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## PREFACE

On July 25 and 26, 1985 the Baltic World Conference, representing the three central Baltic organizations in the free world - the Estonian World Council, the World Federation of Free Latvians and the Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania - held a Tribunal against the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The purpose of the Tribunal was threefold: to bring to the attention of the world the illegal Soviet occupation of the once free and independent Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; to document the atrocities and genocide committed against the Baltic people; and to condemn the Soviet Union for these acts against humanity. As evidenced by the materials presented in this publication, the objectives were accomplished beyond any reasonable doubt.

A panel of internationally known authorities in the field of human rights served as judges: Per Ahlmark, the Rev. Michael Bourdeaux, Jean-Marie Daillet, Sir James Fawcett and Dr. Theodor Veiter, who as Chairman presided over the proceedings. After listening to the testimony of sixteen witnesses, the jurists assembled and weighed the evidence and at the conclusion of the Baltic Tribunal issued their verdict: The Copenhagen Manifesto.

This publication is the result of numerous requests made by public officials, libraries, journalists, private citizens and others, for the information and testimonies given at the Tribunal. We have included in this publication the indictment, background information, the testimonies of the witnesses, and the Copenhagen Manifesto as well as brief biographies of the jurists and witnesses. It is our hope that this publication will serve not only as an historical document, but also as a source of information to all who are interested in the realization of human rights and freedom for all people.

Olģerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman  
Baltic World Conference

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

at the

BALTIC TRIBUNAL

by

Olģerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.

Chairman, Baltic World Conference



## BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

All we ask is FREEDOM.

For almost 4,000 years the Baltic people have lived on the shores of the Baltic Sea. For 4,000 years Balts have tilled the land and prospered. For 4,000 years Balts have been able to repulse attempts at foreign domination, in order to further the development of their culture. 4,000 years of heritage. Until the two greatest tyrannies of modern times - the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany - joined forces.

46 years ago, in the fall of 1939, the Soviet Union and the German Reich signed a secret protocol. Within a few months, between June 15-17, 1940, while the Western world was stunned by Hitler's actions in the West, in Eastern Europe Soviet armored divisions quietly crossed the borders of the Baltic countries and occupied Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Today the Baltic countries - once free and independent republics - are under Soviet military occupation. The Soviet government has eliminated almost all human, national and religious rights of the Latvian people. To the mass arrests and deportations in the 1940's, 50's and early 60's, new tactics and methods have been added in order to carry out the Soviet government's destructive Russification and genocide policies against the Baltic peoples. Incarceration in psychiatric institutions and mind control by drugs are only two of the latest and most insidious developments in the Soviet prison system. Today, after 4,000 years of existence, only 53% of the population in occupied Latvia is Latvian - a direct result of the Soviet government's policies. Balts have been made second class citizens in their own countries. Their culture, their land and their industry are exploited and subjugated to the goals of the Soviet empire. Baltic youths are forced to fight and die in Afghanistan for Soviet interests. The Baltic Sea, once peaceful and prosperous, has been turned into a huge Soviet nuclear naval base for its growing armada, where boarding of foreign vessels and intrusions in foreign waters by the Soviet navy has become almost commonplace.

We, the Baltic people, do not ask for territorial gains. We do not ask for power. But we DO DEMAND for Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, the right to live as free and peaceful people in our lands and to exercise our God-given rights. ALL WE ASK IS FREEDOM.

BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE  
VERSUS  
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Baltic World Conference, 1985.  
Rockville, Maryland 20850, U.S.A.

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BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE  
VERSUS  
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

I. INTRODUCTION

WHEREAS the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (hereinafter referred to as the U.S.S.R. or the Soviet Union) have occupied Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and WHEREAS the U.S.S.R. has established a totalitarian dictatorship in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and has deprived the peoples of these Baltic States of the possibility of expressing their will and managing their own affairs in political, economic, cultural, and religious fields, this indictment is submitted on behalf of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian nations by the Baltic World Conference (hereinafter referred to as the BWC).

The BWC is a federation of the three Supreme Executive bodies of each of the Baltic nationalities and their representative organizations in the Free World, namely, the Estonian World Council, the World Federation of Free Latvians, and the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania. Each of these three central organizations defends, respectively, as negotiorum gestor the interests of the Estonian nation, the Latvian nation, and the Lithuanian nation, in concurrence with the diplomatic representatives of the independent republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, who are accredited in the United States of America and other countries, and seeks, as the ultimate goal, an end to the illegal Soviet occupation with the subsequent re-establishment of the independent and democratic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

## II. INDICTMENT

The BWC accuses the Soviet Union, under international law, of the following crimes against humanity and against the States and Peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania:

### A. Conspiracy, aggression, and the illegal annexation of the Baltic States

1. On August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union, in collusion with Nazi Germany, signed a mutual nonaggression treaty, known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact with secret protocols attached and supplemented on September 28, dividing Eastern Europe into spheres of influence. According to the terms of the pact, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, and Northern Bukovina came under Soviet Russian domination. By this act of conspiracy, the Soviet Union violated Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and Article 1 of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and it shares the responsibility with the German Reich in causing World War II.

2. By implementing the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviet Union, by use of military force, coerced the signing of the Mutual Assistance Treaties with Estonia on September 24, 1939; with Latvia on October 5, 1939; and with Lithuania on October 10, 1939. The Mutual Assistance Treaties provided for the garrisoning of Soviet troops in the respective neutral and sovereign Baltic republics and were instrumental in carrying out the military occupation of Lithuania on June 15, 1940; Estonia on June 16, 1940; and Latvia on June 17, 1940 (occupatio bellica).

These military acts were in direct violation of a number of international treaties which the Soviet Union had signed with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1920, 1926, 1929, 1932, 1934, and 1939. They were also a willful violation of the Convention for the Definition of Aggression of July 5, 1933.

3. The Soviet Union established the Soviet system of government in the Baltic States, annexing Lithuania on August 3, 1940, Latvia on August 5, 1940, and Estonia on August 6, 1940 thereby incorporating the three countries into the U.S.S.R.

#### B. Exploitation of the Baltic States

1. The Soviet Union has deprived the Baltic States of their status as countries committed to the ideals of law and the promotion of peace in Europe. Through the installation of rocket and submarine bases which far exceed any normal national needs, the U.S.S.R. has turned the Baltic States into a place d'armes. The implementation of such measures forces the Baltic States into serving Soviet offensive designs against other peaceful European countries.

2. In violation of international law, the Soviet Union is drafting Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian youths into its armed forces. They are compelled to serve outside of the Baltic States and are forced to take part in military actions against other countries; i.e., Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Afghanistan since December 27, 1979.

3. The Soviet Union is economically exploiting Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Accelerated industrialization is used to gain greater political control over the Baltic States, but not to improve their economies or to make them more efficient.

4. The Soviet Union, in exercising its colonial-master's powers, discriminates against the ethnic Balts in employment, housing, education, communications, the arts, and other endeavors and services.

5. Soviet colonial rule in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, based on alien Russian domination and exploitation, constitutes a violation of the United Nations Organization's Charter and is especially a violation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of December 14, 1960.

C. Deportation and systematic Russification of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians with the purpose of eliminating their national identities, cultures, and languages

1. The Soviet Union has deprived the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians of their national self-determination, destroyed their democratic way of life, and subjected them to a totalitarian, imperialistic regime.

2. The Soviet Union is steadily decreasing the proportions of the native populations in the Baltic States.

a. During the 45-year Soviet occupation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, approximately one million Baltic nationals have either been deported to Soviet forced labor camps or resettled to distant areas within the Soviet Union.

b. The Soviet Government is systematically resettling Soviet Russians and other non-Baltic nationalities into Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, while the Baltic people are coerced by various means to relocate to distant lands within the Soviet Union.

3. The Soviet Union is destroying the physical and national-political existence of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian people. It is deliberately imposing conditions of life which are designed to rob the people of their potential of resuming their status as sovereign nations, to which they are entitled under the right of self-determination.

4. The Soviet Union is systematically pursuing a policy of Russification of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian languages and the cultures of the Baltic nations.

D. Violations of human rights

1. The Soviet Union has deprived the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania of basic freedoms and fundamental human rights, such as the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and the right to a fair and public hearing before an independent tribunal.

2. Threats of imprisonment and placement in psychiatric institutions are used to quell all forms of dissent.

### III. ILLEGAL ACTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION

A. Soviet conspiracy against peace in Europe

After the Anschluss of Austria on March 11, 1938, the division of Czechoslovakia on September 30, 1938, and the dissolution of Czechoslovakia on March 14, 1939, the German Reich, on March 23, 1939, presented an ultimatum to Lithuania to cede the coastal region of Klaipeda (Memel). Throughout this time, the Soviet Union maintained a vigorous anti-Nazi and anti-capitalist rhetoric without ever exerting any effort for containing the aggressive expansion of the German Reich. On the contrary, soon after these Nazi successes were consummated, the Soviet Union indulged in simultaneous secret negotiations in Moscow with the representatives of Great Britain and France, and separately with the Third Reich.

On August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany concluded a treaty of nonaggression with secret clauses (commonly known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact). The Secret Protocol provided that "In the event of a territorial and political arrangement in the areas belonging to the Baltic



States (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern boundary of Lithuania shall represent the boundary of the spheres of influence of Germany and the U.S.S.R. In this connection, the interest of Lithuania in the Vilnius area is recognized by each party."

After the collapse of Poland on September 28, 1939, the Soviet Union proposed a new supplementary secret protocol to the nonaggression treaty in which both parties agreed that "The secret Supplemental Protocol signed on August 23, 1939, shall be amended in Item 1 to the effect that the territory of the Lithuanian State falls to the sphere of influence of the U.S.S.R.," and that "As soon as the Government of the U.S.S.R. shall take special measures on Lithuanian territory to protect its interests, the present German-Lithuanian border, for the purpose of a natural and simple boundary delineation, shall be rectified in such a way that the Lithuanian territory situated to the southwest of the line marked on the attached map shall fall to Germany."

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact sealed the fate of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. When in September 1939 Germany and the Soviet Union, pursuing their common plan of aggression, divided Poland, the Soviets immediately initiated action against the Baltic States. (see Section III., B.)

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its subsequent secret protocols secured the Soviet Union's neutrality toward the Third Reich and eo ipso allowed Germany to attack Poland on September 1 of the same year. The war on Poland marked the start of World War II (France declared war on the German Reich on September 2; the United Kingdom, on September 3). The Soviet Union attacked Poland from the east on September 17, 1939.

The complicity of the Soviet Union with Nazi Germany was an act of aggression against its European neighbors and a violation of many international treaties. This complicity with Nazi Germany gave Hitler a free hand in the east, which he would not have had without the friendly Soviet assurances. Consequently, the Soviet Union was a co-conspirator with the German Reich against peace in Europe.

The Trial of Major War Criminals at Nuremberg (November 14, 1945-October 1, 1946) was based on the agreement of August 8, 1945, in London between the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union for the establishment of an International Military Tribunal. Annexed to it was a "Charter" defining the jurisdiction and the functions of the Tribunal. The crimes listed in the Charter were a) crimes against peace, b) war crimes, c) crimes against humanity. The crimes against peace included "The planning, preparation, initiation, or waging a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing."

The Soviet Union was a party to this agreement and a participant even though the U.S.S.R. was no less guilty of aggression and conspiracy with the German Reich against peace in Europe and aggression against the Baltic States, Poland and Romania (Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina) and their people.

#### B. Annexation of the Baltic States

The Soviet Union's aggression against Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania was executed in three stages:

1. Intervention
2. Occupation
3. Annexation

##### 1. Intervention

Intervention by the Soviet Union began in the autumn of 1939 with a massive concentration of Soviet troops along the Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian borders (1). By thus pressuring the respective governments in the absence of support from Western democratic states, they were compelled to sign individual Mutual Assistance treaties proposed by Moscow in October 1939. These pacts required the Baltic States to grant to the Soviet Union

the right to establish Soviet military bases on Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian territory. The Finnish reaction to a similar Soviet ultimatum was to reject it and, consequently, the Soviet Union attacked Finland on November 28, 1939.

In an effort to allay misgivings in the Baltic States and the world at large regarding the treaties, the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, V. M. Molotov, declared on October 31, 1939 before the Supreme Soviet that "all these treaties of mutual assistance strictly stipulate the inviolability of the sovereignty of the signatory states and the principle of noninterference in the affairs of others...we declare that all the nonsensical talk about Sovietization of the Baltic countries is only in the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs" (2).

As late as March 29, 1940, Molotov repeated the same assertion by stating at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. that "the independence and independent policy of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have not suffered..." (3). Such Soviet statements were outright lies (4). Molotov knew on October 31 that earlier that year, beginning with August 23, he and Nazi Germany's Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop had signed secret protocols, annexed to the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, providing for the inclusion of the Baltic countries into the Soviet sphere of influence (5).

It is noteworthy that the General Staff of the Red Army distributed geographical maps carrying the titles "Lithuanian S.S.R., viz. Latvian S.S.R., First Issue 1939" (6).

Eleven weeks after Molotov's speech of March 29, 1940 to the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Union staged the final act of intervention.

Between June 14-17, the Soviet Union delivered ultimata to the governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The ultimata to Estonia and Latvia contained four accusations:

- \* Latvia and Estonia had failed to denounce their Mutual Military Assistance Pact of 1923.
- \* The governments of the Baltic countries had taken part in secret conferences.
- \* The General Staffs of the Baltic countries had held secret meetings without Soviet participation.
- \* A special press organ of the Baltic Military Alliance, "La Revue Baltique," had been created.

These accusations have been deemed groundless by both scholars of international law and government officials in democratic countries.

The Latvian-Estonian Assistance Pact was registered with the League of Nations as early as 1923. It was public knowledge, and the Soviet Union had raised no objections to it for 17 years.

"There was no alliance, secret or otherwise," concluded the Select Committee of the House of Representatives (USA) to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. (commonly known as the Kersten Committee) (7).

The conferences of Baltic Foreign Ministers were being held routinely, and openly, and differences of opinion were being voiced even among the Baltic States themselves (8). The allegations concerning Baltic General Staffs were not substantiated, even after the Soviet occupation regime took over the Latvian archives. "La Revue Baltique" was actually the press organ of Baltic mutual friendship societies and focused primarily on economic, social, and cultural issues (9). Only two issues of the "Revue"

ever appeared. Ironically, the first issue contained "a friendly evaluation of the Mutual Assistance Pact" (10).

Thus, the Soviet Union has never been able to substantiate the accusations in its ultimata. Under general international public law, the Soviet action was "an intervention without right" and "a dictatorial interference by a state in the affairs of another state" (11).

The final acts of intervention in the Baltic States were carried out as follows:

a. Estonia

On the night of June 13/14, 1940, the Soviet naval, air and land forces garrisoned in Estonia drew an iron curtain between Estonia and the outside world. Ships to and from Estonian ports were either seized or turned back. On the June 14 flight from Tallinn to Helsinki the Finnish passenger airliner "Kaleva" was intercepted by two Soviet aircraft and shot down. Estonian fishermen observed the crash of the plane and salvaged some objects. A Soviet submarine arriving at the scene seized the salvaged items, drove the fishermen away and continued to search the area (12).

On Sunday, June 16, 1940, at 14:00, the Estonian Minister in Moscow, Mr. August Rei, was presented an ultimatum by the Soviet Government. The ultimatum demanded that a new government be formed and that Soviet troops be stationed in strategic centers. The deadline for the answer was 23:00 of the same day. Molotov stated that if a response was not received by that time, the Soviet Army would be ordered to march into Estonia to suppress all resistance (13).

A Soviet plenipotentiary, Andrey Y. Zhdanov was sent to Tallinn. At noon on June 19, Zhdanov proceeded under heavy escort to meet with the President of Estonia, Konstantin Päts. He demanded the formation of a new

Estonian Government and discussed possible candidates for the cabinet. Zhdanov made it clear that any candidate would have to be approved by the Soviet Union (14).

On Friday, June 21, 1940, the Estonian Government was overthrown after an anti-government demonstration by a crowd of 500-1000 people was held under the protection of Soviet tanks. Zhdanov dictated the names of the proposed new cabinet members to the Soviet-sponsored Prime Minister, Dr. Johannes Vares (15).

b. Latvia

On June 15, 1940 Soviet troops raided a Latvian frontier post, killing four persons and taking 42 prisoners to the Soviet Union. Soviet tanks, artillery and motorized-infantry units were concentrated en masse at the Latvian border.

When the Soviet forces were thus displayed on June 16, 1940, Molotov summoned the Latvian envoy in Moscow, Mr. Fr. Kociņš, and at 14:00 handed him an ultimatum, demanding an answer by 20:00. Molotov stated that unless a reply was received by that time, Soviet troops would march into Latvia and put down all resistance (16).

Since Latvian peacetime armed forces did not exceed 19,000 men and because there was no time for general mobilization, the Latvian Government capitulated. Last minute efforts to obtain support from the West proved futile (17). The first Soviet tank columns reached Rīga on June 17, 1940.

c. Lithuania

On June 14, 1940 a massive concentration of Soviet troops was stationed along the border of Lithuania. At 23:50 in Moscow, Molotov presented to the Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. J. Urbšys, the Soviet ultimatum. It accused the Lithuanian police of kidnapping and

mistreating Soviet soldiers stationed in military bases in Lithuania and further stated that "the Lithuanian Government entered into a military alliance with Latvia and Estonia...directed against the Soviet Union." The Soviets demanded that:

\* The Minister of the Interior, Skučas, and the Director of the Department of State Security, Povilaitis, be immediately turned over to judicial authorities to be tried as responsible for acts of provocation committed against the garrisons of the Soviet Union in Lithuania.

\* A new government be immediately formed in Lithuania capable and determined of assuring proper fulfillment of the 1939 Treaty of Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania.

\* Free entry into the territory of Lithuania be immediately assured for military units of the Soviet Union which would be stationed to enforce the Treaty of Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania.

Since the majority of the Cabinet considered it impossible to organize any substantial resistance in the few hours available and agreed that the destruction of the country should be prevented, it decided to comply with the Soviet demands. The President of Lithuania, Mr. A. Smetona, agreed to accept the ultimatum and appointed Gen. S. Raštikis as Prime Minister. Moscow, however, found Gen. Raštikis unacceptable. President A. Smetona felt that under these circumstances he could not perform his duties and left Lithuania in the early morning hours of June 15. Before leaving, President Smetona vested in A. Merkys, Acting Prime Minister, the Office of the President of the Republic in accordance with Article 71 of the Constitution.

On June 15, 1940, numerous Soviet Army units crossed the Lithuanian border and Lithuania fell under complete Soviet control.

The Soviet Government immediately dispatched its emissary, V. G. Dekanozov, to Lithuania with the double task of forming a new government and preparing for the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government wanted to execute a smooth transition that would cloak its deceit, threat and intimidation under the pretense of pursuing constitutional procedure. According to the Soviet plan, the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union was not to be carried out by direct Soviet order but by voluntary acts of the Lithuanian Government.

The sudden departure of the President of Lithuania, Smetona, created an obstacle for the implementation of this plan. It was necessary to deprive Smetona of the title of President. For this purpose, Dekanozov found it necessary to compel the Lithuanian Government to deliberately misinterpret the Lithuanian Constitution and declare that it considered Smetona's departure as resignation from the presidency of the Republic. In accordance with this misinterpretation, the position of the President of the Republic was filled by the Acting Prime Minister, A. Merkys, who on June 17, under duress, appointed a new Prime Minister, the Soviet nominee, Justinas Paleckis. Merkys resigned, and Paleckis, automatically assumed the duties of the President and appointed his Deputy Prime Minister, prof. V. Kreve-Mickevičius, to the office of Prime Minister.

## 2. Occupation

The military occupation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by the Soviet Union in 1940 was an act of brutal force. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania had been formally and factually neutral states. Soviet accusations that the Baltic States had aggressive designs against it or that they were involved in German anti-Soviet plans, were lacking in factual basis and credibility. Germany's expansionist policies viewed Estonia and Latvia as future acquisitions rather than as friendly sovereign states (18). Such German political designs were more or less common knowledge in the Baltic



States. In fact, on March 23, 1939 Nazi Germany had already acquired a coastal strip of Lithuania along with its only commercial port, the city of Klaipeda.

The Soviet Union, despite its expulsion from the League of Nations for its aggression against Finland (19), was still bound by the norms of international law, the treaties it had concluded, and the declarations of its government. The Soviet ultimata to, and occupation of, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were acts of aggression, both legally and in fact (20). They also violated the Treaty of Mutual Assistance Pact with each of the three Baltic States. The Select Committee of the House of Representatives (USA) to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R concluded that:

"The evidence is overwhelming and conclusive that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were forcibly occupied and illegally annexed by the U.S.S.R. Any claim by the U.S.S.R. that the elections conducted by them in July 1940 were free and voluntary, or that the resolutions adopted by the resulting parliaments' petitioning for recognition as a Soviet Republic were legal, are false and without foundation in fact.

The continued military and political occupation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by the U.S.S.R. is a major cause of the dangerous world tensions which now beset mankind and therefore constitutes a serious threat to peace" (21).

The process of occupation of the Baltic States is well illustrated by the Lithuanian example:

Most Lithuanians who were pressed into service by the Soviets soon realized that they had become victims of an extraordinary fraud. On July 2, 1940, the Prime Minister Kreve-Mickevičius was received by Molotov in Moscow. He complained of interference in Lithuanian internal affairs by Dekanozov, the Soviet Legation, and the Red Army. He asked Molotov to

discipline Soviet officials in Lithuania and to conclude a new convention in which Lithuanian-Soviet relations would be stipulated in a more precise manner. During the long conversation, Molotov stated the following:

"You must take a good look at reality and understand that in the future small nations will have to disappear. Your Lithuania, along with other Baltic nations, including Finland, will have to join the glorious family of the Soviet Union. Therefore, you should begin now to initiate your people into the Soviet system which in the future shall reign everywhere throughout all Europe - put into practice earlier in some places, as in the Baltic nations - later in others" (22).

Kreve-Mickevičius, upon returning to Lithuania, submitted his resignation but it was not accepted. The actual execution of Soviet plans in Lithuania was then entrusted to an old-time Lithuanian Communist, M. Gedvilas, Minister of the Interior, who faithfully carried out all plans and demands of the Soviet Government.

### 3. Annexation

The last stage - annexation - began immediately after the Soviet invasion and occupation of the Baltic States in 1940. In conformity with Soviet political practice it included some formal acts directed by Moscow's special emissaries which were designed to appeal to world opinion by hiding aggression under a cloak of legality. These "cover" acts lacked juridical significance then as well as now.

#### a. Estonia

After the military forces of the Soviet Union invaded Estonia, the emissary from Moscow, Zhdanov presented President Konstantin Pāts with a list of names for the new Estonian Government. This, of course, was in itself an illegal act. In order to deceive the rest of the world, the list did not contain any active Communist Party members, only Communist supporters. The new Soviet-approved Prime Minister, Dr. Johannes Vares, announced on June 22, 1940 that the new government would consider the question of dissolving

both chambers of parliament, as they did not represent the will of the people. Another illegal act of direct interference was committed when the Soviet emissary, Zhdanov, on July 3, 1940 directed the new Minister of Interior, Maxim Unt to arrange elections according to the Estonian electoral law, which mandated a 35-day period between the announcement of the elections and the actual election date.

An illegal manipulation of the election process was conducted by the Soviet-controlled Supreme Electoral Committee, disqualifying non-Communist candidates and allowing only the Communist candidates to remain on the ballot.

Still another illegal and unconstitutional act was the disqualification of the Estonian High Court of Justice over the issue of elections.

After the illegal elections, A. Zhdanov directed Dr. Vares to convene the newly elected parliament on July 21, 1940 in order to pass a resolution to petition the Soviet Government for the admission of Estonia into the Soviet Union.

b. Latvia

A few days after the occupation in June 1940, Soviet emissary Andrey Y. Vyshinsky selected the puppet government for Latvia. It included two Communists; the rest of the members might be termed "fellow-travelers" (23). Although President Kārlis Ulmanis was formally allowed to keep his position, he had no say in the selection of candidates for the Cabinet of Ministers as the list had already been approved by the Soviet Union.

This act was illegal. Under international law, foreign emissaries cannot, under any circumstances, legally select the government of any independent country.

Less than a month after the occupation, on July 14 and 15, elections for the Saeima (Parliament) were staged under an electoral law decreed by the puppet government. This contravened the Latvian Constitution which did not authorize the Cabinet of Ministers to issue such a law (24).

Only candidates selected under Vyshinsky's direction were placed on the ballot - again an illegal action. An alternative list of candidates presented by a coalition of Latvian political parties was barred, and the leaders were arrested (25).

The elections were organized under the control of the Soviet secret police, the NKVD. Polling stations were supervised by individuals selected by the occupying regime. The ballots were counted by members, or appointees, of the Communist Party. An official announcement was made that 97.8% of the votes had been cast for the "Bloc of Working People" (26). Documented evidence revealing various electoral irregularities was found in NKVD files after the Germans drove the Soviets out of Latvia in 1941. Prior to these illegal elections the electorate was falsely assured that it was voting for the continued existence of Latvia as an independent state, safeguarded by the Mutual Assistance Pact with the Soviet Union.

The "parliament" thus brought to power held its first, and last session on July 21, 1940. It "unanimously decided" to request the Soviet Union to admit Latvia into its fold as one of its republics.

All of these acts and decisions were taken in manifest violation of the law of nations and of Latvia's Constitution (27) and they breached specific treaties that the Soviet Union had concluded with Latvia.

c. Lithuania

On June 25, 1940, the Minister of the Interior, Gedvilas ordered that the Communist Party be entered in the register of societies and associations. In this connection, the daily "Lietuvos Aidas" wrote:

"The Communist Party, which has always fought for the people's interests, will now be the only legal party in liberated Lithuania. There is no place for other parties..."

On July 5, 1940, the Lithuanian Government issued an official communique announcing the election of the People's Seimas (Parliament), to be held on July 14. The next day Paleckis, as the acting President, promulgated a new electoral law. The electoral law was based on the pattern of the electoral law of the U.S.S.R. The underlying principle of the law stipulated that the nomination of candidates be reserved for the Communist Party. The nominated candidates bore the misleading title of the "Union of Working People of Lithuania." Article 19 of the new electoral law stated "As many candidates for the people's representatives shall be nominated as there are to be elected from each electoral district."

The list of 79 candidates had to be approved by the Supreme Electoral Commission, which was to be appointed by the government. The members of the Supreme Electoral Commission were Communists.

By the end of election day, July 14 only about 15-20% of the people had voted. The acting President, Paleckis issued a decree on the evening of July 14 which extended the balloting time to 22:00 of the following day. On July 17, 1940, the Supreme Electoral Commission announced that "for the ticket of the Union Working Peoples of Lithuania, 1,375,349 votes, or 99.19% of all who cast their ballots, were counted."

On July 21, 1940, the People's Seimas (Parliament) was convened for its first session. It adopted a resolution which introduced the Soviet system into Lithuania and declared Lithuania a Soviet republic. After a brief intermission, it adopted a second resolution asking "The Supreme

Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to admit the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic into the body of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a Union republic on the same basis as the Ukrainian, the Byelorussian, and other Union republics." The People's Seimas expressed its gratitude to the Soviet Union and to the Red Army in particular:

"Now the people, helped by the mighty Red Army...established the Soviet Government in their own country...if the people have been able to establish in their own country a just regime - the Soviet regime - it is all due to the Soviet Union" (28).

On August 3, 1940, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R decided to "grant the request of the Seimas of Lithuania and admit the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as an equal Federal Soviet Socialist Republic."

Lithuanian diplomatic representatives abroad lodged protests to the governments to which they were accredited in the name of the silenced people of Lithuania against the falsification of the will of the Lithuanian people and unanimously condemned Soviet aggression and the seizure of the state of Lithuania.

"From a constitutional point of view, the election of the so-called People's Seimas was illegal and invalid for the following reasons: 1) They were held under the auspices of occupational forces; 2) The candidates were selected by a single party, the only one allowed by the Russian occupational authorities; 3) The District Electoral Commission submitted the list of candidates to the Supreme Electoral Commission which was, in fact, selected and approved by the Soviet emissaries and was an organ of the occupational forces operating in the interest of the U.S.S.R." (29).

### C. Sovietization of the Baltic States

The Soviet Union claims that it "is an integral, federal, multi-national state formed on the principle of socialist federalism as a result of free self-determination of nations and the voluntary association of equal Soviet Socialist republics" (Article 70 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution). Furthermore, Article 72 reads:

"Each of the Union republics shall retain the right to secede freely from the Soviet Union."

In fact, not one nation has joined the Soviet Union of its own free will. There is not the slightest doubt that Article 70 of the Soviet Constitution constitutes nothing but an empty promise.

While Article 72 grants the right to Union republics to secede from the Soviet Union, the right is a *ius nudum* since there are no provisions for exercising it. Any attempt against the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union constitutes a crime punishable by the deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding 15 years (Article 62 of the Penal Code of the Lithuanian S.S.R.). Thus, the call for separation is interpreted as a counter-revolutionary act.

In all three Baltic States, the Soviet Union is pursuing long-range plans that are not only contrary to the interests of the Estonian, Latvian,

and Lithuanian people, but are also a direct threat to their continued existence as nations. These long-range plans are exercised by the following methods:

- 1) Subjugation through terror
- 2) Political subjugation
- 3) Expropriation
- 4) Colonization
- 5) Economic exploitation
- 6) Militarization
- 7) Russification
- 8) Genocide
- 9) Violations of human rights

1) Subjugation through terror

The subjugation of the Baltic States through terror began immediately following Estonia's, Latvia's, and Lithuania's occupation in June 1940 and their forced incorporation into the Soviet Union. The pattern was similar in all three states.

Although the Lithuanian experience is described here, very similar procedures were used in Estonia and Latvia.

