riga] before leaving home in order to commit this crime left a note requesting in case of death to be buried at the Warriors' Cemetery.

In 1941 at the "mourning Mother Latvia" the German fascist intruders together with Latvian nationalists buried the remains of the general of bourgeois Latvia Goppers – earlier one of the organizers of the Savinkov uprising, chairman of Latvian

[1] In the document. Correct: Simonsons.

scout organization. (The Soviet power had sentenced Goppers to the highest punishment and today the inscription on his grave is destroyed.)

(..)

Avdjukevičs
Chairman of the KGB
Council of Ministers of Latvian SSR

Notes in the document:
Material used for reference sent to the CC of the CPSU on 24.08.64

[270]
The report of the Chairman of the KGB of the Latvian SSR L. Avdjukevičs of 10 April 1980 about the arrest of a group of participants of the resistance movement

SECRET
Copy No.1
No.S/0747 10 April 1980

To the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Latvia

REPORT
about the arrest of a group of nationalists

On 7 April 1980 the KGB of the Latvian SSR detained and on 10 April arrested ill-disposed persons:

1) Batarevskis Oļegs, son of Vladimir, born in 1951 in Riga, Latvian, citizen of the USSR, non-Party, with higher education, married, working as legal adviser in production association "Rīgas balzams";

2) Ivanovs Ivars, son of Harijs, born in 1957 in the Latvian SSR, Latvian, citizen of the USSR, member of YCL, with higher education, married, engineer of the Technical Department of the Ministry of Wood-Processing Production of the Latvian SSR;

3) Gerbaševskis Gundars, son of Nikolajs, born in 1951 in the Latvian SSR, Latvian, citizen of the USSR, non-party, with unfinished higher education, married, former head of the joinery of the Jelgava district collective farm "Nākotne";

4) Šulcs Andris, son of Nikolajs, born in 1945 in the Latvian SSR, Latvian, citizen of the USSR, non-party, with secondary education, married, operator of the Tram and Trolley-bus Department of the Riga City Executive Committee.

Being nationalistically disposed the above mentioned persons influenced the surrounding people in a hostile spirit, told lies about the Soviet state and political system as well as called for separation of Latvia from the USSR.

They used their collected anti-Soviet and other hostile literature issued in bourgeois Latvia and during the years of fascist occupation, copied and disseminated it. They studied the tactics of armed struggle and instigated among the people with whom they established relations the idea about the need to organize struggle against the Soviet power.

In the investigation process in different establishments and organizations of Riga

15 persons were discovered with whom the arrested had had relationships. These people are under inspection.

During the searches at the premises of the arrested and those under inspection a great amount of nationalistic, anti-Soviet and other ideologically hostile literature has been withdrawn. The inspection continues.

L. Avdjukevičs
Chairman of the KGB of the Latvian SSR

Notes in the document:
A.Voss is acquainted. 17.04.80

[271]

The text of the solemn vow accepted on 19–20 May 1973 at the Central Board meeting of the organization *"Daugavas Vanagi"* (Hawks of the Daugava) founded on 28 December 1945 in Cedelgem (Belgium)

THE SOLEMN VOW OF *"DAUGAVAS VANAGI"*

We implicitly believe that Latvia will again be a free, national and independent state where the whole state power belongs to Latvian nation.

We greet the red-white-red flags which led our squadrons to battles and flying across the land of Latvia always reminded us about the sacrifices made for our freedom. We do not doubt that these flags will again flounder in the wind of the free Latvia on the coast of the Amber Sea.

We honour mothers and fathers whose sons have sacrificed their lives for the freedom of Latvia, Latvian women and children whose husbands and fathers remained in the battlefields, all the soldiers who from the ancient history of Latvia have been fighting in the name of freedom: the old riffle-men, participants of the liberation struggle, the heroes Lāčplēši[1], Latvian war invalids and Latvian legionaries.

We commemorate our killed fellows. The greatest monument to their sacrifices is our will to live, work and fight for the same goals for which they have given their lives.

We vow to remain always devoted to the red-white-red flag, our fatherland Latvia and the ideals of freedom of our nation.

We love peace, but above peace – freedom.

We are ready to give life for the freedom of Latvia.

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[1] Holders of the *Lāčplēsis* War Order.

[272]

Resolution of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the USA supporting the right of the Baltic peoples to self-determination

H. CON. RES. 416

[Report No. 1606]

BALTIC STATES

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 23, 1966

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

September 10 (legislative day, September 7), 1966

Report by Mr. Fulbright, without amendment

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation; and

Whereas all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural, and religious development; and

Whereas the Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been forcibly deprived of these rights by the Government of the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union, through a program of deportations and resettlement of peoples, continues in its effort to change the ethnic character of the populations of the Baltic States; and

Whereas it has been the firm and consistent policy of the Government of the United States to support the aspirations of Baltic peoples for self-determination and national independence, and

Whereas there exist many historical, cultural, and family ties between the peoples of the Baltic States and the American peoples: Be it

(a) to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and

(b) to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

Passed the House of Representatives June 21, 1965.

Attest: RALPH R. ROBERTS,
Clerk.

[273]

Appeal of the leaders of the exile national and refugees' organizations of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland and Hungary, as well as the ACEN[1] Delegation in Stockholm and the Baltic Committee to help the Baltic nations in their liberation struggle, 14 June 1973

Stockholm, 14 June 1973

APPEAL

European Security and the Baltic States

Most Western States including the USA have not recognized the annexation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union in the summer of 1940. This is a result of the condemnation of war and the use of force in the so-called Briand-Kellog Pact of 1928, which is still in force, and of a reaffirmation of this ban in the Charter of the United Nations (1945). The ban on war ought to mean that changes in territorial boundaries attained by the use of armed forces are not recognized. This principle, the so-called Stimson doctrine, was first formulated in a Note to China and Japan in 1932 by the then US Secretary of State, Henry Stimson. The USA reaffirmed this doctrine on July 27, 1940, declaring she would not recognize the annexation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union by use of force and on the basis of a secret agreement between Hitler and Stalin.

The activities of Baltic organisations and individuals abroad, and the passive resistance of the Baltic nations at home, have contributed to a continued non-recognition by the major Western Powers of the incorporation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. The diplomatic representatives of the Baltic States have been able to carry on their work. The Soviet Union has tried repeatedly to attain an international recognition of the annexation, but so far without results. This means that the status of the Baltic States is not a domestic Soviet problem but, on the contrary, an international problem.

The United Nations have issued several appeals to all Governments to combat violations of the human rights and basic freedoms, such as the right of self-determination, freedom of organization, religious freedom, freedom of opinion, free-dom of speech, ban of racial discrimination, etc. The nations bordering on the Soviet Union have suffered great losses through Soviet terror and genocide which started with mass

[1] Assembly of the Captive European Nations (ACEN) was founded in 1954. The General Meeting of the Assembly was convened 1–2 times a year in New York and Strasbourg. Till 1960, the commissions of politics, justice, information, social matters and culture were active within the ACEN. In the 80s, owing to the détente, the activities of the ACEN actually stopped.

deportations from the Baltic States on June 14, 1941. The Baltic States were hit particularly severely but the populations of Poland, Roumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other East and Central European countries have suffered through Communist terror and through Soviet colonialism and russianization, more particularly in the Baltic States.

We accuse the rulers in the Kremlin of oppression and of violations of the basic human rights in the Baltic States and in the Central and East European countries as well as in the USSR proper.

The undersigned representatives in the free world of the East and Central European nations appeal to the free nations and their Governments, to the free Press, to world public opinion and to international organizations:

• not to refuse to help the Baltic nations in their struggle of freedom against Soviet neo-colonialism and russianization because their just demands are based on historical, cultural and ethical facts;

• to assess correctly Soviet aspirations at the planned European Security Conference – to try to secure and to attain a recognition in treaties to the present status quo in Europe, to reduce US influence in Europe in order to increase Soviet influence. There is reason to fear that the Soviet Union will be prepared to make considerable concessions and pledges for the future to escape rectifying its earlier acts of injustice;

• not to recognize the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States and to grant all the occupied nations the possibility to exercise their right of self-determination under the protection of the United Nations.

Chairman of the Estonian National Foundation (signature)
Chairman of the Latvian National Foundation (signature)
Chairman of the Lithuanian Society in Sweden (signature)
Chairman of the Polish Refugee Council in Sweden (signature)
Chairman of the Central Society of Free Hungarians in Sweden (signature)
Chairman of the ACEN Delegation in Stockholm (signature)
Secretary of the Baltic Committee (signature)

[274]

Copenhagen Manifesto of the International Baltic Tribunal[1], 26 July 1985

26 July 1985

Copenhagen Manifesto

The Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen declares that the occupation and annexation of the once independent States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania serve as prime examples of the violations of international public law and treaties ratified by the Soviet Union.

Mass Russian immigration has seriously damaged Baltic identity and political structure; language, culture, religion, even the learning of history in schools, have suffered under Soviet rule. The militarization of the Baltic States serves as a constant reminder of the continuing threat to world peace.

The right of the Baltic peoples to self-determination, to non-discrimination and to non-interference on their ancestral soil must be reinstated. After hearing experienced witnesses on numerous aspects of life and law and practice in occupied Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the Baltic Tribunal concludes that severe injustice has been and is being done to these people by the Soviet Union.

The fate of the three Baltic States is unique in human history. Nowhere else in the world are former parliamentary democracies occupied, annexed and colonized by a conquering power. A unique fate deserves unique policies from the democratic governments of the world. We call upon them to raise the issue of Soviet occupation of the Baltic countries in all world forums, demanding freedom and independence for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

By this Copenhagen Manifesto we declare that the present situation in the Baltic countries is damaging the chance of peace and freedom in Europe and the world.

Theodor Veiter, Chairman

Per Ahlmark
Jean-Marie Daillet

Rev. *Michael Bourdeaux*
Sir James Fawcett

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[1] The International Copenhagen Tribunal, on the initiative of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian exile organizations, took place in Copenhagen on 25 and 26 June 1985. The Tribunal accused the USSR of the occupation and annexation of the Baltic States, the restriction of the rights of nations, russification, deportation and the violation of human rights, as well as the colonization of the above countries. The tribunal heard 17 witnesses and adopted a conclusion, which was given a name Copenhagen Manifesto. 5 experts of international law took part in the work of the Tribunal, 133 journalists followed its course and later published about 1000 articles on it in the press.

CHAPTER 14

Regaining of independence

The non-violent resistance of a great part of the nation to the occupation regime in the native land, the strict stand of the exile organizations of the Baltic States(Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia) concerning the question of independence of these states and the support of significant Western political powers, activities of the illegal opposition in Latvia and in the Baltic in general, the political non-conformity in Russia as well as in other republics of the USSR and in the East European states – it all together weakened the communist totalitarianism and maintained the hope for the future victory of the rights of the nations and the democracy.

As a result of practicing inefficient economic model the economic situation in the USSR was permanently and rapidly aggravating since the beginning of the 70s. In the first ten years the aggravation was partly compensated by unlimited exploitation of natural resources of the superpower but since the beginning of the 80s, this option also lost its meaning and a decrease of production in absolute figures set in. The supply and social conditions of the inhabitants became more and more deplorable and the ruling nomenclature found it more and more difficult to explain it with "post-war difficulties" since it was already more than 30 years since the end of war. But the more informed and erudite officials of the CPSU and the KGB were most scared by the fact that the superpower hopelessly started to lag behind the United States of America in arms race thus losing the main argument in the dialogue with the outer world – the power of weapons. The rulers of the empire gradually grew accustomed to the idea that they should take up to "acceleration and reconstruction" since it was forecast that a huge social explosion could happen in the USSR in the nearest years. These prospects were stimulated by the unfortunate intervention of the USSR in Afghanistan. The coffins arriving from Afghanistan dispelled the myth cultivated by the nomenclature that the leaders of the CPSU have managed at least to secure peaceful life for the nations of the USSR if not more.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU M. Gorbachev and his supporters took into consideration that the realization of reforms in the Soviet Union would definitely cause severe counteraction of the ultra-conservative circles of the Party which, being afraid of the weakening position, denied any liberalization plans. In order to strengthen their power M. Gorbachev and his fellows had to influence these so-called "stagnants" with the help of public opinion and thus the slogan of "openness" (glasnostj) sprang up. Temporary allies were needed in order to push back from the power the most conservative, most odious representatives of the

Stalinist Breznevist oligarchy, therefore the Party establishments were often relatively tolerant towards the so-called amateur formations or informal public organizations. Thus the nomenclature tried to turn the dissatisfaction and radicalization of people into the stream of internal opposition to the regime and to avert its siding with outer opposition to the regime. But several informal organizations already in the initial stage of their activities tried to rid themselves of the dictatorship of the Communist Party [276].

The human rights defence group "Helsinki – 86" [276], the documents of which were marked by the idea of the cessation of occupation and of freedom for Latvia, became the first organization of the so-called outer opposition to the regime in Latvia. Laying of flowers at the Monument of Freedom in Riga in honour of the victims of deportations [278] of 14 June 1941 organized by the group "Helsinki – 86" became the beginning of the so-called Awakening (or the 3rd awakening of Latvian nation).

The calls of several informal organizations and democratic journalists to unite in common national protest actions against the construction of the Daugavpils hydroelectric power station and the Riga Underground spotting the inflow of new immigrant masses and a threat to environment devastating industrialization gained mass support. But the "silent majority" of the nation was still temporizing not capable of truly believing the possibility of radical change. The process of the awakening in Latvia was powerfully activated by the general meeting of the Board of the Union of Writers of the Latvian SSR on 1 and 2 June 1988 with the participation of experts and leaders of the Unions of the Employees of Theatres, Architects, Designers, Cinematographists, Composers, Artists and Journalists. The speeches contained the demands to liberalize the present regime and for the first time the speeches of the delegates and the adopted resolution disclosed the truth about the occupation of Latvia in 1940 publicly. The speeches of well-known and respected people encouraged the majority of the nation, created the conviction that the change was possible and it had already started, that today there was the possibility (for many for the first time in their life) to really influence the events in Latvia. A very significant thing was that a similar process of the events took place also in the other two occupied Baltic States. Besides in Estonia it surpassed the process of Latvia for several months. Thus the venture of separate individuals in the summer of 1988 turned into a nation-wide movement and the increase of louder demands to restore national symbols, to provide the equality to the Latvian language in all walks of life, to reach the economical sovereignty of the republic, to change the unitary superpower of the USSR into the "federation of equal republics" of the USSR.

On 10 July 1988 the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) was founded [279]. It was the first democratic mass organization of Awakening. A few

months after the foundation, the LNNK expressed a clear non-compromising position concerning the question about the status of the Republic of Latvia [280] and together with the movements of national independence of other Baltic States demanded the withdrawal of the occupation army from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and to give these nations a possibility to freely decide their future [281].

The reaction of the CC of CPL towards these growing activities in the society was the criticism of the general meeting of the creative unions and the directions about the restriction of mass activities [282] but they did not dare to begin large-scale repression.

In summer 1988 the initial work was started for the organization which would unite the widest masses of people in the struggle for the democratization of the society, for the sovereignty of Latvia and its spiritual rebirth. The supporters of the "strict line" of the government tried not to allow it [283], but their desperate efforts to influence the public did not succeed. The officials of the CC of CPL in their turn as well as the powerful circles of the CPSU in Moscow initially hoped that they would manage to create a mass organization which would work under the guidance of the Communist Party.[1] In order to urge the growing mass organization- the Popular Front of Latvia – to compromises and in order to avert its radicalization, the Bureau of the CC of CPL as a matter of fact on 27 September 1988 agreed to the usage of the cultural and historical symbol of Latvian nation – the red-white-red flag and the declaration of the Latvian language as the state language of the Latvian SSR.[2]

From one side the CPL joined the organization of the PFL, from the other there were the LNNK and other political groups supporting the idea of independence and thus obtaining the possibility to popularize it in vast masses. It would not have been possible to have this audience only within their own organizations because there was still fear of the possible repression and the return of the past times ruling in a big part of the society.

On 8 October 1988, the Popular Front of Latvia was founded (PFL) [284] and it became the biggest organization in the history of Latvia embracing many-sided political views.

The hopes nomenclature cherished for the Popular Front received the first heavy blow in November 1988 when the PFL categorically opposed the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR because it even more limited the rights of the republics. But the attempt to "bring the PFL to the senses" turned out to threaten the unity of the CPL itself because quite many primary organizations with the majority of Latvians sided with the Popular Front. The appeal of the Board of the Council of the Popular Front of 31 May 1989 to discuss the questions about the sovereignty of Latvia outside the

[1] LVA, PA – 101. f., 61. apr., 56. 1., p. 16–21
[2] LVA, PA – 101. f., 61. apr., p. 58

USSR [285] in the departments and groups of the Popular Front testified that the organization was already carrying out the mission incompatible with the plans of the USSR strategists and was threatening the existence of the communist regime itself [286].

Having united approximately 300 000 supporters, the Popular Front of Latvia successfully carried out mass patriotic actions [287], opposed the coveting of the chauvinist circles of the Soviet empire to oppress the self-determination strivings of the Baltic nations [288] and also the attempts of the members of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR (Interfront) created in January 1989 – nomenclature, militarists and neo-stalinists to "preserve the Soviet power", i. e. to preserve the ideology and the administrative bureaucratic system of the empire. On 18 March 1990, the first democratic elections of the Supreme Soviet of the republic were held in which the deputies nominated by the Popular Front of Latvia won a convincing victory. On 4 May of the same year the Supreme Soviet adopted the declaration "On the Renewal of Independence of the Republic of Latvia" [289]; this choice was supported by the majority of inhabitants of Latvia according to the All-Latvia Advisory Vote of 3 March 1991 [291, 292]. At the same time the inhabitants who considered themselves the citizens of the Republic of Latvia founded on 18 November 1918 or their descendants, and who tried to restore this country and not to found it anew, in April 1990, elected the Congress of Citizens of the Republic of Latvia and the permanent working institution – the Committee of Latvia – gathered to its first meeting on 1 May 1990. Although several positions of the Congress of Citizens did not always correspond to life and the given situation, the outlook of the Congress of Citizens [290] influenced the restoration of the legal bonds of the renewed Republic of Latvia with the pre-war Republic of Latvia, the determination of the body of citizens and introducing the necessary changes, the restoration of the Satversme (Constitution) of 1922 and a chain of most important laws of the pre-war Latvia.

As a result of disintegration, the CPL split in April 1990: a part of the members left the Party, a part of them created the Independent Communist Party of Latvia announcing its loyalty to the restored Republic of Latvia. The orthodox communists who continued to defend the views of the CPSU and worked also in the so-called Interfront and in other organizations hostile to the independence of Latvia continued the struggle for "the protection of the Soviet system" [293]. The attempt to restore the Soviet system by violent means in the beginning of 1991 suffered defeat, the Baltic nations preserved their regained independence in a non-violent way on the barricades in Vilnius and in Riga [294]. The support of many Western official circles and the public opinion of the world played an immense role in the protection of independence because the values set by the program of the Popular Front –

democracy, national self-confidence and integration of the society – were close and clear in different parts of the world.

The putch in the Soviet Union in the period from 19 till 21 August 1991 and its defeat created the situation when the cessation of mutual loyalty bonds between Latvia and the Soviet Union became possible [295, 296, 297]. On 6 September 1991 the State Council of the USSR recognised the independence of Latvia (Russian Federation had recognised the independence of the Republic of Latvia already on 24 August 1991). With that the road to international recognition and towards the liquidation of the consequences of occupation in Latvia was open.[1]

The fight of the Baltics and Latvia for democracy and independence became the accelerator of the democratic and centrifugal forces in the whole of Soviet empire, it influenced social events also in other socialist states. The tide billowing in the Baltics crushed the narrow borders of the "perestroika" planned by the regime and as a result of the avalanche-like development of the events, the USSR and the so-called Socialist camp collapsed and an independent Russia and a chain of other states sprang up as well as the reunion of Germany took place.

The criminal agreement written in the Russian and the German languages in the turn of the 30s and 40s introduced the occupation of the Baltic states, but half a century later the struggle of the Baltic nations against the occupation was the beginning of the democratic processes in Russia and the reunion of Germany.

[1] On 31 August 1994 the withdrawal of the Russian Army from Latvia was completed and on 31 August 1998 the Skrunda radio-location station, the last military object of Russia in the territory of Latvia, was closed.

[275] The Communist Party and the informal organizations

[275]

The letter of the Central Committee of CPL to the municipal and regional committees of CPL about the attitude of the Party towards the activities of the informal organisations

SECRET

No. 76s 27 January 1988

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

To the municipal and regional committees of the Communist Party of Latvia

We forward you an orientating letter of the Departments of the CC of the Communist Party of Latvia about overcoming of negative tendencies of the activities of several amateur formations.

Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party
of Latvia *A. Gorbunovs*

SECRET

About the surmounting of negative tendencies of the activities
of several amateur formations

Various layers of the inhabitants of the republic treat the process of revolutionary changes and the extension of democracy developing in the state with deep understanding. It facilitates the enlargement of social political activity of the working people. It is manifested in the diverse modifications of amateur groups, interest clubs and public associations.

In the greatest part it aids fullfilment of the spiritual interests, realization of creativeness. Nevertheless lately more and more often different anti-social elements enter these clubs and associations in our state and republic and among them there are

people earlier prosecuted for anti-Soviet activities who use the situation of democratisation and openness and strive to utilize the new forms of work for selfish intents. They try to create amateur formations obviously hostile to the Soviet system. According to the recommendations of the CC of the CPSU the municipal and regional committees of the Communist Party of Latvia have started to pay greater attention to the recovery of the situation in professional bodies, to the analysis of different negative manifestations within informal associations and in the activities of separate extreme nationalistic persons.

But the results of this job in general cannot be considered satisfactory. Attention should be paid to the fact that many Party, Soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organisations do not react efficiently against anti-social occurrences. A significant part of the Party [activists], a part of the ideological activities are not prepared for public discussions and flexible counteraction to the strivings of the demagogues and extremists. Many municipal and regional voluntary societies, first of all those which have to deal with the questions of preservation of monuments of history and culture, protection of the environment and the struggle for sobriety, have not yet reorganised their work. The law-enforcement institutions hold an uncertain temporising position.

As a result of this, the negative tendencies in the activities of several amateur formations are reinforcing. Making use of the "perestroika" ideas, the leaders of these formations try to elaborate a common political platform and to unite on its principles. Thus a certain S. Yegorenok, one of the leaders of the Riga informal association "Club of the socially active people" (CSAP) and his fellows have made up their minds to unite all the informal associations under the leadership of CSAP and to elaborate the program of common activities with the aim of "the democratic reorganisation of our society". Other similar leaders call for "taking over the initiative while it is still possible", for "free trade-unions", independent youth organisations, for the usage of the experience of the Polish "Solidarity".[1] In accordance with their selfish intentions, they try to organise the discussion clubs and to involve there well-known youth-respected people.

Nationalistic priests who have united in the so-called group "Rebirth and Revival" have activated their disruptive activities. Nationalistic and extremist tendencies are observed also in the activities of several members of the so-called "Club of Environment Protection" or as they call themselves "the greens". The activists of alike associations try to enter the professional bodies, youth environment, interest clubs and to provoke negative attitude against the changes in economy, to create

[1] An independent trade-union in Poland founded in 1980 and working illegally from 1982 up to 1989.

dissatisfaction with "perestroika" among the workers, to urge separate persons to confront the Party and trade-union organisations and administration.

In these circumstances, many committees of the Party, primary organisations of the Party do not evaluate the danger of negative manifestations. They accept the role of the observer and leave things to themselves. The lack of initiative and fighting spirit, inability to oppose extreme transgressions, arm-chair style of work, slow solution of problems important for different layers of inhabitants, lead to the isolation of separate Party committees and primary organisations from the real everyday life processes and make the activities of amateur formations uncontrollable.

It is typical that the negative phenomena of the activities of the associations are utilised by the special services and foreign anti-Soviet centres. They have an important role in the plans of class enemies directed towards the discrediting of perestroika and impairment of socialism from within. The special services of the imperialist states directly finance and instruct the leaders of several formations.[1]

It has been observed in connection with the nationalistic and anti-Soviet group "Helsinki – 86".

Earlier the mass media of the republic sufficiently revealed the anti-social goals of this extreme group and its leaders. The educational and preventive activities of the Soviet, Party, and judicial institutions allowed to localise the anti-social activity of the members of the group. They gave up active public addresses and the anticipated participation in the earlier planned demonstration on 18 November last year. The greatest part of the members of the group left for abroad, for capitalist states and they have been deprived of the Soviet citizenship. In fact the group has fallen apart.

Nevertheless recently the Western special services are trying to reanimate to so-called group "Helsinki – 86". They intensively seek for nationalistically inclined elements and try to use them for its renewal. Thus due to the lack of ideological maturity, the chief doctor of Rēzekne city and regional central hospital J. Vidiņš came out with an unprecedented announcement of his joining of the group "Helsinki – 86". On 17 January this announcement was broadcast by Western radio stations.

J. Vidiņš was born in 1938, Latvian, member of the Party and deputy of the district Soviet, is working in the position of the chief doctor since 1976. His inconsistent political position, personal ambitions, imbalance of the character and administratively bureaucratic management methods have created unhealthy moral and psychological climate among the staff of the hospital. He has been repeatedly called to account for it before the Party and administration.

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[1] Unsubstantiated statements made concerning the co-operation with special services of the "imperialist states" were the usual accusations, turned against the enemies of the communist regime.

At the moment, the ideological and political lack of balance of J. Vidiņš is being analyzed and it will receive a respective estimation of the Party.

Taking into consideration the above, it is necessary to implement energetic steps in order to prevent the negative tendencies in the activities of separate extremist persons of the amateur formations. In order to avert their fall into anti-social positions, it is necessary to intensify energetically the influence of the Party, trade-unions and Komsomol upon diverse social formations, to lead them along actively using the initiative and energy of the inhabitants of the republic in the interests of perestroika. Besides it is important to determine a strict border between a true social activity and the tricks of political extremists.

(..)

Departments of the CC of the Communist Party of Latvia

[276]

Announcement of the foundation of Latvian human rights defence group "Helsinki-86" in July 1986

Liepāja, July 1986

Taking into consideration Articles 49 and 50 of the Constitution of the Latvian SSR, we decide to found a group which will follow how the economic, cultural and individual rights of our people are being observed.

We undertake to inform the international organizations about trespassing against the material and spiritual values of our people as well as our nation itself without any censorship and pushing from outside.

Our principle is to bar the road for lies and terror. To give all the nations free choice of their way of development. To observe the principles of the final document of the Helsinki Conference.[1]

We decide to give our group the name of Helsinki.

"HELSINKI-86"

1. *Grantiņš Linards*, son of Alberts, born in 1950 in Bolsherechensk District, Omsk Region, working at the production association "Daiļrade", master of amber, metal adornments. Liepāja, M. Būkas str. 47–8.

2. *Bitenieks Raimonds*, son of Ernests, born in 1944 in Latvia, city of Liepāja, working in the Central City Hospital as a driver. Liepāja, Grīzupes str. 102—46.

3. *Bariss Mārtiņš*, son of Pēteris, born in 1947 in Latvia, Limbaži district, village Lēdurga, working in the Liepāja Haberdashery Plant.

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[1] The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe took place in Helsinki from 30 July till 1 August 1975.

[277]

Letter of the Latvian human rights defence group "Helsinki-86" of July 1986 to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU M. Gorbachev

Liepāja, July 1986

We request also you, comrade Gorbachev, to help realize Article 69 of the Constitution of the Latvian SSR which says that the Latvian SSR keeps the right to choose secession from the Soviet Union. Please, respect also the interests of our nation. Let us ourselves determine our fate (in way of referendum).

Let us ourselves eat our bread and sell the remainder to others, not the opposite – to throw the people creating all these material goods bones, nails and udders. Let us freely meet all the other nations of the world. We have not committed any harm to any nation and we do not deserve to be locked in and taught with whom to make friends and with whom not.

Your nation possesses unbelievable vastness of land from the Baltic Sea till Japan. You are both in North and South poles. You are in all oceans of the world. You have also the Space – it is almost as much as the God. Is it really not enough for the Russian nation? Do you really need 1.5 million Latvians and a tiny piece of land at the Baltic Sea? Come to us as friends and you will receive friendship. Respect other nations and you will be respected. It you do not respect other nations you will cause irreversible harm to your nation.

It is worth to remember the fairy-tale common to many nations about the fisherman, the golden fish and his wife.

We want to believe you that you will lay the foundation for democracy. Everybody will gain from it and there will be no losers.

1. GRANTIŅŠ Linards
2. BITENIEKS Raimonds
3. BARISS Mārtiņš

[278]

Appeal of the Latvian human rights defence group "Helsinki-86" of May, 1987 concerning the commemoration day of the deportation of 14 June 1941

May 1987

The first mass deportations of the Latvian people from which only a few returned took place at night from 14 to 15 June 1941.

Men were separated from women and children. People transported in cattle wagons were in horrible conditions. Children and aged people were the first who passed away from this world and who found their graves at the railroad side in foreign parts.

This act of genocide was headed by the Communist Party. Until this very moment the Party has not found it necessary to apologize never mentioning the moral and material compensation. One hears only obscure phrases about a certain cult.[1]

We, the group "Helsinki-86" have decided to honour the victims of sovietization - genocide in Latvia by laying flowers at the Monument of Freedom in Riga at 15.00 on 14 June 1987.

We invite also other Latvians who are not indifferent towards the fate of our nation to honour the innocent victims with a minute of silence and with laying of flowers at the Monument of Freedom in Riga on 14 June.

Group "HELSINKI-86"

GRANTIŅŠ Linards
SILARAUPS Rolands
BITENIEKS Raimonds
ANDERSONS Guntis
BARISS Mārtiņš

[1] The so-called Stalin's Cult of Personality with which the government of the USSR tried to motivate all the crimes committed by the communist regime.

[279]

The announcement of the Board of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) of 10 July 1988 about the targets of the organisation

Riga, 10 July 1988

We are greatly concerned about the situation of the Latvian nation in Latvia. For the first time in its history, it is turning into a national minority in its own country. Part of the nation was exterminated by mass repression of Stalinism. The ungrounded vast expansion of heavy industry facilitated mass inflow of foreigners in the republic (approximately 700 thousand in the post-war period). The illegalities of the stagnation period furthered the decay of culture, morality and capacity for work. Irresponsible and incompetent management has caused deformed production and sickly agriculture, indifferent attitude of the people towards the environment. The nature of Latvia is industrially polluted and its resources squandered.

Education and health protection of the nation is on an inadmissible low level. The average length of life of our nation has become shorter than that of any other nation in Europe.

We believe that these and other circumstances threaten the vital interests of our nation, even its survival. Only in the circumstances of complete national sovereignty Latvians can successfully protect interests of their nation and solve the many stocked up problems.

We consider that the demand of the Latvian nation for a sovereign state is just and sacred.

The Board of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia calls all the supporters of national self-determination in Latvia and outside it regardless of their nationality, religious conviction or membership of the Party to join the movement with the aim to restore Latvia as a sovereign republic.

The main aim of the movement is to achieve the realisation of the democratic statehood and political sovereignty of the Republic of Latvia, provision of its economic independence, normalisation of the demographic situation and the protection of the culture traditions.

The movement turns against the Latvian national discrimination in any form of manifestation and defends the national interests of Latvian people. The movement is not turned against other nationalities living in Latvia, it recognises their grounded

political, economical and cultural interests and it invites them to co-operate in the solution of common problems.

The movement is acting openly, democratically and with peaceful means within the limits set by the standards of the UNO and other internationally recognised norms of human rights. The movement is participating in the development of socialistic pluralism, openness and democracy, it is turned against any form of violence, militarism, and chauvinism.

The movement stands for the co-operation with all social organisations, societies, and clubs kindred in aims and views. Diverse specialists and representatives of creative professions must become the guides. Any idea or proposal may turn out useful.

We consider as an important task the necessity to achieve the implementation of the decision of the General Meeting of the Council of the Creative Unions of the Latvian SSR.

Apart from that we consider it necessary to achieve:

1. Immediate interruption of the inflow of migrants in Latvia, to facilitate the return of a part of the migrants to their own countries.

2. To fix the Latvian language as the state language.

3. To fix the status of the citizen of Latvia, restore the national symbols.

4. To regard Latvians living outside Latvia as a part of our nation.

5. To free the territory of Latvia from nuclear weapons.

6. To give all the industrial enterprises and establishments of Latvia until now subjected to the ministries and departments of the Union in charge of the government of Latvia.

7. To arrange the troops of Latvian national Army where Latvian youth could serve its obligatory duty as well as the military schools with the Latvian language of learning. To cancel military training in comprehensive schools.

8. To secure in practice the observation of personal freedoms and basic rights envisaged by the Constitution.

9. To allow to express in press, on the radio and TV views different from the official statements as well as to organise meetings and demonstrations with political demands.

10. To allow to print and to spread independent press issues.

11. To elaborate a new, democratic law about elections which would guarantee the possibility to nominate several independent lists of candidates.

12. To allow to establish independent democratic parties.

13. To acknowledge as illegal and to condemn openly the decisions of the general meeting of the CPL of July 1959 concerning language, specialists, economy and the requisitions.

14. To liquidate the state control over the church. To provide the possibility for the church to publish in press, broadcast on Radio and TV, to issue literature of religious content, to carry out charity missions.

We ask everybody who care for the mentioned problems to send the Board of the movement their proposals and suggestions.

Board of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia:

1. Eduards BERKLAVS
2. Jānis BIEZAIS
3. Juris DOBELIS
4. Aivars JAKOVIČS
5. Roberts KĻIMOVIČS
6. Juris LOMONOVSKIS
7. Visvaldis MUCENIEKS
8. Andris PAULS-PĀVULS
9. Ilga PŪPOLA
10. Einārs REPŠE
11. Diāna REPŠE
12. Anta RUDZĪTE
13. Dans TITAVS
14. Valts TITAVS

The announcement was accepted during the General Foundation Meeting of the LNNK in Riga, Arkādija, on 10 July 1988.

[280]

Basic approach of the LNNK to the question about the status of the Republic of Latvia

8 September 1988

We consider that it has been historically and legally proved that the sovietization of the Republic of Latvia and its annexation to the USSR in 1940 is illegal, we do not recognize Latvia as a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *de iure*.

We consider that the annexation of the Republic of Latvia to the USSR *de facto* is the occupation of Latvia and we demand to stop it.

Accepted by voting at the meeting of the Board (unanimously).

Recorded by: A. PAULS-PĀVULS
Headeed by: J. Dobelis

The basic approach was unanimously supported by the general meeting of the LNNK of more than 2000 persons on 17 September 1988.

Meeting headed by: J. DOBELIS
Recorded by: E. REPŠE

[281]

Resolution of the 1st Conference of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian movements for national freedom of 20 November 1988 about the necessity to withdraw the occupation army of the USSR from the Baltic States and to give their nations the possibility to freely chose their future

20 November 1988

Considering that the independence of the Baltic States – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – brutally occupied and annexed to the Soviet Union in 1940 has not been renewed until now, the Conference finds it necessary:

1. To withdraw immediately the occupation army of the USSR from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.
2. To create conditions for free expression of the will of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian nations in the presence of the observers of neutral states or the UNO.
3. To strictly observe the international conventions and agreements regulating the relationship between the occupation power and the inhabitants of the occupied territories until the time of complete fulfillment of the first two demands [of this document].

On behalf of	Viktor NIITSOO
National Independence Party of Estonia:	Eve PÄRNASTE
	Sander SISS
On behalf of	Eduards BERKLAVS
Movement for National Independence of Latvia:	Einārs REPŠE
	Juris DOBELIS
On behalf of	Algimantas BALTRUŠIS
League of Freedom of Lithuania:	Romualdas RAGAIŠIS
	Antanas TERLECKAS

The resolution is supported by:
Miervaldis KRIMS from the Riga Branch
of the group "Helsinki-86",
Ints CĀLĪTIS from the Unofficial Popular Front.

[282]

Excerpt from the protocol of the Bureau meeting of the CC of CPL of 28 July 1988 – the decision "About some additional undertakings for legal regulation of the organisation of meetings, rallies, marches and demonstrations and the protection of the staff of militia and interior troops while executing the task of maintaining public order"

28 July [1988]

1. The CC of the Communist Party of Latvia remarks that in the process of perestroika the activity of the working people has significantly grown making use of the rights to participate in the administration of the society and state and practicing the freedoms of speech, press, meetings, rallies and demonstrations. A great part of these mass events take place under the slogans of the intensification of perestroika, renewal of diverse sides of social life of the society, protection of the monuments of nature, history and culture. But there are several extremist elements in the social movements trying to use the democratic rights and the new circumstances of perestroika for openly anti-democratic purposes. Lately there have been cases in the republic when the rallies, marches and meetings are organised with anti-social slogans. The organisers coming from separate informal associations provoke breaches of public order, try to widen the social and national tension, to destabilise the political situation. The contents and form of alike activities trespass the limits of constitutional provisions and cause indignation in vast layers of the working people of the republic. Under these circumstances supporting and developing the activity of the Soviet people, actively participating in the discussions, the committees of the Party and the communists working in the Soviets of the People's Deputies and in social organisations must repulse the extremist elements, must provide duly realisation of social motions in the circumstances of maximum openness, must avert the discovered drawbacks and must directly inform the interested citizens about the accepted decisions.

2. To recommend the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR to make changes in the regulations "About the organisation and the procedure of meetings, rallies, marches and demonstrations in the Latvian SSR" in accordance with the respective decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR of 28 July 1988.

3. To support the draft project of the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet

of the Latvian SSR concerning those changes in the laws and regulations of the Latvian SSR which are directed towards the provision of legal guarantees of the Soviet citizens and the realization of freedoms, as well as those which anticipate the measures to protect the staff of militia and internal troops against the attack of hooligans and other anti-social elements.

4. For the editorial boards of the republican and local newspapers, for radio and television to provide that the meetings and other forms of social activities of the citizens directed towards the support of perestroika and the criticism of the existing drawbacks are skilfully reflected. At the same time to turn energetically against the organisers of the meetings arranged without the respective permit, possessing extremist, nationalistic, chauvinistic and anti-socialistic character and disorganising production, causing economical or other harm to the interests of the Soviet society.

Secretary of the CC *B. Pugo*

[283]

The letter of the Public Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR J. Dzenītis of 13 September 1988 to the Second Secretary of the CC of CPL V. Sobolev about the undesirability of the foundation of the Popular Front of Latvia

SECRET

No. 417s

Copy No. 1

13 September 1988

Prosecutor's Office of the USSR

Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic

To the Second Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Latvia

About the formation of the Popular Front of Latvia, its draft program and charter

According to your instructions, proposals and remarks have been put forward concerning the question about the formation of the Popular Front of Latvia (PFL), its draft program and charter.

First of all I find it necessary to express my opinion concerning the fact that the question of suitability of the formation of the PFL, its foundation congress on 8 and 9 October has not been properly examined by the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.

Referring to the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the LSSR of 29. 07. 88 confirming the Regulations about the organisation and the procedure of meetings, rallies, marches and demonstrations, the application for the foundation congress had to be examined by competent establishment of the Soviet power and also by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR. But it was not done.

In our opinion, taking into consideration the tense political situation in the republic, the formation of the PFL is not useful at the moment and will not facilitate the development and deepening of transformation.

If this idea is a failure I am of the opinion that the question about the suitability of the formation of the PFL must be examined by the Bureau of the CC of the CP of Latvia (..) or at the general meeting of the CP and definitely – by the supreme organ of the Soviet power of the republic – the current session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR on 06. 10. 88. Besides the government of the republic must report to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet whether the question about the formation of the PFL

has been co-ordinated with the Political Bureau of the CPSU and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and with whom in particular.