In order to break down any resistance against the Soviet occupation, the NKVD in Moscow, even before the formal incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union, had already formulated plans for a campaign of intimidation and terror. Arrests of prominent former government personalities began as early as June 1940. These arrests were usually executed during the night, although in some cases people were apprehended at work and were not even given the opportunity to notify their families or friends. It is estimated that during the first year of Soviet occupation, June 1940-1941, about 12,000-14,000 Lithuanians were arrested, deported, or killed. Then, on June 14, 1941, the first methodical mass deportation of Lithuanians began. During this action, which lasted one week and was interrupted only by the onslaught of Hitler's armies into the Soviet Union,



over 34,260 Lithuanians were deported to slave labor camps in various parts of Siberia and other places. These victims included all categories of people - men, women, children, infants, pregnant women, the elderly and the infirm. The conditions under which this and all the following deportations were carried out, were barbarous. Families were separated and people were herded into filthy railroad box cars without food, water or sanitary facilities. Many of the deportees, particularly the elderly, sick and the very young, did not survive the trip to the labor camps.

Those deportees who survived the inhumane conditions of the transport and ultimately reached the labor camps faced new hazards. They were put to work in jobs which were often extremely arduous and dangerous; e.g., felling trees, working in mines, etc. The prisoners received only about 1,000 calories daily and were given insufficient clothing for the Siberian climate. Shelters were also inadequate. They consisted mostly of primitive shacks, sometimes tents or dugouts which lacked the most basic amenities. Medical care, at best, was poor; oftentimes it was nonexistent. Considering these circumstances, it is not surprising that the weaker deportees died within a matter of months, whereas some of the stronger and healthier ones managed to survive for an average of 2-5 years.

In the summer of 1944, when the Soviet army reoccupied Lithuania, one of their first tasks was to reinstate the deportations. By December of that year, approximately 37,000 Lithuanians were either deported or killed outright. The brutal behavior of the occupiers produced a surge of desperate resistance in Lithuania. Thousands of brave men and women fiercely battled the Soviet invaders, but were finally forced to succumb to the overpowering Soviet forces. These skirmishes resulted in about 30,000 casualties among the Lithuanian freedom fighters. Meanwhile, the mass deportations were continuing; there were eight more mass deportations from 1945 through 1952.

Exact figures of the number of victims will probably never be known since the Soviets refuse not only to publish such statistics, but blatantly deny that such deportations ever took place. Experts estimate that the

Lithuanian nation may have lost approximately 500,000-600,000 people, up to one-fifth of the entire population.

The purposes of these actions were three-fold: first, as indicated previously, to eliminate all local resistance to Soviet political domination by instilling fear into, and inflicting terror upon, the populace; second, to reduce the Baltic population by dispersing Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians throughout the Soviet Union, thereby rendering the Balts incapable of any organized resistance; and third, even more ominously, to reduce the Baltic population to such low levels that they cease to exist.

## 2. Political subjugation

The Soviet Union is a highly centralized state. Supreme power is vested in the Communist Party. According to Article 6 of the Constitution:

"The leading and guiding force of the Soviet Union and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organizations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Thus, any suggestion that the general public, other than Communist Party members, can participate in the decision-making process is a spurious paper exercise. The Constitution establishes the CPSU as the supreme power, and the by-laws of the CPSU, in turn, assign subservient roles to the republic Communist Parties. The supremacy of the CPSU over parties in the republics is established by both Article 22, which states that the CPSU and its congress are the highest leading body, and Article 19-d, which

makes the decision of higher bodies binding upon lower bodies. The republic parties' inferior roles are further defined by Article 41:

"The republican parties...take their guidance in their activities from the program and the rules of the CPSU, conduct all work for the implementation of party policy and organize the fulfillment of the directives of the Central Committee of CPSU within republics, territories, regions, areas, cities, districts concerned."

Thus, the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Communist Parties may not even have their own program.

In order to ensure that Soviet directives are carried out fully without any deviations and that Moscow's interests prevail over national interests, both the membership and the leadership of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Communist Parties are saturated with non-Balts. For example, the Latvian Communist Party, both in its ideology and membership, is essentially non-Latvian. It is estimated that only between 35-40% of the Latvian Communist Party members are Latvians. It should also be noted that the Latvian Communist Party conducts its business meetings and correspondence, including internal memoranda, etc., in the Russian language. This very clearly reflects the dominant representation of Russians and the subservient role of the Latvians in the Latvian Communist Party.

In Lithuania in 1926, there were 412 Communist Party members and candidates in a population of 2,700,000. In 1940, at the time of the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union, there were 2200 members and candidates in a population of 3,084,000. The majority of these were not ethnic Lithuanians. The membership increased to 4625 on June 1, 1941, when the war between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany began.

To cite another example, in 1985 the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania elected a 529-member Supreme Court. Of this number, at least 189 (36%) members have Russian surnames. If we compare the Lithuanian population, which constitutes 80%, with the Russian population of Lithuania of almost

9%, we can readily see the Russian dominance in the party and in other decision-making processes.

A. S. Alexiev, analyzing the mechanics of Soviet political control, emphasized the undisputed control of the party hierarchy used to prevent any nationalistic deviation:

"To achieve these objectives, Moscow has relied on an elaborate system of checks and controls and the penetration of the local party organizations by Russians and Russified members of the respective nations..."

Another traditional method of ensuring direct control over republican organizations is the appointment of Russian "watchdog" functionaries as Second Secretaries of the republican parties. All three Baltic Communist Parties have such "watchdogs" in residence. The Second Secretary exercises tremendous power in the party apparatus since he is in charge of the key "cadres" department and can influence not only party appointments, but, through the system of nomenklatura, all important positions in the republic. Moreover, in his "watchdog" function, the Second Secretary represents the Secretariat of the CPSU in the republic, which gives him an additional, and extremely influential, power-base. Although the Second Secretary can, and does influence personnel decisions, the actual promotion decisions for all party officials, starting with the District Secretary, are made in Moscow. Thus, by essentially denying republic functionaries the key political tool of patronage, Moscow hopes to prevent the building of native power-bases and loyalties.

The elaborate structure of central controls of the Baltic Communist establishments indicates a lack of trust on the part of Moscow in the commitment and dependability of indigenous party members to carry out prescribed policy without regard to specific national desiderata. Such excessive and heavyhanded external control underscores the fact that the local parties are little more than Moscow's reliable tools for the perpetration of its political hegemony (30).

### 3. Expropriation

The process of collectivization began soon after the occupation of the Baltic States and their incorporation into the Soviet Union.

One of the first steps taken by the occupation forces was the formation of the so-called "Committees of Workers" in all places of employment. In the armed forces, regimental committees were selected and political commissars appointed. Further decrees provided for nationalization without indemnification of banks (including larger private deposits), industrial and commercial enterprises, rental houses, and part of the land owned by individual farmers. Private ownership rights were restricted.

In imposing these policies, the Soviet regime often resorted to lies and subterfuge (31). A typical example of this occurred in the agricultural sector. In Latvia, medium size (about 40 hectares), individually owned farms had been the rule. On July 22, 1940, the puppet government declared:

"Every attempt to force toiling peasants into collective farms will be sternly opposed as it would harm the interests of the people and the state."

This assurance was underlined by giving farm laborers 10-hectare plots of land. Yet, "voluntary collectivization," using measures of terror and reprisal, including large-scale deportations, was enacted as early as 1949 (32). In practice, independent Latvian farmers were annihilated as a social group. They continued to be deported until 1952 (33).

Almost identical programs were carried out in Estonia and Lithuania. For example, in Estonia, by the end of 1949, a collectivization level between 70-80% had been achieved.

#### 4. Colonization

The most dangerous element of Soviet long-range policy is colonization. (The term, as used in this document, means the influx of aliens, directed and promoted by the occupation regime.) As evidenced earlier, the Soviet Union intends to stay in the Baltic States permanently. That Soviet leaders have never shrunk from openly declaring their nefarious purposes, is shown by a few examples:

In the negotiations of the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, the last obstacle was the issue of the Latvian ports of Liepaja and Ventspils. Stalin demanded these ports, and von Ribbentrop acquiesced after Hitler answered in the affirmative (34).

Reporting to the Supreme Soviet on the incorporation of the Baltic States, Molotov stated, "Of prime importance for our country is, however, the fact that the frontiers of the Soviet Union have now been advanced to the shore of the Baltic Sea. Our country has thereby acquired ice-free ports of its own on the Baltic which we so much need" (35).

In a lecture in May, 1941 to Lithuanian artists, writers, and musicians, Soviet prof. Kirsanov reminded the audience that Peter the Great, had correctly understood Russia's interests. "To occupy the Baltic countries and to come nearer to the Atlantic Ocean. Yes, we are the vanguard of the proletariat and, in this sense, imperialistic...drop your dreams of liberation. The Soviet Union will march through the world, even through ruins and fire. Revolution will be a revolution" (36).

In the case of the Baltic States, several factors militate against the realization of Moscow's designs. Historically, the Baltic people have differed greatly from the Russians in language, history, religion, agrarian ownership patterns, and their Western way of life in general. For most

Balts, the traditional feeling of being different from Russians has grown into outright enmity since 1940. This antagonism has many roots: destruction of their independent states; mass deportation; preferential treatment of Russian newcomers; denigration of the national past; and denial of human rights. After World War II the opposition to Russification was evidenced by Baltic national guerrilla warfare, fought up to the end of the 1940s in Estonia and Latvia (37). In Lithuania, armed resistance to the Soviet occupation lasted until 1953. The general anti-Russian sentiment is hardly offset by individual Russians who take a condescending attitude toward Baltic national interests.

From the Soviet viewpoint, Balts are all too concentrated. As a majority in their own countries, the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians are viewed by the Soviets as constituting a restless, explosive factor that might interfere with Soviet long-term designs. For Moscow, the Baltic countries are still a festering problem that must be "handled." Thus, from the Soviet viewpoint, it makes sense to eliminate the Baltic nations from the political map of Europe. The Soviet goal is to end the national-political identities of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by reducing the indigenous populations to minority status in their own countries and to subject them to Russian-majority domination.

From the national viewpoint of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, the Soviet plan and its underlying motives are seen as illegal aggression that endangers their very existence in the ethnic-cultural realm and, particularly, in the national-political sense. Indeed, for the Baltic nations, the Soviet plan is a life-and-death issue.

From the viewpoint of Western democracies, the answer to the question of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian national identity is given in the juridical field by their refusal to recognize the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. But this response is inadequate in the face of Soviet efforts to "Russify" Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Will the democratic countries passively watch the reduction of Estonians and Latvians to the status of a minority in their millennial homelands? Will they disinterestedly witness the perversion of the Estonian, Latvian,

and Lithuanian national cultures, the elimination of native languages, the relocation of Balts, the reduction in their birth rate, and the deprivation of their right to determine their destinies in a state of their own? Will the juridical stance that has so far satisfied the conscience of the West be supplemented by a new stance which will condemn the Soviet Union in an appropriate manner before it is successful in committing genocide against the Baltic people?

The colonists are highly visible in all areas of everyday life; they are group leaders in the work place, school teachers, and government officials. Yet they do not speak the native language. They reside in new, urban housing developments where native Balts cannot obtain apartments. Because this colonization process is never publicized by Moscow, the free world remains ignorant of the extent to which Balts are being displaced in their native countries.

The Soviet Union must be made to realize that its colonization policy is being assessed by the free world and that it is deemed an international crime.

Soviet silence is exemplified by the absence of certain critical data in Soviet statistics. There is no published information about migration to and from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The discrepancy in the figures would reveal the extent to which colonization takes place and would demonstrate the persistence with which a policy of deliberate migration is followed.

a. Estonia

Immigration into Estonia by far exceeds the natural increment of the population growth. One example of the Russian influx is indicated through the interpretation of the following data. In a 15-year period, from 1970 through 1984, the population in the cities increased by 201,000. Allowing for the normal shift to cities and also the natural reproduction rate, one can account for an increase of 100,000-110,000. The only explanation for the remaining 100,000 is the resettlement of Russians, mostly to cities and



industrial regions. A typical example is the introduction of the Soviet labor force to the industrial region along the north shore; in particular, the Kohtla-Järve region.

The figures (38) of the Russian minority show the continuing trend:

1881 (1st census)	3.3% Russian
1939	5.6% "
1959	28.0% "
1979	35.0% "

b. Latvia

Immigration into Latvia by far exceeds the natural increment of the population and continues to increase. Until 1954, the increase constituted 29.7% of the total population growth; in 1955-59, it was 35.5%; in 1960-1964, 55.4%; in 1965-69, 64.5%; and in 1970-77, it was as high as 77.3% (39). The Latvian share of the population has diminished accordingly from 75.5% in 1935 to 53.7% in 1979, while the percentage of Russians, other Slavs, and Russian-speaking immigrants has grown to 46.3%.

Latvia's occupiers used to argue that the influx of Soviet citizens was justified because the Latvian birthrate was so low and did not provide enough workers to meet industrial needs (40). Neither part of this argument is factually correct. Furthermore, the argument itself masks Moscow's main political goal: securing control of Latvia's ice-free ports in Liepāja and Ventspils, a goal declared by Molotov in the name of the Soviet Government after Latvia's incorporation.

The fallacy of the Soviet argument relating to the Latvian birthrate is shown by the following: the natural growth of population in Latvia in 1978 (excluding the arrival of people from outside Latvia) was 1.2% per thousand inhabitants. This rate is higher than the rate in West Germany (-2.0%), East Germany (0.0%), Great Britain (0.1%), Switzerland (0.9%) and Belgium (1.0%) (41). Professor Juris Dreifelds, Brock University, states, "The data do not point to an abnormal or deviant phenomenon. In view of

this, the argument is often raised that somehow Latvia 'needs' a large influx of Russians because of its low birthrate is spurious, to say the least" (42).

If there is any justification for the argument that countries with a low birthrate would benefit from colonization, then both East and West Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, and Belgium would have an even greater need for Russian (or other) colonists. These countries would hardly support the notion that they, or Latvia, need colonists.

Latvia would have a sufficient work force to sustain its own industry if this industry were developed in such a way as to take advantage of local raw materials, markets, and other relevant economic considerations.

Latvia cannot, however, provide an adequate labor force if it is forced to serve Soviet industry, which itself has been distorted into a political industry. This Soviet industry carries out tasks that were formerly handled under war conditions or were implemented by Stalin through mass deportations.

Repeatedly, the two highest-ranking representatives of Soviet power in Latvia at that time, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, Augusts Voss in Rīga (43) and the member of the Soviet Politbureau, Arvīds Pelše in Moscow, spoke in defense of the colonization policy. Pelše, in particular, has stressed that "the process of resettlement" is a planned measure and that to oppose it would be a "dangerous policy" (44).

A characteristic example of Soviet colonization methods in the Baltic States is the campaign of the "government" of occupied Latvia to recruit Soviet citizens to work in the field of Latvian agriculture. "Cīņa," the official organ of the Latvian Communist Party, published a series entitled "From Official Sources." One of the items in this series is a decree "On Facilitating Moving." It lists, in detail, the benefits and rights of

those who "head for work in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Latvian S.S.R." (45). Briefly, the contents of this decree are as follows:

"Families that move to the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Latvian S.S.R. will receive 100 rubles per head-of-family and 35 additional rubles for each family member as well as all moving expenses, which will be paid.

The same applies to single, discharged soldiers, provided they marry within two years in the new residence.

The new settlers will enjoy tax exemption for the next eight years (agricultural or income tax, levied on farm income).

Houses or apartments will be assigned rent-free for the first two years. Fuel and the so-called communal services are to be free of charge.

Cows from the herd of the sovkhoses will be sold to the newcomers at cost. And, if they can show receipts for cattle, grain, etc., that were left in the previous place of residence, exact replacement will be made.

The State Bank of the U.S.S.R. will extend credit to sovkhoses and kolkhozes for constructing living quarters for newcomers. Each family will receive 4,500 rubles; half of this need not be repaid.

Local executive committees must scrupulously see to it that newcomers are given work and that their economic needs are met."

Thus, the economic, and other, privileges granted to the immigrants are considerable, especially when one takes into account the fact that they are moving from the Soviet Union, where living conditions are well below those in Latvia, since Latvia is regarded by Soviet people as more advanced and "European."

Notices encouraging Soviets to move to Latvia have appeared in Russian newspapers. They have also been posted in other public places, primarily in kolkhozes where people skilled in farm work live. The use of such

notices is attested to by historian and journalist, Viktors Kalniņš, who now resides in New York (46).

c. Lithuania

A comparison of the Lithuanian population figures of 1939 and 1979 shows that Lithuanians still constitute approximately 80% of the population. This, however, does not reveal that in 1939 only 2.5% of the population was Russian, while in 1979 Russians accounted for 8.9% of the total population (47). The bulk of the increase in the Russian population occurred at the expense of the diminished non-Slavic minority population, especially Jews and Germans.

The relatively "small" increase of the Russian minority in Lithuania can be attributed to a higher natural population growth-rate than that which exists among Latvians and Estonians, and to the fact that, until recently, Lithuania managed to avoid the creation of labor-intensive new industries, which serve as excuses for the influx of labor from the East. Lately, there are signs of heavy industry build-up in Lithuania, which will probably accelerate the influx of Slavs.

Another mitigating factor may also have been the Russian preoccupation with the colonization of the Karaliaucius (Königsberg, now renamed Kaliningrad) region with Russians. This ancient Lithuanian-Prussian region was mandated to the U.S.S.R. at the Potsdam Conference for temporary administration until the signing of the peace treaty.

Russian settlements in this region complete the surrounding of Lithuanians by a Slavic population from the West.

The following summarizes the population changes between 1939 and 1979 in the Baltic republics:

	<u>Estonia</u>		<u>Latvia</u>		<u>Lithuania</u>	
	<u>1939</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1979</u>
Estonians	92.1%	64.7%	-	0.2%	<1.0%	<1.0%
Latvians	<1.0%	-	75.5%	53.7%	1.3%	0.1%
Lithuanians	<1.01%	<1.0%	1.5%	1.7%	80.0%	80.0%
Russians & other Slavs*	5.6%	31.9%	10.6%	42.1%*	2.5%	8.9%

These population-ratio changes reveal the enormity of U.S.S.R. colonization in the Baltic States (48).

#### 5. Economic exploitation

The Soviet-controlled expansion of industry in the Baltic States is politically motivated. The fact that the industrial expansion in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania is planned is not only admitted to, but advocated by, Soviet statisticians, scientists, and Communist Party officials, up to the highest level.

For Soviet economic planners, it is irrelevant whether the raw materials, labor, and markets are available in the Baltic States to warrant industrial expansion on economic grounds. The decisive consideration is that this industry should be located in the occupied Baltic countries.

##### a. Latvia

In Latvia, for example, none of the aforementioned factors were a consideration when the Soviets built huge rayon and other textile plants (in Olaine, Ogre, and Daugavpils) and heavy machinery factories in Riga and elsewhere (49). Light industry ranks second in Latvia; the raw materials used come from Central Asia, Ukraine, and the Northern Caucasus. Raw materials and fuel (the latter represents 80-97% of the production cost) are hauled to Latvia over 1,600 to 2,300 km. (50). In some cases, as

stated in the "Letter from 17 Communists" (a letter signed by 17 Latvian Communists and published in the West), the distances are as great as 3,000-4,000 kilometers (51).

In 1977, 82% of the raw materials for the chemical industry in Latvia were sent from, and 75% of its production transported to, the Soviet Union (52). The only element that remains in Latvia is the Soviet labor force (53). Their settlement in Latvia is the real objective of this industrialization process.

Even in the Latvian Communist Party, voices have been raised against the economically senseless industrialization policy (54). During the so-called "Berklavs Thaw" in the late Fifties (55), protests had some success in stemming the mass immigration. However, Moscow soon suppressed such endeavors. (Edgars Berklavs, a member of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party and one of the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, was eventually dismissed for "nationalistic tendencies" and exiled to the Soviet Union in 1959.)

Expansion in industry in Latvia continued. From 1940 to 1975, production rose by 371.3%. In terms of population, the net result of this economically unjustifiable industrial expansion is that the Latvian share of the population, as stated previously, has dropped from 75.5% to 53.7%, while that of Russians and other Slavs has increased to 42.1%.

The politicalized industry has thus served the implementation of Soviet colonization plans.

In this connection, one can point to a comparable political action by the Portuguese colonial regime in Mozambique in the early Seventies. A gigantic dam, known as Cabora Bassa, was built in order to create the economic preconditions for the settlement of a million or so Portuguese colonists in Mozambique who would support the colonial regime. This politically motivated venture was opposed by local political forces and condemned by world opinion.

Rationalizing the use of forced immigration as a means of improving the local economic status is certainly not an easy task. Nevertheless, some of the leading statisticians of occupied Latvia have alleged that "Latvia's geographic-strategic situation and economic potential urgently required the Republic to have a much larger population" (56). Presumably, the same reasoning is being applied by the Soviet rulers to Estonia and Lithuania.

The first flaw in the above allegation is the assertion that Latvia's economic potential requires an increase in Latvia's population. Soviet actions contravene the idea that Latvia has such economic potential. If it existed, what need would there be for importing raw materials and a labor force and then transporting the finished products back to the Soviet Union?

The second flaw appears in the reference to the geographic-strategic importance of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The Baltic States are of interest to Moscow militarily as its western-most defensive territory. For precisely this reason, they are not suited for peaceful industrial development. The Soviet Union follows a pattern of selecting areas deep in its interior as sites for new industries, thus making them more secure in case of military conflict. Why would it follow a different course in the Baltic countries? Plants on the Baltic Sea, and almost everywhere else in the three countries, are on the western front-line and are adjacent to Soviet rocket launch-sites (57).

The economic argument lacks credibility, and the answers can again be found in the colonization process. Moscow's desire to keep this territory under its control is the overriding consideration. Control is so important that the Kremlin is willing to create an uneconomical industry in the Baltic area and risk its possible destruction in case of war. Whether there is war or peace, the hope is that this territory will not be inhabited by unreliable, unfriendly Balts, but rather by obedient Soviet people.

The Soviet-instituted, politically motivated industrialization ignores economic factors, exhibits no concern for the national use of natural resources, and completely disregards ecological problems.

b. Estonia

In northern Estonia, the oil-shale deposits have been estimated at 10 billion tons; of that tonnage, about 8.6 billion are industrially usable. The 1940 production level may seem low at 2 million tons annually, but the crude-oil yield was 200,000 tons (1,500 million barrels) and gasoline was 20,000 tons. With the planned exploitation of this resource, the 1974 consumption rate reached 27.3 million tons. The wasteful development of this energy resource is directly under Moscow's administration, while the local regime has no control over it. Most of the oil-shale mining/production is used for electric generation; over 50% of the 3100-megawatt facility is transmitted to the Soviet Union, particularly to Leningrad. The statistics vary somewhat, but Soviet sources indicate energy production at about 18.9 billion kilowatt-hours. At least half of this is consumed outside of Estonia. The emphasis on deliberate exploitation is also indicated by the fact that 11% of the workforce is engaged in the energy industry.

c. Lithuania

Economic exploitation and control began as soon as political subjugation was accomplished. Nationalization of the private and public sectors of the economy permitted the Soviets to control all means of production and distribution.

According to the provisions of Article 16 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, "The economy is managed on the basis of State plans for economic and social development" and by centralized direction.



In his paper "Soviet Colonialism in the Baltic States, 1940-65" (58), V. S. Vardys indicated that Moscow's economic colonialism appears to differ from the traditional pattern:

"The Moscow and regional economic leadership are largely in the hands of Russian personnel; Russians also play an important role in the economic councils of the republics. However, despite this central control, the Baltic economy, as previously pointed out, was not developed in a traditional colonial manner. The Soviet ideological policy provided the distinguishing differences. If the doctrine of old colonialism demanded that colonial areas be kept as mere suppliers of cheaply secured raw materials for manufacturing in the mother country, Communist ideology required industrialization, as well as collectivization, to create a Socialist order and to sustain the Soviet regime. Thus, the Soviets, first nationalized the industries, then collectivized agriculture and, finally, worked at industrial expansion."

In Lithuania, industries were nationalized in 1940 and collectivization was completed in 1951. The collectivization of agriculture destroyed agricultural production based on dairy and meat production. Consumers and food-processing industries were neglected. It took almost 20 years for agricultural production to reach the level achieved during the period of independence. All these measures resulted in the pauperization of Lithuania's population. During the 1950s, Lithuanian industry expanded at such a rate that currently it is more an industrial than an agrarian state. In 1979, there were 1,433,000 workers and employees, as compared to 241,500 collective and government farm workers.

In 1978, percentage distribution of population and labor forces in Lithuania was as follows:

	<u>1959</u>	<u>1978</u>
Industrial and Construction	23.4%	39.3%
Agriculture and Forestry	54.3%	23.7% (59)

The main driving force for forced, rapid industrialization was political. The Kremlin sent thousands of functionaries, specialists, and laborers to establish a strong Slavic population for sustaining the established Soviet system. To this effect, T. Remeikis correctly observed:

"The social revolution, produced by industrialization and intensified by collectivization, has radically altered the traditional relations of a basically rural population and made it easier to impose a new Soviet social system modeled on that in Russia. Industrialization thus can be considered as functional for the introduction of Soviet norms of behavior and for the weakening of the traditional cultural and religious fabric of society. Neither the natural nor human resources are sufficient in the Baltic countries for such a rapid development" (60).

Newly created industries at first served Soviet Union interests; industrialization was carried out to the detriment of the production of consumer goods. In some cases, the exploitation of natural resources transcended the limits of a balanced economy as, for instance, peat and forestry in Lithuania. In his analysis of Soviet policy concerning the types of industry, P. Zunde observed that industrial developments in Lithuania have been concentrated primarily on those types of industries whose raw materials, such as metals, etc., must be brought from Russia and whose products are not intended for the Lithuanian market, and that industries for which there are abundant natural supplies of raw materials, and which are essential to the development of the Lithuanian economy were completely underdeveloped (61).

The best example of the neglect of local Lithuanian interests is the memorandum submitted to the Lithuanian Communist authorities on March 22, 1966, signed by well-known Lithuanian writers and scientists, who protested the Moscow-directed industrialization. The memorandum is an outcry against pollution and a plea for ecological care.

It is directed against Russian planning and Russian-imported industries. The following excerpt illustrates the growing concern of the Lithuanian populations:

"As a result of our ignorance, carelessness, and ruthlessness, the Nevėžis River, once abounding in fish, is now polluted to such a degree that all its waterlife has perished. Extinction threatens the waterlife at the lower course of the Dane River, even the "Gates" of the Nemunas River in the waters of Klaipeda. The lakes of Telšiai and Šiauliai counties, as well as the Muša, have also been fouled.

The project of constructing the superphosphate combine at Kedainiai, in the forest of the Nevėžis Valley, was completed. Subsequent results show the grave errors of the project. Gone is the Juodkiškiai forest, the pastures nearby are fouled, and cattle-breeding is greatly endangered by the operation of this combine.

The Elektrenai Power Station no longer uses natural gas as a fuel, but rather 300 tons of sulphur-residual oil (mazut) every 24 hours. The project did not take into account the grave consequences which would result from such air pollution...

The Central Power Station of Vilnius, by increasing the level of air pollution, destroyed Vingis Park, which cannot be saved or restored to its original state.

The Kaunas Hydrotechnical Dam across the Nemunas River at Kaunas has caused the entire sector of the reservoir from Darsuniškis to Birštonas to be swamped by silt.

The above-mentioned examples of the destruction, or severe damage, to the balance of nature and its cyclical processes lead to the conclusion that construction of gigantic industrial plants in Western Lithuania not only pollute and contaminate the surrounding area, but also do irreparable damage to the landscape and destroy the Nemunas Delta and Bay as well as the resort area of the Republic..." (62).

## 6. Militarization

The Soviet Union has destroyed Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as countries committed to the ideals of law and the promotion of peace in Europe. It has turned the Baltic States into a place d'armes, installing rocket and submarine bases and subterranean ammunition depots and using commercial ports as naval bases far in excess of normal national needs. These measures are devised to force the Baltic States to serve Soviet offensive designs against Scandinavia and Western Europe.

For instance, the Soviet Baltic Fleet includes 30 submarines, 11 of which have been identified as carrying nuclear weapons. It also includes 40 large warships and 300 smaller vessels, 19 of which are armed with tactical nuclear weapons. In addition, the Soviets have 50 amphibian attack units, 19 transport ships and 120 bombers, all operating from major Soviet naval bases in Rīga and Liepāja, Latvia; Narva, Paldisk, and Tallinn, Estonia; and Klaipeda, Lithuania.

Soviet missile strength has also been increased and modernized in the Baltic States. SS-20 missiles are already in place in Estonia, while new SS-21, SS-22, and SS-23 missiles are being deployed in Latvia and Estonia. It appears that the largest number of missile bases are located in Latvia.

The largest infantry and tank unit in the area, 80,000 strong, is located in Kaliningrad. In addition, the Baltic region has 3 other tank divisions with 30,000 troops each, 5 motorized infantry divisions with 50,000 troops each, and 2 paratrooper and artillery divisions.

The largest concentrations of tank units have been identified in Dobele and Adaži, Latvia; Kluga, Pernu, Sillame and Veru, Estonia; and Pabrade, Lithuania. These troops are backed up by heavy artillery, antitank guns, MIG-21 and MIG-27 jet fighters, and the Soviet Union's most modern helicopter gunships. There are 19 military air strips in Estonia, 22 in Latvia, and 13 in Lithuania (63).

The Soviet Union in violation of international law as it applies to occupied countries is drafting Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian young men into its armed forces, and is compelling them to serve outside the Baltic States territories and to take part in military actions against other countries; i.e., Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Afghanistan since 1979.

To assure that an adequate pool of combat-ready soldiers is available, the Soviet Union has intensified its program of military training in schools. Military games for Soviet children, an adjunct to in-school training, were first introduced under the regime of Leonid Brezhnev in 1967. At these games in Latvia, called "Kavi" (Summer Lightning), students 11 to 14 years of age participated in sniper exercises, drills, and other military events outside of regular school hours.

In 1972, the "Ērglēns" (Eaglets) military games were introduced for Latvian upper-grade students. Basic military instruction was then gradually incorporated into the Soviet school curriculum. Under the reign of Yuri Andropov, the militarization of Soviet schools was substantially intensified.

In the November 23, 1983 edition of "Skolotāju Avīze," Rīga's teachers' newspaper, it was announced that participation in the Ērglēns and Kāvi military games was obligatory for all Latvian students. Boys and girls were referred to as "Young Soldiers," and a reserve officer was assigned to every grade level to supervise the formation of Young Soldiers battalions.