Our attitude to the formation of the PFL is determined firstly by the fact that its draft program and charter do not recognise the political leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as it is fixed in the Constitution of the USSR, in the Constitution of the Latvian SSR, and in Article 60 of the Statutes of the CPSU.

The statement, written in the draft program and charter that the functioning of the PFL is based on the principles expounded in the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, cannot be considered as the acknowledgement of the leading role of the CPSU by the PFL. Besides at the same time it is declared that this functioning is based also on the resolutions of the expanded general meeting of the Board of the Union of Writers of the Latvian SSR in June 1988, the incorrectness of which has been confirmed by the decision of the general meeting of the CC of the CPL in June 1988.

The attention is drawn by the fact that the references to the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference are of exceptionally declarative, formal character and in a chain of approaches they [draft document] contradict the demands of these resolutions and are incompatible with them.

As written in the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference "About the international relationships" any claims of national superiority are inadmissible and offensive also for the nation in the name of which they are expressed. Any national problem demands steady, many-sided approach and must be solved without shaking the international unity of the Soviet people.

Yet in spite of these demands the draft of the program of the PFL actually ignores the fact that the Latvian SSR is a constituent part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and that it forms a single economic system together with other union republics. The necessity to rouse the national self-confidence of the Latvian people is not connected with the task to strengthen its indestructible friendship with other nations and the people of the Soviet Union as demanded by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Therefore it is not without a purpose that the draft program of the PFL in a chain of theses is orientated towards the strengthening of the national aloofness of Latvia disregarding the rights of the Soviet Union as a single united multinational state fixed by the Constitution of the USSR. The confirmation of this conclusion is the demand written in the draft program of the PFL to endow the republic with the veto rights deciding the questions concerning its interests as well as to independently establish contacts with other countries. The demand to establish an independent legal system, to determine the status of the citizens of the Latvian SSR, to create the territorial military formations with obligatory service only for the citizens of the Latvian SSR, [also the demand] that the Prosecutor of the

Latvian SSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the republic testify the disposition to national aloofness.

Contrary to the interests of the defence forces of the USSR and the maintenance of its national security, the draft program of the PFL recognizes as unsubstantiated the limitation of movement of foreign citizens in the territory of the republic, it also expresses the demand to cancel military training at secondary schools and to free the students from call up for military service.

Ignoring the directions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference that any attempt to limit the rights of the citizens of any nationality and different activities splitting the nations and nationalities of the USSR, are morally unacceptable for the interests of the Soviet state and are contrary to them, the draft program of the PFL demands to start urgently and immediately the undertakings to provide only the basic inhabitants of the republic with comfortable flats, kindergartens and other services of social infrastructure.

There are also other critical remarks about the draft program and charter of the PFL. For example, the draft charter of the PFL does not anticipate the duties of particular members directed towards their active work in order to fulfill the tasks advanced by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. These duties are in fact substituted by the allotted rights to express the opinion, to forward proposals, to participate in discussions instead of participation in particular creative work directed towards the strengthening of the Soviet socialist system.

Giving the Front the name of the Popular Front causes serious doubts because the initiators of the formation of this social organisation do not possess the rights to represent the people of the Latvian SSR and to speak on behalf of them. The organisation to be formed could be called the Popular Front only in case it was the will of the majority of the inhabitants of the Latvian SSR.

There is a reason to conclude (and it is confirmed by the fact that the draft program and charter of the PFL do not recognise the leading role of the CPSU) that in this particular case the goal is set to create a new opposing political party in the republic which cannot be agreed with.

Prosecutor of the Latvian SSR
2nd class state legal advisor *J. Dzenītis*

[284]
Resolution of the foundation congress of the Popular Front of Latvia of 8 October 1988 about the foundation of the PFL

[8 October 1988]

The foundation congress of the Popular Front of Latvia considers that the Popular Front of Latvia has appeared as the movement of national, political and patriotic initiative and awakening. Today the ideas of the Popular Front are supported by already more than 110 000 participants. The support groups have been established in all regions of the republic and in many cities. The PFL considers that the process of its self-organization has been concluded. Due to that the congress announces the Popular Front of Latvia as Latvian mass social political organization founded.

[285]

The appeal of the Board of the Council of the PFL to all members of the PFL concerning the discussion of the question about the involvement in the struggle for complete political and economic independence of Latvia

31 May 1989

Since its foundation, the Popular Front of Latvia has advanced as its main target the provision of true sovereignty of Latvia, its economic, political and legal independence. There is an opinion that there are two ways how to gain and implement this sovereignty – within the USSR or outside the statehood of the USSR.

Based on the formulations of the program accepted at the foundation congress, the Popular Front until now grounded its activities upon the first alternative – the principle of federation. But the events of the last months prove that the striving of the whole Baltics and Latvia to reach this target encounter a growing reaction of political, economical and ideological counteraction of the centre and inner reactionary powers leading to open violence as testified by the tragic events in Tbilisi on 9 April.[1] The course of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR also shows that a conservative majority has been created opposing the striving of the union republics for total national sovereignty.

With this the Board of the Council of the Popular Front of Latvia proposes for discussion in all the groups and departments of the Popular Front of Latvia a question vitally important for our nation – the involvement of the Popular Front of Latvia in the struggle for complete political and economic independence of Latvia.

We see the future Latvia as a democratic state where all the citizens, regardless of their national and social belonging, political and religious conviction, are guaranteed equal rights. Latvia must be a state of humanism ruled by law, of economic growth and vast opportunities for spiritual culture of any ethnic group. The relationship with other countries, union republics must be developed on mutually profitable, equal bases.

The Board of the Council of the Popular Front of Latvia considers that the decisive role in the acquisition of independence will be played by the people of Latvia themselves. The Board of the Council of the PFL sees the way directed towards this target in parliamentary struggle using and rearranging the structure of the state power of the Latvian SSR according to the will of the people and the demands of the epoch as well as in direct manifestations of the will of the people. The target of the PFL is to achieve independent statehood of Latvia providing equal

[1] On 9 April 1989, the soldiers of the USSR Armed Forces massacred the supporters of independence of Georgia, who took part in the meeting in Tbilisi.

guarantees which would allow the people to choose the form and the mechanism of the political power themselves. We must understand that in order to reach our target there is a difficult way to cover and it will demand from all the patriots of Latvia regardless of their national and social belonging political responsibility and steadfast conviction.

Our urgent task is to achieve that the 16 June session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR adopts the declaration about national sovereignty of Latvia and the amendments to the Constitution of the Latvian SSR and the ratification of the laws of the USSR,[1] that the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR immediately adopts the Law About the Economic Independence of Latvia.

Considering that a favourable result in the elections is the main precondition on the way to free political development and independence of Latvia, the coalition of all the progressive powers shall be achieved there.

The Board of the Council takes the idea of the creation of the Committees of Citizens with deep understanding, seeing in them the extreme and forced by the consequences of totalitarianism means for the protection of the rights of Latvians and other basic inhabitants of Latvia. And their activities should be extended in case it would not be possible to guarantee the rights of national independence and national self-determination of Latvia.

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[1] The laws and decisions adopted by the supreme state authorities of the USSR could come into force in Latvia only after their ratification by the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.

[286]

Excerpts from the letter of A. Rubiks, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, to the Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP of Latvia and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the activities of the Popular Front and the political situation in Latvia, 12 October 1989

Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia
Political Bureau of the CPSU

12 October 1989

[Letter of] Rubiks Alfrēds, son of Pēteris, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

The political situation in the republic shows that the Communist Party of Latvia and its leading bodies gradually lose their influence among people and exercise less control over the course of events in the republic. The strategic programme, recently accepted at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, is not resolute and sufficiently concrete that in many cases has caused confusion among communists and in whole Party organizations, and doesn't sufficiently facilitate the stabilization of the situation. Making use of the situation, different public and socio-political organizations of pseudo-perestroika character seriously activate their activities. So do also the newly sprung up political parties, like the Latvian Social Democratic Worker's Party (LSDWP), which declared that it had more than 1000 members and the foundation congress would be convened in autumn this year.

The 2nd congress of the Popular Front of Latvia (PFL), which took place in Riga on 7–8 October 1989, was actually the demonstration of the foundation of a new political party as an alternative to the CPSU.

The report of D. Īvāns, chairman of the PFL (member of the CPSU, People's deputy of the USSR), at the congress and supporting reports as to their essence and content were turned against the leading role of the CPSU in the society. They called to dismantle Soviet power and destroy the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was an attempt to put the public opinion and Latvian people on the way towards restoration of the bourgeois democratic system. The public radio and television were placed at the disposal of the congress, and for full two days the congress was directly on the radio and TV.

Not only the extreme representatives of different informal movements of other

Union republics attended and addressed the congress, but there were also the representatives of emigration from abroad, who represented different opinions.

The leaders of PFL regularly declare the necessity to win the forthcoming election of the local Soviets and the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Hence they seek to win the political power by parliamentary means, discharging the CPSU from its leading role. There is a question: Who the gentlemen (the members of the PFL apply to each other using the word Mr) of the PFL intend to deprive of the power? The Communist Party of Latvia? Soviets? And what for will it be done? The programme and Statutes of the PFL, adopted at the congress, give a clear answer to the above questions. The documents don't speak about the transformation, based on the platform and principles of the CPSU, one cannot find Soviets as the executive bodies of the state power there, yet there is the power headed by the PFL, the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) and other formations similar to political parties.

24% of the delegates of the congress were the members of the CPSU. However none of them tried to repulse the extremist and separatist attempts and to defend the line of the CPSU.

The procedure of the congress and many other things in the republic don't correspond to the decisions of the 19th conference of the Party and more recent Plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU. This is nothing else but the deviation from the ideology of transformation and many other principles of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

I and many other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia have more than once spoken about it at the Bureau and Plenums of the CC of the Communist Party of Latvia, during the election campaign of the USSR people's deputies and in the interviews to the press, radio and television. However, the Bureau of the Central Committee turns a deaf ear to the conclusions and warnings of communists. The position of compromisers in relation to the PFL and its leaders becomes more and more apparent.

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia knows very well that the members of the CPSU, who actively support the PFL and realize its line, and not the line and decisions of the CPSU, become leaders of the Party and Soviet institutions in a number of districts and towns. Moreover – the criticizing of the decisions, adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Central Committee of the CPSU, is organized in the districts. The words **Lenin, Stučka, the red, the Soviet and communism** disappear from the names of the newspapers of the Party and Soviets, kolkhozs and sovkhozs, but the Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Latvia let the facts pass. Latvian television and radio, many newspapers and magazines are in the hands of PFL. Even the Institute

of the History of the Party and the Publishing House of the CC of the Communist Party of Latvia are influenced by it.

(..)

By addressing the present letter to you, comrades – members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, I hope that you will have enough adherence to principle and courage to implement the necessary measures in order to improve the situation. It will be too late to do it after the election of the local Soviets and the Supreme Soviet of the republic in particular. The Soviets will be composed according to the rules of the PFL and the real power will pass from Soviets to the Popular Front, but the Communist Party will reduce or altogether lose the ability to realize the leading and organizing role in the society.

Sincerely yours,
A. Rubiks

[287]

Appeal of 5 August 1989, issued by the Board of the Council of the PFL, in connection with the action "The Baltic Way"

5 August 1989

50 years ago two totalitarian super powers signed the death penalty to three peaceful Baltic States and nations. The states are destroyed. The nations are dishonoured, distorted and worn out for half a century. We are as we are now. Yet our suffering and patience has a limit. We want back our independence and our states – free Estonia, free Latvia and free Lithuania.

On 23 August we will prove ourselves and the whole world our staunch resoluteness to struggle for the life a man deserves, we will join our hands forming a living chain – the Baltic Way through Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Let's tie crape bands to our banners this day and let all church bells of the Baltics toll. Let's be united in Latvia's hour of hope!

The truth will win!

[288]

Appeal of the Board of the Council of the PFL, people's deputies of the USSR and the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR to the people of Latvia in connection with the announcement, issued by the Central Committee of the CPSU on 26 August 1989, about the situation in the Baltic Republics

27 August 1989

This is the moment, when our words and resoluteness are tried. The inalienable rights of the Baltic nations to their self-determination are exposed to danger!

The announcement of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the situation in the Baltic Republics[1], issued on 26 August, confirmed the disability of the ruling circles to understand the real situation in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia and their unwillingness to deal with the national problems in people's interests. Once again small peoples are addressed from the positions of diktat. And again, like 50 years ago, one seeks to decide our fate far beyond the borders of the Baltic. The Popular Front of Latvia considers that a nation and the nation alone has the right to decide how to live in its own country. Only the Latvian nation together with other national groups of Latvia are competent to decide what is desirable and useful and what is unacceptable for them. We categorically reject any interference with the affairs of Latvia from outside – either the advice comes from the East or West.

When answering the tactless and chauvinistic announcement of the Central Committee of the CPSU, we have to be self-controlled, united and shan't give way to instigation. We shan't betray the self-respect, strength and sense of justice, regained during our Third Awakening Period!

We have felt the warmth of each other's hands, have experienced that each of us can stand on and, if necessary, stand up for a piece of land of Latvia. Hence each of us has to think once again what the freedom of Latvia means to us, why we have no other way, but the freedom of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

GOD BLESS LATVIA!

Board of the Council of the Popular Front of Latvia
and the people's deputies of the USSR,
and the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR[2]

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[1] The intention of the announcement of the Central Committee of the CPSU was to intimidate the organizers of the action "The Baltic Way". It contained the assertion that "nationalism and fascism" saw revival in the Baltic.

[2] There follow 24 signatures of the people's deputies of the USSR from Latvia and 22 signatures of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.

[289]
Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic "On the Renewal of Independence of the Republic of Latvia" dated 4 May 1990

4 May 1990

The independent State of Latvia, founded on 18 November 1918, was granted international recognition in 1920 and became a member of the League of Nations in 1921. The Latvian Nation's right to self-determination was implemented in April 1920, when the people of Latvia gave their mandate to the Constituent Assembly chosen by universal, equal and direct and proportional elections. In February, 1922, the Assembly adopted the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia, which is still in effect *de iure*. The ultimatum of June 16, 1940 from the Stalinist government of the USSR to the Latvian Government, asking for its resignation, and the following military aggression, constitute international crimes, which resulted in the occupation of Latvia and the liquidation of its statehood. The new government of Latvia was formed by the dictate of the government of the USSR. According to international law, this government did not represent the executive authority of the sovereign Republic of Latvia, since it represented the interests of the USSR instead of those of Latvia.

The elections of 14 and 15 July 1940, to the Parliament (Saeima) of occupied Latvia were held under the conditions of political terror after an illegal and unconstitutional election law had been adopted. Of the 17 lists of candidates submitted, only one was permitted in the elections – the list of the Working People's Bloc. The pre-election platform of this bloc did not include any demand to establish Soviet power in Latvia or to join the Soviet Union. Moreover, the results of the elections were falsified. Thus, the illegally and fraudulently formed Parliament did not represent the will of the Latvian people. It had no constitutional powers to change the government system and liquidate the sovereignty of Latvia. Only the people had the right to decide on these matters, but no referendum was held. Hence, according to international law, the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union is invalid. Accordingly, the Republic of Latvia continues to exist *de iure* as a subject of international law and is recognized as such by more than 50 nations of the world.

Taking into account the "Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Latvian State" adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR on July 28, 1989; the "Declaration on the Questions of the Independence of the Latvian State" adopted by the Latvian

Supreme Soviet on February 15, 1990; and the "Appeal of the All-Latvia Meeting of People's Deputies" of April 21, 1990;

Observing the will of the inhabitants of Latvia, which was unmistakably expressed by the election to the Latvian Supreme Soviet of a majority of deputies who had expressed the determination to restore the independence of the Republic of Latvia;

Being determined to restore *de facto* the free, democratic and independent Republic of Latvia,

The Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR d e c i d e s:

1. To recognize the supremacy of the fundamental principles of international law over national law and to consider illegal the treaty of August 23, 1939, between the USSR and Germany, and the subsequent liquidation of the sovereignty of the Republic of Latvia on June 17, 1940, which was the result of Soviet military aggression.

2. To declare null and void from the moment of inception the decision of July 21, 1940, by the Parliament of Latvia: "On the Republic of Latvia's Joining the USSR".

3. To re-establish the authority of the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia, adopted by the Constituent Assembly on February 15, 1922, in the entire territory of Latvia. The official name of the Latvian state is "The Republic of Latvia", abbreviated as "Latvia".

4. Until the adoption of a revised constitution, to suspend the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia, except for the articles expressing the constitutional and legal foundation of the Latvian state, which, according to Article 77 of the Constitution, can be changed only by popular referendum:

Article 1 – Latvia is an independent, democratic republic;

Article 2 – The sovereign power of the Latvian state belongs to the people of Latvia;

Article 3 – The territory of the Latvian state shall consist of Vidzeme, Latgale, Kurzeme and Zemgale, within the boundaries stipulated by International treaties;

Article 6 – The Saeima is elected by universal, equal, direct and secret vote on the basis of proportional representation.

The application of Article 6 will follow the renewal of those state and administrative structures of Latvia which guarantee free elections.

5. To set a transition period for the re-establishment of the *de facto* independence of the Republic of Latvia, which will conclude with the convening of the Parliament of Latvia.* During the transition period, supreme state power in Latvia is held by the Parliament of Latvia.

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* From 4 May 1990 to 6 July 1993 the Parliament of the Republic of Latvia was called the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia.

6. During the transition period, to implement those constitutional and other legal acts of the Latvian SSR which are in effect in Latvia when this Declaration is adopted, insofar as they do not contradict Articles 1, 2, 3 and 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia. Conflicts of law are resolved by the Constitutional Court of Latvia.

7. To form a commission for revising the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia, so that it corresponds to the present political, economic and social situation in Latvia.

8. To guarantee citizens of the Republic of Latvia and those of other nations permanently residing in Latvia social, economic and cultural rights, as well as those political rights and freedoms which are defined in international human rights instruments. To apply these rights also to those citizens of the USSR who express the desire to continue living in the territory of Latvia.

9. o develop relations between Latvia and the USSR in accordance with the Peace Treaty between Latvia and Russia of August 11, 1920, which is still in force and which recognizes the independence of Latvia for all time. To establish a Government Commission for conducting negotiations with the USSR.

This act takes effect from the moment of its adoption.

A. GORBUNOVS
Chairman, Supreme
Soviet of the Latvian SSR

I. DAUDIŠS
Secretary, Supreme
Soviet of the Latvian SSR

[290]
Declaration of the Committee of Latvia to the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia in connection with the 4 May 1990 Declaration "On the Renewal of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia", 15 May 1990

15 May 1990

Having got acquainted with the declaration "On the Renewal of Independence of the Republic of Latvia", adopted on 4 May, the Committee of Latvia states that it is a legally correct and politically well-considered document, and its base lines to a great extent correspond to the steadfast wish of the citizens of the Republic of Latvia, expressed at the Congress of Citizens of the Republic of Latvia and reflected in the documents of the Congress, to renew their independent state by terminating the protracted occupation and annexation by the USSR and liquidating their consequences.

Taking into account also the fact that the considerations of political tact have caused the necessity to word several essential questions cautiously or deal with them indirectly (on the present status of Latvia as an occupied state, on the measures of de-occupation, among them also the withdrawal of the USSR occupation army and stopping of the KGB activities), the Committee of Latvia expresses its readiness to co-operate with the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia in restoring the lawful power of the Republic of Latvia *de facto*.

The Committee of Latvia believes that also in the future the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Latvia will show respect to the express wish of the citizens of the Republic of Latvia and will do everything in its power in order to promote the restoration of the state power of the Republic of Latvia based on the legal succession of the citizenship, in compliance with the international law, the Citizenship Law of the Republic of Latvia and the decision of the Congress of Citizens of the Republic of Latvia on the restoration of the lawful state power in the territory of the Republic of Latvia.