During the last year, militarization of Soviet school children has expanded to alarming new proportions. The September 26, 1984, edition of

"Skolotāju Avīze" stated that the number of military-game camps for children had increased from 7 to 34. It explained that the 1984/85 curriculum for general-education high schools now included two hours per week devoted exclusively to military training for all 10th- and 11th-grade students. Most schools now have firing ranges on the premises and include "sniper" practice with live ammunition for all students.

In addition to such basic military training, students are also subjected to history and social-studies courses focusing on military and political topics. These include: the theory of "just and unjust wars," class consciousness, the systematic creation of an enemy, and the special mission of the Communist Party to liberate the oppressed. The directive for the above program comes from the Soviet manual, "The Military Patriotic Educational System for High Schools and Vocational Schools," prepared by the Russian G. Moslov, "Hero of the Soviet Union."

The student war games in Latvia take place three times a year, in the fall, winter, and spring, with time allowed in between for study and preparation. The Commander of the games in Soviet-occupied Latvia is the Russian Nikolai Groshev, a Major General of the air force and "National Hero." Groshev's directives about the war games appear regularly in the Soviet youth magazine, "Padomju Jaunatne." Presented as "direct orders," they include instructions about the creation and organization of the games, reports of previous war-games results, and exhortations to students to strengthen their military and patriotic education and to prepare for military service in the U.S.S.R. armed forces, "to increase our readiness to fulfill our sacred responsibility to our Fatherland."

As a result, under direct "orders" from Moscow, Latvian children are now learning how to kill, use weapons, and survive during chemical warfare.

## 7. Russification

Russification of ethnic minorities has always been one of the Soviet Union's long-range objectives. In 1936, Stalin declared that the goal of Soviet education was to achieve the fusion of all national cultures into

one common socialistic civilization with one language - Russian. As part of this plan, in 1937 some 30 nationalities of the U.S.S.R. were prohibited from using their alphabets (64). According to Soviet sources, in 1926 there were 194 national groups in the Soviet Union. By 1959, this number had been reduced to 129 (65). The "rationale" for this policy has been formulated as follows: "The fusion of peoples is a continuous and progressive process" (66).

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Latvia's occupation, Soviet Premier A. Kosygin declared, "The fusion of nations into a single, united family is the highest goal of communism" (67).

Russification, as practiced by the Soviet Union, is in stark contrast to voluntary migration. It is a deliberate and forceful endeavor by a foreign power to manipulate the order established by the majority of the indigenous population. This design affects every activity, changes the economic system, and radically alters the demographic pattern. In the domain of education, the effect is a reduction in the number of native-language schools and native-language lessons and an increase in Russian emphasis (68).

A Soviet source noted in 1967-68 that "a sample study of Rīga workers indicated that immigrants from other republics formed 32% of the total workforce, but held 44% of the managerial jobs" (69). It can be safely assumed that by now this disproportion has grown. Even if only one Russian attends a meeting in Baltic workplaces, the discussion and minutes must be in Russian (70). In industrial plants, only Russian-language instruction is available.

In the literary field, Moscow's plans are implemented through censorship that restricts poets and writers. Personal supervision and directives set narrow bounds for popular national groups, including folk-dance companies. History is falsified (71), and the younger generation is barred from objective information about the achievements of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania when they were independent states, especially in the areas of art, literature, and international relations.

Today, it is practically impossible for people to live in Baltic cities without some knowledge of the Russian language. This is not because the indigenous population has chosen Russian, but because most positions of importance are reserved for immigrants from the Soviet Union.

In the cultural domain, in 1965 Latvian-language radio programs and motion pictures constituted only 2.3% and 5%, respectively, of the programs (72). Academic theses have to be written in Russian (73), and university graduates are required to work in distant regions of the Soviet Union for 3 years after graduation (74).

Under the guise of "voluntary enlistment," Latvian youth are being sent to work in faraway regions of the Soviet Union. Compulsory military duty must be served at least 800 kilometers outside Latvia. Youths are regularly sent outside Latvia to work as "helpers" in places such as Uzbekistan (3,300 km away). It has been reported that 12,000 young people "voluntarily" engage in such work (75).

The underground publication "Perspektyvos, No. 21 (1980)" (76) provided the following observation to the problem of Russification:

"The right of a U.S.S.R. citizen to study and to be taught in his 'native tongue' is expressed in Article 45 of the Constitution. Of course, the Russians enjoy this right. No matter which republic the parents may live in, provisions for a Russian-language education for their children will always be made. Conversely, other nationalities, even if they comprise the majority of inhabitants in a particular region, do not enjoy this right. Moreover, those who request education in a native tongue for their children are punished for nationalistic and chauvinistic activities. For example, in the regions of Kaliningrad, Siberia, and the Byelorussian S.S.R., there are entire villages of Lithuanians, yet education in the native language is forbidden."



In his analysis of cultural-ideological Soviet policies, Vardys makes the following observations:

"The new party program provides ample evidence that the regime is bent on creating a new, homogenous nation. In the cultural sphere, there remains no doubt...the program forces the creation of an international culture common to all Soviet nations, and the production of the 'Soviet man' conditioned to live in an emerging Communist system. If the requisite characteristics of this culture and this man were previously communistic, then presently they are Russian centered. The Baltic people realize this. In 1963, for example, students of the Pedagogical Institute at Vilnius, capital of Lithuania, publicly denounced the party's new programs as a Communist Party's plan for the Russianization of Lithuania. In plain language, this means that the new culture is to consist only of those national traditions that are useful to Moscow and that the Russian revolutionary tradition is to be the standard guide for further cultural development. The 'Soviet man' also is to be an internationalist. This euphemism hides the concept of a person who has completely transferred loyalties from his ethnic community culture and tradition. Ideologically, this Soviet man, of course, is expected to subscribe to Communist views; he is to be an aggressively atheistic, collectivistic materialist. Culturally, he is supposed to be a bilingual Russophile who has adopted Russian as his second mother-tongue and who favors an 'eternal union' with Russia. Politically, this man is to regard Russians as 'elder brothers' and accept Russian leadership" (77).

Article 45 of the Soviet Constitution stipulates that "citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to an education" and that this right is ensured "by the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language."

On May 22-24, 1979, an all-Union party conference, under the title "The Russian Language - The Language of Friendship and Cooperation Among the Nations of the U.S.S.R." took place in Tashkent. The conference recommended that teaching of the Russian language be started in preschool

institutions from the age of 5 and that all available resources be used in order to achieve effective results. These recommendations also covered middle schools, technical schools, and schools of higher education (78).

The mandatory introduction of Russian-language instruction in kindergarten has put the Lithuanian language in jeopardy. If a 6-year-old child begins Russian classes in kindergarten, his native Lithuanian will be polluted with Russian expressions, Russian idioms, and Russian speech patterns...why must our children begin Russian-language classes at age 6, when Russian children in Russia begin foreign language (German or other) study at age 11 (79).

The negative effects of Russification were pointed out by the prominent linguist, prof. A. Salys:

"The Sovietization of Lithuania and the privileged role of Russian in public life has found its expression in the Lithuanian language not only in the flood of special Soviet terms, but also in innovations in usage and word formation" (80).

The Initiative Group for the Defense of the Lithuanian Language in its appeal for help to the United Nations on October 31, 1979, stated:

A terrible crime has been underway for the past several months - the new program of Russification, confirmed by the Tashkent Conference, has been implemented. Its purpose is to displace the Lithuanian language, as well as the languages of the other Soviet-enslaved nations, from state and public life and to destroy their national cultures...Today we are asking for help in the defense of our native language, which is our greatest treasure and the foundation of our national culture" (81).

Between 1977 and 1982, those ethnographic ensembles which actively involved audiences in their programs were replaced. Among these were the Rumsiskes Folk Museum Ethnographic Ensemble, the ethnographic ensembles of the Kaunas Polytechnic Institute and Veterinary Academy, the Daina (Song)

Club in Vilnius, and the Teviškes (Homestead) Club in Kaunas. Sharp reductions in personnel have been made at institutes of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, especially in those for Lithuanian language and literature, as well as at the Institute of History. The performances of the works of Russian composers have been expanded in radio broadcasts since 1979, while programs of Lithuanian music, especially popular and folk music, have been cut. Commemorations of Lithuanian national heroes are impeded, while Russian jubilees are widely commemorated (Survorov, Battle of Kulikov, etc.).

The Lithuanians are subject to ruthless Soviet rule which attempts to destroy their national identity. The Soviet goal is to bring the spiritual life of Lithuania under the domination of Communist atheism and dialectical materialism in order to divert it from its national culture based on Western and Christian ethics. "The only means capable of diverting the colonized people from their secular traditions lies in 'Sovietizing' all that which may touch upon instruction, history, language, art, literature, or customs peculiar to each of the nations...Finnish, Balt, Slav, Germanic, Magyar, Rumanian, or Albanian" (82).

It is clear that Soviet policy toward ethnic groups, aside from tolerating apolitical folk tradition, is strongly assimilationist. The Soviet Constitution, for example, poses "social homogeneity" as a goal of the Soviet State (83). Soviet policy seeks to eliminate all national distinctions and to create a monolithic Russian Communist nation, a practice which is within the definition of genocide as determined by the United Nations.

## 8. Genocide

Genocide is the deliberate, systematic extermination of a national, racial, political, or cultural group. On December 11, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly declared that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world.

On December 9, 1948 the United Nations General Assembly approved the draft of "The Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." This convention declares that genocide is an international crime, whether committed in time of peace or war.

Article II of the convention defines genocide as follows:

"Genocide means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, such as:

- a. Killing members of the group;
- b. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- d. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- e. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Based on the two infamous "treaties of friendship and mutual assistance" between the German Reich and the U.S.S.R., signed on August 23 and September 28, 1939, the Soviet Union occupied Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in June 1940. This occupation, interrupted only by the Nazi occupation from June 1941 to May 1945, continues to the present day. Shortly after the occupation, Soviet authorities implemented measures for the purpose of weakening, to the point of extermination, the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian nations. The method: deportation and murder.

In preparation for the mass deportations, in Lithuania, for example, A. Guzevičius, People's Commissar of the Interior of the Lithuanian Socialist Soviet Republic, issued instructions, dated November 28, 1940, which ordered index-accounting, for the purpose of deportation, of all persons who, by reason of their social and political background,

national-chauvinistic and religious convictions, and moral and political instability, are opposed to the socialist order and, thus, might be used for anti-Soviet purposes by the intelligence services of foreign countries and by counter-revolutionary centers (84).

Actual arrests, deportations, and killings in all Baltic States continue to this day. Since the Soviet occupation, over 1,000,000 prisoners from the Baltic States have been eliminated, either by execution or deportation. The elimination of the political, national, religious and cultural leaders is, of course, devastating to the Baltic States.

Questions of interpretations of the meaning of genocide have been answered in part by the United Nations Genocide Convention (85).

The Genocide Convention was drawn up immediately after World War II as a response to the tragic fate of Jews in Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union has aggressively advocated a narrow interpretation of the convention. Western pressure, nevertheless, has forced a broader interpretation that protects not only groups, but more importantly, the ethnicity of these groups. This interpretation prohibits inflicting on any group "conditions of life" that have negative effects on its collective existence as an ethnic entity. Similarly, "destruction" can also refer to conditions that prohibit the existence and continuity of individuals as members of an ethnic group. The world community accepts this interpretation, but the Soviet Union accepts it only so long as it does not impact on its own interests. The broader interpretation of genocide is also being widely accepted in political and international jurisdictional areas. Illegal demographic changes in occupied territories are recognized as just that, illegal.

One can point to a comparable United Nations Security Council Resolution IV regarding the actions of Israel in occupied Arab territories (86):

"In this regard, measures taken by Israel in the occupied Arab territories that alter their demographic composition or geographic nature

are strongly deplored and, particularly, the establishment of settlements. Such measures, which have no legal validity and cannot prejudice the outcome of the search for the establishment of peace, constitute an obstacle to peace. The Security Council considers once again that all legislative measures taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, and the transfer of population which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem, are invalid and cannot change the status..."

The Soviet Union is denying the people of the Baltic States their right to constitute the majority in their own country. According to international law, such actions are criminal. For all intents and purposes, these actions constitute genocide as defined by the United Nations in that the end result is the same whether for an individual or a nation - the ceasing of ethnic existence.

It should be stressed that the interpretation and application of Resolution IV of the Security Council is fully in accord with a commentary on the Genocide Convention published by the United Nations Information Bureau. The commentary's section "The Definition of Genocide in the Convention" specifies (87):

"What are the acts of genocide? First, actual killing. But it is possible to destroy a group of humans without direct physical extermination. So the Convention includes in the definition of genocide...deliberate infliction of conditions of life 'calculated to bring about' physical destruction..."

Thus, Article II of the Convention clearly shows that it is not physical murder alone that is meant by the Convention.

The intent of the United Nations "to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge" (88) as genocide would lead to insoluble contradictions if the answer to the following question were affirmative: If the Genocide Convention prohibits actions "to destroy...national, ethnical groups" (Article II), does it mean that it permits the ethnical, numerical, and political destruction of entire nations? We are convinced that under the

United Nations Charter, the Genocide Convention, and the Charter for the International Tribunal of Major War Crimes the answer can only be "NO."

9. Violations of human rights

The Soviet Union has pledged to honor the following international acts and agreements dealing with human rights:

- a. The United Nations Charter; signed on June 26, 1945, and ratified by the Soviet Union in 1945.
- b. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights; adopted and proclaimed by the U. N. General Assembly on December 10, 1948.
- c. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; adopted by the U. N. General Assembly in 1948, ratified by the Soviet Union in 1954.
- d. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; adopted by the U. N. General Assembly in 1965 and ratified by the Soviet Union on February 4, 1969.
- e. International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights; adopted by the U. N. General Assembly in 1966 and ratified by the Soviet Union on October 16, 1973. Entered into force on January 3, 1976.
- f. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; adopted by the U. N. General Assembly in 1966 and ratified by the Soviet Union on October 16, 1973. Entered into force on March 23, 1976.
- g. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Final Act; signed at Helsinki on August 1, 1975.

The following excerpts from the "Report of the Joint Committee of Foreign Affairs and Defense of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia on Human Rights in the Soviet Union," published in Canberra in

1979, illustrate the plight of those individuals who have dared to speak out against human rights violations in the Soviet Union and have been imprisoned because of it (p.157).

"It would seem that there are several thousand Soviet citizens who have had the courage to attempt to exercise their rights to freedom of belief or freedom of expression, nominally guaranteed them in the Soviet Constitution and enshrined in the international conventions on human rights to which the U.S.S.R. is a party. Such people do not constitute a present threat to the stability of the Soviet system.

These men and women are singled out for especially severe treatment within the Soviet legal and penal system. Their human rights are abused during the investigations of their crimes, as well as by the labor colony and prison administrations. Soviet dissidents cannot hope for any positive intervention on their behalf from those Soviet institutions that are intended to provide prisoners with an avenue of appeal. The democratic countries should not remain silent in the face of these human rights violations.

Conditions in the Soviet prison system are harsh, brutal, and degrading to human dignity. The administration of Soviet penal institutions violates both the letter and spirit of the "United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners." In particular, Soviet penal regulations, and even more so their implementation, fall far short of humane concepts: In the system of punishments, the right of prisoners to make complaints, to communicate with their families and friends, and, most seriously, to receive adequate medical care and nourishment.

The Soviet Union is systematically abusing psychiatry through the forced internment of mentally healthy people in order to "cure" them of their political or religious beliefs. This also enables the Soviet Union to avoid the presence of some important dissidents at trials. The estimated 300 "dissidents" held in prison psychiatric hospitals at any one



time - and more in ordinary psychiatric hospitals - suffer the most degrading conditions; harmful drugs are administered to some of the "dissidents."

There is a continuing need to expose the unjust conditions endured by the people who are imprisoned in Soviet penal and psychiatric institutions merely because of their political or religious convictions. Wide publicity tends to act as a security against greater Soviet excesses against these people."

The abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union was discussed at length in the hearing before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the U. S. Congress on September 20, 1983. Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, stated:

"From the regime's point of view, psychiatric commitment is a very convenient instrumental policy. It enables the Soviet authorities to substitute judgment of psychiatrists for sentencing in a trial, or to avoid trial altogether. It enables the government to keep dissidents incarcerated an indefinite length of time and, of course, it enables the regime to claim that Soviet citizens who express dissatisfaction with the system are simply mentally ill."

The advantages of psychiatric abuse are worth further examination, particularly its affects on the rule of law, which is the last barrier against arbitrary despotism.

The U.S.S.R has laws against dissidents which the regime uses rather freely; i.e., the law against anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. But sentencing people on blatantly political charges is embarrassing to a regime which no longer wishes to appear Stalinist. Given these circumstances, dispensing with normal trials is very attractive and, therefore, sending dissidents to psychiatric hospitals is an easy solution.

Moreover, since confinement in mental hospitals is not limited to a definite term, this technique enables Soviet officials to move into a realm of almost unlimited administrative discretion or whim, to evade the rule of law.

The following is a sample of activities which led to forcible confinement:

- holding a placard in Red Square saying "I demand the right to emigrate." (Zita Salaviciute);
- complaining to high officials about the standard of medical treatment given her for chronic nephritis (Sita Virsnauskaite, 1978);
- joining an unofficial Helsinki monitoring group (the Lithuanian psychiatrist, Dr. Algirdas Statkevičius, 1980; at present time in Cherniakhovsk Psychiatric Hospital).

In February, 1983, the All-Union Psychiatric Society resigned its membership in the World Psychiatric Association rather than risk a public debate and censorship by the Association.

Soon after the Madrid Conference, the Soviet government enacted two new articles of the criminal code which have serious negative implications for political prisoners:

"Political prisoners charged under the 'political' or 'religious' articles of the Criminal Code are officially defined as 'especially dangerous State criminals,' which disqualifies them from considerations of amnesty, parole, or transfer to the 'unconfined forced labor' category. In labor camps, they are routinely singled out for especially harsh treatment, including solitary confinement and imprisonment on various fabricated charges. Under the provisions of the first new regulation, authorities may now indict, try and sentence prisoners who are still completing current sentences. The second regulation provides the government with a general pretext to rearrest previous offenders" (89).

#### IV. THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT AND THE BALTIC STATES

The 1975 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Conference, was a brainchild of the Soviet Union. When the Western powers finally agreed to participate, they had to deal with a few points of major importance. One of them was the tacit Soviet effort to substitute the Helsinki Final Act for the nonexistent peace treaty with Germany after World War II and thus to gain international recognition for Soviet territorial acquisitions. Accordingly, Moscow now interprets the 1975 Final Act as sanctioning its domination over the Baltic States.

What is the actual situation? One of the important clauses of the Helsinki agreement, in Paragraph III, states that "the frontiers of all states in Europe are inviolable" and that the states will refrain from attempts to change them (90). Paragraph IV then declares that no occupation or acquisition of territory in contravention of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act will be recognized as legal (91).

In the face of the Soviet allegation that the Helsinki agreement legalizes its frontiers, including those for the Baltic States, two crucial questions arise:

1. In the Helsinki Final Act, does the term "frontiers" also apply to the frontiers of illegally occupied territories?
2. Does the Helsinki Final Act signify that, contrary to the stipulations of Paragraph IV, illegal occupations can be legalized?

The answer to both questions, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations Organization (92) and the Helsinki Final Act (especially Paragraph IV), is in the negative (93). The leading Western democracies endorse this stand. The United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, France, West Germany, and other countries recognize the continued juridical and political existence of the Baltic States and consider the Soviet occupation to be illegal.

The Helsinki agreement is not a substitute for a peace treaty with Germany, nor does it legalize the acquisitions resulting from Soviet aggression. It does not legalize the spheres of interest established by Germany and the Soviet Union in the pact secretly agreed to by Molotov and Ribbentrop on August 23, 1939. The Baltic States continue to be illegally occupied and de jure they are not part of the Soviet Union. The Helsinki agreement corroborates only legally established frontiers. In the case of the Soviet Union, this means frontiers that do not include the Baltic States.

Soviet territorial violations after World War II deserve some emphasis. Upon the insistence of the Soviet Union, the local regime of Soviet Estonia was forced to yield two land areas which were administratively annexed to the R.S.F.S.R. The first area is located east of the city of Narva; the second is east of the city of Petseri. The current maps published by the Soviet Union show the "new frontiers" whereby the annexed areas now appear as an integral part of the Russian Republic of the Union. Similarly, Latvia had to cede an area of over 1,200 square kilometers to the R.F.S.S.R.. Such arbitrary action is a direct violation of International Law. Lithuania was also forced to cede a part of its territory to the Soviet Union. After the collapse of Poland, the Soviet Union occupied Vilnius and its surrounding region, which according to the 1920 Peace Treaty between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, was recognized as part of the Lithuanian territory. However, on October 10, 1939, the Soviet Union ceded only the city of Vilnius and a small adjacent territory (6880 square kilometers) to Lithuania. The greater part (25,561 square kilometers) of the area was assigned to Byelorussia.

## V. SUMMARY

As we have pointed out in the Introduction, the reason for preparing the present document is the grave concern raised by the Baltic World Conference in respect to the very existence of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian nations under Soviet occupation. It is our conclusion that the Soviet Union, both in the statements of its leaders and in its actions, pursues an on-going policy of deliberately inflicting on the Baltic nations conditions of life calculated to bring about their destruction as nations.

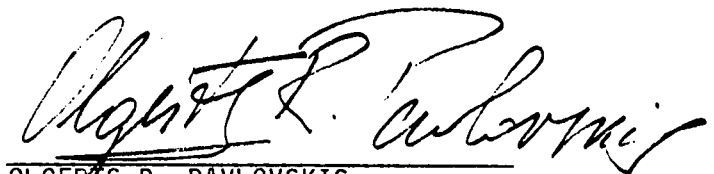
We demand for our nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania the realization of their right to live as other nations, enjoying freedom and independence and choosing their own way of life free of foreign domination.

There is no need for us to prove that Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanian have such a right. They have it not only because they were once free and independent states, but because it is their right under the principles of international law. In recent times, this right has been reaffirmed for all nations by the Charter of the United Nations International Covenants on Human Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The Baltic World Conference urges the Baltic Tribunal to condemn and find the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the officials who take part in these illegal actions, and those who continue the perpetration of these acts guilty of:

- \* Conspiracy against peace in Europe in 1939.
- \* Aggression, military occupation, and the illegal annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.
- \* Continued occupational administration, colonization, and economic exploitation.
- \* Violations of human rights.
- \* Attempting to destroy Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian national identities by means of forced Russification, arrests, deportations, and forced exile.
- \* Denial of national self-determination.

JUNE 10, 1985



OLGEERIS R. PAVLOVSKIS  
CHAIRMAN, BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

1. Third Interim Report of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. (Kersten Committee) Eighty Third Congress, Second Session. Under Authority of H. Res. 346 and H. Res. 438, Washington, D.C., 1954. (Buffalo: Wm. S. Hein and Co., Inc., 1972) p. 288. Referred to hereafter as the Kersten Report.
2. Ibid., p.27.
3. Bilmanis, Alfreds, Baltic States in Postwar Europe (Washington, D.C.: Latvian Legation, 1943, p.228.
4. Kersten Report, op. cit., p.290.
5. Loeber, Dietrich A., Diktierte Option - Die Umsiedlung der Deutsch-Balten aus Estland und Lettland (Dictated Option - The resettlement of German Balts from Estonia and Latvia) (Neu Munster: Karl Wachholz Verlag, 1972), Document 14, p.14.
6. Latvju enciklopedija(Latvian Encyclopedia), Ed. prof. A. Svabe, Stockholm: Tris zvaigznes, 1950-51, p.802.
7. Kersten Report, pp. 292-293.
8. Ibid., p.293.
9. Bilmanis, Alfreds, A History of Latvia (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), p.395.
10. (a) Kersten Report, pp. 294-295; Also Lassa F. Oppenheim and Sir Hersch Lauterpacht, International Law (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1937), 5th ed., Vol. II, Para. 134, p. 249.  
(b) Soviet sources: E.A. Korowin (et al.), Volkerrecht (International Law) (Hamburg: Hansischer Gilddenverlag, 1960), p.93; F.I. Koschewnikow, ed., Volkerrecht; Lehrbuch (International Law; Textbook), (Berlin: Deutscher Zentralverlag, 1960), p. 98; V.N. Durdenevskii and S.B. Krylov, eds. Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Institute of Law, International Law, (Sofia: Nauka i izkusstvo, 1949), p.373 ("treaties concluded under duress are invalid.")
11. Kersten Report, p. 295.
12. Toomingas, William, The Soviet Colonization of Estonia (Toronto: Kultur Publishing House, 1973), pp. 150-151.
13. Ibid., p. 154.
14. Ibid., p. 154.
15. Ibid., p. 169.
16. Kersten Report, p. 291.
17. Latvian Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 802.

18. Holldack, H. Was Wirklich Geschah. Die Diplomatischen Hintergrunde der Deutschen Kriegspolitik (What Actually Happened. Facts Behind the German War Policies), (München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1949), pp.486-491. "The Fuhrer stressed that the entire Baltic area - meaning the Baltic States must become the territory of the Reich."
19. Meissner, Boris, Die Sovjetunion, die Baltischen Staaten und das Volkerrecht (The Soviet Union, the Baltic States and International Law), (Koln: Verlag fur Politik und Wirtschaft, 1956), p. 194.
20. Ibid., p.194.
21. Kersten Report, p.8
22. Ibid., p. 341.
23. Berzins, Alfreds, I Saw Vyshinsky Bolshevize Latvia (Washington, D.C.: Latvian Legation, 1948), p. 25. Prime Minister prof. Augusts Kirchensteins had been vice-president of the Latvian-Soviet Cultural Friendship Society; the rest were "small time" newspaper men, writers, and poets who had only one thing in common: a weakness for alcohol. They had all in the past been assiduous visitors of the Soviet Legation's parties.
24. Memoranda on Reestablishing Freedom and Independence in Latvia in Connection with the European Security and Cooperation Conference (Washington, D.C., World Federation of Free Latvians, 1973), p.5.
25. Ibid., p.5.
26. Kersten Report, p. 36. The official results from a Soviet news agency were published in a London newspaper hours before the polls had been closed, thus illustrating the fraudulent nature of the election. Bernard Newman, Baltic Background (London: R. Hale Ltd., 1949), p. 163.
27. Among other (stipulations), the Constitution of Latvia forbade the adoption of both:
  - (a) The resolution on the sovietization and incorporation into the Soviet Union, for according to section 77 such amendments, to acquire force of law, had to be submitted to a referendum (Kersten Report, p. 308).
  - (b) Even several Soviet international law experts stressed that "unilateral abrogation of treaties is not permitted in international law" (F.I. Koschewnikow, ed., Volkerrecht; Lehrbuch (International Law; Textbook), (Berlin: Deutscher Zentralverlag, 1960), p. 130. "The law of nations prohibits unilateral arbitrary disregard of international treaties. Pacta sunt servanda!")
28. Vyriausybes Zinios ( Official Gazette) Kaunas, No. 719, 1940.
29. Kaslas, B. J. "The Lithuanian Strip in Soviet-German Secret Diplomacy, 1939-1941", Journal of Baltic Studies, Vol. IV, No. 3, Fall 1973, pp. 217-218.
30. Alexiev, A.A., Dissent and Nationalism in the Soviet Baltic, September 1983, pp.9-10.



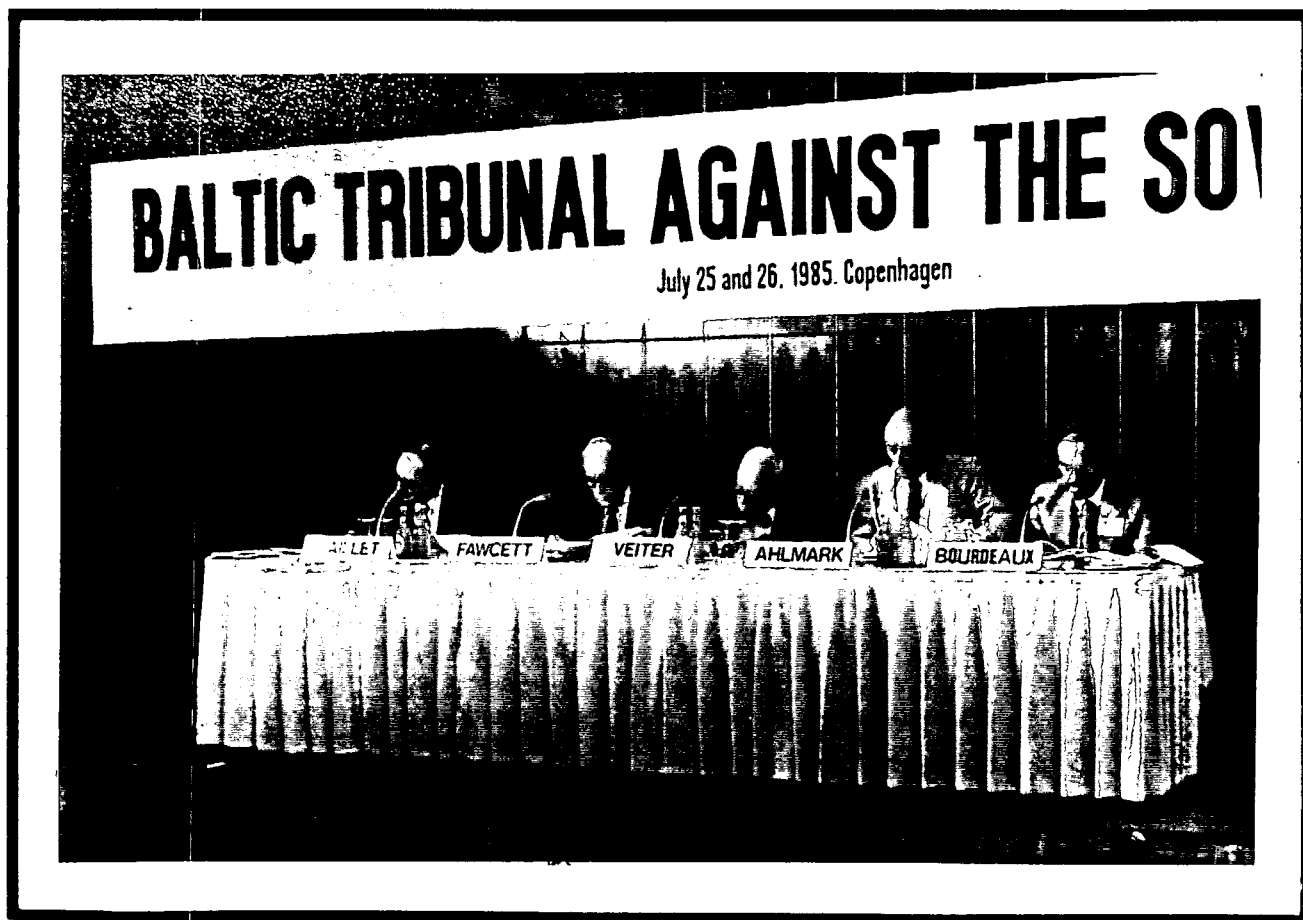
31. (a) Andrey Vyshinsky, on June 1940, speaking to the crowd from the balcony of the Soviet Legation building: "Long live the friendship between Latvia and the Soviet Union," A. Ceichners, Was Europa drohte. Die Bolschewisierung Lettlands 1940 (The Menace to Europe. The Bolshevization of Latvia in 1940), (Riga: A. Ceichners, 1943), pp. 198-99.
- (b) Kirchensteins, as Prime Minister of the puppet government, said on June 22, 1940: "It is the firm conviction of this government that the solid friendship between the Soviet Union and Latvia will ensure the independence of the Latvian State... and the Government will see to it that the constitution of the Republic of Latvia is fully realized." There is reason to assume that at that time Vyshinsky still concealed Soviet plans from Kirchensteins. Dr. A. Bilmanis, Baltic Problems and the United Nations, (Washington D.C.: Latvian Legation, 1947), p.11. Quoted by A. Sprudzis, Dr. A. Bilmanis and his struggle for freedom of the Baltic States. Res Baltica. A collection of essays in honor of the memory of Dr. A. Bilmanis. (Leyden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1968), p.48. Kirchensteins voiced the same belief on July 6: "Once again I salute... the independence of the Latvian Republic. We are and we will remain free..." Valdibas Vestnesis (Official Gazette), No. 149 (July 5, 1940).
- (c) On the eve of his return to Moscow, Vyshinsky told a candidate of the second, noncommunist slate (a list of names that was duly submitted to the electoral board but was barred from participating in the elections "because of formal defects," its initiators were arrested): "I wish you and your friends every success."
32. Latvian Encyclopedia, op. cit., 1042-43.
33. Silde, Adolfs, The Profits of Slavery (Stockholm: Latvian National Foundation, 1958), p. 15; and Dr. A. Namsons, "Die Nationale Zusammensetzung der Einwohner der Baltischen Staaten" (The Ethnic Composition of the Population of the Baltic States), Acta Baltica I, (Koningstein/Taunus; Institutum Balticum, 1962), pp.63-73.
34. "In the discussion which in regard to other issues had a definitely positive course from our viewpoint, it appeared that the decisive point for the final result was the Russian demand that we recognize the ports of Liepaja and Ventspils as included in their sphere of interest." Meissner, op. cit., p. 53. For the original text, see Loeber, op. cit., p. 17, Document 12. Hitler's reply to this cable from Ribbentrop came within two hours: "Yes, I agree."
35. Izvestiya, Aug. 2, 1940.
36. Kersten Report, p. 363.
37. Silde, A., Vazu raveji (The Destroyers of Chains), (Stockholm: 1960), p. 102; also Soviet sources: Padomju jaunatne (Soviet Youth) Riga: Feb. 28, 1967, p.2; Nov. 3, 1967; Aug. 21, 1964; Cina, Sept. 29, 1959, p. 2; Jan. 15, 1962; Nov. 17, 1964; Sovetskaja Latvija, April 21, 1959.
38. Roos, Aarand, Estonia, A Nation Unconquered (Baltimore, MD: Estonian World Council, 1985), p.50.
39. Dreifelds, Juris, The Impact of Demography on Latvian Society and Politics (Charleston, IL: Association for the Study of the Nationalities in U.S.S.R.

- and East Europe, 1984), p. 1. Also: Margers Skujeniņs, Latvijas statistikas atlas (Statistical Atlas of Latvia), (Riga: State Statistical Board, 1938), p. 13; Naselyeniye S.S.S.R. (Population of the U.S.S.R.), Moscow: Politicheskaya Literatura, 1980), pp.29-30.
40. Mezgailis, Bruno and Zvidrins, Peteris, Padomju Latvijas iedzivotaji (Population of Latvian S.S.R.), (Riga: Liesma, 1973), p. 155.
  41. Dreifelds, Juris, The Impact of Demography on Latvian Society and Politics, op. cit., p. 18, Table 8.
  42. Ibid., p. 17.
  43. New York Times, March 21, 1971: "We cannot overlook the fact that one still meets national narrow-mindedness in some people. They do not understand that communist construction cannot be achieved without the tightest political, economic and cultural cooperation and without the mutual assistance of all peoples of the U.S.S.R. They think, for example, that it would not benefit our republic to build some big industrial projects. Why? Because in connection with such construction the size of the non-Latvian population would increase and the national composition of the republic would be mixed."
  44. Pelse (Pelsche), A. in B. Svidrins and A. Holmogorovs, eds. Darba lauzu internacionala audzinassana (The International Education of the Working People), (Riga: Liesma, 1967), p. 13: "Out of a false and totally unfounded fear that the Latvian Republic could lose its national character, some comrades tried to hinder artificially the objectively determined process of population resettlement. Many times they asserted... that for example, in Riga one could not allow the mechanical growth of the population by even one person. This line is politically dangerous, harming both state interests as well as interests of the Latvian people."
  45. Cina, Nov. 8, 1973.
  46. Viktors Kalnins, a Latvian political dissident, was ordered to leave Latvia in 1978.
  47. Lietuviskoji Tarybine Enciklopedija (Soviet Lithuanian Encyclopedia), (Vilnius: 1980), Vol. VI, p. 370.
  48. Central Department of Statistics, Latvian S.S.R., Chislennost', sostav i razmeshchenie neseleniya Latviys' - koi S.S.R. po gorodam naseleniya 1979 goda. (Population of the Latvian S.S.R.: Number, Composition and Distribution by Town and Raion According to the 1979 Census), (Riga: Central Department of Statistics, 1980).
  49. Dreifelds, Juris, Latvian National Demands and Group Consciousness since 1959; in Nationalism in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe in the Era of Brezhnev and Kosygin (Detroit: University of Detroit Press, 1977), p.143: "In 1973 the republic produced 30 percent of all railroad passenger cars, 29 percent of all streetcars, 17 percent of all diesels and diesel generators, 24 percent of all farm machine loaders and 50 percent of all motorcycles and mopeds of the entire Soviet Union."

50. Woroniak, Alexander, "Regional Aspects of Soviet Planning and Industrial Organization," in V. N. Bandera and Z.L. Melnyk, eds. The Soviet Economy in Regional Perspective (New York: Praeger, 1973), p. 274.
51. Acta Baltica XI, p. 122.
52. Dreifelds, Latvian National Demands, op. cit. p.24.
53. Acta Baltica XI, p. 122; "Lettische Kommunisten Protestieren" (Latvian Communists Protest): "In order to secure a mass influx of Russians into the Republics, large new industrial plants were erected... a policy certainly not called for by economic considerations. Construction workers were brought from the outside through organized recruitment; raw materials were sent from the Ural or Donets regions (hence, over 3,000-4,000 km). Yet the output of these new plants is being exported from the Republic to the entire Soviet Union."
54. Purins, V. and Jansevics, J. Latvijas PSR socialistiska darba dalisanas sistema (The Socialistic Division of Labor System in the Latvian S.S.R.), (Riga: Zinatne, 1978), p. 48.
55. Acta Baltica XI, p. 126.
56. Mezgailis and Zvidrins, op. cit., p. 155; J. Dreifelds, Impact..., op. cit., p.5.
57. Manchester Guardian, April 9, 1978 (overseas ed.), "The Baltic as a Missile Base."
58. Vardys, V.S., "Soviet Colonialism in the Baltic States," The Baltic Review, No. 29, pp. 15-16.
59. Lietuviskoji Tarybine Enciklopedija, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 570.
60. Remeikis, Thomas, "The Impact of Industrialization on the Ethnic Demography of the Baltic Countries," Lituanus, 1967, pp. 29-30.
61. Zunde, P. "Lithuania's Economy: Introduction of Soviet Patterns in Lithuania under the Soviets," Portrait of a Nation, ed. V.S. Vardys (New York: Frederic A. Praeger, 1965), p. 160.
62. The Baltic Review, No. 33, 1967.
63. Die Welt, January 16, 1984; Laiks (published in NY), January 25, 1984.
64. Latvian Encyclopedia, pp. 181-82.
65. Isupov, A.A. Natsionaliniy sostav neseleniya S.S.S.R. (Ethnic Composition of the Population of the U.S.S.R., 1964), p. 12.
66. Ibid., p. 35.
67. Sovietskaya Latviya (Soviet Latvia), Riga, July 19, 1965.

68. Latvian Encyclopedia, op. cit., pp. 1801-02.
69. Dreifelds, Juris, Economics of Soviet Regions (Praeger Publishers, 1981), p. 352. Also Bruno Mezgaĩlis and Peteris Zvidrins, Padomju Latvijas iedzivotaji (Population of Soviet Latvia), (Riga: Liesma, 1973), p. 365.
70. Landmanis, A. To Persist or Perish (Stockholm: Latvian National Foundation, 1976).
71. Dreifelds, Latvian National Demands, op. cit., p. 140.
72. Sovetskiyi Pechat'i (Soviet Publications), No. 6, 1965.
73. Vaitleya, September 1967, p. 31.
74. Soviet Youth, No. 71, 1961.
75. Soviet Youth, July 23, 1966.
76. American Lithuanian Community, USA, Violations, A Report for 1981 (Glenside, PA, 1982), p. 99.
77. Vardys, "Soviet Colonialism in the Baltic States, op. cit., p.23.
78. American Lithuanian Community, USA, Violations, A Report for 1978 (Glenside, PA, 1979), p. 89-90.
79. American Lithuanian Community, USA, Violations, A Report for 1981 (Glenside, PA, 1981), pp. 101-122.
80. Salys, A. "The Russianization of the Lithuanian Vocabulary Under the Soviets." Lituanus, 1967, Vol. 2, p.48.
81. American Lithuanian Community, USA, Violations, A Report for 1979-1980 (Glenside, PA, 1981), p. 126.
82. Bernard, Jean Col., "On Soviet Colonialism," The Baltic Review, No. 22, 1961, pp.11-40.
83. Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982 (Report submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations U.S. Senate and Committee on Foreign Affairs U.S. House of Representatives by the Department of State, Washington, D.C., February, 1983), p. 1048.
84. Kersten Report, p.8.
85. Genocide Convention, published by United Nations Office of Public Information, OPI-489 (New York: United Nations, 1949).
86. United Nations Resolution 2625 (XXV), October, 24, 1970.
87. This and other commentaries are found in the text of the Genocide Convention.
88. Preamble of the Convention.

89. Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1983, op. cit., p. 1127.
90. The full text of Paragraph III of the Helsinki Agreement is as follows:  
"Inviolability of Frontiers. The participating States regard as inviolable all one another's frontiers as well as the frontiers of all States in Europe and therefore they will refrain now and in the future from assaulting these frontiers.  
Accordingly, they will also refrain from any demand for, or act of, seizure and usurpation of part or all of the territory of any participating State.
91. The full text of Paragraph IV of the Helsinki Agreement is as follows:  
"Territorial Integrity of States. The participating States will respect the territorial integrity of each of the participating States.  
Accordingly, they will refrain from any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations against the territorial integrity, political independence or the unity of any participating State, and in particular from any such action constituting a threat or use of force.  
The participating States will likewise refrain from making each other's territory the object of military occupation or other direct or indirect measures of force in contravention of international law, or the object of acquisition by means of such measures or the threat of them. No such occupation or acquisition will be recognized as legal.
92. Charter of the United Nations, Act 1, point 2 (principle of self-determination of peoples) and Act 2, point 4 ("members shall refrain... from the threat or use of force against... integrity... of any State).
93. The continued juridical and political existence of the Baltic States is recognized by the United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, France, West Germany, and other countries. They consider the Soviet occupation to be illegal.



The Panel of Judges weigh the testimony of witnesses during the Baltic Tribunal. Seated from left to right: Jean-Marie Daillet, Sir James Fawcett, Dr. Theodor Veiter (Chairman), Per Ahlmark and the Rev. Michael Bourdeaux.

## BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

DR. THEODOR VEITER

Chairman of the Jury

Dr. Veiter was the 1976 recipient of the European Karls Prize, and is known for his many contributions in the field of ethnic and nationalities' problems and the refugee problem. Among his many commitments and positions are: President of the Advisory Board of the International Institute in Nationality Rights and Regionalism, Munich; Member of the Advisory Board of the International League of Human Rights, New York; President of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Association for the Study of the World Refugee Problem; Vice-president of the A.I.D.L.C.M. (Association Internationale pour la Defense des Langues et Cultures Menacees).

Dr. Veiter, who is a Doctor of Jurisprudence, has published many books on International Law, particularly in respect to minority rights, and with particular reference to the rights of refugees, human rights in general and constitutional rights. He is co-publisher of the "Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism", he wrote Nationality Conflicts and Ethnic Groups' Rights in the Ending of the Twentieth Century, 1984 in two volumes, and together with Professor Boris Meissner he wrote Self-Determination Rights According to Soviet and Western Tenets, 1967. Since 1958 he is the co-publisher of the quarterly "Europa Ethnica", which also publishes the official news of the Federal Union of European Nationalities and of the International Institute of Nationality Rights and Regionalism.

Dr. Veiter is honorary professor for the Theory of the State, Ethnic Groups' Rights and International Refugee Rights at the University of Innsbruck since 1976. He also received the Theodor Korner Foundation Prize for Science and Art in 1961 and the Award for the Self-determination of the Peoples in Eastern Europe.

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World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

PER AHLMARK

Member of the Jury

Per Ahlmark was born in Stockholm, Sweden in 1939. He received his Degree in Political Science from the University of Stockholm in 1964.

Per Ahlmark was the leader of the Swedish Liberal Youth Organization from 1960-1962, and a member of the Board of the Swedish Liberal Party from 1960-1978. He served in the Swedish Parliament from 1967-1978 and was the leader of the Swedish Liberal Party from 1975-1978.

Mr. Ahlmark served as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Labor from 1976-1978.

During his political career, Mr. Ahlmark was a member of several Royal Commissions, especially in the fields of constitutional affairs. He was Deputy Chairman of the Martin Luther King Fund in Sweden at the time when Professor Gunnar Myrdal was Chairman.

Per Ahlmark was a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg from 1971-1976 and then rapporteur on Soviet Jewry. Since 1970 he has been the Deputy President of the Swedish-Israeli Friendship League. In 1983 he took the initiative to create the Swedish Committee Against Antisemitism. Mr. Ahlmark has been in Israel a number of times, written a book on the conflict in the Middle East, published numerous articles about Israel and antisemitism and every year he gives speeches on these subjects in the Scandinavian countries.

Per Ahlmark has published several political books and hundreds of articles on politics, literature and international conflicts. During the 80's he has published two books of poetry and is a columnist for "Expressen", the largest daily newspaper in Scandinavia.



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Chairman

THE REVEREND MICHAEL ALAN BOURDEAUX

Member of the Jury

The Reverend Michael Bourdeaux is the founder and General Director of Keston College - formerly the Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism. The work of Keston College is to give the facts and to let the world know what is happening to religious believers in communist countries.

In 1984 he was awarded the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion. He has published a number of books, among them Religious Ferment in Russia, 1968; Faith on Trial in Russia, 1971; Land of Crosses, 1979. He regularly writes articles for the "Church Times" (London) as well as other freelance work.

The Reverend Bourdeaux was ordained into the Anglican Church in 1960 and after spending 4 years in parish work in London, was awarded the Wyndham-Deedes Traveling Scholarship to Israel. He has worked at the Centre de Recherches in Geneva and was a Visiting Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science at London University and a lecturer at St. Bernard's Seminary in Rochester, New York. In 1969 he founded the Centre for Study of Religion and Communism (now Keston College).

He has made numerous visits to the USSR including a year at Moscow State University as an exchange student (1959-60). He has made extended lecture tours in Africa and Australasia as well as giving regular lectures in the USA.

The Reverend Bourdeaux was born on March 19, 1939, and after completing military service he studied at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, where he received a BA with Honors in Russian and French (1957), a BA with Honors in Theology (1959) and an MA in 1960.

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Chairman

JEAN-MARIE DAILLET

Member of the Jury

Mr. Jean-Marie Daillet is a member of the French National Assembly (Parliament), and is Vice-president of the National Defense and Armed Forces Committee. He holds many other important positions in both the French and European political arenas. For example, he is Vice-president of the European Christian Democrat Union and of the World Christian Democrat Union, as well as a member of the French delegation to the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. Daillet has worked with the Council of Europe and has been actively involved in human rights work at the United Nations and elsewhere.

Mr. Daillet has written extensively about political matters. His publications include, "A Defense Doctrine for France" and "White Book of the Union for French Democracy".

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Chairman

SIR JAMES EDMUND SANDFORD FAWCETT, DSC

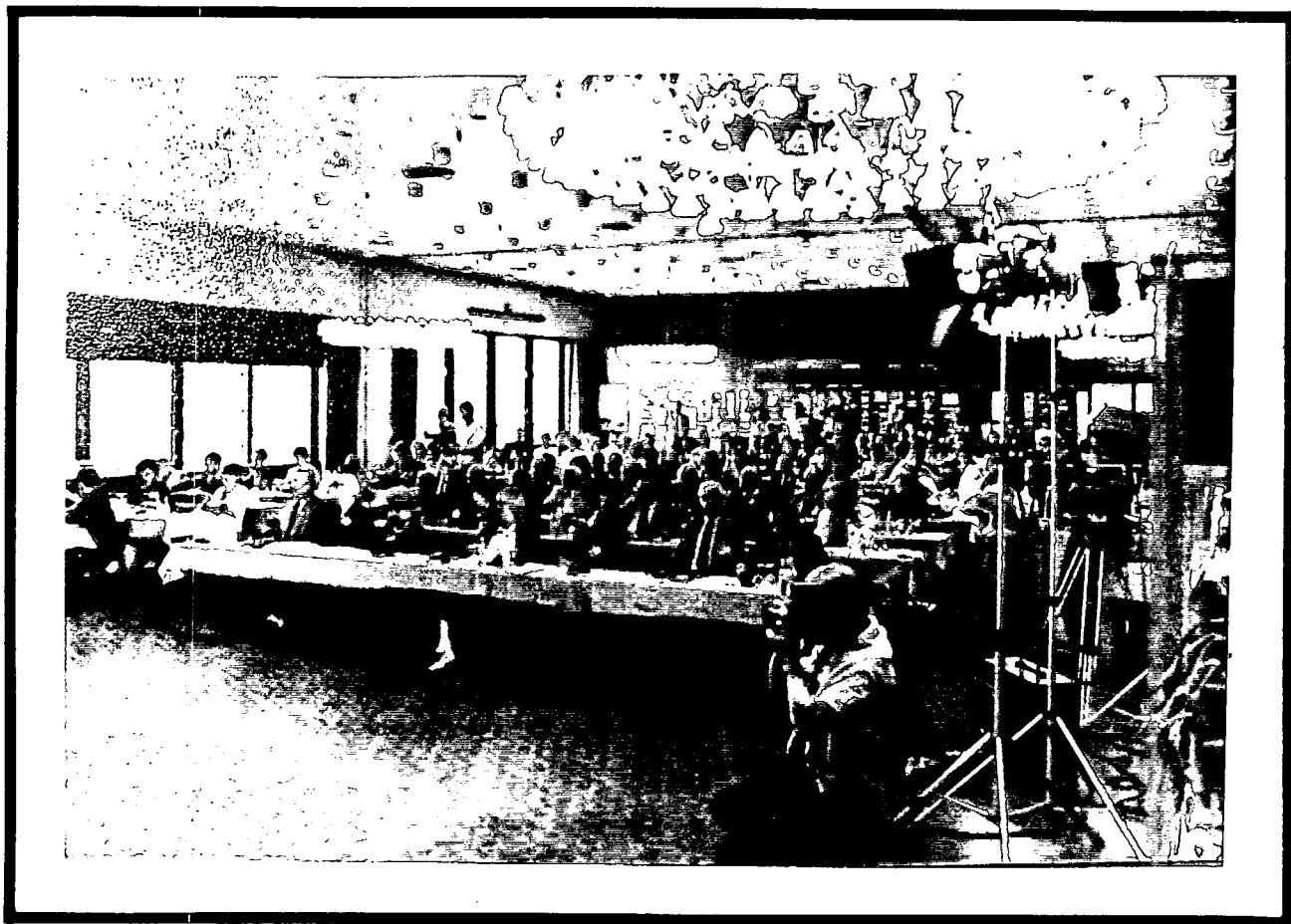
Member of the Jury

Sir James Fawcett has had a most distinguished career, combining his expertise in International Law and his interest in Human Rights. He was a long standing member of the European Commission of Human Rights (1962-1984), during which time he served as its President for nine years (1972-1981). He also served as Chairman of the British Institute for Human Rights (1977-1981) and has been a member of the Institute of International Law since 1973.

During his years as member of the European Commission of Human Rights he published, among others, The Application of the European Convention on Human Rights, 1969; The Law of Nations, 1968; International Law and the Uses of Outer Space, 1968; British Commonwealth in International Law, 1963, and numerous articles.

Sir James Fawcett was educated at Rugby School and New Oxford College. He was admitted to the Bar in 1937 and became a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1938. He was appointed as Assistant Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office in 1945 during which time he was a member of the United Kingdom's delegation to the United Nations and the British Embassy in Washington. In 1955 he became a member of the General Council of the International Monetary Fund. From 1974 he has been a Visiting Fellow on Southampton University and between the years of 1976 and 1980, he was a Professor of International Law at Kings College, London.

Sir James Fawcett was born on April 16, 1913. In addition to his deep involvement with human rights, Sir Fawcett is also interested in astronomy. Because of this interest, he has made outer space another field of specialization.



Witnesses, members of the press and other spectators listen to testimony at the Baltic Tribunal.

## BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

KENNETH CARTER BENTON C.M.G.

Witness

Kenneth Benton was born on March 4, 1909, in Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, England, and educated at Wolverhampton Grammar School and London University. He also studied languages in Florence and Vienna before joining the Foreign Office in 1937, as Assistant Passport Control Officer in the British Consulate in Vienna.

He met and married his wife Peggie (author of Baltic Countdown) in Vienna, but they had no sooner returned from their honeymoon in March 1938 when the Anschluss took place.

In the autumn of 1938 the Bentons were transferred to Riga, where Kenneth Benton was made Vice Consul. They remained in Riga after the Russian annexation of the Baltic States and eventually returned to England by way of Moscow, the Trans-Siberian Railway, Vladivostok, Japan and Canada.

Benton's later postings were in Madrid (twice), Rome (twice), Lima, Peru (as Consul) and finally Rio de Janeiro (as Counsellor of Embassy). After leaving Rio in 1968 he retired from the Diplomatic Service. He was awarded the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1965.

In retirement he became a novelist and has also been engaged from time to time in political research.

## BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

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Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

Kenneth Carter Benton, CMG  
(complete testimony)

I live in Chichester, West Sussex, England and was born on 4th March 1909. I was a Member of H.M. Diplomatic Service but I am now retired. I joined the Foreign Service in 1937 and in October 1938, I was posted with my wife from Vienna to Riga.

At the time of the Russian annexation of the Baltic States, I was a British Vice-Council in Rīga, and my testimony is a personal one based on experiences in Latvia during the Russian invasion of Latvia in June 1940 and the following ten weeks before my wife and I left the country. I have been able to refresh my memory from a contemporaneous diary kept by my wife which now forms the basis of her book "Baltic Countdown."

When Britain entered the War in September 1939, I was unable to join my territorial regiment because all Foreign Office officials were "frozen" in the Service for the duration of the war. In any case, work at the British Consulate in Riga increased very rapidly and this prompted my wife to volunteer for duty in the office, where she was put in charge of issuing visas.

In October 1939 two developments showed the shape of things to come. One was enforced agreement of the Latvians to the leasing of air and naval bases at Ventspils and Liepāja to the Russians. The other was the sudden decision of the Germans to invite Baltic Germans to leave Latvia for homes to be prepared for them in German-occupied Poland. None of them would have left but for the fear of advancing Russian Power.

The shadow of the Finnish War lay over that winter, and it was only after the gallant Finns were at last forced to give in that the Russians could turn their attention to other areas of their imperialistic ambitions, the Baltic States. So there was a period of deceptive easing of tension before they struck.

Prior to the Soviet invasion of Latvia, we lived at 14 Ausekla iela, Rīga and the Consulate was on Rainis Boulevard. I was at the office during the sunny afternoon of June 17th 1940 when, without warning, Russian tanks rumbled up the

Brīvības iela. The Esplanade was turned into a military camp. Tanks were posted at strategic points in the city and loudspeakers blared out commands and warnings. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Riga had moved to summer accomodation at the beach. Those still in the city hurried home, but Communist workers, many of them carrying red flags from the industrial suburbs across the Daugava, swarmed into the town, anxious to welcome the Russian troops. They were in for a surprise. The manned machine-guns on the tanks were not only for show. As we walked home from the Consulate, we saw policemen, back to back and with hand-guns unholstered, seeking to control a crowd which had begun to throw paving stones at them. We saw a tank arrive. Its occupants motioned the police to stand back and they then opened fire onto the crowd. The crowd fled, leaving wounded and dead on the pavement.

Alarmed at the impression made on their troops by the superior standard of living in Latvia, the Russians immediately rationed goods in the shops and installed commissars everywhere. Red flags and Russian sentries were in front of every important building. The flowers in the many parks, hitherto so fresh and trim, wilted for lack of watering, and rubbish lay uncollected. The people in the streets hurried silently around, wearing their oldest clothes. Gunshots broke the stillness of the nights. Airplanes roared menacingly low over the city. Fear was everywhere and Riga, almost overnight, became a dirty and neglected town. The pride its citizens had shown in the clean and orderly maintenance of their streets and parks had vanished.

The Russian atrocities which had occurred during the period before Latvia gained independence in 1920 had left a deep impression on the inhabitants, and queues of people, Jews especially, besieged our office in the hope of obtaining visas.

A studied attack was made on the traditional way of life. Sundays were abolished, and a day of rest decreed once every six days. The wearing of Latvian dresses - an important feature of every celebration - was forbidden, as well as the placing of flowers on the war memorials.

On July 21st, all land was nationalized and re-distributed in totally non-viable quantities especially planned to penalize the ablest farmers. On July 23rd, banks, industrial enterprises and means of transport were also nationalized and

the insurance funds to which employers and workers had contributed were sequestered. Claims for the disbursement of savings and benefits were either ignored or met on a low percentage basis.

It was declared that as Latvia was now a part of the Soviet Union, foreign legations and consulates were no longer necessary, and diplomatic privileges were withdrawn on August 1st. Up to that date, when the foreign legations were closed and their staff left the country, a certain restraint was exercised by the Soviet authorities. After that, things rapidly became worse.

On the industrial front, trade unions were abolished, and strikes forbidden. There were savage punishments for insubordination. Work norms, introduced on the Soviet pattern, were much disliked and proved difficult to implement. Worst of all, from the worker's point of view, Labour Books were made obligatory, which meant that a man's working history, including mention of any misdemeanors, was on record. He could not change jobs without signed permission from his employer, which could be arbitrarily refused.

The hitherto abundant food supplies were now limited, partly because some disgruntled farmers had begun to slaughter their cattle and also because of the complete breakdown of public transport. A cloud of anxiety hung over the country as people for no apparent reason disappeared, and were assumed to be either dead or in Siberian labor camps. According to the Russian language *RUSSKAYA GAZETA*, it was planned to settle a million Russians in Latvia, raising the population by fifty per cent.

In order to accommodate the Soviet troops and the Russian officials crowding into the city, housing in Riga was requisitioned, street by street. The action usually took place at night, and if the owners had remained in their summer accommodations at the seaside, front doors were broken down and - at least where a military requisition was concerned - books, ornaments and unwanted furniture were hurled through the windows into the street and the soldiers moved in, often sleeping ten to a room on the floor. I personally witnessed this in *Elizabetes iela* and also on various streets we walked through on our way between the office and home. The Russian norm of nine square meters per inmate was now being applied, and this space included larders



and hallways and even outdoor sheds which of course, would be totally uninhabitable in winter. (This happened to one of our Latvian friends.) Official looting began in earnest. I heard that whole warehouses were stripped and medical supplies held in hospitals and chemists' shops were seized and sent to Russia. So was machinery of all sorts, livestock, fodder, food grains and timber. Modern rolling stock on the railways was exchanged for Russian units on a ton-for-ton basis, so that three modern Latvian 17-ton railcars were replaced by a single decrepit 50-ton Russian truck, which was far too large for Latvian traffic.

There was a rush to spend Lats quickly, before they would be exchanged at a disastrous rate for Roubles, but harsh regulations were introduced to deter the speculators, as they were called. Because our own accommodation was due to be requisitioned by the troops advancing down our road, we organized sales of consulate property as well as our own furniture. On each occasion, there were queues of people waiting to buy the goods and dispose of their Lats. In spite of the threat of heavy sentences and even the death penalty, nothing could stem the frantic efforts of people who were trying to get at least something for their savings.

Perhaps most serious, on a long term basis, was the replacement of Latvian officials in the civil service and in nationalized industries by Russian "in-comers". Many Latvians were either killed, imprisoned or deported.