We wish to remind that it is the only possibility to secure the legal succession between the existing *de iure* Republic of Latvia, proclaimed on 18 November 1918, and the Republic of Latvia to be restored in accordance with the 4 May Declaration, as well as the lawfulness and international recognition of the latter with all proceeding from the above political, diplomatic, economic and social consequences. It is also the only possibility how the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Latvia and the next Saeima (Parliament) can ensure the support and confidence of the Latvian nation, as well as the nation's readiness to work unselfishly in order to restore its Motherland. The Committee of Latvia anticipates that the ideas expressed by the

individual deputies of the Supreme Council about other ways of how to solve the problem of citizenship (option[1], "the zero variant"[2]), as well as the recent appeals to join the confederation with the USSR, won't be supported by the Supreme Council and won't affect the content of its forthcoming documents.

A. JIRGENS
Chairman, Committee of Latvia

G. POSTNIEKS
Secretary, Committee of Latvia

[1] Person's choice of citizenship having several options.
[2] Granting of citizenship to all inhabitants without any restrictions.

[291]

Decision of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia on the organization of the All-Latvia Advisory Vote on the point of the restoration of independence, 12 February 1991

12 February 1991

In order to clarify the opinion of the inhabitants of Latvia on the point of the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia and to give motivation to the activities of the state and government authorities of the Republic of Latvia in the period, when the transition to the full independence of the state takes place, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia r e s o l v e s:

1. To organize the All-Latvia Advisory Vote on 3 March 1991 in compliance with the resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia "On the Procedure of the Opinion Poll in Latvia".

2. To put to the Advisory Vote of Latvia the following question:
"Are you for the democratic and independent statehood of the Republic of Latvia?"
To define the following optional answers to the question:
"Yes [I am]" or "No [I'm not]".

3. To establish that the division of the territory of the Republic of Latvia in polling-districts corresponds to the division in the electoral districts of the people's deputies of the Republic of Latvia.

4. To commission the Central Election Committee of the Republic of Latvia, the election committees of districts, the cities of Daugavpils, Jelgava, Jūrmala, Liepāja, Rēzekne and Ventspils, as well as those of the administrative districts of Riga with the task to prepare the All-Latvia Advisory Vote and ensure its procedure.

5. To renew the work of the election committees, created for the election of the people's deputies of the Republic of Latvia, and give them the mandate to organize the Advisory Vote.

6. To establish that the local Soviets of People's Deputies or their Presidiums are competent to complement or change the composition of the election committees of districts, cities, administrative districts of the cities and electoral districts or form, if necessary, the above committees anew.

7. To commission the Chancellery of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia with the task to render organizational assistance to the preparation and procedure of the Advisory Vote.

8. To ask the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia to invite the representatives of foreign parliaments and international organizations to be the observers.

9. The resolution becomes effective with the moment of its adoption.

A. GORBUNOVS
Chairman, Supreme Council
Republic of Latvia

I. DAUDIŠS
Secretary, Supreme Council
Republic of Latvia

[292]

Article by L. Krapāne "Results of the Advisory Vote" in the newspaper "Diena", 5 March 1991

5 March 1991

Riga, 4 March. 87.5% of inhabitants have taken part in the Advisory Vote of the RL. 73.8% of them have voted for the democratic and independent Latvia. 24.7% have responded "No". The above results were confirmed at the meeting of the Central Polling Committee[1] today.

93.11% of inhabitants have taken part in the Advisory Vote in the rural areas, of whom 85.9% have voted for the independence of Latvia, but 13.12% – against.

In the cities of the Republic's subordination, 78.77% of the inhabitants with the right to vote have taken part in the Advisory Vote, 62.12% have voted "Yes", but 34.8 – "No".

The percentage of voters in Riga comprises 84.43, among them 60.69% have answered "yes" and 37.41% – "No".

The record of the CPC[2] is supplemented with the data, which show that 5321 citizens of the RL, who wished to vote for independent Latvia, but weren't able to do it because of their absence, have informed the CPC about their opinion.

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[1] The Central Election Commission of the Republic of Latvia is meant here.

[2] Central Polling Committee.

[293]

Leaflet spread by the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR in connection with the 73rd anniversary of the October coup in Russia

[Early November 1990]

READ AND HAND OVER TO YOUR COMRADE!

FELLOW-CITIZENS!

The 73rd anniversary of the Great October is near. We meet the Day in a time of trouble. It's not only because of the fact that our dinner-tables and the shelves of shops have become poorer. So many things Soviet people have given their lives for and they have paid for during the years of strained labour, are being destroyed and slandered now. Is this the situation we have strived for, when we started the transformation, looking forward to better life?

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – the first socialist country in the world, the super power which has gained prestige is being destroyed now through the attacks of nationalists, political adventurers and the new bourgeoisie that has sprung up from the shady economy. What is left to us of the constitutional rights to labour and dwelling space, the right to education and to rest? What shall we do with refugees, the number of whom will soon be increased by the Russian speaking inhabitants of Latvia? Who will be responsible for the thousands of victims of the transformation period?

Comrades! Refusing from the Great October Holiday means refusing from our history, our state and socialism. It means that we accept the slavery of pro-fascist and anti-democratic masters of our free will.

Enough of fear, meanness, indifference and laziness. Our grandfathers, the fighters of revolutions will never forgive it.

LET'S DEFEND OUR RIGHT TO LIVE, OUR PRIDE AND OUR FAITH!

DOWN WITH SUCCESSORS OF ULMANIS' IDEAS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL!

JOIN THE MANIFESTATION OF THE 7 NOVEMBER HOLIDAY!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT OCTOBER!

International Front of the Working People of the Latvian SSR

[294]
Appeal of the Writers' Union of Latvia on the "Crucial Days", 15 January 1991

15 January 1991

A word is the seed of freedom. The free word of truth feeds freedom like roots do. The awakening of our nation started with Ruģēns, Auseklis, Pumpurs and Kronvalds. The history of Latvia has grown so close together with the history of our literature that the name of a writer tells as much as the chapter of a thick essay does.

A word sowed the third awakening of Latvia, too, and it lives upon our care-laden thoughts. They, who bar the way of the procession of freedom, seek to kill the word first. It has always and everywhere been so, and so it happens also in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia today.

People of Latvia!

Just another time the fate tries the nation to define our place in the future. Let's be free of petty emotions during important events! The deep principle of life of the Latvian people, received from our ancestors – honour, hardiness and courage are the very decisive forces. It's not correct to say that we are in trenches. One digs trenches to fight with arms against arms. We, like all Latvian people, face the arms standing up straight, armed with the resoluteness to live freely in the country the God has given us.

The hard trial has aroused us again. The passion of freedom has become our highest goal. Nobody will make us kneel down if we don't give in to weakness, doubts and false illusions, as it happened fifty years ago.

We have no place to surrender. We have no choice. Thoughts can die, but the spirit stays alive. We will enter the next day being greater than we were.

Cunning, obsessed with vanity and evil, the world's meanest Goliath[1] is facing us with a sword in his hand.

Hard days. We are together. Our brothers of the whole world in one breath with us. Latvia, give us strength!

Writers' Union of Latvia

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[1] The champion of the Philistines – an ancient people. Shepherd boy David, later the king of Israel, killed Goliath with a sling and a stone.

[295]

Announcement of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, dated 19 August 1991, in connection with the coup in the USSR

19 August 1991

At night from 18 to 19 August 1991, the coup has taken place in the USSR. M. Gorbachev, President of the USSR, is dismissed. The State Committee of the State of Emergency, created by unconstitutional means, has taken over the power. The state of emergency is declared.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia declare that they consider the State Committee of the State of Emergency an unlawful formation, which has no authority in the territory of Latvia.

As provided by the law, the state of emergency may be declared in the territory of the Republic of Latvia only with the consent of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia or its Presidium. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia considers that in Latvia the situation is completely peaceful and there is no ground to declare the state of emergency.

The Supreme Council, Council of Ministers and the municipalities of the Republic of Latvia control the situation in the Republic and are ready to continue their work under the conditions of democracy and lawfulness. If any external forces hamper them in doing it and try to pass the power over to any unlawful formations, the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers ask the inhabitants of Latvia to maintain peace and public order, collaborating with no unlawful formations of the power, to join the campaign of non-violent civic disobedience and to demand the renewal of the work of the legitimate power – the Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive bodies.

The sole source of the legitimate power in Latvia is the nation of Latvia itself.

A. GORBUNOVS
Chairman, Supreme Council
Republic of Latvia

I. GODMANIS
Chairman, Council of Ministers
Republic of Latvia

[296]
Announcement of the Board of the Popular Front of Latvia to all supporters of the independence of Latvia, 19 August 1991

19 August 1991

In the morning of 19 August a message from Moscow reached us about the coup in the USSR. No use to create the atmosphere of fear and hysterics, yet each of us has to be conscious of his action at the moment, when the emergency government is introduced to oppress the attempts for national freedom. The PFL adopted the strategic plan for the X hour already on 11 December 1990. The time has come. Therefore the duty of every person democratic and loyal to Latvia is to defend his country.

We consider it necessary:

1. To prepare the structures of the PFL divisions for the possible work in illegal status. To prepare the system of mutual communication. To appoint the back-up persons of leaders. To expand the work of territorial groups at the places of residence. To decentralize the monetary resources of the divisions. To prepare forms with the symbols of the PFL for announcements. To decentralize the keeping of copying equipment and paper.

2. To obey only the laws and the decisions of the municipalities of the Republic of Latvia, disregard of the "ukazs"[1] of the Emergency Government.

3. To use different types of strikes. To be ready to join the All-Russian strike, declared by the President of Russia Yeltsin. To make special use of absurd strict regulations, the fulfillment of which will paralyze production.

4. To ignore the call-up papers of the USSR military registration and enlistment offices and send servicemen's identity cards and applications with the refusal to serve in the Forces of the USSR to the enlistment officer of the Latvian SSR.

5. To avoid collaboration with and provide no information to the occupation authorities.

6. To turn against the henchmen of the coup government and their supporters with contempt and boycott.

7. To ensure that the democratic organizations and their leaders can operate illegally.

8. To document and record all crimes of the occupation power under the Emergency Government.

9. To avoid any participation in election or plebiscites organized by this power, in order to prevent the possibility of making the power legal.

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[1] Decrees (in Russian).

10. To use reliable people, proven during the election campaign – canvassers and to involve the representatives of all democratic organizations to keep inhabitants informed.

11. To make maximum use of all possibilities to work in all public organizations, which aren't forbidden by the occupation authorities, – religious and cultural organizations and trade unions in order to spread the ideas of the PFL.

Supporters of the independence of the Republic of Latvia! In the period, when the communist crimes against our Motherland are still committed, let's be aware that the first precondition for our survival is to live for the nation, to be united for Latvia!

[297]

Constitutional Law of the Republic of Latvia, passed on 21 August 1991, "On the Republic of Latvia Status as a State"

Riga, 21 August 1991

Being aware of its responsibility to the people,

and taking into account

the Declaration "On the Renewal of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia" dated 4 May 1990,

the results of the All-Latvia Advisory Vote held on 3 March 1991,

as well as the fact that on 19 August 1991, as the consequence of the USSR coup, the constitutional structures of USSR state power and USSR government have ceased to exist, and Article 9 of the Declaration "On the Renewal of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia", adopted on 4 May 1990, on the restoration of the Republic of Latvia independent statehood by way of negotiations cannot be implemented.

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia resolves:

1. To declare Latvia as an independent, democratic republic, in which the sovereign power of the Latvian state belongs to the people of Latvia and its sovereign state status is determined by the Republic of Latvia's Constitution of February 15, 1922.

2. To repeal Article 5 of the Declaration "On the Renewal of Independence of the Republic of Latvia", defining the transition period for the *de facto* restoration of the Republic of Latvia's state power.

3. Until the time when the occupation and annexation of Latvia is liquidated and the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia is convened, supreme power is to be executed exclusively by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia. Only the laws and resolutions of this supreme state power are legally in effect in the territory of the Republic of Latvia.

This constitutional law is in effect upon its adoption.

A. GORBUNOVS
Chairman, Supreme Council
Republic of Latvia

I. DAUDIŠS
Secretary, Supreme Council
Republic of Latvia

The End

[298]
Declaration on the Occupation of Latvia" of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia, dated 22 August 1996

Riga, 22 August 1996

The *Saeima*, supreme body of representation of the people of Latvia, through the present declaration applies to the countries and international organizations of the world, in order to remind them of the tragic destiny of our nation in the 20th century.

The Republic of Latvia was proclaimed on 18 November 1918, and on 22 September 1921 it became the member of the League of Nations. The development of independent State of Latvia was interrupted by the Agreement of Non-Aggression (Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact), which was signed by two totalitarian super powers – national socialist Germany and the communist USSR on 23 August 1939. The aim of the Agreement was to divide Europe into spheres of influence. Violating the basic principles of international law, as well as the agreements signed between Latvia and the USSR, on 17 June 1940, the USSR forcibly occupied Latvia and illegally included it into (annexed to) the USSR. Hence the political regime and legal system of the USSR were introduced in Latvia.

In summer 1941, with the beginning of the Second World War in the territory of Latvia, it was invaded by national socialist Germany, which established its regime there, carried out deportation and used other reprisals against inhabitants, as well as used the territory of Latvia for the extermination of inhabitants of other occupied countries.

During the final stage of the Second World War, the USSR renewed its occupation regime in Latvia.

In 1944 a part of the administrative district of Abrene (about 2000 square kilometres) was illegally joined to the territory of Russia[1].

During the whole occupation period, the USSR purposefully realized genocide of the people of Latvia, violating the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, dated 9 December 1948. The occupation regime exterminated innocent people, several times carried out mass deportation of inhabitants and other reprisals, severely punished the persons, who supported the renewal of the independence of Latvia by armed or other means, illegally and without compensation confiscated the property of the inhabitants of Latvia and oppressed the expression of free ideas. The leadership of the USSR purposefully let hundreds of thousands of migrants flow in Latvia an tried to annihilate the identity of Latvian nation with the help of

[1] That's how in text. In reality a part of the administrative district of Abrene, 1202 square kilometres in size, was illegally joined to the territory of Russia.

them. As a result of this policy the proportion of Latvians, as indigenous nation, decreased from 77 percent to 52 percent.

Ten years after the end of World War II, armed resistance against the Soviet occupation continued in Latvia. More than 30 000 national partisans and their supporters took part in the resistance movement. After its oppression, despite of the reprisals of the Soviet regime, the resistance continued through other forms.

Already before the collapse of the USSR, wide national movement for the renewal of the independence of the state through peaceful and democratic means started in Latvia. In the elections of 1990, the movement succeeded in getting the majority in the supreme body of representation – the Supreme Soviet, which on 4 May the same year adopted a declaration "On the Renewal of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia" and established a transitional period for the renewal of the independent state de facto. The declaration announced that the military aggression of the USSR of 17 June 1940 has to be qualified as an international crime.

Owing to the will of the people of Latvia and the support of the world democratic forces, the independence of the state was re-established on 21 August 1991.

The Saeima of the Republic of Latvia affirms that Latvia, without sustaining hatred and demanding no revenge for the past, will always persistently remind of and call to understand the tragic destiny of its people, since the 50 years of occupation have caused heavy consequences, which are difficult to overcome by own forces alone. Latvia is worried also over the fact that Russia has not recognized the occupation of Latvia carried out by the USSR and does not wish to base on the peace treaty signed between Latvia and Russia on 11 August 1920, through which Russia unconditionally refused from the territory of Latvia for ever.

Therefore the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia on behalf of the people calls on the countries of the world and international organizations:

1) to recognize the fact of the occupation of Latvia;

2) to help Latvia to liquidate the consequences of the occupation by rendering it political and economic assistance;

3) to support the attempts of the persons, who wish to return from Latvia to their ethnic Motherland and from foreign countries – to their Motherland Latvia.

I. Kreituse

Chairman of the Saeima

[299]
Resolution of the Congress of the United States of America, dated 10 October 1998, about the Non-Aggression Agreement, signed between Germany and the USSR on 23 August 1939, and the occupation of the Baltic States

[10 October 1998]

H. Con. Res. 320

In the House of Representatives

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Supporting the Baltic people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and condemning the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression of August 23, 1939.

Whereas on February 16, 1918, February 28, 1918, and November 18, 1918, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, declared, respectively, their independence and became democratic, peace-loving states with membership in the League of Nations and diplomatic representation in the United States;

Whereas on August 23, 1939, emissaries of Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin, Nazi German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop and Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, signed an agreement known as the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression which contained secret protocols that illegally divided Eastern Europe into spheres of influence with Estonia, Latvia, and part of Poland going to the Soviet Union and Lithuania and Poland going to Nazi Germany;

Whereas the Soviet Army fulfilled the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression by illegally invading Lithuania on June 15, 1940, and invading both Latvia and Estonia on June 17, 1940;

Whereas this illegal and forcible occupation was never recognized by the United States and successive United States Administrations maintained continuous diplomatic relations with these countries throughout the Soviet period, never once considering them to be "Soviet Republics";

Whereas the Baltic peoples valiantly re-established their independence through peaceful means and the United States recognized their independent governments in 1991; and

Whereas Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have achieved commendable success in the eight years since they re-established independence, including full democracy,

significant economic reforms, and civilian control of a new military based on Western standards: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That, in observance of the 59th anniversary of the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression, the Congress –

(1) reaffirms the United States policy of the non-recognition of the occupation by the Soviet Union of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia subsequent to the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression, which for the 50 years after the signing of such Pact was a commendable bipartisan policy that refused to legally recognize the Soviet occupation of these countries;

(2) urges Russia, in the spirit of democracy, to renounce the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression and its secret supplemental protocols, as illegal;

(3) welcomes and supports the signing of the United States-Baltic Charter by the United States, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia that reiterates the strong historical kinship between the peoples of these countries; and

(4) calls on the President and Secretary of State to work to ensure that Russia understands that the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression should be considered illegal and null and void.

[300]
Document "To You who Receive your Motherland" read at the meeting of 14 June 1991[1]

14 June 1991

Will of the Passing Generation

We are the generation which fifty years ago was deprived of the flourishing Motherland.

Hundreds and thousands of people, tortured to death in foreign parts, stand behind each of us, the still alive ones. We speak also in their name.

Hundreds and thousands of those who lie buried in the graveyards of Latvia, stand behind each of us, the still alive ones. We speak also in their name.

We are grey. We get older. We pass away. We die.

We speak to you, who are young and strong. Like we were fifty years ago.

We speak to you who receive your Motherland back this year.

It is not flourishing any more. It is worn out and impoverished. Yet it is our Motherland. The sole one. The eternal one.

Take, develop and resurrect this land, and it will develop and resurrect you.

Heal its wounds, and you will be healed, too.

Keep to this land like we have kept to it.

Love this land like we have loved it.

Keep this land sacred like we have kept it sacred.

Give this land your strength, and it will give the strength to you, like it has given to us.

In the name of all victims we ask you of that. We demand you that. We rely on you.

Fifty years ago we were deprived of the flourishing Motherland. Now when you receive it back, it is worn out and asks love. When it flourishes again in your hands, we will be satisfied.

We believe in you.

We bless you.

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[1] The document was read at the meeting of the victims of reprisals, which, in observance of the 50th anniversary of the 1941 deportation, took place at the Monument to Freedom in Riga on 14 June 1991.

EPILOGUE

On the eve of 18 November 1938, 1938 guests gathered in the brightly illuminated residence of the President of the Republic of Latvia – Riga Castle to celebrate twenty years of the independence of the state. The song "Live For Ever, Latvia", carried on the radio waves, sounded over the whole country, and 2 million citizens of Latvia grew silent in doing their everyday work, looking into the bright vision of future.

The future turned out to be dreadful.