After our flat had been requisitioned and all other foreign colleagues had left, we stayed on with the help of my fellow Vice Consul Thomas Brimelow (now Lord Brimelow) awaiting news of my next posting and helping Brimelow with the problems created by the number of British subjects who were still in the country.

The Latvia we had known and admired had disappeared under the unreasoning weight of Soviet bureaucracy.

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Chairman

RITA BRŪVERE

Witness

Rita Brūvere was born in the capital of Latvia, Rīga, in 1948. Her father, Alfreds Levalds, was incarcerated in the Salaspils concentration camp near Rīga for about 2 years during the Nazi occupation. In January, 1983 the KGB broke into his apartment, announced that he was under arrest and began to ransack his apartment. Levalds suffered a heart attack at that time and died before help could arrive.

Both of Brūvere's grandmothers were active participants in the 1905 Revolution in Latvia (distributing hand bills and raising red flags). One of them fled to Russia as a refugee during World War I, and there, after the Revolution, became the chairwoman of a kolkhoz. However she soon realized that the slogans about "equal rights" and the "power of the people" were not based in fact. Secretly fleeing from Soviet Russia, she returned to the newly founded Republic of Latvia in the early 1920's.

On completing her secondary education, Rita Brūvere worked in a factory while simultaneously studying in the Foreign Languages faculty of the Latvian State University, from which she graduated in 1975. During the period 1969-73, she was an active tobogganer, and in fact was one of the best tobogganers in Latvia and the USSR. Although she was included in the USSR tobogganing team, not once did she compete outside the USSR, as she was refused an exit visa.

In January 1976 she married Pāvils Brūvers, a former medical student, who had been expelled from the Rīga Medical Institute and convicted of "malicious anti-Soviet lies". The reason for this was the fact that Pāvils and his brother had prepared a questionnaire for distribution to private citizens.

The KGB ordered the entire Brūvers family to leave Latvia in September 1976. Rita Brūvere currently resides in Munich.

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Rita Brūvere  
(complete testimony)

The learning and use of Russian is, through many channels, forced upon Latvians in their own country. The slogan that Latvians should acquire a second "mother tongue" is repeated over and over again in the media, conferences and educational institutions. On the other hand, I have not yet seen in the press or heard on the radio any invitation for the Russians living in Latvia to learn Latvian. During the last 5 years (since the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference on "Russian - the Language of the Friendship and Collaboration of the Peoples of the USSR", held in Tashkent from May 22 to 24, 1979) there has been a campaign for the intensification of Russian language teaching to children, starting even in kindergarten. There is a shortage of Latvian kindergartens in Rīga, and my work colleague was forced to cross the whole city of Rīga every morning to leave her child in a Latvian kindergarten. It is easier to find a place in a Russian language kindergarten because there are more of them, but Latvian parents usually don't want to do that.

Russian is taught as a subject in Latvian schools, and similarly Latvian is taught in Russian schools (in Latvia). The difference, however, is that in Latvian schools these studies are intensive, and the teachers are Russians with a philological education. But, as I learned from conversations with Russian children with whom I was acquainted, sometimes the Latvian language lessons don't even take place for longer periods because of a lack of teachers. If there is a teacher, then she is usually not a Latvian, but a Russian, who herself only has a weak command of Latvian, and who often doesn't have the appropriate qualifications in the Latvian language. The teaching of Latvian in Russian schools is of a very low standard. This can also be deduced from the fact that graduates of Russian schools practically do not understand, cannot and don't wish to speak Latvian, unless they have been in everyday contact with Latvian children and in this manner have learned Latvian. In conversations with my Russian workmates I have asked them what they knew of Latvian. Usually all that they knew were the elementary words of greeting and a popular Latvian folksong quatrain. In the last few years the hours spent on Russian language studies in Latvian schools

has increased, whereas the Latvian language lessons in Russian schools have remained constant.

Non-Russian immigrants, such as Ukrainians and White Russians are in an unenviable position because they have no opportunity whatsoever to have their children educated in their mother tongue. There are no schools for minorities in any of the Soviet republics, other than for Russians, no matter how large the group may be. As Ukrainians and White Russians are Slavs, they are forced to send their children to Russian language schools (their most closely related language). In this way Ukrainians and White Russians in Latvia are Russified in the course of one generation. From what my parents have told me, I know that during the period of Latvia's independence there were separate schools for many minorities - German, Jewish, Russian, but these schools no longer exist since the Soviet occupation. From my friends, and from articles about ideological upbringing in the Soviet Latvian press I know that in recent years Latvian pupils have demonstratively failed to study the Russian language, and, as a protest, have received low (failing) marks in Russian.

As witness to the fact that there is a government policy to dissuade new arrivals from learning Latvian at all is the complete lack (at least during the time I lived there) of any self-study books for adults. I know of a specific case when a Russian immigrant, my university lecturer, wanted to learn Latvian but could not find either such a book nor a Latvian language evening course for adults.

Starting with their first school year, children are almost automatically enrolled in children's political organizations - "Octobrists" (for the political indoctrination of 7-8 year old children) and "Pioneers" (for 9-14 year old children). The enlistment in the Octobrist and Pioneer organizations takes place without asking the wishes of the children, but is presented as a fait accompli - "Today our class is joining the Pioneers." During my childhood there was still some sort of selection for these organizations - only the "better" children could join up (although this didn't agree with the facts), but now the whole class is automatically registered as Octobrists or Pioneers. It takes special courage for a child to announce that he doesn't wish to follow this automatic procedure. Refusal to join the organization is immediately followed by a demand to explain his motives. "Have your parents stopped you from joining? If so, why don't they want you to enroll? Are you against

Soviet regime?" In this way the child is placed in an exposed situation as being under suspicion - either as being from a politically untrustworthy or a religious family. He is ridiculed not only by the other children, but even the teacher mocks him in front of the whole class for his belief in God. My husband experienced this during his childhood, as have, in recent years, his sister's children.

I can give an example of the political indoctrination of children. The children's magazine "Zīlīte" (Little Acorn) published the poem "Krēslas stundas sarunas" (Twilight Conversations) in its May, 1985 edition. The poem, accompanied by depressing and frightening drawings tries to create the impression that children in the West are starving, aren't able to attend school, are forced to sweep streets and that the newspapers only advocate war. (But even so the children are prepared to stage a revolution against blood sucking capitalism.)

It is very difficult, almost impossible, for a Latvian living in his capital city Rīga to get by knowing only Latvian, because everywhere that Russians work (and they form the majority in Rīga) the Russian language is used. Only very rarely are both Latvian and Russian used. It is especially difficult for the elderly people who know no Russian to live in Rīga. For example, one of my relatives, a woman of about 60, finds it very difficult to do any shopping. If the shop assistant is a Russian (as often happens), and if she doesn't understand Latvian (which happens even more often), then the shop assistant shouts either "Speak Russian" or "Don't understand". If the shopper continues to speak in Latvian, then she is simply ignored and the next customer is served. Thus the time spent standing in the long line in the shop has been all for nothing - she won't be served. There is no possibility of registering a complaint or to obtain any service. Sometimes in such situations (in a shop or some public utility office where the person is completely dependent on the good will of the worker) the Russian will brusquely shout back that they don't speak this dogs' language.

In situations of conflict in overcrowded trams or trolleybusses where the greater majority of travellers are non-Latvians (especially in the newly constructed residential areas), I have heard the insult, "We slaughtered too few of you Fascists (meaning Latvians)."

It can be very difficult for a person who doesn't speak Russian to obtain medical help. All the people are divided into districts according to where they live, and in cases of general illness one has to go to the assigned doctor in the polyclinic. If it happens that the doctor is a non-Latvian who obtained his medical education outside Latvia, then he usually won't understand Latvian, and if there is no nurse in the vicinity to act as interpreter, then a non-Russian speaking patient receives only cursory attention or is prescribed an entirely wrong treatment.

As the polyclinic receptionists are often Russians of a low cultural level, we have a repeat of the same situation as in the shops. If a Latvian patient wishes to see a specialist, but cannot explain her ailment in Russian, then the Russian receptionists often don't even bother to try to understand the Latvian patient and either refuse to hand out the ticket to see a specialist, or hand out tickets to the wrong specialist. The patient then can wait in vain for a few hours until she finds out that she has to see a completely different doctor, whose consultation hours are already over. Next day everything starts anew. The parents of my schoolmates have experienced these situations.

The paperwork in almost all factories in Rīga is carried out only in Russian (cultural and educational establishments do their paperwork in both Latvian and Russian). During my childhood this still was carried out in both languages - my mother worked as a Latvian typist. But now all the documents, orders and instructions, accountancy (I worked as an accountant for a number of years), memos and correspondence in general is carried out only in Russian. A good example is my "Work Book" (employment registration book). It is printed in both languages, but the entries are in Russian only. Workplace meetings are usually conducted in Russian, even if only a few non-Latvians are present. Driver's licenses issued and valid in Latvia are printed and filled out in Russian only. My husband studied in the Latvian language course of the Rīga Medical Institute. However, when he was expelled for political reasons he received an academic report about his completed subjects which was printed and filled out only in Russian.

In everyday life on the streets there is much that is written only in Russian. For example, next to the newly constructed bridges in Rīga roadsigns to various Latvian cities have been

erected, but these are written only in Russian. Train tickets for travel within Latvia were previously printed in both Latvian and Russian, but now only in Russian (e.g. Rīga-Dobele ticket). Latvian postcards lately have more and more often been appearing with only Russian text (e.g. Rīga opera postcards).

About 10-15 years ago, the labels attached to various products made in Latvia were printed in both Latvian and Russian (e.g. label for folkloristic pillows). In recent times, even the labels for Latvian ethnographic handcrafts are printed only in Russian. This is particularly degrading: on the Latvian folkloristic cloth produced by "Daiļrāde", only the firm's name appears in Latvian - all else is in Russian. The label for a gift box, printed in the printing house of the Latvian city of Talsi, is entirely in Russian. The supplement for private advertisements in the Rīga newspaper "Rīgas balss" is 6 pages long, of which 4.5 pages (or 75%) are filled with advertisements in Russian. This testifies to the approximate proportions of the inhabitants of Rīga.

Almost all the main streets in Rīga have been renamed. Their original Latvian names have been changed to those of various Russian heroes - Lenin (formerly Liberty Street), Gorky, Kirov, Suvorov, Gagarin, etc. Also the new streets are mostly given names which are foreign to the Latvian people, e.g. Sergei Lyulyin Street, named after a soldier of the occupying army. This Russification tendency was particularly apparent when the new bridges of the Daugava River were being built. While the bridge near Riga Castle was being built, all the press called it Vanšu (wire hawser) Bridge. When it was opened to traffic it had suddenly become Gorky Bridge. While a bridge over the Daugava crossing a number of islands was being built, it was referred to in the press as Salu (island) Bridge. When it was opened to traffic, it was renamed Moscow Bridge.

The Russian language plays a dominant role in cinemas. Practically all films shown in Latvia are dubbed into Russian. The only rare exceptions to date have been films from Rīga Film Studios, which are recorded in two versions - a Latvian and a Russian version, with subtitles in the other language. However, in recent years Russian language films have started appearing without subtitles. It is particularly insulting that even the latest film from the Rīga Film Studios, "Pēdejā vizīte" (The Last Visit) has been recorded

only in a Russian version. Based on the information in the newspaper "Rīgas Kīnoekrāni" (Cinema Screens of Rīga) - published in Rīga - during the week of January 28 - February 3, 1985, there were a total of 80 films shown in Rīga and Rīgas Jūrmala (Rīga Beach). 77 films (96%) were shown in Russian, but only 3 (4%) in Latvian with Russian subtitles. Moreover, of these 77 Russian language films, 14 (17% of the total number of films) were in Russian without Latvian subtitles. The efforts at isolating Latvians from Western European languages also appear in the closure of the Rīga cinema "Blāzma", which was the only cinema to show (approximately once a week) old English or German language films for the purpose of language education.

The depressing majority of apartments in the newly built residential complexes are assigned to non-Latvians. For a family from Rīga or some other larger Latvian city to get on the waiting list for an apartment, they have to have less than 5 sq. meters of living space per person, regardless of the number of rooms or of the sex or marital status of persons forced to live in the same room. Even after getting on the waiting list, there is no hope of obtaining a new apartment before a waiting period of 10-15 years. This has a negative effect on family ties and on the birth rate - one half of all marriages end in divorce, and the birth rate is one of the lowest in the world. For example, when we married, my husband and I had to live separately each with our own parents in walk-through rooms, and we had no hope at all of being accepted on the waiting list for an apartment.

There is in Latvia, however, a second waiting list for apartments, the so-called "specialists" waiting list. On it are the names of the newly arrived Soviet workers. The waiting time for the non-Latvians on this list is 1-2 years.

Elections. People only go to vote because they have the duty to do so, because for each election there is only one candidate, whom the voters have never seen anyway, and whose name they often don't even know. Voting is in a sense a demonstration of loyalty. I voted only once, out of curiosity, when I turned 18. The voter has to show his internal passport, receives his ballot paper and goes straight to the ballot box to deposit his vote. If someone dares to go to the curtained off voting booth, then this is very suspicious, because it means that he wants to cross off the only designated candidate.



The next time I didn't want to go to "vote", but my mother insisted that it must be done. She said that it wasn't necessary for me to personally attend the polling station - she took my sister's and my own passport, was handed our ballot papers and always voted on our behalf. My sister's and my own ballot papers were always handed out to her with no questions asked.

When I was working at the Rīga Elektroarmatūras Factory (in 1969) I was once appointed "agitator" for the elections. My duties were to do the rounds of my designated election district, make sure that the election roll for each apartment was up to date, and to exhort the electors to go and vote. On the day of the election (a Sunday, and so, my holiday), I had to attend the polling station and ensure that all the electors in my district turned up and voted. In the early afternoon I had to go to the houses of those who had not yet voted and invite them to come and vote. Usually no one was even at home. I was told that I was not allowed to go home until all, or at least the greater majority, of my electors had voted. As I well knew that these elections, with only one candidate who receives 99.7% of the vote, were a farce and just a formality, and that it made no difference whose hand put the ballot paper into the box, I myself went and asked to receive the ballot papers on behalf of many of my absent voters. Although I didn't show any documents, these were, without any questions, handed out to me. This was despite the fact that the polling station was half empty, and the polling clerks had surely noticed me, as I had been there since the early morning. I dropped these into the ballot box in one pile.

Latvians in Latvia have limited rights of movement in their own country. For example, among the prohibited areas are not only military zones, but the entire West coastal region and even areas along the Bay of Rīga. Those Latvians who do not live in this belt are only allowed to enter it with a special permit. The militia issues such permits only to people who have close relatives living within these regions (this must be proved from documents) or to people who have to go there in the course of employment.

At nightfall not even local residents are permitted to approach beach areas on the West coast of Latvia. Once I was caught by the border patrol when I had gone swimming after nightfall at the beach of the city of Ventspils. My husband, together with a local inhabitant, found a dead seal on the

beach at the city of Ventspils. The local said that the previous night he had heard intensive gunfire on the seacoast. It seems that the border guards had in the dark mistakenly believed that the seal was a person who was trying to cross the border and escape, and so had opened fire on it.

If documents issued in Latvia (such as birth or marriage certificates, diplomas, etc.) are printed in both languages but filled out in Latvian, then, emigrating overseas, one is forbidden to make notarized translations directly from Latvian to English or German. (It is completely forbidden to take the originals with you.) Even though the notary was a Latvian, our documents had to be first translated into Russian, and only then was she allowed to translate them into English or German.

Latvian and other non-Russian sportsmen and women who are members of Soviet teams competing overseas are never described, in programs or press releases, as belonging to their respective nationalities or national republics. Baltic surnames are first transcribed from Latin to Cyrillic characters, and then are distortedly transcribed back into Latin characters for a West European language.

Thus disinformed Western journalists have started calling all people from the USSR Russians (or Soviet Russians, which in itself is an illogical construction), and so even here, in the free world, the feelings of the oppressed people are offended. Thus the Western news media unwittingly reinforces the Soviet efforts to convince the Baltic people that they are no longer Estonians, or Latvians or Lithuanians, but instead are Russians.

**BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE**

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Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

HELĒNA CELMIŅA

Witness

Helēna Celmiņa, an artist and a writer, was born in Latvia on April 11, 1929. Her father was a merchant. Celmiņa's mother, a musician, was arrested in 1946 for "sabotage" and sentenced to a 17-year prison term. While doing construction work in the prison camp, a wall collapsed on her. Although she spent 2 years in a hospital (with a prison guard stationed at her door), she did not fully recover and remained an invalid for the rest of her life. Celmiņa's uncle was executed by the Soviets in 1940.

Celmiņa's first contact with the KGB occurred when she was in the 8th grade. The KGB tried to recruit her as an informer. They contacted her for the same reason between 1959-60, and again while she was serving a prison term in Mordovia in 1962.

Although she was educated in the Soviet school system, Helēna Celmiņa states that, "I got my real education in Soviet prisons".

In 1949, she was arrested for "violation of passport regime", for which she served a 1-year prison term. Her crime was living in an apartment which a Russian woman wanted for herself.

Celmiņa's second arrest came in 1962. After her apartment was searched by the KGB, she was arrested for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". All of her personal belongings were confiscated and she was sentenced to 4 years of hard labor in Potma, Mordovia. What constituted "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" was Celmiņa's possession of foreign magazines, such as "The Reader's Digest", "Frankfurter Illustrierte" and "Münchener Illustrierte", as well as some foreign banknotes (2 British pounds).

In 1974 Celmiņa married former political prisoner Viktors Kalniņš, who had just completed a 10-year prison sentence for "treason against the Motherland" and "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Their first years of married life were marred by KGB harassment. They were subjected to numerous home searches and their phone conversations were monitored. They were followed everywhere by KGB agents and constantly called in for questioning.

Finally, after ignoring repeated warnings to cease their political activities, Kalniņš and Celmiņa were "advised" by a KGB Colonel to leave Latvia. In 1979 they arrived in the United States and are now living in New York.

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Chairman

Helēna Celmiņa  
(complete testimony)

I was born in Latvia in 1929. The first time I saw Russian soldiers as a group was in 1939 - they were stationed in the local military base. Our people did not like them; they felt very depressed about having to cede their landrights to the Soviet Union for the construction of military bases. I remember people standing in little groups along the street and whispering to each other as the Soviet army units moved in.

But in June, 1941, the Russians came in by tanks and trucks and long caravans of carts drawn by extremely small horses. I lived in Liepāja at that time. The sky over the town turned dramatically red on the day that I saw the first Russian tanks arriving. Many houses were burned down. At the big department store downtown, by the Square of Roses, all of the people who were shopping there were forced to go to the basement by armed men. All doors and windows were closed from the outside with concrete blocks, and gasoline cans were forced through and ignited. Several hundred people were burned alive in the basement, while the store above was being looted. When the local police tried to stop it they were stripped and killed right there on the square. I went to see what had happened the next morning. I saw hats, belts and parts of police uniforms on the sidewalk. Many people were standing in small groups at the ruins and crying for their relatives who had died in the basement.

That was the beginning. For the first time in our lives we had to stand in long lines for bread and other food items. During that year thousands of people disappeared. Many were killed, many were deported to Siberia. My uncle was also executed. Then the Soviets were driven away by the oncoming German army.

On May 8, 1945, the Red Army came back to Liepāja. For the first three days they plundered all shops and houses. Many women were raped. But they said they were the liberators. In September, 1945, our school was visited by KGB men. One by one we were taken to the KGB building for questioning. They tried to force us to become KGB informers. My time to talk to them was set at midnight. While sitting and waiting I saw many people in the hall who had already been arrested.

All textbooks were declared void. Some - like history and literature - were forbidden to be kept at home.

In 1946, my mother was arrested and sentenced to 17 years in prison. They said it was for sabotage. I was left alone.

In 1947, I went to the Executive Committee with an application for a place to stay. Although I had stood in line for a whole night, I was refused because I was a "local" (Latvian). But people arriving from other republics (mostly Russians) got all the space they wanted with no trouble at all. I was homeless in my country for 22 years.

Deportations of the intelligentsia started in the fall of 1947. But March, 1949, was when the biggest mass deportation took place in our country. About 70,000 people were deported on the night of March 23 alone. The arrests and mass transport of people continued for three days. The exact number of persons deported from our country is known only to the KGB. Latvian farmers were singled out in the greatest numbers, probably for two reasons: 1) to force the rest of the farmers to join the collective farms, and thus confiscate their personal property; and 2) to destroy the supply of food, etc., that the farmers were giving to the "Forest Brothers" (Latvian partisans hiding in the forest).

On November 6, 1949, I was arrested and placed in the Central prison in Rīga. Since I was young and healthy they put me to work in a sort of fire-box. The upper part of it was an iron box with many hooks in the ceiling, which was kept hot by a fire underneath. There I had to hang clothes on a ring for heat disinfection. The clothes came from women prisoners. Every day there were long lines of newly imprisoned women. It was not possible to talk to them, for prison guards were standing on both sides and pushing the women further along to the washrooms. After 30 minutes the clothes were done and I had to hang them in an empty room on the opposite side.

Some months later I was transferred to a big strict-regime labor camp in Rīga. There I met many female political prisoners, among them the daughter of my mother's lawyer. In that camp, I worked only at night, making boards in the saw-mill. Later, I was transferred to another camp. There I met artists from the Opera, teachers, and some members of the intelligentsia who had managed to return unlawfully from their places of deportation in Siberia. They were sentenced to 3 years imprisonment, and afterwards sent back to the same location in Siberia from which they had escaped.

### What happened when the Soviets occupied Latvia

- 1) Abolition of the rights of free speech and any kind of demonstration (except for communists). It is strictly prescribed what literature a citizen may read and what is forbidden. Almost all books written during Latvia's independence were listed as prohibited. The same was true about foreign literature.
- 2) Absolute abolition of private property (real estate, movables, livestock). Collectivization for a farmer means returning to serfdom. Only very small one-family houses were left to their owners.
- 3) Thousands of people were tortured and later murdered by the NKVD (now the KGB).
- 4) Hundreds of thousands were deported to Siberia and abandoned there in the open tundra. Thousands were imprisoned and are still in prison today.
- 5) The many newcomers from other republics created a dire shortage of living space. Instead of one family living in a 4 room apartment, there were 4 families in that same apartment (one family per room). Living space was allotted according to the size of the family. A family could get a larger apartment only if the existing space came to less than 4 sq. m. per family member.
- 6) Limited opportunities for Latvians. Latvians are not trusted by the regime. Key positions in industry, education - yes, even the communist party itself - are usually allotted to Russians.
- 7) Limited religious freedom. Children are not permitted to attend church services. Clergymen are instructed as to what they can not say in their sermons.
- 8) The KGB monitors private telephone conversations. They have installed listening devices in my apartments to overhear everything said in the home.
- 9) All young people called up for the military service in the Soviet Union must serve their term outside their republic (some in Africa, some in Afghanistan). The Germans were condemned for conscripting soldiers in occupied territories and sending them to fight in other countries. But numerous

Latvian soldiers have already died in Afghanistan. Who is responsible for that?

10) Russification

a) Russian language. Latvian people are forced in a number of ways to speak Russian.

b) The colonization policy is advanced by the setup of big factories.

c) Young people from Latvia are transferred to work in Russia, while young Russians are encouraged to settle in Latvia.

d) Paperwork and office business is conducted in Russian only.

e) The court ignores the Latvian language. According to the Constitution of the USSR, all local proceedings must be held in the Latvian language. But, if there is even one Russian present, it is held in Russian.

f) Therefore meetings, conferences, symposia were all held in Russian - for usually there was at least one Russian present...

Political trials put into practice

1) "The Slander of the Soviet Reality" (from 6 months to 3 years). People are tried under this paragraph for openly discussing well known, everyday problems.

2) "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (6 months to 7 years - if tried for the first time; 2 to 10 years, plus 5 years in internal exile - if the sentence is repeated). This paragraph can be applied for talking to a foreigner about some aspect of living conditions in the Soviet Union; reading or providing information from abroad (obtained from newspapers, magazines, radio); and many other activities.

3) "Treason against Motherland" is a paragraph that stipulates from 10 years of imprisonment to the death penalty. This paragraph is most widely applied against people who have expressed their wish for the independence of our country, although the Constitution of the USSR in paragraph nr. 72 states: "Each republic retains the



right to secede from the Union of the SSR". This paragraph is used to sentence all genuine patriots of our country. A Latvian patriot is now called "a criminal against the State". But from time to time, true sons and daughters of Latvia appear who love their country so much that they have to express their feelings - although they know full well that they will end up in the wide expanses of Soviet labor camps.

In 1962, I was arrested under paragraph b) "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". It began when KGB men visited me and ransacked my place ( a 3 m. sq. space under the stairs in a lobby). During the search almost all my possessions were confiscated. This included all foreign books, magazines, record albums and all my writing materials. In addition, letters and tape recordings from friends, as well as their phone numbers and addresses were taken. Also taken from me were a prayer book, an American lipstick, some religious buttons, and ink cartridges. An imported chocolate bar and bottle of whiskey were also confiscated, since according to the KGB explanation, these items were obviously "poisoned" and sent to the USSR in order to kill its citizens.

I was placed in the KGB prison and interrogated every day for 6 months. For almost one month, I was questioned about French tourists Pierre and Marta Landers, who also happened to be members of the French Communist Party. I became acquainted with them in 1961. In our conversations I had felt it my duty to educate my somewhat idealistic friends about what the Communist system they so much believed in, had done to Latvia. I told them how hard it was to be homeless for 15 years and about many other problems. The French tourists immediately repeated my conversations, word for word, to their Intourist guide. My KGB interrogator, Trautmanis, said that Landers had sent a letter to the KGB.

When my case finally reached court, the items that were brought into evidence were sixteen foreign magazines, ten copies of "Reader's Digest" and six illustrated magazines from West Germany. Based on this evidence I was accused of hiding "Anti-Soviet materials" with the "intent" of disseminating them. The "intent" was the key accusation. I denied any such intent, explaining that the magazines were purely for personal use. I was found guilty and sentenced to four years imprisonment in a strict regime corrective labor camp in Potma in the Mordovian Autonomous Republic. I met many women there and as a result of hearing their life stories, I wrote a book, "Women in Soviet Prisons".

In 1974, I married Viktors Kalniņš, a Latvian. He was born January 17, 1938 and graduated from the Pedagogical Institute in Moscow. Upon completion of his studies he returned to Rīga, Latvia and worked as a journalist.

In April, 1962, he was arrested with several others for discussing the formation of a Free Baltic Federation. Viktors Kalniņš was convicted of treason and sentenced to 10 years hard labor in a concentration camp in Potma in the Mordovian Autonomous Republic. He went on several hunger strikes along with other prisoners. In 1969 he was one of the signers of an open letter to the Supreme Soviet protesting the violations of human rights and the conditions at the prison camp. For this he was severely punished.

Following his release in 1972, Viktors Kalniņš was placed on probation and sent to a collective farm at Kaive in Latvia.

After our marriage in 1974 he came to Rīga. Our home was searched, and all of our conversations were listened to by the KGB. We received an official warning from the KGB to stop all of our activities.

In August, 1977, together with Victoras Petkus (a Lithuanian now serving a 15-year prison term), Kalniņš drafted the founding documents of the Central Committee of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian National Movement. The Central Committee's aim was to study the methods of Russification imposed on the three Baltic countries and how our cultures and languages were being degraded. They wanted to gather facts and present them to the people in our countries as well as to people in the West. For this purpose they planned to publish a journal.

On August 23, 1977, Victoras Petkus was arrested and all of his papers and documents were confiscated. Most of the documents were in Viktors Kalniņš handwriting.

After several warnings to stop political activities they stripped us of our citizenships and allowed us to leave Latvia.

**BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE**

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

**KESTUTIS JOKUBYNAS****Witness**

Kestutis Jokubynas was born in Lithuania in 1930, the second son of a farmer. In 1947 he graduated from high school in Marijampole and entered the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Vilnius. In his last year in high school he took part in the anti-Soviet resistance movement - he edited and published an underground journal. When this came to light he was arrested and in 1948 was sentenced by a Special Court to 10 years in labor camps. Because of this his parents were deported to Siberia.

In 1954 his sentence was commuted by a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the grounds that Jokubynas had committed the "crime" while still a minor. He joined his parents in Siberia, where he worked for 3 years as a senior bookkeeper at the woodworking factory in Maklakovo, Krasnoyarsky krai.

In 1957 Mr. Jokubynas was accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and of attempting to flee the Soviet Union, and was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. After completion of his full sentence he returned to Vilnius in 1968 and found employment at the Republican Technical Library, where he worked as a senior editor and later as chief librarian. He completed a correspondence course in library science and scientific information and was awarded a diploma in 1974.

After returning from camp, Jokubynas took part in the human rights movement, publishing and distributing unofficial literature, etc. He was therefore repeatedly interrogated and subjected to searches. Not wishing to endure a third term in the camps, which seemed inevitable under the circumstances, he applied for permission to emigrate in 1975. After two refusals and the combined efforts of his brother Jonas (living in Canada), the Canadian Government,

representatives of the US Congress and the Lithuanian emigre community, Jokubynas was allowed to emigrate to Canada in 1977. Shortly thereafter he moved to the USA. He is currently employed as a senior program specialist with the Lithuanian Service of RFE/RL in Munich, West Germany.

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Kestutis Jokubynas  
(complete testimony)

### VIOLATIONS OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

#### Illegal detentions, searches, interrogations

The Soviet attitude to the law is two-faced. Having come to power by illegal means, the communists of the Soviet Union have spared no pains ever since to prove the legitimacy of that power and to present their state as democratic and law-abiding. On the other hand they, like all bandits, despise every law. In the labor camps, where the authorities are freer with their tongues than anywhere else, they used to say openly: "Our actions are guided by our revolutionary conscience, not by laws. The Soviet Constitution is intended basically for the outside world, or, as they put it, 'for the Negroes'".

After Stalin's death a great fuss was made over the need to "restore Socialist law". However, that law remained where it was - on paper only. For example, the Constitution guarantees citizens' personal immunity and inviolability of their homes (USSR Constitution Art. 54 and 55; Lithuanian SSR Constitution - Art. 52 and 53). In reality detentions, searches and interrogations are often carried out at random without a warrant or the warrant is issued under false pretext. One can be detained on the street, searched in a bus, train etc., with the simple explanation that some alleged criminal was in the area. Even when cases are legally opened, arrests are made under various pretenses. When I was arrested for the first time, for example, several plainclothesmen surrounded me on the street saying a woman had been robbed and they were simply checking everyone. All that day long I was told the woman would soon appear to confront me. She never did. Two years ago on the 26th of January the Rev. Svarinskas from Vidukle was summoned by the regional traffic inspection to clear up something about a motor accident he had been in earlier. He never returned; four months later he was sentenced to 7 years in the camps plus 3 in exile. On February 16, 1977, Lithuania's Independence Day, I was going to meet a friend, an American correspondent, when suddenly on a crowded street in Vilnius several men in plain clothes, shouting "criminal investigation department," grabbed me, pushed me into a car and sped away. At the police station I was told to stand in line together with two other persons. Then someone was lead

in and asked whom he recognized as having seen the night before at the scene of the shooting. The man immediately pointed his finger at me. In spite of my protests I was stripped naked and searched. Nothing was found. Then the investigation began. After some questions concerning the alleged shooting of which I knew nothing, the official turned to my personal life and dissident activities. After the other two had left the room I started complaining again that what they were doing was illegal: searching and questioning without a warrant. The man smiled, pulled out a bundle of warrant forms signed by a prosecutor and said it was easy to fill one out, just putting in a name and a date, but did it make any difference? I agreed it did not. After some two hours, when my appointment with the correspondent was long overdue, they let me go.

As reported in the latest, the 66th, issue of "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" last October 12 Robertas Grigas, an ex-student from Leipalingis was stopped before boarding a plane in Vilnius and searched. Nothing was found, but the security men confiscated three letters addressed to the imprisoned priests Svarinskas and Tamkevicius and to the dissident Jadvyga Bieliauskiene (serving a 4 year sentence in the women's political prison camp in Mordovia). Many descriptions of how the KGB uses various false pretexts in order to crush dissent in Lithuania can be found in the "Chronicle." Number 61 writes about the search in Garliava at the apartment of an active religious woman Aldona Raizyte. A warrant was issued to look for leather jackets allegedly stolen from a department store. However, the officials searched for them among literature, manuscripts and notebooks. Last July, according to "Chronicle" No. 64, the police came to the dean of Slavantai Rev. Juozas Zdebskis with a warrant to search for stolen goods allegedly bought by the priest from the citizen Kolka. The dean was not at home, but the search was carried out in the presence of two witnesses; the garage door was broken. Among other things the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was seized.

In the 1970's the harassment of Lithuanian national and religious activists increased. The KGB made simultaneous searches all over the country. Most of them turned out to be unjustified and became widely known, a fact which was not in the interests of the authorities. A change of tactics was needed. The KGB intensified the shadowing of dissidents and started making secret searches in the absence of the inhabitants. When incriminating materials were found, a

legal search could then be made the next day for certain. I will mention two cases.

In the fall of 1976 a family in Vilnius left their 6 year old daughter alone in the apartment because the grandmother who usually looked after her was suddenly taken to the hospital. The child was absorbed in her toys when two strangers stepped in. They explained to the terrified girl that her father asked them to bring some papers he had forgotten. They searched the apartment found nothing and left, locking the door. For a long time after the child suffered nervous attacks.

In the early spring of 1977 I had an experience which is not easy to forget. At that time I had to edit some samizdat papers but did not want to take the risk of working at home. So I got up at 5 in the morning and walked to another part of Vilnius to a friend of mine, although he was also under suspicion for his ties with the dissidents. He went to work at 8 o'clock leaving me locked in a one room apartment. Two hours later the phone rang but I did not answer. After some time the doorbell rang. I went on with my work not venturing even a look through the spy-hole. Everything was quiet for a while, then I heard the door being unlocked and someone went into the kitchen. I didn't pay any attention, being certain that my friend had returned for some reason. Sitting in the room with my back to the door, I soon heard it open and immediately close again. Now it occurred to me that my friend should have said something. I jumped up, opened the door into the corridor at the moment when someone was about to close the entrance door. I grabbed the handle, but the stranger pulled stronger and locked the door. In an instant I peeped into the spy-hole but a palm was placed over it. Then the intruder obviously ducked and disappeared. I burned all the samizdat writings I had and after two hours left the place...

The Soviet Penal Procedure Code stipulates that in "urgent cases" a search can be made without a warrant, but it must be reported to the prosecutor within 24 hours. However, no Soviet Code authorizes burglaries such as I have just mentioned.

The communists are fond of dialectics. They also apply it to the law to make it serve their ends. Created by human beings the law cannot be perfect. But Soviet law can perhaps best be characterized by the old saying: it's like the tongue of a wagon - which ever way you point it, that's the way it goes.

## VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Arbitrary interference in private correspondence,  
restrictions on international mail

Although the Soviet Constitution (Art. 56, Lithuanian SSR Constitution Art. 54) guarantees the secrecy of correspondence, this elementary human right is brought to naught by secret censorship. No one wonders about censorship in the Armed Forces or in prisons. However, most of the domestic correspondence of ordinary citizens and all international mail in the USSR is also opened and checked. Secret censors read letters, keep lists of their recipients and senders, confiscate, file, destroy, steal postal items, supply the KGB with data to be used for political purposes and persecutions. The delivery of international mail is frequently delayed because it is not only read but also translated and processed chemically in search of cryptograms. These secret activities supervised by the State Security are carefully concealed. At almost every railway station there is a postal office. Attached to it or nearby are the premises of that secret office, the so-called "political control." Its employees have made-up stories to tell the neighbors about their jobs, and they are obliged to enter the premises unobserved. For those who open the letters an important rule says: better to destroy the "document" (the word "letter" is never used) than to leave visible traces of opening. If a postal item comes sealed with wax, new seals are manufactured in the special shops of the KGB which are equipped with modern technology and have skilled people who are capable of literally "shoeing a flea."

The lists of persons whose correspondence is to be turned over immediately to the KGB are authorized at higher administrative levels and updated constantly. All other mail is opened and checked by censors. Reading about 200 letters per day they search for suspicious phrases, ambiguities and words that could be interpreted as "harmful" to the Soviet state. The conclusions of a secret censor may have fateful consequences for the sender. Under Stalin many Soviet citizens who were careless in their correspondence paid for that with years in the Gulag and even with their lives. Therefore, nowadays those who are anxious to get their word to the West do not risk writing anything critical about the regime. In this way they participate, albeit unwillingly, in the Soviet campaign of "disinformation." Many people in the West doubt the official Soviet propaganda about the good life in the USSR, but will take on faith what a Soviet citizen writes in a private letter.



A large part of the mail addressed to Soviet citizens from abroad and vice versa never reaches its destination. If lost items have been registered or insured the Soviet authorities can be asked to account for them. In such cases they usually resort to falsification of return receipts or bluntly maintain that the item in question was delivered to the addressee. "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania," which has proved to be a reliable source of factual information, described the efforts of the Sadunas family to trace numerous registered letters addressed to friends abroad and sent by the latter to the Sadunas family. 74 letters did not reach their destination although the local post authorities insisted that everything had been delivered.

During my 8 years in the West I have made inquiries about dozens of lost letters and parcels but in most cases received the Soviet answer, through American or German postal offices, that the items had been handed over to the recipients. Later I learned that this was not true. In many instances the mail is returned stamped "address unknown," although the person has been living there for years and has never moved anywhere. Letters or postcards sent from abroad to imprisoned dissidents reach them extremely rarely. Sometimes an empty envelope is delivered, as happened to Balys Gajauskas with a letter written by a friend from France.

For a dissident, it seems, it is safer to post a letter to the West at some place far from home. If the local censors do not find the name on their list and the letter is not suspicious, they let it pass.

Stepping up its efforts to cut links between Soviet citizens and their relatives and friends in the West, the KGB in the 1980's has been taking more rigorous steps against the recipients of international mail. Some firms in the West licensed to mail parcels to the Soviet Union have even been officially informed not to accept parcels addressed to certain persons. Among them are many Balts. Just to name a few: the widow of the Estonian dissident Juri Kukk, who died tragically in a camp four years ago; the families of Lithuanian human rights activists Vytautas Bogusis, Birute Burauskaite, Balys Gajauskas, Petras Paulaitis, Vytautas Skuodis, Antanas Terleckas, Zita Vanagaite, Jonas Volungevicious and others. Many parcels sent to them have been returned stamped "importation prohibited."

Starting last August the Soviet Union stopped all parcels with prepaid customs duties from abroad. Now the Soviet

citizen has to pay the duty himself. The sums are substantial: e.g., for a pair of corduroy trousers - 50 rubles, that is practically a third of the monthly salary of an average Soviet worker. Besides, the authorities can treat these postal items any way they please much more readily than prepaid ones. Sometimes they replace good with shabby merchandise, take away half or part of the contents, steal the whole package or return it to the sender. Several years ago Soviet customhouses, returning a package, would occasionally indicate some reason: vitamins - prohibited, herb-tea - prohibited. Now they seem not to care about explanations. They attach only a small printed label: "Return. Forbidden." Customs officials in the capital of Latvia seem to be particularly zealous. Just one example. At the end of May a small package was returned to me which I had sent to a veteran of the Gulag Petras Paulitis, who is 81 and has spent 35 years in Soviet camps. As is clearly visible on the wrapper, the contents of the package (coffee, tea, sweets, a bar of chocolate) are not even forbidden by Soviet law. The tiny sticker in French reads: "Retour. Interdit." The seal of the custom-house is also visible: USSR Riga.

The Soviet Union is a member of the Universal Postage Union and has signed numerous documents concerning the international delivery of mail. Its failure to comply with those obligations has been a matter of concern to Western delegations at many international conferences. The US Congress explored Soviet interference with mail. The issue was raised with the Soviet delegates at the latest Congress of the Universal Postal Union, but to no avail. The Soviet Union makes a mockery of the Universal Postal Convention, as it does of many other international conventions and treaties.

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Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

### IMANTS LEŠINSKIS

#### Witness

Imants Lešinskis was born in December, 1931 in Rīga, Latvia, where he attended elementary and high schools. From 1950-1956 he studied at the Institute for International Relations in Moscow.

From 1956-1958 Lešinskis was employed by the Latvian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Rīga. At the same time he joined the Latvian KGB as an undercover agent for the Counterintelligence department. From 1958-1959 he was trained in Moscow as a KGB agent to be sent into the Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1960 he was appointed as a correspondent to the KGB disinformation newspaper "Dzimtenes Balss" in Rīga. He eventually was promoted to the position of Editor in Chief of the publication and remained in this post until 1970. At that time he was promoted to Chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian Committee for Cultural Relations with Latvians abroad - a KGB front organization engaged in espionage, subversion and disinformation.

In 1976 Lešinskis was transferred to New York to work for the UN Secretariat, while maintaining his KGB contacts and illegally (under UN Charter) serving as Communist Party Secretary for the Soviet citizens working at the UN Headquarters in New York.

Throughout his career beginning in 1962, Lešinskis belonged to the privileged higher stratum of the bureaucrats working under direct supervision of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. He was regularly invited to attend various confidential meetings and briefings convoked by the LCP CC. He maintained close contacts with LCP Secretaries, bureau members and heads of the CC departments.

But in September, 1978, while living and working in New York, Lešinskis requested and was granted political asylum in the United States for himself and his family.

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**World Federation of Free Latvians**  
**Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
 Chairman

Imants Lešinskis  
 (complete testimony)

I was born on December 17, 1931 in Rīga, Latvia. From 1939 to 1950 I attended elementary and high school in Latvia. In the period from 1950-1956, I studied at the Institute for International Relations in Moscow. After graduation I was employed by the Latvian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Rīga, serving at the same time as an undercover agent for the Counterintelligence Department of the Latvian KGB. In 1958-59 I underwent an intensive training course in Moscow for infiltration as an illegal KGB agent under false identity into the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1960 I was appointed by the Latvian KGB as correspondent to its disinformation newspaper Dzimtenes Balss, published in Rīga. From 1962-1970 I was editor in chief of that newspaper. In May 1970 I was promoted to Chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian Committee for Cultural Relations with Latvians Abroad, a KGB front organization engaged in espionage, subversion and disinformation activities in countries with significant ethnic Latvian communities throughout the free world. From October, 1976 to August, 1978 I worked as an international civil servant at the United Nations Secretariat in New York while maintaining my KGB contacts and serving as secretary of the illegal, under UN Charter, Communist Party organization of Soviet citizens working at the UN Headquarters in New York. In September, 1978 I requested permanent residence for myself and my family in the United States. This request was granted and since then I live and work in that country.

As editor in chief of Dzimtenes Balss and Chairman of the Latvian Committee for 16 years, I belonged to nomenklatura, i.e. the privileged higher stratum of bureaucrats working under direct control and supervision of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. Due to my position, I was regularly invited to all kinds of confidential briefings and meetings, convoked by the LCP CC. In implementation of my duties over the years I maintained close contacts with LCP secretaries, bureau members and heads of the CC departments, as well as with members of the Latvian SSR government and chiefs of State agencies. As a result, the present testimony is based on my personal experience and observations within the Latvian Communist Party and Government apparatus.

First of all, I can testify that no such political or decision-making entity as the Latvian Communist Party exists. The LCP does not have any charter or program of its own. According to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) current Statute, the highest body of the LCP, its Central Committee, does not enjoy any more rights or decision-making powers than the Party committees in provinces (oblasti) and regions (kraya) of Russia proper (Rossiiskaya Federatsiya). The Latvian CP, like the Communist parties in the 13 other non-Russian federal republics, lacks autonomy, and its CC is an organ created to take and execute orders from the apparatus of the CPSU CC and its almighty Politbureau.

The Latvian CP cannot even select its own leadership. The decisions as to who will be the First Secretary of the LCP, who will hold the positions of the other four CC secretaries are always made by the CPSU Politbureau or Secretariat in Moscow. The same applies to the posts of LCP CC department heads. The CPSU also decides on the personal composition of the Latvian CP Central Committee and its bureau. Moscow's decisions, once taken, are simply rubber-stamped by the LCP congress or a plenary session of its CC. The posts of the Latvian SSR Chairman of the Council of Ministers (prime minister) and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (president) as well as those of their deputies also belong to the nomenklatura of the CPSU CC, i.e., any appointments to or dismissals from these positions are decided exclusively in Moscow, not in Rīga. The same applies to the position of Chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Court. The powerful and extremely influential Latvian SSR Committee for State Security (KGB) is totally outside the LCP CC's jurisdiction: in that sinister agency even appointments or promotions of junior officers are decided at the USSR KGB central headquarters in Moscow.

Moreover, since the end of World War II the extremely important position of the Latvian CC Second Secretary has been held by ethnic Russians, not chosen from among the local Communists but sent directly from the CPSU CC apparatus in Moscow. The Second Secretary is responsible for "organizational matters", i.e., he has the decisive power concerning all appointments, promotions and dismissals of individuals belonging to the LCP CC nomenklatura (deputy heads of CC departments, CC instructors, ministers and their deputies, heads of Latvian SSR government agencies, senior officials working in the apparatus of Council of Ministers,

Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Court, secretaries of city and district Party Committees, mayors of the six Latvian cities, leaders of writers', composers', artists', journalists', architects' and theater associations, managers of major industrial, trade and transportation enterprises subordinated to the Latvian Council of Ministers, managers and main artistic directors of State theaters, and so on). The Second Secretary is Moscow's watchdog in occupied Latvia; even the First Secretary is afraid of him.

The Latvian CP is very poorly represented in the CPSU Central Committee. During the last three decades this representation has been limited to one full member (the LCP First Secretary) and one alternate member (the Latvian SSR Prime Minister). At the last - the 26th - Congress of the CPSU which took place in 1981, 319 individuals were elected as full and 139 as alternate members of the Central Committee. It is obvious that the two LCP representatives cannot in any way influence the decisions of this body.

In addition, the personnel policies implemented by Moscow in Latvia have led to a high degree of Russification of the Soviet Latvian Party and government leadership. Since the dismissal of Jānis Kalnberziņš in 1959, none of his successors to the post of LCP First Secretary have ever lived in independent Latvia. Arvīds Pelše, LCP First Secretary from 1959-1966, was sent to Latvia in 1941 after its forceful incorporation into the Soviet Union, after having spent 26 years in Russia. Augusts Voss (1966-1984) was born in Russia and arrived in Latvia only after World War II. The present First Secretary, Boriss Pugo also was born in Russia, arriving in Latvia only in 1946. From the present five LCP CC secretaries only one, Anatoly Veniaminovich Gorbunov, was born in Latvia. None of them speaks decent Latvian. The same can be said about top Latvian Soviet government officials. During a foreign trip, the present Prime Minister of the Latvian SSR, Jurijs Rubenis told me that only once in his life had he tried to read a Latvian novel. His reading had stopped at page twelve: the task was too difficult. Among Rubenis' five deputies, only one, Miervaldis Ramans, is Latvian-born and has a good command of Latvian.

Under the circumstances, it is no surprise that all official Party and government business in Latvia today is conducted exclusively in Russian, starting with plenary sessions of the Latvian CP CC and ending with meetings of primary Party organizations. Ironically enough, even speeches at the

annual celebration of July 21, the "Day of Restoration of Soviet Power in Latvia", are delivered in Russian.

Even the few Latvian-born members of the Party and government hierarchy rightly consider themselves Moscow's appointees, and their loyalty belongs to the Politbureau in the Kremlin, not to the Latvian people. The Russified LCP is not only unable but unwilling to oppose Moscow's directives, silly and contradictory as they too frequently are. A successful career within the ranks of the LCP nowadays is possible only by demonstrating total subservience with regard to the Kremlin's wishes and whims. Nobody cares if the implementation of Moscow's ill-designed plans is clearly detrimental to Latvia and her people. In my lifetime the hasty over-industrialization of the country has led to an incredible amount of pollution and decay of the natural environment. Latvian rivers, especially the Daugava, Venta and Lielupe, once abundant in valuable freshwater fish such as salmon, have been poisoned by industrial waste or, in the case of the Daugava, virtually destroyed by a series of huge but utterly unproductive hydroelectric plants. The Soviet-built industries in Latvia, most operating without adequate waste treatment facilities, have greatly contributed to the growing pollution of the Baltic Sea while the barbaric methods used by the Soviet Latvian fishery fleet have severely depleted its fish resources. New industrial plants in present-day Latvia are built on Moscow's orders without any regard for her scarce labor resources, needs of the local population or impact on the environment. Raw materials for such enterprises are mostly brought in from places thousands of miles away. The labor force consists of migrant Russian workers, and the end product is exported back to Russia. As I remember, in the mid 1960's the then Second Secretary of the LCP CC, Nikolay Belukha came up with a pet project to build a huge synthetic hosiery factory in the scenic Latvian resort town Ogre, some 25 miles east of Riga. Latvian planners pointed out that the town, with 11,000 fully employed inhabitants, lacked labor resources for such a huge enterprise and environmentalists argued that Ogre was an excellent recreational area for the inhabitants of Riga. Nevertheless Belukha prevailed. The hosiery factory was constructed. By now thousands of unskilled Russian migrant workers produce their enormous quantities of low quality hosiery goods that lack demand not only in Latvia but also in Russia proper. As a result of the influx of Russian migrants the population has more than doubled. Nobody would call Ogre a resort anymore.

When the present food crisis in the Soviet Union started in 1975, the then First Secretary of the LCP CC, Augusts Voss volunteered to deliver all available Latvian reserves of meat and dairy products to cover "all-Union" needs, putting the Latvian population on a starvation diet. Voss' largesse was then the subject of some joking in the inner circles of the Party nomenklatura: it was known that the First Secretary's ambition was to get a seat in the almighty Politbureau as a full or at least alternate member. However, Moscow showed its gratitude in a different way. The quotas of Latvian farm product deliveries to the rest of the Soviet Union were abruptly increased for the years to come, bringing much hardship to the local population. This example clearly illustrates the real standing of the Latvian Communist Party and "government" apparatus within the overall Soviet system: it is a subservient provincial administration working in the interests and for the benefit of their colonial masters in the Kremlin.

It is well-known that the Soviet Union is a one-party state. It is also common knowledge that the Soviet electoral system does not give the voters any choice: in each legislative district there is only one candidate. However, it still might be of some interest to discuss how the candidates are selected.

According to the current USSR Constitution of 1977, the right to select candidates and to put them on the voting list belongs to the organizations of the Communist Party, Komsomol, co-operative and other public organizations, labor collectives and to soldiers meetings in military units (Art. 100). The same provisions are also contained in the Latvian SSR Constitution of 1978.

In reality, however, all candidates at all levels are selected and put on the ballot by the Communist Party, without any input by Komsomol, public organizations, labor collectives or soldiers meetings.

Under the USSR Constitution Latvia is entitled to elect 39 representatives to the Soviet pseudo-parliament, the Supreme Soviet: 7 to the Chamber of Union and 32 to the Chamber of Nationalities. (There is a total of 758 legislators in each chamber.) Ironically enough, the candidates to be elected as representatives of the people of Latvia are selected not in Riga but in Moscow, by the Organization Department of the CPSU CC in consultation with the similar department of the



LCP CC. In many instances top bureaucrats, living and working in Moscow, without any connection to Latvia, are included by the CPSU in the slate of "Latvian representatives".

The procedures of selecting candidates for the 325 member Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR are not less curious. As a first step, well before the official beginning of the election campaign, the Organization Department of the CPSU CC conveys to the Latvian CP CC the so-called "control figures", indicating the expected composition of the Latvian "parliament". The "control figures" contain the percentages of Communist Party members, non-Party people, blue and white collar workers, kolkhoz farmers, intellectuals, soldiers, women and youth under the age of 30 to be put on the candidate slate for the coming elections. On the basis of these percentage rates the LCP CC puts together a tentative list of candidates and submits it for approval to the CPSU Organization Department. The approved and sometimes revised list is eventually returned to the LCP CC, and only then workers' meetings at enterprises and institutions are held, nominating candidates for the election.

A similar system is established with respect to the elections of city, district (rayon) and rural People's Soviets, the only difference being that in this case, the right of final approval belongs to the LCP CC Organization Department. Still, the "control figures", set up by the CPSU CC, also apply to the local elections in Latvia and other federal republics.

The outcome of this choiceless election farce is known from the very outset, and the voters do not show the slightest interest in the electoral campaign or the slate of candidates. The only interested persons are the city and district Party secretaries. They have to assure voters' participation at the ballot. If the rate of participation significantly drops below 99.9%, the corresponding city or district secretary faces lots of trouble. In order to bring the voters to the ballot boxes, a whole army of rank and file Party and Komsomol members and petty bureaucrats is mobilized to act as "agitators". On election day the agitators chase voters who by early afternoon have failed to appear at the election stations. An agitator cannot leave before all "his" or "her" voters have cast their ballots, and, accordingly they demonstrate a great deal of zeal in visiting homes of procrastinators, drunks and persons reluctant, for whatever

reasons, to "fulfill their sacred civic duty". On several occasions I have served as a member of ballot commissions and thus know that in cases where at a late hour the magic 99.9% participation rate seems in jeopardy, the agitators cast the missing votes themselves. At the end of the voting the ballot commission prepares a list of non-voters and dispatches it to the city or district Party committee which, in its turn, sends a copy to the local commissioner of the KGB.

The universal conscription into the Soviet Army is a heavy burden for all able-bodied Latvian men. I have never met a young Latvian who would express any eagerness to serve in the Soviet armed forces. There are almost no ethnic Latvian applicants for Soviet military schools and academies, and there are very few ethnic Latvian officers and career NCOs.

As a matter of policy, the Soviet military authorities never allow Latvian conscripts to serve in Latvia or in the two other occupied Baltic States. Very few are sent to Kaliningrad oblast (former Northeast Prussia which now is part of the Russian "Federation"). The bulk of Latvian conscripts have to serve in the Far North, Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The Soviet military command tries very hard to avoid any accumulation of a large number of Latvians, Lithuanians or Estonians within one regiment, battalion or even company. Well aware of the pro-Western sentiments of the majority of young Latvians, the Soviet military authorities never send them to units stationed in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Latvian conscripts are never assigned to units located in Moscow, Leningrad or the Kiev area. The Soviet command, after 45 years of occupation, still mistrusts young Latvians. I believe that this mistrust is well-founded.

Most Latvians remember their service in the Soviet Army as a time of continuous suffering. First of all, many of them - especially those from rural districts - have tremendous difficulty mastering the Russian language, the only language used in the Soviet armed forces. By Latvian standards the food is totally inedible, consisting mainly of ill-cooked gruels, cabbage soup, salted dry fish with little meat and no fresh vegetables or dairy products. The discipline is virtually inhumane: during the first year of service the young soldiers are confined to barracks without any leaves of absence. The Soviet enlisted man has no right to any furloughs, but during the second or third year of service

they may be granted by the commanding officer as commendation for outstanding achievements. Many young Latvians commit suicide.

At any moment Latvian conscripts can be used to implement the aggressive plans of Soviet imperialism. In July - beginning of August, 1968, a partial mobilization of reservists was carried out in the Baltic military region, including Latvia. The mobilized Latvian soldiers were mostly used as reinforcements of Soviet divisions stationed in the Kaliningrad area. These divisions were kept in reserve in case the Czechoslovaks would fight the Soviet invasion by military means. The Czechs decided not to resist and thus, only a relatively small number of Latvian enlisted men and reserve officers, serving in the Carpathian military region, were forced to take part in the actual invasion. In the fall of 1968 I had the opportunity to talk in private to some of them in Rīga. Almost all of them were full of admiration for the courage and patriotism demonstrated by the Czechoslovak population, and ashamed of their involuntary participation in the dirty undertaking of Soviet aggressors.

The Central Asian military region is a traditional place of service for thousands of Latvian conscripts. It can be assumed that after 1979 many of them have lost their lives in Moscow's war of extermination against the freedom-loving Afghan people.

Since the very beginnings of the Soviet regime in 1940, the occupying power has endeavored to deprive the Latvian nation of its history. All history books and any works on historical subjects, published before 1940, have been taken out of all public schools and libraries and destroyed. They are made available only to a very restricted number of researchers and selected Party propagandists, in the "special departments" (specifondi) of the Janis Mišins Branch of the Academic Library and of the Vilis Lācis State Library. In 1974 the Latvian CP Central Committee instructed the heads of these special departments to destroy all second or third copies of these prohibited books and journals. The list of prohibited books includes works by Marxist and even Communist authors.

The task of a Soviet historian is not to search painstakingly for the evasive historical truth but to falsify and distort historical facts by all imaginable means. There is no lack of historians in Soviet-occupied Latvia but there is no

historiography in the Western interpretation of this term. The underlying concept, present in virtually all works by Soviet Latvian historians, is that all oppression, all ills which throughout history have affected the Latvian people have come from the West, while their saviors and benefactors have always come from Russia. According to these "historians", Latvian peasants enthusiastically greeted and supported the hordes of Ivan the Terrible who looted and burned Latvian lands in the 16th century. They allegedly demonstrated no less enthusiasm with regard to the devastating conquest by Tsar Peter the Great who abolished all peasant reforms enacted by the Swedish government, and introduced the worst forms of serfdom ever known in the Baltic provinces. Even Marxism was not brought to Latvia from Germany with its powerful Social Democrat party but introduced by some obscure Russian students at the Rīga Polytechnical Institute.

However, the falsification of history reaches its climax when Soviet historians discuss the two decades of Latvian independence, describing them as a period of economic decay, political corruption and continuous social unrest. Meanwhile, the tiny Latvian Communist Party, which even in the heat of the Great Depression was unable to gather more than 7% of the popular vote in the legislative elections of 1931, is glorified out of all proportion, proclaiming this Moscow-supported group as the vanguard of the whole nation. And, last but not least, the establishment of the Soviet regime resulting from the armed invasion of Latvia by some 15 Red Army motorized divisions is described as a "socialist revolution"! Meanwhile, the secret protocol of the notorious Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of August 23, 1939 which decided Latvia's fate is never mentioned in Soviet history writing. The horrible Stalinist crimes, such as the mass deportation of some 20,000 Latvian citizens - men, women, elderly people and children, including at least 5,000 Latvian Jews - in June, 1941, and similar deportations involving some 150,000 people in March, 1949, are dealt with in a couple of meaningless sentences, if at all. The Soviet historiography is a tool of disinformation, applied both inside the country and abroad. At the same time there is a steady flow of publications directed against Latvian "bourgeois" nationalists, Social Democrats and various religious groups, accusing them of the most heinous crimes during the period of the Nazi occupation of Latvia in 1941-1945, cooperation with Western intelligence services and immoral behavior. Most of this "historical" literature is inspired by the KGB and

written by its agents. In Latvia I was deeply involved in this kind of "research", and I can testify that these publications are produced with a single goal in mind: to slander the KGB's enemies regardless of what the historical truth might be.

The normal development of Latvian literature, music, fine arts, journalism and other forms of human expression is continuously stifled by Soviet censorship which, perhaps, in Latvia is even more rigorous than in Moscow and most of the other federal and autonomous republics. So, for example, Alexander Solzhenitsyn's famous novel One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich, approved by Khrushchev, was never published in Latvian, although it appeared in many other "Soviet" languages. In the 1970's the Latvian CP CC imposed a publishing ban upon the works of Vizma Belšēvica while her poetry in Russian translation was still published in Moscow. The Russified LCP leadership is suspicious of, or even hostile to Latvian culture which they consider to be the guardian of the dreaded Latvian nationalism. A whole army of official and unofficial censors are engaged in discerning any trace of nationalistic tendencies or western influences in the works of Latvian intellectuals.