Both the communist and national socialist occupation regimes through different motivation have realized genocide of the people of Latvia in all ways mentioned in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, dated 9 December 1948, the Convention on the Non-applicability of Statutory Limitation to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity of 26 November 1968, and the Principles Relating to the International Co-operation to Find, Arrest, Extradite and Punish the Persons Guilty of War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity, dated 3 December 1973.

According to the latest data of the Prosecutor's Office of Rehabilitation and Special Services of the Republic of Latvia, in the territory of Latvia communist occupants have killed, put into prisons and filtration camps, deported or subjected to reprisals in some other ways more than 200 000 persons, and the majority of them were citizens of Latvia. National socialist occupants have killed about 110 000 persons in the territory of Latvia, among them about 90 000 people were citizens of Latvia (this number includes 70 000 Jews, 18 000 Latvians, and 2000 Gypsies).

Consequently, more than 300 000 citizens of Latvia were subjected to reprisals by the occupation powers. If compared with the total number of population, today it would correspond to at least 40 million citizens of the USA, 9 million citizens of Great Britain or France and 12 million citizens of Germany.

Saving themselves from the repeated Bolshevik occupation, about 160 000 inhabitants of Latvia went in exile. Part of them perished in military operations, but many were overtaken by the advancing Red Army, and they returned in Latvia. Nevertheless about 140 000 former soldiers and civilians managed to get to Western countries – and further on their lives proceeded outside Latvia.

About 50 000 men of Latvia in the prime of their lives were killed in Eastern Front fighting within the German Forces, and several tens of thousands – fighting in the ranks of the Red Army. Altogether about 120 000 citizens of Latvia – both soldiers and civilians, perished as a result of military operations during the period from 1941 to 1945.

During 1939–1940, about 70 000 representatives of the German minority of Latvia – Baltic Germans went to Germany. In 1944, Latvia lost about 40 000 citizens through the illegal annexation of the territories of the administrative district of Abrene.

Consequently, as a result of the policy realized by the occupation powers, Latvia has lost altogether about 700 000 citizens or one third of its total population. In the course of the fatal events, the basic nation of Latvia – the Latvians – has lost about one third of its people. The conditions of war and oppression have negatively affected also the birthrate: today there are less Latvians in Latvia than during the census of 1935. During the years of communist occupation, constant influx of aliens was realized parallel to the demographic weakening of the basic nation: 910 000 persons from the republics of the USSR have arrived in Latvia. No other country of Europe has had such a demographic fate, only Estonia has a similar situation. During the years of occupation, Latvians more and more became a minority in their own motherland both numerically and in the sense of culture and political power. After the regaining of independence, the situation changed. It particularly concerns the sphere of political power, yet in the demographic aspect, in many places Latvians still are the minority, especially in the big cities and Latgale, the places of work including. Ancient indigenous population of Latvia – the Livs have been affected by the policy of occupation powers most severely – now only several tens of people more or less know the Liv language. Almost complete disappearance of the communities of Baltic Germans and Jews is an enormous and irreversible loss for Latvia, since the national socialist regime forced Baltic Germans to emigrate to Germany, but the Jews were exterminated through the organized genocide; in the same way, the Nazi genocide was turned against the minority of Latvian Gypsies that suffered severely.

The group of experts abroad, headed by K. Zariņš, Envoy of Latvia in Great Britain, established that, according to the rate of 1940, the German occupation power had caused losses of 558 million USD to the economy of Latvia. In addition, 102 million USD, according to the rate of 1940, are the presumed losses caused to the economy of Latvia during the Nazi occupation.

The work "On Mutual Economic Relations between the Republic of Latvia and the USSR", submitted by the Governmental Commission of the Republic of Latvia in the Matters of Economic Reform to the Council of Ministers on 12 July 1991, has established that during 1940–1941 and the post-war years, the national wealth of Latvia in the amount of 0.9 billion roubles (0.5 billion USD) has been taken away to the USSR. In 1940–1988, owing to the unequal financial relations between Latvia and the USSR, the losses comprised 25.6 billion roubles (14.2 billion USD). The loss of the national income caused by the fact that the inefficient economic model of the USSR was introduced in Latvia, comprised 42.1 billion roubles (23.4 billion USD). The difference between the world market price and the internal price of the USSR of the

produce, exported from and imported to Latvia, has been favourable to Latvia though and has given it income worth 17.7 billion roubles (9.8 billion USD). However, in total the backward republics and regions of the USSR were subsidized and the military industrial complex maintained also on account of Latvia. Hence, if in 1940 the national income per capita in Latvia at least 1.5 times exceeded that of the USSR, in 1988 it was only for 19% higher.

The Governmental Commission of the Republic of Latvia in the Matters of Economic Reform concluded that, in prices of 1988, the USSR owed to Latvia 83.9 billion roubles (46.6 billion USD), this sum included also the compensation of 14.2 billion roubles (7.9 billion USD) for the citizens of Latvia who perished as a result of Stalin's terror. Yet the lost people, broken destinies, impaired health, and the humiliation people have suffered can actually be compensated with no sums of money, as well as the loss of independence and statehood cannot be compensated and made non-existent.

Latvian people, likewise other Baltic peoples, has accumulated unique historical experience of how to survive, to preserve one's identity and self-respect under the conditions of unprecedently long occupation and intense colonization. Memories about the independent state, a desire to regain independence was the star on the night of foreign domination. History clearly shows that an independent state is the highest form of a nation's self-organization. Having lost it, the people becomes exposed to collisions and tragedies. If the state loses its capacity, the basic nation is also deprived of the opportunity to fulfil its obligations towards minorities in the national territory, hence it is dangerous to the whole body of citizens, to all inhabitants of the state.

At the end of the century and the millennium, we, the authors of the collection of documents, have not made this book as the manifesto of hatred, but as a warning and call for the alertness of people of good will beyond the threshold of the century. We very much hope that we will be listened to and understood.

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Godmanis Ivars (1951) – Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia (1990–1993), deputy of the Saeima (Parliament) of the Republic of Latvia (since 1998), Minister of Finance of the Republic of Latvia (1998–1999) – *557.*

Golovanov – 2nd rank military jurist, prosecutor of the Baltic Special Military District – *144.*

Goppers Kārlis (1876–1941) – retired general of the Latvian Army – *106, 136, 145, 146, 147, 467, 504, 505.*

Gorbachev Mikhail (1931) – Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1985–1991), Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1988–1989), Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1989–1990), President of the USSR (1990–1991) – *441, 517, 527, 557.*

Gorbunovs Anatolijs (1942) – Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1985–1988), Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (1988–1990), Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia (1990–1993), Chairman of the Saeima (Parliament) of the Republic of Latvia (1993–1995), Minister for the Protection of Environment and Regional Development of the Republic of Latvia (1996–1998), Minister of Transport of the Republic of Latvia (since 1998) – *522, 549, 553, 557, 560.*

Goriachkin Vasily (1868–1935) – Russian scientist, constructor of agricultural machinery – *453.*

Gorkin Aleksandr (1897–1988) – Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR (1937–1938), Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1938–1957), Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR (1957–1972) – *101.*

Gornostayev Yakov (1902–1970) – major-general, head of the Chief Supply De-

partment, Minisry of the Interior of the USSR (1946–1952; 1954–1956), head of the Military Supply Department (1953–1954), Deputy Minister of the Interior of the USSR (1952–1953) – *296.*

Gostev – lieutenant-colonel, Military Commissar of the City of Riga – *371.*

Grantiņš Linards (1950) – one of the founders of the human rights protection group "Helsinki-86" – *435, 526, 527, 528.*

Grase Helga (1908–1979) – teacher, head of the Department of the Professional Efficiency Institute of Teachers of the Latvian SSR (1951–1953) – *453.*

Grēviņš Valdis (1895–1968) – Latvian poet, translator – *462, 474.*

Grēviņš Valts (1921–1961) – Latvian writer, theatre historian, reviewer – *462.*

Grigorenko Vladimir – captain of the reserve of the Soviet Army – *378.*

Grigoryev – colonel, authorised representative of the USSR Ministry of the Interior in Omsk Region – *296.*

Griķis Tālivaldis (1921–1942) – pupil of Cēsis Secondary School – *142.*

Grīnbergs Kārlis – head of the Prison Department, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *131.*

Grīnbergs Rihards – lieutenant-colonel of the Latvian Army, head of the Political Department of Daugavpils District, later chief of the 10th Police Precinct (1931–1940) – *137.*

Grīnfelds (?–1941) – senior lieutenant of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Grīns Aleksandrs (real name Grīns Jēkabs) (1895–1941) – Latvian writer – *440, 457.*

Gristena Anete – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Grom Aleksandr (1921) – instructor of the Communist Party of Latvia (1958–1960) – *331.*

Grosšteins – secretary of the Luthheran congregration of Lestene – *417.*

Grundmanis Ž. (1894–1941) – senior lieutenant of the Latvian Army, commander of the squadron of the *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramilitary organization) Aviation Regiment (1933–1940) – *137.*

Gudža – member of the armed national resistance movement – *301.*

Gulbis Bruno (1920) – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Gusakovsky Iosif (1904) – colonel-general, Commander of the Troops of the Baltic Military District – *335.*

Gūtmane Anna (1895–?) – doctor – *277.*

Gūtmanis K. (?–1941) – captain of the 7th Sigulda Infantry Regiment of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Hammers Kārlis – director of the Svitene Seven Year School in Bauska administrative district – *278.*

Hamsun Knut (real name Pedersen Knut) (1859–1952) – Norwegian writer – *466.*

Hartmanis Mārtiņš (1892–1941) – general, chief of the Headquarters of the Latvian Army (1934–1939) – *136.*

Heine-Vāgnere Žermēna (1923) – Latvian opera singer – *414.*

Heislers Harijs (1925–1985) – Latvian poet – *482.*

Heydrich Reinhard (1904–1942) – SS *Obergruppenführer* (general), head of the SS Security Service (SD) (1932–1942), chief of the Security Police (1934–1942), head of the Chief Directorate of State Security (RSHA) (1939–1942) – *197.*

Himmler Heinrich (1900–1945) – Chief (*Reichsführer*) of the SS (1929,1945), Chief of the German Police (1936–1945), Minister *(Reichsminister)* of the Interior of Germany (1943–1945) – *198.*

Hitler Adolf (1889–1945) – leader of the German Nazi regime (*Führer*), German State Chancellor (*Reichskanzler*) (1933–1945) – *24, 65, 175, 176, 177, 182, 183, 207, 511, 565.*

Holanders Kārlis (1892–1941) – captain in the Borderguard Brigade of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Latvia – *137.*

Iliyanov Mikhail (1921–?) – arrested person – *286.*

Indrikovs Zenons (1938) – rector of the Police Academy of Latvia (since 1992) – *130.*

Inkuša Marija – resident of Skrīveri *pagasts* of Riga administrative district – *315.*

Irbe Kārlis (1885–1966) – Acting Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia (1944–1946) – *402, 403.*

Isayeva – employee of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs – *458.*

Ishkov A. (1915) – lieutenant-colonel, deputy head of the Department of Railway and Water Transport, Ministry of the Interior of the USSR – *297.*

Ivanienok – soldier of the Batallion of Destroyers of Ludza administrative district – *234.*

Ivanov A. – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *130.*

Ivanov Oleg – retired 1st rank captain of the USSR Navy – *377.*

Ivanova I. – resident of Kalupe *pagasts* of Daugavpils administrative district – *302.*

Ivanovs Ivars (1957) – participant of the movement for the protection of human rights – *506.*

Ivanovs Roberts (1885–?) – Secretary of the Constitutional Assembly of Latvia (1920–1922), State Auditor (1923–1934) – *94.*

Īvāns Dainis (1955) – journalist, chairman of the Popular Front of Latvia (1988–1990), deputy of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia (1990–1993) – *542.*

Ivansons Ivars (1901) – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *420.*

Jablonskis Andrejs (1881–1951) – Deputy Foreigh Minister (July-August 1940), People's Commissar of Justice of the Latvian SSR (August 1940–1946), Minister of Justice of the Latvian SSR (1946–1951) – *122.*

Jäger Karl (1888–1959) – SS *Standartenführer* (colonel), commander of Action Group 3 of SS Mobile Unit A (*Einsatzgruppe A*) (1941–1944) – *197.*

Jakovičs Aivars (1961) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) – *531.*

Jansbergs Nikolajs (1890–1942) – commander of the 9th Madona Aizsargi (Latvian paramilitary organization) Regiment – *135.*

Jansons Arturs (1893–1941) – lieutenant-colonel of the Latvian Army, commander of the batallion in the 10th Cēsis *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramilitary organizations) Regiment (1935–1940) – *137.*

Jaunzems Valentīns (1906) – chairman of the Board for the Matters of Literature and Publishing Houses, Soviet of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of the Latvian SSR (1944–1953) – *474.*

Javoišs Bruno (1941) – student of Riga Institute of Civil Aviation, member of the national resistence movement – *504.*

Jeckeln Friedrich (1895–1946) – SS *Obergruppenführer* (general), chief of the SS and Police in Ostland and Northern Russia (1941–1945) – *181, 199.*

Jirgens Aigars (1961) – chairman of the Latvian Committee of the Congress of Citizens of the Republic of Latvia (1990–1991), deputy of the Saeima (Parliament) of the Republic of Latvia (1995–1998), Deputy Chairman of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia (1996–1998) – *551.*

Jonikāns Antons (1930) – Catholic priest – *420.*

Jurgens Jānis (1900–1983) – rector of the Latvian State University (1941; 1949–1962) – *451.*

Jurjāns Andrejs (1856–1922) – Latvian composer – *414.*

Jurkāne – resident of Nautrēni *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *235.*

Kacens Jānis (1909) – administrative director of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1953–1958) – *331, 360, 416.*

Kalējs Jānis – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka adminisrative district – *285.*

Kalējs-Kalējiņš Kārlis – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Kalinin Mikhail (1875–1946) – Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (1919–1922), Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR (1922–1938), Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1938–1946) – *101.*

Kalnbērziņš Jānis (assumed Party name – Zaķis) (1893–1986) – First Secretary of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1940–1959), Chairman of the Presidium of

the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (1959–1970) – *165, 224, 229, 230, 232, 234, 238, 239, 257, 277, 278, 280, 283, 290, 313, 321, 341, 348, 353, 357, 361, 362, 369, 372, 373, 374, 388, 390, 391, 449, 473, 475, 476, 499, 500, 502.*

Kalniņš Haralds (1911–1997) – Lytheran parson – *429.*

Kalniņš Reinholds (1920–1942) – pupil of the Cēsis Secondary School – *142.*

Kalniņš Rūdolfs – manager of Housing Department No. 352 of Stalin District of the City of Riga – *328, 330.*

Kalnprūsis Augusts (?–1941) – *aizsargs* (member of the Latvian paramilitary organization) – *135.*

Kalpiņš Voldemārs (1916–1995) – Minister of Culture and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Latvian SSR (1958–1962) – *469.*

Karlsons Kārlis (1907–1962) – Minister of Finance (July-August 1940), People's Commissar of Finance, People's Commisar of the Local Industry of the Latvian SSR (August 1940–1941) – *97, 109.*

Karpov Georgy (1898–1967) – chairman of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church of the USSR Council of Ministers (1943–1960) – *409, 411.*

Karpovics Ernsts (1892–1976) – philosopher, lecturer (1945–1955), Professor (1955–1957) of the Riga Pedagogical Institute, Professor of the Latvian State University (1957–1976) – *453.*

Katalimov Oleg (1922) – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Kaudzīte Matīss (1848–1926) – Latvian writer – *317.*

Kauliņš J. – member of the Council of Skrīveri *pagasts* of Riga administrative district – *315.*

Kaupužs Dominiks (1905–1964) – member of the editorial staff of the newspaper "Latgolas Taisneiba" – *254, 255.*

Kaupužs Vladimirs (1925) – Minister of Culture of the Latvian SSR (1961–1986) – *480.*

Keišs Francis (1925–1981) – Catholic priest – *420.*

Kellog Frank Billings (1856–1937) – Secretary of State of the USA (1925–1929) – *216, 511.*

Ķempe Mirdza (1907–1974) – Latvian poetess – *462.*

Ķeniņš Atis (1874–1961) – Latvian poet and public figure – *462.*

Ķergalvis K. (?–1941) – senior lieutenant of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Kernavs – soldier of the battalion of destroyers in Ludza administrative district, People's Commisariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *234.*

Khachaturov – employee of the Prison of the Security Directorate, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR – *148.*

Khrushchov Nikita (1894–1971) – First Secretary of the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1953–1964), Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (1958–1964) – *373.*

Ķikuts – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Ķiploks Izidors (1917–?) – arrested person – *286.*

Kirhenšteins Augusts (1872–1963) – Prime Minister and Acting Foreign Minister (June-July 1940), President of the State, Prime Minister and Acting Foreign Minister (July-August 1940), Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (August 1940–June 1952) – *66, 85, 86, 87, 88, 97, 98, 99, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 215, 238, 239, 252, 313, 342, 460.*

Kirov Sergey (real name Kostrikov Sergey) (1886–1934) – Secretary of Leningrad Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party (1926–1934), Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party (1934) – *22.*

Kiršentāle Ingrīda (1925–1991) – literary critic – *465.*

Kirts – director of the Svitene Seven Year School in Bauska administrative district – *278.*

Kļaviņš Jānis (1887–?) – administrative director of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1946) – *326.*

Klēbergs A. – clerk of the Investigation Department of the Political Police Agency (1940) – *128.*

Klenov Piotr (1894–1956) – lieutenant-general, Personnel Chief of the Baltic Military District (July 1940–1941) – *89.*

Kleperis Pēteris (1904–1968) Dean, Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia (March-April 1968) – *422, 427.*

Kliene Elija (real name Kliene Elizabete (1895–1978) – translator – *466.*

Kļimovičs Roberts (1971) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) – *531.*

Klincare – director of the Kurmene Seven Year School in Bauska administrative district – *278.*

Klusiņš – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* in Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Kobulov Bogdan (1904–1953) – Deputy People's Commisar of State Security of the USSR (1941; 1943–1945), Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the USSR (1941–1943), First Deputy Minister of the Interior of the USSR (1953) – *154.*

Kokale – resident of Eleja village of Jelgava district – *333.*

Kolchak Aleksandr (1873–1920) – Admiral, during the Russian Civil War, he was declared "the Supreme Leader of the Russian State" (1918–1920) – *145.*

Koltin – representative of the People's Commissariat of State Security of the Latvian SSR in Tukums district (June 1941) – *166.*

Koltov Viktor (1901–?) – arrested person – *286.*

Komarovskis Juris (1920) – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Komisarov Genady – soldier of the Soviet Army – *333.*

Kondratovs Alberts – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *478.*

Korchagin – head of Department No. 3 of the Orjonikidze Territorial Directorate of the USSR People's Commissariat of State Security – *149.*

Kornev – captain of the Red Army – *328.*

Korolev Vladimir – soldier of the Soviet Army – *332.*

Koshelev Aleksey (1906) – Deputy Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR (1944–1951) – *356.*

Kosigin Aleksey (1904–1984) – Deputy Chairman of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars (1940–1946), Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (1964–1984) – *370.*

Kotze Ulrich, von (1891–1941) – Ambassador of Germany in Latvia (1938–1940) – *75.*

Kozlov – colonel, head of the Krasnoyarsk Territorial Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR – *295.*

Kozlovskis Vladislavs – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Krakis – director of Misa-Dugane Seven Year School in Bauska administrative district – *278.*

Krapāne Līga (1966) – journalist, Press Secretary of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Latvia (1996–1998), Press Secretary of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia (1998) – *554.*

Krastiņš Viktors (1915) – administrative director of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1958–1971) – *327.*

Kravchenko – resident of Mēdzene *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *234.*

Kreilis – senior engineer of the Operating Department, Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies of Dobele District – *417.*

Kreituse Ilga (1952) – historian, deputy of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia (1993–1998), Chairwoman of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia(1995–1996) – *564.*

Krēsliņa Marta (1897–?) – employee of the Professional Efficiency Institute of Teachers, Ministry of Education of the Latvian SSR (1945–1950) – *444.*

Krieviņa Līna – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Krims Miervaldis (1960) – activist of informal organizations – *533.*

Krivitsky Zinovy (1910) – junior lieutenant of state security, deputy head of Special Department No. 1, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *144.*

Kroms Kārlis (1914) – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *130.*

Kronlins Jānis (1886–1978) – teacher, has studied the history of education and schools of Latvia – *141.*

Kronvalds Atis (1837–1875) – teacher, publicist – *556.*

Kruglov Sergey (1907–1977) – colonel-general, Minister of the Interior of the USSR (1945–1956) – *294, 297.*

Krūmiņš Augusts – resident of Skrīveri *pagasts* of Riga administrative district – *315.*

Krūmiņš D. – resident of Naujene *pagasts* of Daugavpils administrative district – *302.*

Krūmiņš Edgars (1918–1989) – Lutheran parson – *415.*

Krūmiņš K. – elder of Skrīveri *pagasts* of Riga administrative district (1940) – *315.*

Kubrakov Vladimir (1907) – head of the Agricultural Group of the Administrative Department of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1952–1965) – *358.*

Kucheriayeva Olga – resident of Vaiņode village of Liepāja district – *333.*

Kudelnikov – military jurist of the Red Army – *145.*

Kuks Jānis (?–1941) – serviceman of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Kūliņš Jānis (1920) – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Kuptsov – officer of the Militia precinct in Mēdzene *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *234.*

Kurelis Jānis (1882–1954) – general, commander of the Technical Division of the Latvian Army (1922–1940), commander of the unit of Latvian soldiers (Kurelieši) named after him (1944) – *181.*

Kuroyedov V. – chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers – *426.*

Kusins Eduards (1889–?) – chairman of the Central Board of the "Osoaviahim" of the Latvian SSR (1945–1946) – *368.*

Kuznetsov Aleksandr (1939) – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *478.*

Kuznetsov Vasily – soldier of the Soviet Army – *334.*

Kuznetsov Vladimir – soldier of the Soviet Army – *332.*

Kviesis Alberts (1881–1944) – President of the Republic of Latvia (1930–1936), General Director of Justice of the Latvian Land Self-Administration (1943–1944) – *209.*

Labunskis – resident of Daugavpils – *302.*

Lāceklis Kārlis (1904–1970) – Bishop of the Baptist congragations of Latvia (1944–1946) – *401.*

Lācis Vilis (1904–1966) – Latvian writer, Minister of the Interior (June-August 1940), Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of the Latvian SSR (August 1940–1959) – *118, 122, 124, 129, 136, 228, 229, 234, 238, 239,*

292, 293, 313, 321, 323, 326, 351, 352, 356, 360, 361, 370, 372, 373, 374, 404, 405, 418, 466.

Laiviņš Dainis (1921–1941) – pupil of Cēsis Secondary School – *142.*

Lankovskis – resident of Alūksne district – *334.*

Lapiņš E. – member of the Council of Skrīveri *pagasts* of Riga administrative district – *315.*

Lapkovskis Jāzeps (1920) – Catholic priest – *420.*

Lapsa Jānis (1930) – Latvian writer – *466.*

Latkovskis Vikentijs (1899–1983) – Deputy Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR and Chief of the Political Police Agency (July-September 1940), People's Commissar (Minister) of Food Industry of the Latvian SSR (1944–1954) – *128.*

Lazarev – soldier of the battalion of destroyers in Ludza administrative district, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *234.*

Lebedev Ivan (1907–1972) – Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1944–1949) – *349.*

Lecis Vilhelms (1898–?) – chairman of the Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies (1952–1958) – *372.*

Leeb Wilhelm, von (1876–1956) – Field Marshal-General, Commander of the German Army Group "North" (*Nord*) (1941) – *176.*

Legzdiņš Žanis (1897–?) – head of the Department of Schools, Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1947–1948) – *449.*

Leimanis Oskars (1891–1969) – General Director of Technique and Communication of the Latvian Land Self-Administration (1943–1944) – *209.*

Leimanis R. – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *166.*

Leitāns Valentīns (1933) – Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commitee of the Latvian SSR (1979–1990) – *383.*

Leitis – arrested person – *282.*

Lejiņš Voldemārs (1920) – Chairman of the Executive Commitee of the Liepāja City Soviet of Workers' Deputies (1952–March 1953; April 1953–1956) – *502.*

Lemayev – military jurist of the Red Army – *457.*

Lēmanis Indriķis (1904–1960) – Chairman of the Committee of Radiofication and Radio Broadcasts (Radio Broadcasts and Television) of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1946–1960) – *474.*

Lenin Vladimir (real name Ulianov Vladimir) (1870–1924) – Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian SFSR (1917–1924) – *19, 20, 21, 25, 543.*

Leonīds (real name Poliakov Leonid) (1913–1990) – Archbishop of Riga and Latvia of the Orthodox Church of Latvia (1966–1979), Metropolitan (1979–1990) – *428.*

Leontyev Piotr – general, commander of the 5th Special Task Division of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (Ministry of State Security) of the USSR – *489.*

Lepše Tālivaldis (1896–1941) – senior lieutenant of the reserve of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Lesiņš Ādolfs – secretary of Kocēni *pagasts* of Valmiera administrative district (1940) – *316, 317.*

Līdaka – chairman of the Society of Active Atheists (1940–1941) – *127.*

Lieknis Jānis (1883–1941) – teacher, historian, Deputy People's Commissar of Education of the Latvian SSR (1940) – *442.*

Liepa – resident of Riga – *332.*

Liepa Prolets (1923–1973) – representative in the Latvian SSR of the Council of Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers (1962–1978) – *421, 424, 426, 427.*

Liepiņš A. (?–1941) – captain in the Field Engineer Regiment of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Liepiņš Edgars (1929–1995) – Latvian actor – *470.*

Liepiņš V. (?–1941) – captain of the 3rd Jelgava Infantry Regiment of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Linmeijers Mārtiņš (1894–1941) – captain of the 2nd Bauska Infantry Regiment of the Latvian Army – *139.*

Lipskis – soldier of the battalion of destroyers in Ludza administrative district, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR – *235.*

Litvin – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR – *44.*

Litvinov Pavel (1900–?) – Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1949–1952) – *355.*

Lohse Hinrich (1896–1964) – State Commissar (*Reichskommissar*) of Ostland (1941–1945) – *177, 186.*

Loktionov Aleksandr (1893–1941) – colonel-general, Deputy People's Commissar of Defense of the USSR, Commander of the Troops of the Baltic Military District (1940) – *89.*

Lomonovskis Juris (1947) – one of the founders of the Movement for the National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) – *531.*

Lončs A. – arrested person – *282.*

Luceviča Austra – head of the Central Board for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1971–1981), deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia SSR (1981–1985) – *465, 467.*

Ludvigs Māris (1948) – Lutheran parson, Dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia (since 1996) – *435.*

Lukianov Varfolomey (1922–?) – arrested person – *282.*

Lūkins Miervaldis (1894–1941) – colonel, Adjutant of the President of the Republic of Latvia (1936–1940) – *137.*

Luther Martin (1483–1546) – German theologist and public figure, founder of Lutheranism – the basic trend of Protestantism – *407.*

Makeyev Mikhail – major of the reserve of the Soviet Army – *377.*

Malenkov Georgy (1902–1988) – Secratary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) (1939–1946; 1948–1953), Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (1953–1955) – *240, 254, 361, 476, 499.*

Maļinovska Milda – resident of Ance village of Ventspils district – *334.*

Maltsev Yevdokim (1910) – lieutenant-general, head of the Political Department of the Baltic Military District – *376.*

Masalis – resident of Mērdzene *pagasts* in Ludza administrative district – *234.*

Maslennikov – colonel, authorised representative of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR in the Krasnoyarsk Region – *296.*

Matevosov Ivan – major-general, authorised representative of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR in the Lithuanian SSR (1949–1951) – *296.*

Matulenko – sanitary inspector – *277.*

Matulis Jānis (1911–1985) – Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia (1969–1985) – *428.*

Matveyev – employee of the Krasnovodsk Territorial Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Turkmenistan SSR – *151.*

Mauriņa Zenta (1897–1978) – Latvian writer – *466.*

Mazjēcis Aleksandrs (1912–1972) – First Secretary of the Tukums District Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1940–1941; 1944–1947), Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (1947–1948) – *166.*

Medem Walter Eberhard, von (1887–1945) – Commissar (*Gebietskommissar*) of the district of Jelgava during Nazi occupation – *435.*

Mehtyeva – *447.*

Melehova Helena – *234.*

Merekina A. – Secretary of the Riga City Commission for Jobs, Dwelling and Social Conditions of the Military Retired from the Armed Forces of the USSR – *378.*

Merkulov V. (1900–1953) – People's Commissar of State Security of the USSR (1943–1946) – *106.*

Mežgailis Bruno (1923) – economist, demographer – *381.*

Mežulis Gustavs (1891–?) – captain of the reserve of the Latvian Army, commander of the 2nd Ventspils *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramilitary organization) Regiment – *135.*

Miasnikov – military jurist of the brigade, chairman of the War Tribunal of the Special Baltic Military District – *143, 145.*

Mihelsons A. – head of the branch of Tilža *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *285.*

Miķelsons Roberts (1889–1973) – teacher, head of the Metholdology Room of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Latvian SSR (1941), head of the Directorate of Schools, People's Commissariat of Education (Ministry of Education) of the Latvian SSR (1944–1947), Deputy Minister of Education of the Latvian SSR (1947–1956) – *444.*

Minosian J. – head of the branch of Baltinava *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR – *285.*

Mishutin Aleksandr (1905–1988) – prosecutor of the Latvian SSR (1944–1950) – *273, 275, 280, 283, 290, 291, 348, 475.*

Mogutov – employee of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies of Kachanovo District, Pskov Region – *411.*

Moiseyev – technician, quarter-master of the Red Army – *457.*

Molotov Viacheslav (real name Skriabin Viacheslav) (1890–1986) – Chairman of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars (1930–1941), People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs (Foreign Minister) of the USSR (1939–1949; 1953–1956) – *12, 34, 65, 68, 71, 72, 74, 83, 110, 118, 240, 435, 563, 565.*

Mucenieks Kārlis – resident of Riga – *133.*

Mucenieks Visvaldis (1938) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK), deputy of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia (1990–1993) – *531.*

Muižnieks Haralds (1921–1942) – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Muižulis Augusts (1893–1941) – lieutenant-colonel of the Latvian Army, commander of the Tukums-Kuldīga Military District (1939–1940) – *137.*

Mukāns Ludvigs – resident of Līksna *pagasts* in Daugavpils administrative district – *301.*

Mūkins Edgars (1915) – Secretary (1952–1953), First Secretary (1953–1955) of the Daugavpils City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia – *389.*

Munters Vilhelms (1898–1967) – Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia (1936–June 1940) – *71, 72, 73.*

Muravyev Nikolay (1909) – deputy head of the Department of Science and Culture of the Central Committee of the Comunist Party of Latvia (1953–1961) – *454.*

Murmilov I. – operative representative of the Department of Rugāji *pagasts* in Viļaka administrative district, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR – *284, 285.*

Muromtsev – political officer of the Red Army – *457.*

Naglis – resident of Ludza district – *235.*

Naglis V. (1923) – arrested person – *281.*

Nasedkin V. (1905–1950) – senior major of state security, head of the Chief Board

of the Deportation Camps of the People's Commissariat of the Internal Affairs of the USSR – *154.*

Natankov G. – political officer of the Red Army – *457.*

Nefedov Boris – employee of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *420.*

Negoduiko – commissar of the regiment of the Red Army – *139.*

Neilande Nadežda – resident of Riga – *332.*

Nemtsov Vladimir – soldier of the Soviet Army – *334.*

Nesaule Augusts (1874–?) – chairman of the Board of the Lutheran congregation of St. Sīmanis Church in Valmiera – *419.*

Niedre Jānis (1909–1987) – Latvian writer, literary critic, head of the Central Board of Literature (1940) – *124.*

Niitsoo Viktor (1952) – activist of Estonian informal organisations – *533.*

Nikonov Aleksandr (1918–1997) – Minister of Agriculture of the Latvian SSR (1951–1961), President of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences (1984–1997) – *359.*

Novikov Konstantin (1910) – Secretary of the Riga City Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1945–1951), Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1951–1952) – *319.*

Noviks Alfons (1908–1996) – People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941), People's Commissar (Minister) of State Security of the Latvian SSR (1944–1952) – *130, 131, 132, 143, 144, 162, 275, 283.*

Nukša Mārtiņš (1878–1942) – General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia (1939–June 1940) – *75, 76.*

Oberg – SS *Gruppenführer* (lieutenant-general), SS and Police Commander-in-Chief in France occupied by Nazi – *211.*

Ogoltsov – lieutenant-general, Deputy Minister of State Security of the USSR – *274.*

Ola Jānis (?–1941) – captain of the reserve of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Onischenok – soldier of the Battalion of Destroyers of Ludza district of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *234.*

Opincāns Donāts (1911) – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *130.*

Orlov Matvey (1906) – First Secretary of the Aizpute District Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1944–1948), First Secretary of the Ilūkste District Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1949–1950) – *446.*

Ostroverkhov – officer of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) – *458.*

Ostrovs Jānis (1896–1966) – Deputy Chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers (1947–1953), Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Latvian SSR, Minister of Culture of the Latvian SSR (1953–1958) – *390.*

Ozoliņš – militiaman at Nautrēni *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *235.*

Ozoliņš Antons – resident of Rugāni *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Ozoliņš Jānis (1883–1941) – Commander of the *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramilitary organisation) Railway Regiment – *135.*

Ozoliņš Juris (1902) – captain of the Latvian Army – *138.*

Ozoliņš Kārlis (1905–1987) – editor-in-chief of the newspaper *"Cīņa"* (1941; 1944–1951), Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (1951–1952), Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (1952–1959) – *224, 226, 389, 390, 393.*

Ozoliņš Viktors (1907–1989) – Lutheran parson (since 1934), Dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia – *427, 429.*

Pakalns Jānis (1912) – Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Daugavpils City Soviet of Workers' Deputies (1953–1961), Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies (1962–1967) – *502.*

Pārnaste Eve (1951) – activist of Estonian informal organisations – *533.*

Pastushenko – residents of Riga – *460.*

Pauls-Pāvuls Andris (1965) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) – *531, 532.*

Pavlov – officer of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) – *458.*

Pēčs Uldis (1920–1941) – pupil of the Cēsis Secondary School – *142.*

Peive Jānis (1906–1976) – specilist of agricultural chemistry, President of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR (1951–1959), Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1959–1962), Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1958–1966) – *375, 455.*

Pelkaus Elmārs (1943) – historian, advisor to the Director of the State Archives of Latvia – *16.*

Pelkaus Jānis (1901–1946) – owner of the farm "Urdzēni" of Laubere *pagasts*, Riga administrative district – *279.*

Pelkaus Kārlis (1880–1959) – forger of the Riga Factory of Prosthetic and Orthopaedic Devices – *279.*

Pelše Arvīds (1899–1983) – Secretary of the Central Cmmittee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1941–1959), First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1959–1966), Chairman of the Party Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1966–1983) – *335, 369, 375, 390, 404, 423.*

Penka Otto Magnuss (1900–1941) – senior lieutenant of the Aviation Regiment of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Peter I (1672–1725) – Russian Tsar (1682–1721), Emperor (1721–1725) – *7.*

Pētersone Ausma – resident of Latvia, deported person – *306.*

Petranets – head of the Krāslava District Department of the Ministry of the Interior of the Latvian SSR – *300.*

Petrov – colonel, head of the Omsk Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR – *295.*

Petrov – lieutenant-general, representative of the USSR Ministry of the Interior in the Estonian SSR – *296.*

Petrovsky – major-general, head of the Novosibirsk Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR – *295.*

Piadishev – colonel, authorised officer of the USSR Ministry of the Interior in the Tomsk Region – *296.*

Piesis Jānis (1902–1957) – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR, head of the Militia Directorate (1940–1941), Deputy Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR (1946–1948), Chief of the Riga City Militia (1948–1956) – *130.*

Pikāns V. (?–1941) – *aizsargs* (member of the Latvian paramilitary organization) – *135.*

Pikarevsky – militia officer in Pilda *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *234.*

Pikeļeviča U. – arrested person – *281.*

Pipo – captain, head of the unit in Viļaka administrative district of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *285.*

Platā Broņislava – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Plāte Modris (1951) – Lutheran parson, Dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia (since 1985) – *431, 435.*

Plauciņš Leons (1903–1993) – chief architect of the Inspection for the Protection of Architectural Monuments of the Ministry of Municipal Economy of the Latvian SSR (Inspection for the Protection of Monuments of the State Committee for the Building and Architectural Affairs) (1958–1979) – *417.*

Plaudis Jānis (1903–1952) – Latvian writer – *462.*

Pļaviņš Ernsts Henrihs (1900–?) – Prosecutor of the Proletarian District of the City of Riga (1944–1946), Deputy Prosecutor of the City of Riga (1946–1947), head of the Investigation Department of the Prosecutor's Office of the Latvian SSR (1947–1949) – *460.*

Plēpis Jānis (1909–1947) – Latvian graphic artist – *467.*

Plinta – resident of Krāslava administrative district, deported person – *300.*

Plūdonis Matīss (1892–1963) – Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of the Latvian SSR (1945–1955), First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1955–1962) – *358, 416, 476.*

Pole Jūlija – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Poliakov – colonel, authorised officer of the USSR Ministry of the Interior in the Irkutsk Region – *296.*

Poliakov – investigator of the Krasnovodsk Regional Directorate, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Turkmen SSR – *151.*

Poliakov I. – arrested person – *282.*

Polansky Ivan (1899–1956) – chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of the USSR (1944–1956) – *404, 406, 408.*

Polikarp (real name Grishin Polikarp) – Archimandrite of the Orthodox Church of Latvia – *434.*

Polis Jānis – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Porutsenko – First Secretary of the Pitalovo District Committee of the Pskov Region of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party – *255.*

Postnieks Gunārs (1950) – secretary of the Latvian Committee of the Congress of Citizens of the Repulic of Latvia – *551.*

Potapov – militia officer in Krāslava *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *235.*

Pozdniakov Nikolay (1900–1948) – representative of the USSR in Lithuania (1939–August 1940), representative of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party and the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR in Lithuania (August 1940–June 1941) – *110.*

Prauls Kārlis (1895–1941) – general, commander of the *Aizsargi* organization (Latvian paramilitary organization) (1930–1940) – *135.*

Priede J. – member of the Board of the Pokrov Lutheran congregation in Kachanovo district of the Pskov Region, Russian SFSR – *411, 412.*

Priede Roberts (1907–1980) – Lutheran parson – *429.*

Prieže Kārlis (1907–1977) – Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (1944–1948) – *252.*

Prihodko Ivan (1922) – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *420.*

Prikase Milda – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Prīmanis Mārtiņš (1878–1950) – Professor, General Director of Education and Culture of the Latvian Land Self-Administration (1943–1944) – *209.*

Pugo Boris (1937–1991) – colonel-general, Chairman of the KGB of the Latvian SSR (1980–1984), First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1984–1988), Chairman of the Party Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1988–1990), Minister of the Interior of the USSR (1900–1991) – *484, 535.*

Pumpurs Andrejs (1841–1902) – Latvian poet – *556.*

Punāns Alberts (1914) – head of the Planning-Finance Department of the Board of Culture, Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies (1959–1962) – *477.*

Pūpola Ilga (1926) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) – *531.*

Pupurs Jānis Hugo (1901–1977) – Riga Mayor (July-August 1940) – *100.*

Puriņš Eižens (1887–?) – director of the State Tuberculosis Hospital of Tērvete – *277.*