The official censorship in the Soviet Union and its occupied Latvia is widely known under the name of the Main Literary Directorate for Protection of State Secrets in the Press (Glavlit). The Directorate is subordinated to the KGB and in fact is one of its subdivisions. However, the Glavlit is only the tip of a hidden iceberg. Any author who wishes to make public his or her work, be it a novel, poetry, painting or musical composition, has to undergo several stages of censorship. Under the prevailing circumstances, before you go public with any piece of your creative work, you will submit it to the most rigorous scrutiny of self-censorship. In the Soviet Union all publishing houses, orchestras and exhibition halls are government-owned and supervised by the Party. To go public with a work which is by some obscure bureaucrat within the system considered detrimental to the interests of the Party or the Soviet State may mean a ban on all your creative activities for many years to come. If you still decide that your work is fit to be delivered to the public you have to submit it for discussion to the corresponding section of your "creative union" (Union of Writers, Union of Artists, Union of Composers, etc.). If the section approves your work, it will be sent for further scrutiny to the Department of Culture of the LCP CC. Only

after that will your piece go to the State Publishing House where an editor will painstakingly try to find ideological errors in it. As a last stage of this process your type-set work will be submitted to the Glavlit which is entitled, if all goes well, to put on the final stamp of approval.

In the 1950's Latvian-born Communists still held many key positions within the Party and government apparatus. Most of them had been active in the Communist underground during the period of Latvian independence. Almost all of them were decorated veterans of World War II. Although they were true-believers in Communism, they were bitterly disappointed by the on-going process of Russification of Latvia, especially by the continuous influx of Russian and Byelorussian migrants. From 1956-1958 I maintained friendly relationships with some members of this group. In June, 1958 Eduards Berkļavs, one of the leaders and ideologues of the group who then held the position of Deputy Prime Minister of Latvia offered me the job of his assistant. I declined the offer, rightly believing that the Soviet colonial system would not tolerate any degree of Latvian autonomy.

In the summer-fall of 1959 Berkļavs, as a "bourgeois nationalist deviationist" was removed from his post and sent to internal exile in the Vologda region. The purges took on a mass character, affecting dozens of highly-placed Latvian Communists, such as the First Secretary of the Rīga city committee, Vilis Krūmiņš, Minister of Culture, Voldemars Kalpiņš, several heads of LCP CC departments and members of government. The LCP First Secretary Jānis Kalnbērziņš was removed from his post and replaced by Arvīds Pelše, a bitter enemy of everything Latvian. Since 1959 no Latvian-born Communist has ever risen to the highest positions in the Party and government hierarchy.

**BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE**

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

LEILA MILLER

Witness

Leila Miller was born on January 26, 1961 in Tallinn, Estonia. Her father died in 1974 and her mother works as a shop assistant at the Estonian Consumers Cooperative Union (ETKVL) in Tallinn.

After completing her studies at the first school in Tallinn in 1979, she worked as a computer operator at the Tallinn Water Industry. In 1981 she started studies at the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, Department for Culture Workers Education in the subjects of Library Work and Bibliography.

Beginning in 1979, Miller was active as a vocalist in the pop-groups "The Office" and "The Caravan". She received professional qualification as a singer from the State Soviet Estonian Philharmony.

Leila Miller married Valdo Randpere on December 31, 1982. They have a daughter, Kaisa, who was born on July 1, 1983. Kaisa remained with Leila's mother in Tallinn at the time of her parents' defection.

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Leila Miller  
(complete testimony)

### On Estonian Schools

Russian is taught from the first grade on, at the same time the child begins to read and write in Estonian. Moreover, this takes place only in Estonian schools. In Russian schools Estonian is an elective subject. The result is that Estonian children have to go to school for 11 years to obtain a secondary school education, while Russians only have to go for 10.

History is completely rewritten. All that took place in the bourgeois period was bad and unfortunate, or in the best case without any benefits. Descriptions of the revolution differ tremendously from what the older people remember. But no one dares ask the teacher how things really were. Not that this would accomplish anything. Due to this kind of treatment of history, Russians are sincerely convinced that Soviet rule brought culture and literacy to Estonia, not thinking for a moment about the fact that Russians and Estonians use different alphabets. History classes are always eager to compare figures: how much more wheat is produced now than in 1913; how many more cars there are, etc. But they never say a word about the level of Estonia or the Baltic States compared with Russia after the revolution. For you can't. All that was better in Estonia is somehow shameful, which is glossed over as quickly and superficially as possible. Not a word is said about the deportations. Not a word about how many people left Estonia, though we are told that in the past century Estonian families moved to Trans-Caucasia and elsewhere.

The Estonian Minister of Education is Elsa Gretschkina. It doesn't seem necessary that the Minister of Education be Estonian, or even someone who knows the Estonian language.

On May 1 and the anniversary of the October Revolution we can turn on the TV and watch massive demonstrations in Red Square, as well as in other republic capitals. But it probably isn't known that participation in the demonstrations is mandatory for all school children. Students who wish to go visit their relatives for the holidays, or who are occupied in other ways, are required to fill out a special



request where they must state why they cannot attend the demonstration.

In work collectives things are a little simpler. Those who participate in the demonstration can count on a little "award" - 10 rubles. Ten rubles for taking a walk that lasts a couple of hours isn't the worst pay in the world.

### Cultural Politics

Currently it is required that 40% of the repertoire of all musical ensembles be the work of Soviet-Russians. They constantly try to stop the spread of Western music. Recording Russian-language songs is in all ways favored. The recording of English-language songs is, for all intents and purposes, forbidden.

We are of course allowed to sing about things such as inflation, the arms race, the destruction of human rights. But this must be done so it is clear where and in which country all this is taking place. Not to mention the country, or to let anyone suspect that the subject is the Soviet Union, is to commit musical suicide.

Writing songs is a constant source of headaches. One simply can't foresee or begin to guess what might be considered suspect. Once someone wrote a song about the "Socialist Saturday". The "Saturday" is the day when everyone works "voluntarily" without pay. The song said absolutely nothing against the day. But since the ensemble involved was well-known for their parodies, some Party workers decided that they were making fun of the activity and the ensemble was forbidden to perform anymore.

Here are some examples of songs:

- \* "I have only empty palms."
- \* "The hands do everything but what's necessary, the mouth says all but what it should." (This was about a lover.)
- \* "Years pass, winds change, the circus still remains."
- \* "Some of us are on the outside, but some are inside...inside themselves...inside and outside...the jokes differ."

There have been misunderstandings, problems and disagreements with each of these texts. The last one, for example, waited

two and a half years to receive recording permission. I could give many more examples of this type of thing. For the censors are afraid to let through anything that isn't a description of nature.

They require songs by Russian-Soviet writers. But in meeting this demand the ensemble "Kontor" got itself in a good deal of trouble by singing Stalin-era songs. For example, a song about the atomic bomb: "There are bombs and we will get bombs...I confidently admit we will fall behind no one...our atom isn't bad...assured us Stalin himself...we tested the bombs..."

A song about Stalin: "There where the forests are tall and far, There where the deep blue waters Take their poetry from wise Stalin, Sings the lumberjack before the campfire." Of course such songs were understood to be parodies. For actually Stalin has become history's whipping-boy whose activities have been condemned. The regime shouldn't have anything against a parody of someone condemned officially, but they apparently fear that it's too easy to replace Stalin's name with someone else's. And changing names in songs might lead to over-generalization.

### Kaisa

When my husband and I left Estonia last year, we were forced to leave behind our 1 year-old daughter, Kaisa. She now lives with my mother. Several months later several journalists from the Stockholm newspaper Expressen visited my mother at her home in Tallinn, where they interviewed her. My mother described how she has been repeatedly taken from work to be interrogated by the KGB, how she was forced to sit under a hot lamp for 4 hours at a time; how she was told that Valdo had been run over by a car in Stockholm. After this series of articles, my mother was forced out of her job. They warned her that if she informed us of this via telephone, they would put her into a psychiatric hospital. Until she reaches retirement age three years from now, she has no income.

We have written a number of requests to allow our daughter to join us. My mother has also requested that she be allowed to bring us our child. With that she has confirmed that she does not wish to raise the child or take her away from us, as they originally demanded from my mother. After eight months,

the Soviet Union has turned down our request. The answer was verbal. They refused to give us a written document. There were three reasons for the refusal:

1. We have no secure source of income and therefore we cannot provide our daughter a secure life. (Actually, we have been working since last September, a fact well known to the authorities.)
2. We don't really want our child since we left her behind.
3. We lack Swedish citizenship. (It would be interesting to know what Swedish citizenship has to do with our daughter.)

We are required to wait for at least half a year after the denial of one request before we can ask for the next one. But we have been told verbally that nothing will happen for at least 6 months and that there's no use in even making another request. We do not intend to follow this advice.

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VALDO RANDPERE

Witness

Valdo Randpere was born on February 4, 1958 in Tallinn, Estonia. His father was chief engineer in the State Estonian shipping company and his mother was a worker in the production cooperative "Norma". In 1976 he graduated from the sixteenth high school in Tallinn. From 1977-1982 he continued his studies in the Law Department of the State University in Tartu and graduated cum laude.

From November 1981 until October 1983 he worked as Assistant to the Minister at the Soviet Estonian Ministry of Justice. From the beginning of October 1983 until his escape from Estonia, he worked as an instructor at the Department of Propaganda and Culture at the Estonian Communist Youth Organization's Central Committee. He became a member of the Communist party in March 1983.

Valdo Randpere married Leila Miller on December 31, 1982. They have a daughter - Kaisa - who was born on July 1, 1983, but remained in Tallinn with Leila's mother when her parents defected. Randpere has received professional qualification as singer and young composer from the State Soviet Estonian Philharmony.

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Valdo Randpere  
(complete testimony)

From the beginning of university education distinctions are already made among students; young communists and people from workers' families are favored over others. Traditionally the law faculty is the province of the Komsomol, i.e. all students in the law faculty must belong to the Komsomol. Refusal to join the Komsomol means, for all intents and purposes, the end of further study in that department.

A major proportion of education materials are in Russian. Beginning last year, one basic subject in each course is taught in Russian. The final examination must also be taken in Russian. Some subjects are not taught in Estonian at all, as in the case of Sports Medicine at Tartu University.

Students are persecuted for their religious convictions. Officially, attending church is not forbidden. But for example, attending church during Christmas can easily result in dismissal from the university. The same is true for church weddings. For example in the academic year 1979-80, Hillar Hallaste, a student in the law faculty, was thrown out of school for getting married in a church.

Students are under constant surveillance. The KGB has recruited a portion of students, who regularly report on the political beliefs of their classmates. For example, one night at a student evening, there was a discussion of the "Letter of the 40" (a letter from 40 Estonian intellectuals protesting Russification). A song was sung about the Forest Brethren (anti-Soviet partisans of the late 1940's). The next day the entire class was called to give an accounting to the KGB. They even knew who started the song. A number of students were punished with a "warning".

Military education plays a major role in higher education. All graduates of institutions of higher learning hold officer rank. One day a week is devoted to military education. The Pedagogical Institute provides each of its female graduates with a junior nurse education and...a ticket into the army. In the case of war all former students automatically belong in the army. Young men, however, do not have to wait for the outbreak of war.

Upon graduation from university they typically are inducted into the Soviet army where they serve for two years as officers - "voluntarily", of course. Nevertheless, the War Commission is concerned that too few young men are interested in Officer Candidate School. If this trend continues in twenty years there will be no Estonians at the rank of General.

It is impossible to work as an Assistant in the Justice Ministry without belonging to the Party. The same holds true for positions at other influential institutions.

The entire Estonian legal system is based on the RSFSR model, i.e., the legal system of the Russian Republic. The Estonians do not develop their own legislation, but simply translate the legal codes of the Russian Republic into Estonian. This is not something which has developed in practice, but rather by government decree.

Basically everything takes place in Russian, and again, completely under the direction of Moscow.

Creative young people are harassed for their religious or political beliefs. Anything which is in the slightest bit critical of society is considered ideologically inadequate and dangerous to society. Soviet art must be paean to the ruling system - and if it is, the pay is very good.

Several examples:

\* Musical groups and ensembles have had a constant problem with recording albums. It won't fit in the plan, as they say. At the same time hundreds of LPs are recorded with the speeches of party officials, which of course nobody buys.

\* There has always been a paper shortage in Estonia, which means that there isn't enough paper for book and magazine publishing. One popular youth magazine even carried the advice: "Read this through and pass it on to a friend." At the same time they release entire series of "Memoirs of Communist Construction Work", "Recollections of Heroism from the Great Fatherland War", reprinted speeches of party plenums, etc., etc. ...And this is done at the expense of literature. Brezhnev's "Small Land" and other titles even made their way into the school curriculum.

Naturally, little of this type of literature is read by anyone. The Estonian singer Steinfeld once wrote a song titled "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow". By coincidence, Karl

Vaino (the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary) had a short time earlier published his book, Soviet Estonia - Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow. Steinfeld saw the book in the store and at his next performance said, "I should write music for Karl Vaino's books; then they'd sell a lot better." Following this comment, Steinfeld was forbidden to perform for an indefinite period of time.

Ahto Vellamaa, the Second Secretary of the Party City Committee in Tallinn, has said: "Our greatest enemies are Pershings and Western music." Once, after performing songs with texts by poets Hando Runnel and Ernst Enno at Town Hall, I was forced to give an accounting to the Party Committee as to why I had sung "anti-Soviet" songs. Ernst Enno, of course, wrote poems in the 1930's and they are in no way connected with Soviet rule. But now they suddenly discover that the poems are about the regime. And an even more bizarre example. In the same Town Hall, they forbade an ensemble from performing 300 year-old folksongs. To be more precise, it was demanded that the texts of certain songs be changed. One folksong asked, "Who pays for the labor of slaves?" It was plainly clear that this was anti-Soviet. Strange indeed that our forefathers didn't know how to create paeans to Soviet rule.

Freedom of religion does indeed exist in the Soviet Union. But when the Komsomol daily Noorte Haal (The Voice of Youth) published on its first page a picture of the six hundred year-old St. Nicholas Church, the Republic Ideological Commission headed by Rein Ristlaan, had to answer for the scandal in the newspaper's editorial board and in the Komsomol Central Committee, the newspaper's governing body. A picture of a church on the first page! What is meant by this? No matter that the article only spoke of the current phase of restoration of the church; no matter that St. Nicholas' church is now a church-museum and a concert hall, and that no religious services have been held in the church for nearly fifty years. Still, the publication of the picture was a great and unforgivable error on the part of quite a few people. It was a major ideological faux pas, which will not be forgotten.

Noorte Haal managed to cause another great fuss last year. The newspaper published a series of three successive articles on a true story about emergency medical assistance. A 14 year-old Tallinn schoolgirl had gotten sick. Her father

called the ambulance, but it did not come. Three more times he repeated his request for aid. Six hours after the first call, the ambulance came and took the girl to the hospital. An hour later she was dead. The next day the father attempted suicide. The articles in Noorte Haal considered the various causes for the death. There were several: the lateness of the ambulance, the incorrectness of the diagnosis. The article also touched lightly on the problem that the father was Estonian, but the doctor taking and dispatching ambulance assistance did not understand Estonian. The story struck a responsive chord with many people and brought a large number of letters to the editor. The scandal in the newspaper editorial board had nothing to do with the fact that the ambulance was six hours late, or that the doctor responsible for emergency aid did not know Estonian. The problem was that the series appeared at all. What an ideological error! Why didn't they write that medical care in the Soviet Union is free? Why don't they stress the peaceful co-existence of two peoples? Why incite nationalism? Why write about empty, passing deficiencies? Why draw out undesirable feelings among the people?

And finally, a few words about my daughter, Kaisa. I have lived in the West for nearly a year. From my first day here I have done everything officially possible to bring my one year-old daughter here from Estonia. I have sent many requests to Tallinn, to Moscow, as well as to the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm. All for naught. The last time I called the Soviet Embassy, they suggested I write a statement which would say, among other things, that I wish to remain a Soviet citizen, that everything I'd said about the Soviet Union has been fabricated by the press, that actually I have nothing negative to say about the Soviet Union. If I were willing to do all this, then it might be possible that I can get my daughter. Essentially this is nothing more than a proposal for collaboration or for beginning it. I naturally refused this generous offer. Kaisa recently turned two. She is still in Estonia.



# BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

GUNĀRS RODE

Witness

Gunārs Rode was born on September 8, 1934 in Rīga, the capital of the independent Republic of Latvia. In 1962 he was sentenced to 15 years deprivation of freedom by the Soviet authorities in Latvia. Rode was accused of:

- 1) holding nationalist sentiments;
- 2) disseminating the idea of forming a Baltic Federation independent of the Soviet Union;
- 3) anti-Soviet propaganda;
- 4) organizing activities intended to foster the independence and freedom of the nations subjugated by the USSR;
- 5) drawing up plans that were perceived as undermining the Soviet Union (for this alleged offense the Prosecution asked for the death penalty).

Rode served most of his 15-year sentence in the Mordovian labor camps and the prison in Vladimir. A fellow prisoner was the Russian human rights advocate Vladimir Bukovsky. One year before the completion of his sentence, Rode was brought to Rīga and allowed to visit the grave of his father. At that time the Soviet authorities tried to persuade him to recant his beliefs. Rode refused to do so and was taken back to the prison in Vladimir to finish his term. He was released on May 13, 1977. But the KGB continued to harass him to such a degree that on July 31, 1977 he found it necessary to renounce his USSR citizenship.

On February 14, 1978 Rode married Ieva Straubergs of Sweden. At that point the KGB ordered Rode to leave the USSR. On May 28, 1978 he arrived in Stockholm where his wife was waiting for him.

During his years of imprisonment, Gunārs Rode had been designated as "Prisoner of the Month" by Amnesty International.

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Gunārs Rode  
(complete testimony)

I was born in Rīga, Latvia on September 8, 1934 as a citizen of the independent Republic of Latvia. I have seen with my own eyes the consequences of the occupation of the Republic of Latvia, and have personally suffered much as a result.

1. I testify that, at the end of June, 1940, my late father, Oskars was fired from his job. My father was employed as a foreman in the Rīga textile factory, "Tekstilag". He was fired because he refused to order his workers out into the street with pre-designed slogans to participate in demonstrations supporting Latvia's incorporation into Russia. For almost a year after his dismissal my father worked for a small private business in Rīga. When he learned that the deportations had begun, he went into hiding with a family near the lake of Baltezers, not far from Rīga.

2. I testify that, one night in the latter part of June, 1941, a number of individuals were shot to death on the shores of Lake Baltezers, near the Adaži church.

To the best of my recollection, the shooting began in the late afternoon. Our summer home was located a good distance from the site of the shootings - roughly 800 to 1200 meters. I could only see a bonfire and the small figures of several people - maybe 10 to 15 wearing green jackets were standing in a compact grouping on the closer shore, and several others a good distance away on the other side of the lake.

From the midst of the group, I'm not sure from where, there suddenly ran out several figures dressed in bright or white clothing. This was followed by loud screaming. After that the figures disappeared somewhere and I heard the sound of gunfire - mostly individual shots, but on several occasions there were bursts of automatic weapons.

The adults in my group, which included my father and mother, said among themselves that what had just happened was "terrible", and chased me and the other children back into the house. Several days later the maroon-white-maroon Latvian flag appeared at a neighboring farmhouse. They had been listening to the radio and thus knew that the Russians had been driven from Rīga.

Approximately 10 to 15 days later a notice was distributed to the surrounding homes, which stated the local farmers were to take their horses and participate in a special obligatory work crew. That evening the owner of the previously mentioned farmhouse - if I remember correctly it was called "Vecozoli" - came to visit my parents. His surname was Dreimanis. He died somewhere around 1943. He told my parents that the work crew had to help with the transport of corpses from the place they had been exhumed to another location, which if I'm not mistaken, was the Adaži church. Dreimanis explained that the smell was so bad that alcohol was passed out to workers to keep them from getting sick.

After about another week, possibly the next Sunday, a mass funeral took place. Our parents, fearing that we children would suffer a psychological trauma, did not take us to the funeral. About two weeks later we went to the Adaži church cemetery, where to the best of my recollection, more than 80 of the 111 to 113 shooting victims were buried. They were buried in a similar manner as in the Cemetery of the Brethren in Rīga - in several rows.

New murders of Latvian civilians took place that evening after the funeral. As was later said, the "Germans" had executed an equal number of Latvian Jews at the cemetery gates, as the Chekists had earlier murdered at Lake Baltezers. Although I did not personally see these shootings, I did hear the shots: a fence, heavily grown over with underbrush and trees, located between our summer home and the shooting site, blocked my view of this part of the cemetery.

This is the second time that I have testified about the murders which took place near Baltezers. The first time, I related these events in 1962 in occupied Latvia's Supreme Court in Rīga, during my November 28 to December 28 trial for anti-Soviet activities. During the first court hearing, after a reading of the indictment against me, the judge, named Paze, invited me to explain what had motivated me to commit crimes against the Soviet state. I attempted, among other things, to acquaint the court with this episode. The judge interrupted my testimony with the objection that a child who is barely 7 years old cannot have such a clear memory, and that I could not remember what had happened while I was 6 years old. At that point my father, who had been asked to testify at the hearing, stood up and asked that he be allowed to say a few words. He was allowed to speak, and

confirmed in court that I was speaking the truth and that the events I recounted had indeed happened. The judge interrupted my father and began to shout at me, asking whether I didn't know that the victims of the shooting had been German subversives. I answered that the newspaper "Tēviņa" (Fatherland) had published the names of all the shooting victims, and that they had all been Latvian government workers, social leaders and members of the intelligencia. The judge shouted to have me silenced.

3. I testify that, in the early spring of 1948, there took place in Latvia the mass deportation of individuals to the Soviet Union's far East, approximately 10,000 kilometers from Latvia.

At this time I was living in Rīga and was in the 6th grade of the Rīga No. 8 primary school. On the day of the deportation, from among 28 of my classmates, 2 were deported along with their families. They were Andris Jansons, born in 1935, and Ralfs Kalniņš, born in 1932 or 33. The mother of another student - Imants Broze - was also deported. Imants himself had hidden with other relatives, for in Rīga, the afternoon prior to the deportation, news had passed by word of mouth that factory truck drivers had been ordered to stay at their jobs overnight. This led to the suspicion that a new mass deportation was very possible. Also deported were a number of my acquaintances - ex-classmates from the town of Vecpiebalga, approximately 120 kilometers from Rīga. I have no further information about their fate.

I do have partial knowledge about the fate of my two deported classmates. Andris Jansons, along with his mother and sister, was deported to the Amur region and placed in a kolkhoz. I learned that Andris has married a Russian girl. No members of this family, as far as I know, have returned to Latvia. Ralfs Kalniņš was deported along with his mother and sister to the Habarovskiy Rayon. Ralfs, at least, returned to Latvia around 1960. While he was away he had married a Latvian girl from another deported Latvian family. The mother of Imants Broze also returned to Latvia around 1960. She died approximately 3-4 years later. The health of this woman, born in 1905, had suffered greatly due to the harsh conditions and climatic changes she experienced during the deportation. Imants himself, left behind without his parents, quit school. His father was murdered by the Russians in 1944 or 45. Imants was musically gifted, but he quit the musical conservatory high school and became a vagrant.

4. I can testify that throughout my years of schooling, beginning with the 3rd grade, I was obligated to study the Russian language. As part of my high school Russian language studies, I had to study a great deal of classic Russian literature. Beginning with 8th grade, the amount of hours dedicated to studying Latvian language and literature had been practically reduced to the same level as that for just the Russian language. We received practically no instruction at all in the classical literature of other nations. Among Latvian classics we were only allowed to study those which were deemed "acceptable". Foreign language studies (a choice between English, German or French) were so minimal that we were unable to learn anything in these languages without private tutoring.

During our Russian literature courses, they tried to systematically implant us with the idea that the history of the Russian people, as well as the "unique Russian soul", was head and shoulders above all other cultures. We were taught that the Russian people had the most beautiful and richest literature, which was reason enough to learn the Russian language and that we don't have to interest ourselves too much in the literature of other nations. We had to know all the national Russian heroes, beginning with the historical legends and ending with the heroes of World War II.

Throughout all my years of schooling during the years of occupation, from 1944-1953, I never had one single hour of study relating to the history of Latvia! Granted, in later years, when I had already graduated from high school in 1953, I had a chance to see a book entitled "The History of the Latvian SSR". This book, as I recall, was intended for the primary school final year classes. This book was a clear and blatant falsification and suppression of the history of the Latvian people and nation. As a result, entire generations in Latvia are being intentionally isolated from Latvian history and the most important segments of Latvian literature. There is an official attempt to indoctrinate Latvian schoolchildren with a feeling of inferiority in regards to their national identity.

5. I testify that, throughout my general schooling during the years of occupation, from 1945 - 1953, and during my studies at the State Latvian University, from 1953 to 1956, I was forced to study military sciences. Instruction was incorporated into the general school curriculum: anti-aircraft and chemical warfare defenses, firefighting,

sapper training, including infantry and anti-tank mines, mine placement and mine clearing, weapons training (including weapon construction, assembly, disassembly, maintenance and care), shooting practice, hand grenade and anti-tank grenade construction and use, field drill, military marching and war games, and first aid for combat-related traumas and injuries.

At the university I was obligated to spend 4-6 hours, one day each week, in "special training". During this training - which was offered only to men - we listened to lectures and studied cartography, tactics and infantry weapons, including machine guns, mortars, grenade launchers, etc. After 5 years of study I graduated from the university and was automatically assigned a lieutenant's rank, that is, a military science honors-lieutenant. It was similar at other Latvian Institutes of Advanced Education: the Rīga Polytechnical Institute prepares artillery (and perhaps even tank) officers, the Rīga Medical Institute prepares military medical officers (both male and female) and so on. In some other Latvian Institutes of Advanced Education directly administered by the republic there is no military training, and graduates have to attend so-called "military camps" for several months. These individuals do not receive an officer's rank, but are assigned a sergeant or instructor military rank.

In my view, this kind of military preparation is proof that the inhabitants of occupied Latvia are forced to participate in the actualization of the Soviet Union's politics of aggression. A vivid example can be seen in the number of Latvian inhabitants who are sent to fight in Afghanistan.

6. I testify that, from 1962 - 1977, while I was incarcerated in Soviet forced labor camps and prisons, I met on several occasions Latvians from Latvia who were serving obligatory military service in the USSR's Internal Ministry's armed forces (Vnutrenniye Voiyska). They stood guard in towers and in long rows, armed with Kalashnikov machine guns, and sometimes accompanied by dogs, while prisoners, including political prisoners, were being transported from one railroad car, transport truck or camp, to another. They served as drivers for the prisoner transport trucks. They had orders to shoot without warning, at anyone who tried to escape or who failed to blindly carry out the convoy leader's orders. They searched the belongings of prisoners, including political prisoners. If they refused to follow their commander's orders, they faced disciplinary punishment or court martial.

7. I testify that, beginning around 1948, and up to my arrest on May 15, 1962, and after completing my sentence from May 14, 1977 until about May 28, 1978, I have tried from time to time to listen to Western radio broadcasts. I came to conclude that, prior to my period of arrest (1948-1962) Western radio broadcasts in the Latvian and Russian languages, West German stations, and the BBC, were jammed to such an extent that they were impossible to hear without special equipment.

8. I testify that, even in 1977 and 1978, even in Latvia's capital of Riga, willfull actions were taken to control the distribution of Western newspapers: the only place where Western newspapers were sold to any extent, was at the Hotel Riga, which was occupied for the most part by foreign tourists. When I tried occasionally to approach the newsstand, I was asked whether I had foreign currency. As is well know, Soviet citizens are forbidden to have foreign currency. At the newsstand on Valdemar Street (now known as Gorki Street) there were also some Western newspapers, but only one from each approved title. The greatest number were from the "Morning Star". Nevertheless, whenever an article appeared which touched upon the realities of Soviet politics, the respective Western newspapers were not available. As was explained to me, they had been "confiscated".

9. I testify that letters which were sent to me from the West were monitored. I concluded this after I noted that the letters had been opened and then resealed with a dark glue. This glue is called "Sindetikum" and it is actually watered-down bone-glue. When I went to my post office, Riga-29, to complain about the opening of my letters, I was told that "that couldn't be". I would have to show proof. I pulled out my letters. "Foreign?" he asked me, "we've had many complaints about that."

10. I testify that, around two thirds of the stores in Riga in 1977 and 1978 refused to serve me when I tried to make a purchase in the Latvian language. A similar situation holds true in banks, post offices, other institutions, public transport, at customs, in work places and factories. In addition, the unpunished chauvinism of Russian immigrants should also be pointed out - in their view, having conquered the Baltic States, they feel they are now a Russian possession, and therefore they can behave toward Latvians in Latvia as if the Latvians were the foreigners, and not the Russians. Already in 1960, I heard many people complain that they had heard the remark, "There are too many Latvians in our Riga."

11. I testify that between 1958 and May 15, 1962, as one of the founders and leaders of the underground organization "Baltia", I participated in discussions concerning the possibility of a Soviet republic to secede from the Union, based on paragraph 72 of the Soviet Constitution. The conclusion reached in these discussions was that such a possibility does not exist.

A. Paragraph 6 of the USSR Constitution grants the Communist Party monopoly status to:

- determine the Soviet Union's political system;
- formulate the guidelines of, and govern and control all State and social organizations;
- dictate the general perspective of social development;
- dictate Soviet foreign policy;
- dictate Soviet domestic policy.

This is an enumeration of the absolute authority of a dictatorship in which all of the power rests with the Communist Party, and is the opposite of a constitutional monarchy in which the constitution limits the monarch's power. Juridically therefore, the "constitution" authorizes unlimited power for the dictatorship.

"All of the Party's organizations operate within the framework of the USSR's Constitution." This remark, which is found at the end of paragraph 6 gives a new juridical meaning to the abrogated constitutional function of this document: it becomes a part of the USSR Communist Party program. In spite of what the facts reveal about constitutional rights in the Soviet occupied Latvian republic, the Constitution is basically a propaganda instrument for the Communist Party, which in practice has no juridical power, and is not a binding document in the Communist Party program.

Knowing that totalitarian dictatorship and democracy are opposing ideologies, we can expect that human rights, self-determination, national identity rights and religious freedom are not even theoretically possible in occupied Latvia.

B. All of the USSR's "United Republics" have been incorporated into the Soviet Union by force. Consequently, there is a precedent for breaching constitutional authority. (Paragraph 70 of the Constitution has been violated.)



C. The Latvian SSR Criminal Code, Paragraphs 59 and 67, make it illegal to engage in activities which attempt to legally separate Latvia from the Soviet Union. These activities are defined in the above mentioned paragraphs as: "Treason against the Motherland", and "Organized activity with the intent of committing an especially dangerous crime against the State".