Purs Laimonis (real name Strazdiņš Laimonis) (1922) – Latvian writer – *461.*

Purviņš Harijs Modriņš (1909) – head of the Board of Land Management, People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *318.*

Putniņš Jānis (1907–1961) – chairman of the Central Board of the Trade Unions of Latvia (Board of the Trade Unions of Latvia) (1940–1949) – *494, 495.*

Račiņš K. – member of the Board of Skrīveri *pagasts*, Riga administrative district – *315.*

Radziņš Pēteris (1880–1930) – general, Chief of Staff of the Latvian Army (1919–1924), Commander of the Latvian Army (1924–1928) – *504.*

Ragaišis Romualdas – activist of Lithuanian informal organizations – *533.*

Ramāns Miervaldis (1925–1996) – Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Latvian SSR (1965–1978), Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Latvian SSR (1978–1989) – *385.*

Rasa – arrested person – *281.*

Ratnieks Aleksandrs (1937) – repressed person – *171, 172.*

Ratnieks Edmunds (1922) – head of the Department of Foreign Tourism of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1966–1978) – *428.*

Ratnieks Georgs (1931) – repressed person – *171, 172.*

Ratnieks Nikolajs (1935) – repressed person – *170.*

Ratushny – major-general, representative of the USSR Ministry of the Interior in the Latvian SSR – *274, 296, 298.*

Reagan Ronald Wilson (1911) – President of the USA (1981–1989) – *435.*

Reihmanis Osvalds (1919) – head of the Department of Culture, Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies (1958–1961), Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of Workers' Deputies (1964–1965) – *477.*

Reimanis Kārlis – employee of the newspaper *"Padomju Jaunatne"* (1949–1959) – *392.*

Repše Diāna (1963) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) – *531.*

Repše Einārs (1961) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK), deputy of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia (1991–1993), President of the Bank of Latvia (since 1993) – *531, 532, 533.*

Reshetnikov Mikhail (1921) – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *258.*

Restbergs Jūlijs (1892–1973) – representative of the Council of Religious Affairs, Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1948–1960) – *412, 413, 415, 417, 418.*

Rezev Aleksandr (1905–1970) – major-general, Minister of the Interior of the Estonian SSR (1944–1951) – *296.*

Riasnoy Vasily (1904–1995) – major-general, First Deputy Commissar of Internal Affairs (Minister of the Interior) of the USSR (1946–1947), Deputy Minister of the Interior of the USSR (1947–1952), Deputy Minister of State Security of the USSR (1952–1953) – *297.*

Ribbentrop Joachim, von (1893–1946) – Foreign Minister (*Reichsminister*) of Germany (1938–1945) – *65, 68, 69, 74, 435, 563, 565.*

Riekstiņš Jānis (1942) – historian, senior specialist of the Publication Department of the State Archives of Latvia – *16.*

Rimša – resident of Pilda *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *234.*

Rinka Eduards Mārtiņš (1905–1941) – captain of the Latvian Navy – *137.*

Ritums Mārtiņš Reinholds (1887–1941) – captain, commander of the 5th Riga *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramilitary organization) Regiment – *135.*

Rizga Pēteris (1883–1955) – specialist of agriculture, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (1940–1947) – *343, 344.*

Roberts Ralph – Secretary of the House of Representatives of the US Congress – *510.*

Rode Gunārs (1934) – participant of the movement for the protection of human rights – *490.*

Roga V. (1904–1941) – *aizsargs* (member of the Latvian paramilitary organization) of the 5th Riga *Aizsargi* Regiment – *135.*

Rogačevskis V. – arrested person – *282.*

Ronis Jevgeņijs (1909) – First Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of the Latvian SSR (1945–1947) – *234, 235.*

Rosenberg Alfred, von (1893–1946) – head of the Foreign Department (*Reichsleiter*) of the National Socialist German Workers Party (1933–1945), Minister (*Reichsminister*) of the Eastern Occupied Territories (1941–1945) – *176, 177, 184, 192, 204, 205.*

Rozenberga I. – arrested person – *281.*

Rozenbergs Konstantīns (1918) – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Rozenšteins Hugo (1892–1941) – general, Chief of Staff of the Latvian Army (1939–1940) – *136.*

Rozentāls Mārtiņš (1911–1993) – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *130.*

Rubenis – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *478.*

Rubenis Juris (1961) – Lutheran parson – *435.*

Rubenis Vitālijs (1914–?) – Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1962–1970), Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR (1970–1974), Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1974–1984) – *324, 327.*

Rubenis Yury (1925) – Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1966–1970), Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1970–1980) – *251, 322, 422.*

Rubiks Alfrēds (1935) – Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet ov Workers' Deputies (1984–1990), First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1990–1991) – *542, 544.*

Rubins – officer of the Ministry of State Security of the Latvian SSR – *301.*

Rubins Donāts – resident of Līksna *pagasts* of Daugavpils administrative district – *301.*

Rudzīte Anta (real name Rudzīte Antonija) (1931) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK), director of Bauska Secondary School No. 1 (since 1995) – *533.*

Rudzītis – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *435.*

Rudzītis Helmars (1903) – publisher – *119, 120.*

Rudzītis Meinhards (1910–1966) – Latvian poet – *462.*

Ruģēns Jānis (1817–1876) – Latvian poet – *556.*

Rumba Elmārs (1931) – researcher of the Institute of History of Latvia – *133.*

Rumiantsev Yevgeny (1949) – Orthodox priest (since 1976) – *432.*

Rumpis – student of the School of Officers of Riga, Ministry of the Interior of the Latvian SSR – *300.*

Ruņģe Milda (1890–?) – teacher at the Code-Bērzi Seven Year School, Bauska District – *278.*

Rūtenbergs K. (?–1941) – *aizsargs* (member of the Latvian paramilitary organization) – *135.*

Ruze Anufry (1913–?) – arrested person – *281.*

Safronov – lieutenant-general, Commander of the Riga Garrison of the Red Army – *137.*

Sakharov Aleksandr (1919) – representative in the Latvian SSR of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers (1949–1966) – *409.*

Saltups Hermanis (1901–?) – doctor – *277.*

Samartsev – officer of the Orjonikidze Territorial Department, People's Commissariat of State Security (NKGB) of the USSR – *149.*

Samsons Vilis (1920) – Minister of Education of the Latvian SSR (1950–1960) – *359.*

Sāns Jānis (1904–?) – captain, head of the Training Department of the *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramlitary organizaton) Headquarters – *135.*

Satiks Alfreds (1909–?) – director of the Mežotne Seven-Year School in Bauska district – *278.*

Savickis – resident of Pilda *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *234.*

Senin Nikolay – soldier of the Soviet Army – *333.*

Sergiyenko – junior lieutenant of state security, deputy head of the Section of Rēzekne District Department, Ministry of State Security of the Latvian SSR – *286.*

Serov Ivan (1905–1990) – First Deputy People's Commissar of State Security of the USSR (1941) – *107, 155, 161.*

Šeškens Voldemārs (1895–?) – representative in the Latvian SSR of the Council of Religious Affairs, Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR (1944–1948) – *402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 408.*

Shakirov – commander of the Department of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NVKD) of the Turkmen SSR – *151.*

Shamanin Fedor (1903–?) – head of the Political Directorate of the Baltic Military District (1940–1941) – *314.*

Shaposhnikov Boris (1882–1945) – Marshal of the Soviet Union, Commander of the General Staff of the Red Army (1937–1940) – *91.*

Sharmanova T. – psalm reader of the Orthodox Church – *433.*

Sharova – resident of Riga – *332.*

Shatalin – chairman of the Latvian Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party – *234.*

Shcherbakov Aleksandr (1901–1945) – colonel-general, head of the Chief Political Directorate of the Red Army (1942–1945) – *233.*

Shishov I. – major of the reserve of the Soviet Army – *377.*

Shiyan V. (1904–1984) – colonel, head of the Department of Special Deportation Camps, Ministry of the Interior of the USSR – *297.*

Shneyerson M. (1901–1939) – head of the Administrative and Economic Department of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR – *56.*

Shumanov – employee of the Military Council of the Supreme Court of the USSR – *147.*

Shur – military jurist of the Red Army – *148.*

Shurgin Nikolay – soldier of the Soviet Army – *333.*

Shustin Semion (1908–1978) – Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR (1940), People's Commissar of State Security of the Latvian SSR (1941) – *135, 137, 162, 473.*

Sidorenko Vladimir – lieutenant-colonel of the reserve of the Soviet Army – *377.*

Sieks Alberts (1899–?) – colonel of state security, Deputy People's Commissar

(Minister) of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR (1943–1951), Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR (1951–1953) – *226, 227.*

Silaraups Rolands (1965) – member of the Latvian human rights protection group "Helsinki-86" – *528.*

Sīmanis – captain of the Red Army – *316, 317.*

Simonsons Dāvids (1859–1933) – general, Commander-in-Chief of the Latvian Army (July-October 1919) – *504.*

Siss Sanders (real name Kokin Aleksandr) (1949) – activist of Estonian informal organizations – *533.*

Sitarian S. – Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR – *384.*

Sivko – official of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church Affairs, Council of Ministers of the USSR – *410.*

Skalbe Kārlis (1879–1945) – Latvian writer – *466.*

Skubiņš Pēteris (1898–?) – veterinary of Lielauce *pagasts* of Jelgava administrative district – *343.*

Skujevics Jānis (1892–?) – General Director of Finance, Latvian Land Self-Administration (1943–1944) – *209.*

Skujiņš Zigmunds (1926) – Latvian writer – *466.*

Skvortsov – employee of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies of the Pskov Region, Russian SFSR – *411.*

Slutsky – deputy head of the General Supply Department of the Main Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps (GULAG), People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the USSR – *153.*

Šmerliņš Jānis – soldier of the Soviet Army – *332.*

Smilga Jānis (1912–?) – doctor – *277.*

Smirnov – Assistant Military Prosecutor of the Internal Troops of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *284, 285.*

Šneidere Irēne (1952) – leading researcher at the Institute of History of Latvia of the University of Latvia – *16.*

Šneiders Jānis (1931) – administrative director of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR (1974–1988) – *322, 382.*

Sniķeris Vilis (1891–1941) – retired senior lieutenant of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Sobolev Vitaly (1940) – Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1986–1990) – *536.*

Sparinskis Eduards (1944–1992) – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *432.*

Spasenko – lieutenant-general, Deputy Commander of the Convoy Troops of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR – *297.*

Spekmanis Ernests (1905–1974) – Lutheran parson – *424.*

Spridzāns Benedikts (1931) – head of the Department of Rehabilitation of the

Illegally Repressed Citizens, Ministry of the Interior ofthe Republic of Latvia (since 1990) – *162.*

Spure Žanis (1901–1943) – Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (December 1940–1943) – *399.*

Stabulniece Auguste (1901–?) – chief of *Aizsardzes* (female members of the Latvian paramilitary organization) of the 6th Aizpute *Aizsargi* Regiment – *135.*

Stabulnieks Pēteris (1951) – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *434.*

Stakalders Orests (1921–1941) – pupil of the Cēsis Secondary School – *142.*

Stakhanov Aleksey – coal-miner of the Donets Basin (the Donbas) – *314.*

Stalažs Vilis (1907–1992) – Acting Director of the State Chancellery (July-August 1940) – *99.*

Stahlecker Franz Walter (1900–1942) – SS (*Brigadeführer*) major-general, commander of the Mobile Unit A (*Einsatzgruppe A*) (1941–1942) – *201.*

Štālbergs Ernests (1883–1958) – architect, university lecturer (1922–1945), Professor (1945–1958) – *452, 453.*

Stalin Joseph (real name Djugashvilli Iossif) (1878 or 1879–1953) – Generalissimo of the Soviet Union, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party (1922–1952), Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of the USSR (1941–1953) – *14, 21, 22, 24, 26, 34, 44, 65, 69, 87, 110, 225, 233, 238, 239, 240, 244, 246, 276, 313, 314, 361, 369, 397, 439, 441, 453, 511, 565.*

Stefanov – major-general- representative of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR in the Novosibirsk Region – *296.*

Šteinbriks Bruno (1932) – head of the Department of the KGB of the Latvian SSR (1972–1983), Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR (1986–1990) – *428.*

Štiglics Roberts – Police Prefect of the City of Riga – *210.*

Stefanovičs – soldier of the battalion of destroyers of Ludza administrative district, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *234.*

Stimson Henry Lewis (1867–1950) – US War Minister (1911–1913; 1940–1945), Secretary of State of the USA (1929–1933) – *511.*

Strauch (?–1955) – SS *Obersturmbanführer* (colonel), commander of the Security Police in Latvia (1941–1942), commander of the Security Police and SD in Belarus (1942–1944) – *203.*

Straujums Aleksandrs (1917) – First Secretary of the Molotov District Committee, City of Riga, of the Communist Party of Latvia (1953), First Secretary of the Riga City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1958–1960) – *390.*

Strazdiņš Kārlis (1890–1964) – Peoples Commisar (Minister) of Education of the Latvian SSR (1944–1950), director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR (1946–1963) – *278, 446, 474, 475.*

Streips Jānis (1892–1941) – colonel, head of the Organization and Mobilization Department of the Headquarters of the Latvian Army (1938–1940) – *137.*

Strods Heinrihs (1925) – historian, Professor of the University of Latvia – *16.*

Strods Onufrijs (1904) – head of the Propaganda Department of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1948–1953), Deputy Minister of Culture of the Latvian SSR (1953–1958) – *453.*

Strunke Niklāvs (1894–1966) – Latvian painter and graphic artist – *467.*

Stučka Pēteris (1865–1932) – lawyer, Chairman of the Government of the Latvian Socialist Soviet Republic (1919–1920), Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR (1923–1932) – *544.*

Stutāns – soldier of the battalion of destroyers of Ludza administrative district, People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *235.*

Sudrabkalns Jānis (real name Peine Arvīds) (1894–1974) – Latvian poet – *466.*

Šulcs Andris (1945) – participant of the movement for the protection of human rights – *506.*

Šūlmanis A. (?–1941) – lieutenant of the Latvian Army – *137.*

Sulfanov Subhamali – contractual worker of the Soviet Army – *333.*

Suščenko Kārlis (1910) – Chairman of the Soviet of Lestene Village (1958–1961) – *417.*

Svencis Aleksandrs (1920) – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Tentelis Augusts (1876–1942) – Rector of the University of Latvia (1925–1927; 1929–1931), Minister of Education of the Republic of Latvia (1928; 1935–1938), Director of the Institute of Hsitory of Latvia (1936–1940) – *317.*

Tepfers Verners (1893–1958) – general, Chief Military Prosecutor of the Latvian Army (1922–1940), head of the Directorate of Military Courts (1922–1939) – *467.*

Terinks Ego (1922) – pupil of Daugavpils Secondary School No. 1 – *142.*

Terleckas Antanas (1928) – activist of Lithuanian informal organizations – *533.*

Timchenko G. – lieutenant-colonel of justice, Military Prosecutor of the Internal Troops of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR – *284.*

Timenieks Staņislavs (1913) – doctor – *277.*

Timermanis Kārlis (1931) – leader of the secret group of young people "Youth of Free Latvia" – *499.*

Timoshenko Semion (1895–1970) – Marshal of the Soviet Union, People's Commissar of Defense of the USSR (1940–1941) – *89, 90, 91, 313.*

Titavs Dans (1963) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) – *531.*

Titavs Valts (1960) – one of the founders of the Movement for National Independence of Latvia (LNNK) – *531.*

Titov Fiodor (1910–?) – Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1944–1949), Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia (1949–1952) – *446, 489.*

Torgani Lidija (1906–1998) – lecturer of the *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramilitary organization) Headquarters – *135.*

Trampedach Friedrich (1907–?) – head of the Political Department of the Reich Commissariat of Ostland – *191.*

Treicis Tālivaldis (1939) – Latvian poet – *466.*

Treida – authorized militia officer in Nautrēni *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *235.*

Trotsky Lev (real name Bronshtein Lev) (1879–1940) – People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs of the Russian SFSR, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic (1918–1924) – *19, 20.*

Tubulis A. – arrested person – *281.*

Tupikov A. – colonel of the Red Army – *138.*

Turks Berta – head of the Department of People's Education of Aizpute District – *446.*

Tūrs Gustavs (1890–1973) – Acting Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia (1946–1948), Archbishop (1948–1968) – *405, 408, 412, 414, 415, 418, 422, 426, 427.*

Tuščiks – arrested person – *281.*

Ulissky – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *258.*

Ulmanis – brigade leader of the collective farm "Stars" in Dobele district – *332.*

Ulmanis Guntis (1939) – President of the Republic of Latvia (1993–1999) – *168.*

Ulmanis Kārlis (1877–1942) – Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia several times from 1918 to 1936, President of the State and Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia (April 1936–June 1940), President of the State (June–July 1940) – *10, 11, 66, 73, 86, 88, 107, 149, 150, 151, 268, 328, 466, 483.*

Uspensky – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the USSR – *44.*

Vācietis Ojārs (1933–1983) – Latvian poet – *470, 471, 481.*

Valdmanis K. (?–1941) – *aizsargs* (member of the Latvian paramilitary organization) – *135.*

Valeinis Stepans – resident of Pilda *pagasts* of Ludza administrative district – *234.*

Vaļenieks Arturs – Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ventspils Soviet of Workers' Deputies – *502.*

Valeskalns Pēteris (1899–1987) – Deputy People's Commissar of Education of the Latvian SSR (1940), People's Commissar of Education of the Latvian SSR (1941–1944) – *215, 442.*

Valiņš Kārlis (1899–?) – arrested person – *286.*

Vanags Jānis (1907–1986) – economist, Minister of Agriculture (June–September 1940), People's Commisar of Agriculture of the Latvian SSR, Minister of Agriculture of the Latvian SSR (1940–1951; 1961–1962), Rector of the Latvian Academy of Agriculture (1954–1961) – *341, 363.*

Vasenkov – representative of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR in Tukums district (June 1941) – *166, 167.*

Vasks – Lutheran parson – *406.*

Veceļs Andrejs – resident of Līvāni *pagasts* of Daugavpils administrative district – *302.*

Vecmanis Alfons (1906–1999) – Lutheran pastor, Dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia (1947–1992), Secretary of the Central Board of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia (1951–1989) – *427.*

Vecvagars Jēkabs (1902–1965) – Administrative Director of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR – *455.*

Vegers Jānis – Chairman of the Auditing Commission of the Central Board of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia – *422.*

Veidnieks (Veitmanis) Kornēlijs (1899–1942) – Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Latvia (1939–June 1940) – *77.*

Veiter Theodor – Chairman of the International Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen (1985) – *513.*

Veļičevskis Aivars (1955–1994) – employee of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *434.*

Vērpelis Jūlijs (1898–?) – Commander of the 8th Valmiera *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramilitary organisation) Regiment – *135.*

Veselov Ivan (1915–1984) – head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1957–1961) – *419.*

Vēvers Jānis (1899–1978) – head of the Investigation Department of the People's Commissariat of State Security of the Latvian SSR (1941–1944), Deputy People's Commissar (Minister) of State Security of the Latvian SSR (1944–1952), Chairman of the KGB of the Latvian SSR (1953–1963) – *454, 501.*

Vidiņš Juris Galērijs (1938) – doctor, deputy of the Saeima (parliament) of the Republic of Latvia (since 1995) – *524.*

Vidiņš Kārlis (1896–1959) – lieutenant-colonel, head of the Department of the Military School (1939–1940) – *136.*

Vilciņš Tālivaldis (1922–1997) – Professor of the Institute of History of Latvia – *142.*

Vīlips Pāvils (1901–1979) – Latvian poet – *462.*

Vilnerags – Acting Assistant Secretary of Skrīveri *pagasts* of Riga administrative district – *315.*

Vinogradov – major of the Red Army – *145.*

Vīnzarāja Elvīra (?–1941) – *aizsardze* (female member of a Latvian paramilitary organisation) – *135.*

Vishinsky Andrey (1883–1954) – Deputy Chairman of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars (1939–1944), representative of the USSR government in Latvia (June–July 1940) – *66, 83, 84, 215.*

Vishniakov – Military Prosecutor of the Internal Troops of the Ministry of the Interior of the Latvian SSR – *286, 287.*

Vistiņš H. (?–1941) – *aizsargs* (member of a Latvian paramilitary organisation) – *135.*

Vītola Līga (1970) – senior specialist of the Publication Department of the State Archives of Latvia – *16.*

Volkov – captain of the Red Army – *316.*

Volodin – employee of the Prison of the Directorate of State Security, People's Commissariat of the Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Azerbaijan SSR – *150.*

Vorobiov I. – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *130.*

Voronin – employee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia – *376.*

Voronin Fiodor (1900–?) – major-general, head of the Political Directorate of the Baltic Military District – *448, 449.*

Voronov Aleksandr (1916–?) – arrested person – *282.*

Voroshilov Kliment (1881–1969) – Marshal of the Soviet Union, People's Commisar of Naval and Military Affairs of the USSR (1925–1934), People's Commissar of Defense of the USSR (1934–1940), Deputy Chairman of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) (1940–1941; 1946–1953), Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1953–1960) – *476.*

Voss Augusts (1916–1994) – First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1966–1984), Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1984–1989) – *256, 259, 262, 264, 269, 369, 394, 464, 470, 504, 507.*

Vrubļevskis Leonīds (1910) – Secretary of the Liepāja District Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia – *400.*

Warner – employee of the British Foreign Ministry – *236.*

Welles Sumner (1892–1961) – Deputy Secretary of State of the USA – *95.*

Wettig Gerdon (1932) – German pastor from West Berlin – *428, 429, 430.*

Wittrock Hugo (1873–1958) – Commissar (*Gebietskommissar*) of the District of Riga City and the Commissary Chief Elder (*Oberbürgermeister*) (1941–1944) – *178, 194, 196, 198, 199.*

Yefimov D. – officer of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *130.*

Yegorenok Sergey (1956) – employee of trade unions – *523.*

Yegorov – engineer of the Housing Department of the Riga Garrison of the Red Army – *328.*

Yeltsin Boris (1931) – First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1985–1987), Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR (1990–1991), President of the Russian Federation (since 1991) – *250, 558.*

Yermolayev – employee of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *130.*

Yermolayev – junior lieutenant of state security, Commandant and the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR – *144.*

Yershov – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *258.*

Yezhov Nikolay (1895–1940) – People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR (1936–1938) – *23, 35, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49.*

Zaharēvičs – arrested person – *281.*

Zaichenko Anatoly – soldier of the Soviet Army – *334.*

Zakarancs Voitks – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *285.*

Zakowsky Leonid (real name Shubis Leonid) (1894–1938) – Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the USSR and head of the Moscow Regional Directorate of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (January–April 1938) – *44.*

Zālīte Elīna (1889–1955) – Latvian writer, translator – *461.*

Zālīte Indulis (1953) – head of the Center for the Documentation of the Consequences of Totalitarianism of the Constitution Protection Bureau (since 1995) – *16.*

Zarāns Viktors (1892–1942) – Commander of the 13th Bauska *Aizsargi* (Latvian paramilitary organisation) Regiment – *135.*

Zariņa Zenta (1921) – Second Secretary of the Liepāja District Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (1955–1963) – *331.*

Zariņš – arrested person – *282.*

Zariņš Augusts (1922) – member of the human rights protection movement – *435.*

Zariņš Kārlis (1879–1963) – Envoy of Latvia in Finland (1919–1923), Sweden, Norway, Denmark (1923–1930), Estonia (1930–1931), Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia (1931–1933), Envoy of Latvia in Great Britain (1933–1940); represented the interests of Latvia in Great Britain also after the occupation – *66, 225, 236, 569.*

Zaslužinskis P. – resident of Latvia – *286.*

Zemskov V. – senior researcher, Institute of the History of Russia of the Russian Academy of Sciences – *59, 60.*

Zevin V. – head of the Internal Prison of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the Latvian SSR (1940–1941) – *131, 132.*

Zhabarov Normurat – contractual worker of the Soviet Army – *333.*

Zhuravlov – officer of the USSR Commissariat of Internal Affairs – *458.*

Ziedinš Ernests – officer of the KGB of the Latvian SSR – *447.*

Zikeyev – head of the Transportation Department of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the USSR, captain of state security – *153.*

Zinovyev Aleksandr – 2nd rank captain of the reserve of the USSR Navy – *378.*

Žogota A. – resident of Latvia – *286.*

Žogota Ivans (1928–?) – arrested person – *286.*

Žogota Donats (1924–?) – arrested person – *286.*

Zuika R. – deputy director of the Apsīšu Jēkabs Six-Year School of Kocēni *pagasts* of Valmiera administrative district – *316, 317.*

Zujāns Ivans (1910–1975) – Minister of the Interior of the Latvian SSR (1953–1962), Minister for the Protection of Public Order of the Latvian SSR – *332, 335.*

Zumpe Ursula (1920) – tourist from West Berlin – *429.*

Zutica Milda – resident of Rugāji *pagasts* of Viļaka administrative district – *284.*

Zvirbule A. – specialist of the Commission for the Liquidation of Associations of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Latvian SSR (1940) – *126.*

Chapter 1

[1] *Lenin V. I.* First All-Russian Congress on Adult Education. May 6–19, 1919. Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality. May 19. Collected Works, 4th English Edition. – Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977. – Vol. 29. – p. 355.

[2] *Stalin J.* The Results of the First Five Year Plan. Report Delivered at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. (B) January 7, 1933. Problems of Leninism. – Moscow, 1945. – pp. 421–422.

[3] Исторический архив. – 1994. – № 4. – С. 147–150. *Translation from Russian.*

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[5] Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза в резолюциях и решениях съездов, конференций и пленумов ЦК, 1898–1954. Часть III: 1930–1954. – Москва, 1954. – С. 396–402.

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[8] Ленинградский мартиролог. 1937–1938. – Санкт-Петербург, 1996. – Т. 2. – С. 452, 453. *Translation from Russian.*

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Chapter 2

[14] The Occupation and Annexation of Latvia: 1939–1940: Documents and materials. – Riga, 1995. – p. 98.

[15] As above. – p. 120.

[16] As above. – pp. 131–132.

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[21] As above. – 219., 220. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

[22] As above. – 378.–379. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[28] As above. – 13. jūl. *Translation from Latvian.*

[29] Latvijas Republikas Ministru kabineta sēžu protokoli, 1940. gada 16. jūnijs–19. jūlijs: Dokumentu krājums / Sast. un koment. aut.: I. Šneidere, A. Žvinklis. – Rīga: Zinātne, 1991. – 51., 53.–55. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[35] Satversme (Constitution) of the Republic of Latvia. *Translated from Latvian by the Legal Bureau of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia.*

[36] Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents. Compiled by Dr. A. Bilmanis. – The Latvian Legation. Washington, D.C. – 1978. – p. 209.

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[38] As above. – 31. jūl. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[41] Сборник законов Верховного Совета СССР и указов Президиума Верховного Совета СССР за 1938–1942 гг. – Москва: Управление делами СНК СССР, 1943. – С. 172, 173. *Translation from Russian.*

Chapter 3

[42] Valdības Vēstnesis. – 1940. – 9. aug. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[45] LPSR Augstākās Padomes Prezidija Ziņotājs. – 1940. – 30. sept. *Translation from Latvian.*

[46] As above. – 29. okt. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[48] As above. – 8. okt. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[51] As above, 16. l., 39. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[52] As above, 327. f., 1. apr., 24. l., 74., 75. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[53] As above, 73. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

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[132] As above, 42. apr., 71. l., 2.a. 2.d, 2.g lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[157] As above, 2462. l., 205. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
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[162] As above, 1552. l., 52., 53., 63. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[163] As above, 170. l., 6., 7. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*
[164] LVA–PA, 101. f., 22. apr., 120. l., 18. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*
[165] As above, 24. apr., 96. l., 96.–102. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[166] LVA, 290. f., 2. apr., 14. l., 14. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*
[167] As above, 270. f., 1. apr., 101. l., 208. lp. *Copy. Translation from Latvian.*
[168] As above, 1033. f., 2. apr., 1. l., 27., 28. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[169] LVA–PA, 101. f., 9. apr., 73. l., 81. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[170] As above, 11. apr., 73. l., 116.–118. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[171] LVA, 270. f., 2. apr., 832. l., 132. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[172] As above, 148. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[173] LVA–PA, 101. f., 12. apr., 63. l., 129., 130., 135., 136. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[174] As above, 71. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[175] LVA, 270. f., 1.–s. apr., 439. l., 157. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[176] As above, 611. f., 3. apr., 146. l., 27. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*
[177] As above, 270. f., 2. apr., 5414. l., 155. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*
[178] As above, 1903. l., 149., 150. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*
[179] As above, 5323. l., 17. lp. *Copy. Translation from Russian.*
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[195] As above, 2055. l., 55. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[197] LVA–PA, 101. f., 16. apr., 9. l., 57., 59., 61., 65., 70., 71. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[198] As above, 141., 142. lp. *Original.*

[199] As above, 167., 168. lp. *Original.*

[200] As above, 22. apr., 10a. l., 7., 8., 12., 13. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[201] As above, 15. l., 58. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[204] As above, 121. f., 1. apr., 42. l., 31., 32. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

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[207] As above, 270. f., 1.–s. apr., 338. l., 1. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[209] As above, 1448. f., 1. apr., 239. l., 22.–24. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[210] As above, 244. l., 5., 15., 16., 23. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[211] As above, 1452. f., 1. apr., 58. l., 17. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[212] As above, 89. l., 35., 43., 48. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[213] As above, 1448. f., 1. apr., 53. l., 183. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[214] As above, 255. l., 101., 102., 106., 108., 109., 121. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[215] As above, 98., 99. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[216] As above, 66. l., 42. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[217] As above, 18. l., 100. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[218] As above, 155. l., 25., 26. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[219] LVA–PA, 519. f., 1. apr., 16. l., 72., 78., 79., 88. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[221] As above, 180. l., 65. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[222] LVA–PA, 101. f., 27. apr., 20. l., 57., 58., 63. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[223] LVA, 1448. f., 2. apr., 121. l., 20. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[224] As above, 1. apr., 270. l., 24. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[225] As above, 270. f., 1.–s. apr., 1887. l., 4., 13.–15., 55. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[226] As above, 986. f., 1.–s. apr., 34. l., 21.–25. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[228] As above, DS NS=0308490. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[230] As above, DS NS=0309848. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[231] As above, DS NS=0310560. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[232] LVA–PA, 101. f., 2. apr., 7. l., 16., 17. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[233] As above, 9. apr., 56. l., 27., 28. lp. *Copy. Translation from Russian.*

[234] As above, 11. apr., 57. l., 86. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[235] As above, 4449 f., 1. apr., 8. l., 4., 5., 8. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[236] As above, 101 f., 10. apr., 62. l., 32., 33. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[237] As above, 25. apr., 1. l., 33. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[238] As above, 13. apr., 73. l., 19.–21., 28. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[239] As above, 14. apr., 71. l., 16., 17. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[240] As above, 18. apr., 112. l., 3. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

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[242] As above, 1986. f., 2. apr., P–25908. l., 32. lp. *Copy. Translation from Russian.*

[243] As above, P–1290. l., 114., 115. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[244] As above, 124. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[245] As above, 7263. f., 1. apr., 1. l., 38.– 40. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[246] As above, 101. f., 35. apr., 1. l., 45. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[247] As above, 45. apr., 95. l., 3., 5.–9. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[248] LVA, 678. f., 4. apr., 5. l., 26. lp. *Copy. Translation from Russian.*

[249] As above, 917. f., 2. apr., 31. l., 1.–3. lp. *Copy. Translation from Russian.*

[250] As above, PA–101. f., 25. apr., 84. l., 37. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[251] As above, 1. apr., 44. l., 2., 3. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[252] As above, 9. apr., 22. l., 7., 8., 9., 24. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[253] As above, 11. apr., 54. l., 43. lp. *Copy. Translation from Russian.*

[254] LVA, 678. f., 2. apr., 61. l., 1., 3. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[255] LVA–PA, 995. f., 1. apr., 22. l., 17.–19. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[256] LVA, 678. f., 1. apr., 554. l., 1., 2. lp. *Copy. Translation from Russian.*

[257] As above, 473. f., 1. apr., 286. l., 61., 63., 122.–124., 158.–160. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[258] As above, 588. l., 3., 4. lp. *Copy. Translation from Latvian.*

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[259] LVA, 1986. f., 1. apr., 40012. l., 4. sēj., 35. lp. Reverse side. Original. *Translation from Latvian.*

[260] As above, 30641. l., 3. sēj., 102. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[261] Table made by Heinrihs Strods. *Translation from Latvian.*

[262] LVA, 1986. f., 1. apr., 28785. l., 3. sēj., 227. lp. *Original. Translation from Latvian.*

[263] Table made by Heinrihs Strods, after: LVA–PA, 101. f., 7. apr., 31a. l., 1., 2. lp.; 9. apr., 35a. l., 1., 2. lp. *Translation from Latvian.*

[264] Table made by Heinrihs Strods. *Translation from Latvian.*

[265] LVA–PA, 101. f., 16. apr., 93. l., 21., 22. lp. *Copy. Translation from Russian.*

[266] As above, 23. apr., 51a. l., 337. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[267] As above, 16. apr., 41a. l., 33., 34. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[268] Neatkarības atgūšana: Atmodas laiks dokumentos. – Rīga: Latvijas Valsts arhīvs, 1996. – 7., 8., 12. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[270] As above, 45. apr., 96. l., 24., 25. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[271] Daugavas Vanagi. – [Great Britain]: Daugavas Vanagu Centrālās valdes izdevums, 1976. – 18., 19. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

[272] Congressional Record. Proceedings and Debates of the 89th Congress, Second Session. Vol. 112, No. 183, Washington, Oct 22, 1966. Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia. Collection of copies of documents and printed matters.

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[275] LVA–PA, 101. f., 61. apr., 118. l., 15.–19. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[276] Latvijas cilvēktiesību aizstāvēšanas grupa "Helsinki-86": Dokumentu krājums. 07.86.–04.88. – Rīga, 1989. – Issue without pagination. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[282] LVA–PA, 101. f., 61. apr., 33. l., 21., 22. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[283] As above, 101. f., 61. apr., 118. l., 69.–72. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[284] Latvijas Tautas fronte. Gads pirmais. – Rīga, 1989. – 224. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

[285] As above. – 253.–254. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

[286] LVA–PA, 101. f., 63. apr., 17. l., 105.–108. lp. *Original. Translation from Russian.*

[287] Latvijas Tautas fronte.. – 266. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[289] Latvijas Padomju Sociālistiskās Republikas Augstākās Padomes un Valdības Ziņotājs. – 1990. – 4. maijs. *Translation from Latvian provided by the Information Department of the Chancellery of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia.*

[290] Atmoda. – 1990. – 22. maijs. *Translation from Latvian.*

[291] Latvijas Republikas Augstākās Padomes un Valdības Ziņotājs. – 1991. – 12. febr. *Translation from Latvian.*

[292] Diena. – 1991. – 5. marts. *Translation from Latvian.*

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[294] As above. – 53. lpp. *Translation from Latvian.*

[295] Diena. – 1991. – 19. aug. *Translation from Latvian.*

[296] As above. – 20. aug. *Translation from Latvian.*

[297] Latvijas Republikas Augstākās Padomes un Valdības Ziņotājs. – 1991. – 21. okt. *Translation from Latvian provided by the Information Department of the Chancellery of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia.*

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[298] Latvijas Vēstnesis. – 1996. – 27. aug. *Unofficial translation from Latvian.*

[299] Latvijas Vēstnesis. – 1998. – 15. okt.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAF – anti-aircraft formations
ACEN – Assembly of the Captive European Nations
AED – Administrative Economic Department
a.o. – and others
AS – Academy of Sciences
ASSR – Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
AUC(B)P – ALL-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party
b. – born
BAM – Baikal–Amur Line
BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation
BMD - Baltic Military District
b/n – *bez numura* (without numeration)
c. – comrade
capt. – captain
C(B)P – Communist (Bolshevik) Party
C(B)PL – Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Latvia
CC – Central Committee
CCL – Central Council of Latvia
CCR – Central Chernozyom (Black Earth) Region
CEC – Central Executive Committee
Cheka – *Всероссийская Чрезвычайная комиссия* (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission)
cit – citizen
CM – Council of Ministers
CP – Communist Party
CPC – Central Polling Committee
CPL – Communist Party of Latvia
CPSU – Communist Party of the Soviet Union
cpt. – captain
CSAP – Club of the socially active people
Dept – Department
Depts – Departments
Distr. – District
DON – *Дело оперативного наблюдения* (case of operative supervision)
DOP – *Дело оперативной проверки* (case of operative inspection)

DPE – Department of People's Education
DWC – Department of Work Colonies
Ev. – Evangelical
Evang. – Evangelical
FRG – Federative Republic of Germany
FSS – Federal Security Service
FZO schools – *Школы фабрично-заводского обучения* (vocational schools of factories and plants)
Gen – General
Gestapo – *Geheime Staatspolizei* (The State Secret Police)
GUGB – *Главное Управление государственной безопасности* (Main State Security Directorate)
Gulag – *Главное Управление лагерей* (Main Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps
ha – hectare, 1 ha=2.5 acres
H. Con. Res. – House Concurrent Resolution
KECh – *Квартирно-эксплуатационная часть* (Department of the Maintenance of Housing)
kg – kilogram(s)
KGB – *Комитет государственной безопасности* (Committee of State Security)
l/b – letter-box
LC – Labour Camp
LNNK - *Latvijas Nacionālās neatkarības kustība* (Movement for National Independence of Latvia)
LSDWP – Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party
LSSR – Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic
LSU – Latvian State University
Lt. – lieutenant
LTA – Latvian Telegraph Agency
Lt.-Col. – Lieutenant-Colonel
Lt.-Gen. – Lieutenant-General
Luth. – Lutheran
LVA – *Latvijas Valsts arhīvs* (State Archives of Latvia)
LVVA – *Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs* (State History Archives of Latvia)
LYO – Latvian Youth Organization
m – metre(s)
MDCLC – Main Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps, also known as Gulag
MGB – *Министерство государственной безопасности* (Ministry of State Security)
MI – Ministry of the Interior
MTS – Machine and Tractor Station
NEP – *Новая экономическая политика* (New Economic Policy)
NKGB – *Народный Комиссариат Государственной безопасности* (People's Commissariat of State Security)

NKVD – *Народный Комиссариат Внутренних дел* (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs)

No. – number

Nov. – November

NSDAP – *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterspartei* (National Socialist German Workers' Party)

OGPU – *Объединенное Государственное политическое управление* (State Political Directorate)

OLNP – Organization of Latvian National Partisans

PA – Party Archives

pag. – *pagasts* (township)

PB – Political Bureau

PCF – People's Commissariat of Finance

PDUF – People's Democratic Union of Finland

PFL – Popular Front of Latvia

POW – *Polska organizacja wojskowa* (Polish Military Organization)

PPS – *Polska partia socjalistyczna* (Socialist Party of Poland)

RECees – regional executive committees

res. – residing

resp. – respectively

RL – Republic of Latvia

RO – Registry Office

RSFSR – Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

s – *секретно* (secret)

SD – *der Sicherheitsdienst* (Security Service)

SFSR – Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

SPC – Soviet of People's Commissars

sq. – square

SS – *die Schutzstaffeln* (Guard units)

ss – *совершенно секретно* (top secret)

SSR – Soviet Socialist Republic

TASS – *Телеграфное агенство Советского Союза* (Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union)

ULFG(p) – Union of Latvian Fatherland Guards (partisans)

ULNP – Union of Latvian National Partisans

UNO – United Nations Organization

USA – United States of America

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

YCL – Young Communist League (Komsomol)

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