D. Paragraph 65 of the Latvian SSR Criminal Code does not permit propaganda and agitation regarding secession from the USSR. Obviously, any motives for seceding from the Union would indicate anti-Soviet feelings. There couldn't possibly be any other reason for wanting to withdraw!

So paragraph 65 forbids organizing in order to freely secede from the USSR. Conclusion: A Soviet republic cannot secede from the Union even though it may wish to do so. Secession can only occur in one of three ways:

- through violent activity;
- as a result of international pressure;
- as a result of war.

Paragraphs 59, 65 and 67 of the Criminal Code form an absolute juridical barrier to any hope of Latvia seceding from the USSR. Yet these very same paragraphs contradict paragraph 72 of the Constitution: "Each Republic reserves the right to freely secede from the USSR."

In practice, as is evidenced by the court ruling on the "Baltia" question, activities guaranteed by the Constitution, such as expressing a wish to secede from the USSR or discussing the question of secession, are deemed to be criminal acts according to paragraph 65 of the Latvian SSR Criminal Code.

With this I conclude my testimony at the Baltic Tribunal Against the Soviet Union in Copenhagen, July 25 and 26, 1985. Thank you for your attention.

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Chairman

### ALEKSANDRAS SHTROMAS

#### Witness

Aleksandras Shtromas was born in Kaunas, Lithuania. As a child he survived the horrors of two years in the Viljampole Ghetto near Kaunas and after escaping, spent a year in hiding in Lithuania. When the Soviets re-occupied Lithuania in 1944, he was sheltered by the family of Antanas and Mira Snieckus. Mr. Snieckus was an Old Guard Communist and the leading power in Soviet occupied Lithuania for a couple of decades starting in 1940.

Shtromas completed his secondary education in 1947 and studied law at the Universities of Vilnius and Moscow. Between 1952-55 he was a practising defense lawyer. He was a part time lecturer in Lithuanian schools and at the Soviet All-Union Research Institute of Legal Science in Moscow between 1955-58. He was awarded a Candidate's Degree in Legal Science in 1964 and was accepted as a member of the Soviet Sociological Association of the Academy of Sciences in 1969.

Between 1958-73 Shtromas was employed in various prestigious Soviet legal research institutions and taught law in Ivanovo, Moscow and Vilnius. He authored four books and many articles on criminology and law during that time.

Shtromas became alienated from Marxism-Leninism shortly after Stalin's death in 1953. He eventually developed a hostile attitude toward the Soviet government and became a dissident. Under pressure from the Soviet authorities, he applied for permission to emigrate. Permission was granted and he left Moscow on September 5, 1973.

Shtromas established himself in the United Kingdom as a consultant and researcher. He holds a tenured position at the University of Salford, England where he started as Lecturer and in 1983 became Reader in Politics. Since his arrival in the West, he has lectured extensively in the United Kingdom, Europe and the USA, and has authored books and articles in English, French, German, Lithuanian and Russian. He is a member of numerous learned societies and sits on the advisory boards of various publications.

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Aleksandras Shtromas  
(complete testimony)  
Part I

I belong to the very small minority of Lithuanians of my generation who, at a very young age, were converted to Marxism-Leninism and who therefore whole-heartedly accepted the forceful incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR, and zealously supported the Soviet communist regime thus imposed upon our country.

For people like myself the atrocities perpetrated by the regime - summary executions of resistance fighters, destruction of households harboring them, mass deportations of "class-hostile elements" to Siberia - were an inevitable part of the ferocious "class struggle" that the regime had to win by whatever means in its power in order to transform Lithuania into a truly humane and just socialist society.

This is not to say that we were totally blind and did not notice the superfluous cruelties and blatant injustices that were at odds even with the most vigorous standards the Marxist-Leninist vision of class struggle could set. We were fully aware of them as well as of all other so-called "excesses" which, in our view, were only hindering a smooth passage of our country to socialism. But desperate about it all we were not. For we were convinced that everything that was wrong was due exclusively to the mistakes of the inept individual executioners of the Party's will - the "overdoers", the "deviationists", the "bureaucrats", the "careerists", and other "alien stock" that "attached themselves for the wrong reasons to the right socialist cause". We never hesitated that Stalin and his closest companions in the leadership of the Party, as Bolshevik-revolutionaries and entirely dedicated Marxist-Communist idealists, shared both our convictions and concerns. And thus, as long as they were in charge, there was nothing for us seriously to fear. We knew that we worked for the best system, for the realization of the most noble human goals, and there was for us nothing overdramatic in the fact that in such a grandiose and novel enterprise as communist construction certain mistakes and excesses were taking place. They had to.

But we were concerned. Concerned, first of all, about the opportunistic apparatchiks of the middle rank whom we knew

only too well and who in their majority were either soulless bureaucrats or vengeful egoists, semi-literate people to whom Marxism, socialism, and any high ideals meant nothing at all, and who were simply happy to engage in high-handed and trigger-happy activities for their own sake or for the sake of an immediate personal gain. We feared that with the death of Stalin they could get out of control or, worst of all, even gain the upper hand and cause the degeneration of socialism into fascism. In a way, this meant that we already knew that Soviet Communism is actually indistinguishable from fascism, but by believing in the ability of Stalin's (and, in the Lithuanian context, in Sniecku's) leadership to preserve the Marxist-Communist identity of our state, and never to allow the fascist trends to prevail, we did not admit this knowledge even to ourselves.

It all changed with Stalin's death in 1953. The very people whom we suspected of being crypto-fascists afraid of revealing their true ideological identity only because of Stalin's dominion, suddenly proved to be "less fascist" than Stalin himself. For, instead of fascist "frost" it was the "thaw" which came about with Stalin's death.

The rehabilitation of the "doctor-plotters" on April 4, 1953, a month after Stalin's death, was to me personally the straw which finally broke the camel's neck. On that day the idea that the Soviet system was, in fact, fascist (moreover, super-fascist, since no other fascist system had such a total command over a reluctant society as the Soviet system had) suddenly struck me. I felt the sensation of having miraculously recovered full eyesight enabling me to see clearly things which a moment before were blurred and indistinct. For if Stalin was at the source of the system's evils, all the blatant lies and deceptions on which it was based, then the system itself was pervert, irredeemable and deserving only one fate - that of destruction.

From that date I became thoroughly and irreversibly anti-Soviet and as time passed by, my anti-Soviet attitude only hardened. This did not mean, however, that I also became anti-Marxist. On the contrary, my Marxist convictions were very helpful in substantiating and making "scientifically waterproof" my newly-born anti-Sovietism. I even elaborated a whole Marxist theory of the Soviet society according to which it was the most reactionary and decaying form of capitalism, capitalism in its last, super-monopolistic and ultra-imperialist, stage of

development. Now I expected the next stage to come about - the one of a true socialist revolution to do away with Soviet super-fascist totalitarianism. I remained a Marxist for about another decade. By 1963 my Marxist beliefs had evaporated too. This was due to my study of post-Marxist philosophy and also to the fact that the socialist revolution that I had expected to happen had not shown any signs of maturing even as an attitude of the "sound Marxist" sections of the worker's vanguard Party, let alone of the working class itself. On the contrary, bourgeois consumerism and capitalist attitudes started latently to prevail in the Party, the working class, and society as a whole.

I think that my "ideological biography" is rather typical. To be sure, this eye-opening experience came to different people at different times - before or after April 4, 1953 - but it was, no doubt, a universal experience for us all, an experience, however, to which again different people reacted in different ways. Some of the former idealists reverted to bitter cynicism and continued to soldier on with the regime in the pursuit of their careers. Some withdrew into the "neutral niches" of Soviet life (medicine, engineering, science, medieval history, etc.) where they could continue to work usefully without involving themselves in any public-political activities - in fact trying to insulate themselves as much as possible from everything official and public. A few chose to lead double lives, using their official positions as well as whatever public platform was available to them, to promote, at least on a small scale, the "progressive" and "nationally advantageous" causes. Only very few chose to state their new political views more or less explicitly by either word or deed. These people later became the first Lithuanian dissidents; all of them were former Marxist-Communists. The people of traditional-nationalist orientation joined the ranks of dissidents much later. But at least one friend of mine, the talented poet, Vladas Grybas, was unable to survive the shock of losing his blind faith in the Communist Party, the Soviet regime and Stalin personally. In 1954 he committed suicide. With his death, I believe, went the last Lithuanian who was a true believer in the Soviet system and who was unable to exist otherwise - change his views or cynically adapt to whatever reality there was.

The saddest picture perhaps is presented by those former committed Marxists who, in their young days, had started to serve the regime out of enthusiastic idealism and who now

still continue to do so albeit with all their high hopes and beliefs in it lost a long time ago. They went through two shocking disappointments. The first was that, counter to their expectations, after the class struggle was completed and socialism was proclaimed established, the quality and standard of life did not improve much, with the whole situation remaining as tense and oppressive as before. It appeared that the rivers of blood had been shed in vain and, moreover, for a blatant lie. It was, in other words, a shock of discovery that the high ideals they had entertained were fictitious and utterly unrealizable. The second was that they did not even acquire any real power. All power was concentrated in Moscow's hands whereas they found themselves in the position of voiceless native servants of Moscow, whatever position they had locally occupied. In every more, they were dependent on instructions and permissions coming from Moscow and, on top, had to endure working under direct supervision of Moscow's envoys sent to each office to make sure that the natives strictly comply with Moscow's directives. All their dreams of being in charge of a new, socialist Lithuania (whatever the reality of socialism was) were thus completely shattered too.

Because of that these people hate the regime and the Russians even more intensely than the ordinary people, but, because of their exposed positions, they have to live double lives, hiding their true feelings and always making "bonne mine a mauvais jeu". This constant lying and hiding of one's true self is a psychological burden not very easy to bear. They try, however, to alleviate it by presenting themselves (also to themselves) as sober realists who make use of whatever positions they have acquired to advance, though in adverse conditions, Lithuania's long-term interests. They do not even pretend any more to be good Communists. They only claim that, in spite of serving an alien and oppressive regime, they remain good Lithuanians, caring for their country and people.

This is the sad story of the few former Lithuanian communist zealots who, in 1945, were youngsters of about 15-25, and who grew old only to realize the monstrosity of the cause they chose to serve and to try to reconcile themselves with the spiritual futility of their whole life's endeavor.

## Part II

## A) CAUSING WORLD WAR II

The decision to unleash World War II ultimately rested with Stalin.

Britain and France, after having given their guarantee to Poland in March 1939, dropped all their reservations about entering into a "collective security" arrangement with the USSR, and were actively seeking to form an anti-Hitler coalition with the Soviets. Stalin's agreement to join such a coalition with the Allied Powers would have effectively prevented Hitler's invasion of Poland and thus the outbreak of World War II in general. All evidence points to the fact that Hitler did not mind risking a war against Britain and France alone, but he considered a war on two fronts, against major powers on both sides, the East and the West, too great a risk to take. Therefore, he too was keen on entering into an alliance with the USSR, securing not simply Soviet benevolent neutrality in the forthcoming conflict between Germany and the Allied Powers, but also Soviet help in supplying Germany with grain, oil and other resources necessary for a protracted war effort - the resources that Germany evidently lacked. The German-Soviet Alliance was for Hitler the prerequisite for putting "Operation White", the plan for attacking Poland, into operation. Without that Alliance, and in the event of the anti-Hitler coalition being brought about, "Operation White" would have remained on paper only, and never been used for practical purposes.

Stalin was only too well aware of the fact that the fate of peace in Europe depended on his choice of partner for an alliance. By concluding a pact with Hitler, in preference to the one with Britain and France, Stalin made a conscious decision to unleash a war between the major anti-Soviet powers of the world, a war out of which the Soviet Union would be able to stay until such time when both warring parties would have sufficiently weakened each other for the Soviets safely to enter the stage and reap all the benefits for themselves.

Western treatment and assessment of the origins of World War II conspicuously overlook these facts. In most of them, the Soviet role is rarely mentioned at all, and when it is, the prevailing tendency consists in completely exonerating the USSR from any responsibility for causing World War II. The Western debate centers almost exclusively on how the

responsibility for the outbreak of the war should be distributed between Nazi Germany and the Allied Powers, with some historians (notably A.J.P. Taylor) trying to present the war as an accident unforeseen at the time by any major actors on the world's scene, including both Hitler and Stalin.

It is time to put the dot on the i by clearly stating that, although Hitler was the one who started World War II, he was not undeterrable, and that the USSR was in the unique position of being able effectively to deter him from doing so. However, instead of deterring Hitler, the Soviets were the ones who made sure that World War II was unleashed.

#### B) VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

The case of the Baltic States vividly exemplifies the Soviet attitude towards obligations under international agreements and treaties as well as international law in general.

By 1940 the Soviet Union was bound in its relationship with the Baltic States by a series of quite complex international agreements and treaties. The first such mutually binding documents were the Peace Treaties of 1919-1920 between the USSR and every Baltic State, which established peace and good neighborhood as general principles of relationship between them. In 1929, Estonia, Latvia, Poland and the Soviet Union signed a protocol (known as the Litvinov Protocol) whereby the signatories took upon themselves an additional obligation to obey in their mutual relations the norms established by the Briand-Kellogg Pact of August 27, 1928, stressing that thereby they renounced war as an instrument of national policy and committed themselves to seek resolution of conflicts by peaceful means only. The commitment was further elaborated and made more concrete in the Non-Aggression and Peaceful Conciliation Treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and all the Baltic States in 1926 and 1932. These treaties, whose validity was supposed to last until December 31, 1945, and which were never abrogated by any of the parties involved, provided for an undertaking by all the contracting parties (e.g. the USSR) to refrain from any act of aggression against independence and territorial inviolability, as well as against the political integrity, of their counterparts, no matter whether such aggression was to be committed with or without a declaration of war. Most importantly, according to these treaties, any disputes between their signatories which could not be resolved by normal diplomatic channels were to be submitted for



settlement and authoritative resolution to a Joint Conciliation Commission.

Finally, in 1933, the Soviet Union signed with a number of states, among them Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Convention Concerning the Definition of Aggression in which all the signatories solemnly declared that no political, military, economic or other claim, may serve as excuse or justification for invasion by armed force, even without declaration of war, upon the territory of another state. On top of these documents came the Mutual Assistance Treaties of 1939 which, despite the provisions allowing for the stationing of Soviet troops on the territories of the Baltic States, were still basically consistent with all the above agreements and treaties as they explicitly stressed the inalienability of the sovereign rights of the contracting parties and their commitment to the principle of non-intervention in each other's internal affairs.

However, gross breaches of the USSR's formal international obligations and commitments vis-a-vis the Baltic States already started with the preparations for the conclusion of these Mutual Assistance Treaties of 1939. Firstly, by taking direct action on September 19, 1939 against Estonia, and thus unilaterally depriving it of sovereignty over its territorial waters, the Soviet Union committed by any definition a straight act of aggression against this country. Secondly, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union coerced the reluctant Baltic States to sign these treaties by threatening them, in case of non-compliance, with direct military action. That this threat, substantiated by massive concentration of Soviet troops on the Baltic frontiers, was serious and real was later demonstrated by the Soviet attack against Finland which followed Finland's unequivocal refusal to sign the Soviet-proposed Mutual Assistance Treaty. All these Soviet acts were committed in direct violation of the Peace Treaties of 1919-1920, let alone the Litvinov Protocol of 1929 or the Conventions Concerning the Definition of Aggression of 1933.

If in 1939, however, the threat of direct aggression against the Baltic States was not expressed in any of the Soviet public statements or documents (except for the note on the takeover of the Estonian coastline which actually was not a threat but a straight forward declaration about the Soviet Union taking this unilateral action against Estonia), Molotov's note to Lithuania of May 25, 1940, already implicitly contained such a threat. Everything that happened

afterwards was not simply a violation but, one could say, a direct unilateral denial by the Soviet Union of the very principles of international law in general and of its international obligations to the Baltic States in particular. The Soviet Union behaved toward the Baltic States as if it had never pledged to them to settle any disputes, unsolvable by normal diplomatic channels, by the way of submitting them to the Joint Conciliation Commission provided for in accordance with the Non-Aggression and Conciliation Treaties between the USSR and the Baltic States of 1926 and 1932. Even a proposal to this effect was never put forward by the Soviet Union at least for the sake of outward demonstration of its compliance with mutually agreed forms of procedure, although this was supposed to be the ultimate instrument of conflict (any conflict!) resolution between the Soviet Union and the Baltic States. The only redress beyond this level required, first, a formal abrogation of all Soviet-Baltic treaties and agreements and, second, a declaration of war. None of those alternative measures were taken by the Soviet Union either.

Instead, contrary to all mutually agreed arrangements, the USSR arrogated to itself discretionary powers for dissolving (and creating) Baltic governments for using its military forces in the capacity of a "treaty-enforcing agency" on the territory of foreign countries in the Baltic area. Because the Soviet Union had signed with the Baltic States the Agreement Concerning the Definition of Aggression, which stipulated that no political, military, economic or other consideration could serve as excuse or justification of invasion by armed force upon the territory of another state, it, by resorting to such measures, in fact "defined itself as an aggressor, such a presumption being irrefutable, de jure and de jure, with absolutely no evidence to the contrary being admissible". (B.J. Kaslas) Moreover, by presenting the Baltic States with the ultimatums of June 14 and 16, 1940, ostensibly aimed at strengthening and enforcing the Mutual Assistance Treaties of 1939, the USSR, in fact, broke those very treaties since under them it had undertaken a solemn obligation "never to infringe upon the sovereign rights of these states, with particular pertinence to their political structure and social and economic organization". (B.J. Kaslas)

The story of the incorporation of the Baltic States into the USSR clearly and most illuminatingly demonstrates the opportunistic nature of the Soviet Union's attitude toward

international law and its own international obligations. As long as there are forceful external restraints on the Soviet Union's international behavior, it will reluctantly honor them; as soon as the opportunity presents itself for the USSR to take another grab without exposing itself to any substantial risk (which, in conditions of an on-going war between Germany and the Allied Powers, the Nazi-Soviet Secret Protocols practically excluded), the Soviet Union will be ready to breach any international obligations, any norms of international law and go in this respect to any lengths in order to take full advantage of such a situation. This is true of the Soviet Union today as much as it was at any other period of Soviet history. It was, after all, Lenin who said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is "rule based directly upon force and unrestricted by any laws".

#### C) ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC STATES

After having committed an aggression against the Baltic States and occupied them by its military forces, the Soviet Union started the process of annexation of the Baltic States and of their incorporation into the Soviet Union. According to the masterplan elaborated by Moscow as early as 1939, the Baltic States had to become a part of the Soviet Union in such a way that it could be presented to the world, including the peoples of the Baltic States and the USSR, as the fulfillment of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian nations' sovereign will expressed in legally valid form.

This proved to be a total sham. Having deposed the old governments of the Baltic States, the Soviet occupiers directed the formation of new governments of those states, vetoing every ministerial candidate and approving only the ones who they knew would serve their cause unswervingly. It was a typical Soviet hoax to proclaim the governments thus imposed by them on the three Baltic nations to be no less than the "people's governments".

In spite of the Soviets trying to take great care in observing the valid constitutional proceedings in the formation of these "people's governments", none of them could be recognized as legitimate even in the formal legal-constitutional terms, let alone in any substantial sense.

The President of Lithuania, Antanas Smetona, left the country and appointed the then Prime Minister, Antanas Merkys, to be

the Acting President during his absence. In this capacity, Merkys had the right to appoint a new Prime Minister and approve of the government formed by him, which he did. The legal basis of maintaining the constitutional order in Lithuania was, however, immediately broken by the new government's illegal removing of Merkys from the post of Acting President and its promotion to this "vacated" position of the Prime Minister of the new "people's government", Justas Paleckis. In Latvia, the legitimate President, Karlis Ulmanis, refused to appoint the "Soviet nominee", Augusts Kirchensteins, as the new Prime Minister. But in spite of this, the latter illegally took that office and arbitrarily instituted his government which immediately removed Ulmanis from the Presidency. The Prime Minister of this illegal government was then proclaimed to be the Acting President of the Latvian Republic. In Estonia, President Konstantin Pats was literally forced to sign the decree to which the "people's government" of Johannes Vares-Barbarus was instituted and entitled to take office.

All three newly-formed Baltic "people's governments" grossly violated the constitutions and laws of their countries by, inter alia, introducing drastic changes into the existing electoral laws which had to assure that the elections to the new "People's Diets" would be conducted in the usual Soviet manner, i.e. whereby the official slate of candidates would remain unopposed and receive the notorious 90+% of the popular vote. It goes without saying that even these illegal electoral laws had to be violated and the elections rigged in order for such a result to be officially proclaimed.

The candidates of the official (and the sole) slates of "Working People's Leagues" campaigned on the platforms of establishing and developing friendly relations with the USSR, which meant that the USSR was supposed to remain a foreign country, and that the incorporation of the Baltic States into the USSR was not on the order of the day. This proved to be not simply a deceit but a straightforward abrogation of the mandate sought by the deputies from the electorate. When the resolution about applying for the respective country's admission into the USSR was presented to the Diets' sessions, it came as a complete surprise not only to the Baltic electorates but also to many thus "elected" deputies. It goes without saying that the "People's Diets" approved these resolutions unanimously and, in August 1940, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, also unanimously, obligingly accepted the three Baltic States as members of the USSR. The process of

the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States, started on June 15, 1940, by the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, was thus completed on August 6, 1940, by the USSR's Supreme Soviet's admission of Estonia as a member state of the Soviet Union.

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Chairman

VIOLETA SHTROMAS nee RAKAUSKAITE

Witness

Violeta Shtromas was born in Kaunas, Lithuania on December 25, 1949. In September 1956, at the age of 6, she attended a music school in Kaunas, from which she graduated 8 years later in 1964. After completing her secondary education over the next 3 years, she was admitted to the University of Vilnius as a student of Germanic Philology. Upon graduation she worked as a teacher of German in secondary schools in Vilnius and Kaunas.

Starting with her earliest school days Shtromas took part in every show that offered her the opportunity to appear before an audience. A song she performed during one of these shows favorably impressed a TV producer who signed her up to appear on television. Her first appearance in 1971, while still a student at Vilnius University, led to a musical career that included steady radio and TV work, tours with the Radio and Television Orchestra as well as with the well-known band "Trinitas" and recordings with the Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra of Lithuania. She has toured the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia and has also recorded over a dozen records.

Shtromas left Lithuania in 1975, lived in the Federal Republic of Germany and later moved to the United Kingdom, where she married Aleksandras Shtromas. She has given concerts to the Lithuanian communities in the USA, Canada, Germany, England, Italy, Belgium and France. She has also toured Norway and Spain with West German bands. Her first American LP "Violeta" was released in 1976 and was followed by a second "Violeta II" in 1984.

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Violeta Shtromas, nee Rakauskaite  
(complete testimony)

I spent 25 years in Soviet occupied Lithuania. I was born there, went to school and to the University. I was also involved in the entertainment world and was on the way up to establishing myself as a well known popular singer. Everything seemed to be going more or less all right for me. One day I met a German citizen of Lithuanian origin and in three days agreed to marry him. After about a year I was finally allowed to leave the country in order to join my husband in Germany. I was issued a new passport only available to those who go abroad.

Why did I do so? I wasn't harassed or a dissident constantly in fear of persecution. I was an average person like most others. But even as such a person there you feel as if you are living in prison: there is always somebody to tell you how to behave or what to think; who makes decisions for you and if you don't obey them then someone will "take care" of you. People normally accept this situation. They have no choice. They have to live their every day lives and struggle very hard to be able to provide themselves with the most elementary necessities. So they get fully involved in their domestic and family problems and try to forget that the place they live in is, in fact, a prison. A friend of mine told me recently: "I don't want to know anything except my home and work. I don't get myself involved in anything else. I even do not read the papers." And there are hundreds of thousands of such people in Lithuania. They don't want to be associated with anything official in any way. I was also one of them.

Some go even further. I remember one such occasion at a reception after a big concert given by the Radio Orchestra in the North of Lithuania. A friend of mine, a very talented person whom I admired and respected very much, stood up, and after a short speech raised his glass to friendship with the great Russian nation and to the beloved Soviet government! I could not believe it. Nobody asked him to do that. And he was the last person who believed in the Soviet system, let alone loved the Soviet government. He hated it as much as everybody else did and does. He was so proud of the fact that he was not a Party member and neither was his distinguished father who had been asked several times to

join. Just in case they "smelled" something out about his genuine attitudes, he, in order to dispell any such suspicions, decided to propose this toast. After a few days I met him and told him that he should be ashamed of himself. I called him, "you miserable person!" He felt very uncomfortable and replied by nearly shouting at me, "what could I do? What?" And after a while - "and who are you to tell me off?!" I really felt sorry for him. He was so frustrated... And there are plenty of such people who for the sake of ensuring their precarious security are prepared to humiliate themselves, to spit, so to speak, into their own faces.

One of the privileges which these people thus try to secure for themselves is travel abroad. The few "lucky ones" who are granted this privilege have to undergo a cumbersome, long and extremely humiliating procedure. For example: medical checks, including VD, getting references from work (in order to be valid, such a reference has to be signed three times: first by the head of the trade union, then by the Party secretary, and then by the boss); and finally one has to get approval from the local Party Committee, no matter whether you're a Party member or not. And after that one has to wait a minimum of three months for a visa which doesn't mean at all that you will get it. But if you are lucky and get it, that is a real privilege as if receiving leave from prison. The procedures, however, to get this leave are much more complicated than the ones necessary to get a prison leave.

I went abroad three times: to East Germany with the University student groups and to Czechoslovakia and Poland to perform. I remember very well the instructions which were given to us a week before our journey. We should always praise our most progressive country of victorious socialism and not get involved in any provocative discussions. The instruction session lasted about one and a half hours, hammering home the same things over and over again. It really doesn't matter whether you're listening to what they are telling you or not. You just have to be there. And this is the case in other matters as well: such as October Revolution or May Day demonstrations, official celebrations and meetings, open Party meetings, etc. In such meetings everybody tries to occupy the back benches in order to do something else, like reading, writing or even knitting. Pity those poor people who have to sit in front and cover the lucky ones. They cannot use up the "lost time" - they have to pretend that they are listening. There is a very popular



joke about this. The Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, who wrote enthusiastic poems about Soviet life in the early 20's, said in one of them:

"We say - Lenin  
and mean - the Party.  
We say - the Party  
and mean - Lenin."

And the joke concludes: that is how it works - you always say one thing and mean another... This is actually the classic formula of life in the Soviet Union. You hear lies and are humiliated from your very early days and so you become a cynical person.

Normally, when you are travelling with a group, there is always somebody there incognito, whose duty is to report back home about your behavior. In East Germany we were living in a student-home, four to a room, mixed with students from other countries. One day we went to see the town and the countryside. When we came back, perhaps a little bit earlier than expected, I found one of my colleague girls from Vilnius in my room desperately searching my wardrobe. I just could not believe my eyes. She suddenly became very pale and just said quickly that she had confused her room with this one and ran away.

There was another interesting episode when I had a chance to go to Poland on my own in order to represent the Soviet Union in a Christmas TV show. I had to go via Moscow in spite of the fact that Poland is Lithuania's neighboring country. There I had to receive instructions from an organization called "Goskontsert". The Goskontsert people asked me first what am I going to sing, and, when I told them, "Two songs in Lithuanian and one in French," they looked at me and asked, "What about a Russian number?" I said that I don't have any play-backs or pre-recorded Russian songs, and besides, Lithuania is also part of the Soviet Union, so what's wrong with singing only in Lithuanian? "Well," they said, "you should really have at least one number in Russian." In the end I had to promise them that I would get that number. A colleague of mine went to an international song contest in Sopot (Poland) and also had to include one song in Russian, although there were two other performers, one from the Ukraine and another from Russia, both singing only in Russian. Another matter on which I was instructed by Goskontsert was my honorarium. I was told to give 50% of my

honorarium to the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw immediately, and not to tell anyone about it. This is on top of what you have to pay back in currency to Goskontsert after having returned home. Artists who go for tours to the Western countries had to pay, at least in my time, 80% of their honorarium. Any attempt at avoiding to pay this "illegal" duty results in severe repercussions to the disobeying "rebellious" artist.

If a group or ensemble of any kind is sent abroad, its program has to be approved by the so-called "art-commission", consisting of Ministry officials who have to make sure that the program contains the ideologically "correct" material, e.g. also the Russian element. Those are the rules everybody knows and does not even try to question. The main thing is to get the exciting tour abroad and this is the price which must be paid for it.

As I mentioned before, there are so many awful and humiliating things happening every day that people don't even notice them - they just take them for granted. For instance, it is absolutely "normal" that when you have relatives or friends abroad their letters take ages to reach you, because they are censored, and your letters to them are censored also. And sometimes they never reach you at all. Parcels are opened and searched - very often the contents are damaged. This is "normal" too. Such things happened to me many times when I lived there and it now happens every so often to my correspondents there. This is not to say that I receive all the letters addressed to me from there. Very often I do not. Even more importantly, many good friends of mine, even my father, are afraid to maintain any contact with me by post or otherwise. This is partly because the Soviet press has recently started to publish nasty articles about me indicating to people that it is dangerous to maintain contact with me. Some, but not all, have duly taken notice of that warning.

This kind of atmosphere was so stifling that I became determined to leave the Soviet Union at the first opportunity. The insecurity of the new world did not frighten me at all - I knew that I would be leaving the really terrifying conditions of life behind me.

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HEIMAN SILPERT

Witness

Heiman Silpert was born on November 7, 1923 in Rīga, Latvia. His father, Isaac, died three months later and his mother remarried 4 years later. Her second husband, Hermanis Sneideris, never formally adopted Heiman.

Sneideris took charge of the family's fashion shop in Rīga. But after the Soviet occupation of Latvia in 1940, the business was nationalized and Sneideris was forced to work in his own shop as a wrapper of merchandise. Feeling very degraded by this turn of events, Sneideris suffered a heart attack and died shortly thereafter.

Silpert attended the Rauchvarger private high school. He never did graduate because on June 14, 1941 he was deported to Siberia along with his mother and sister. Heiman and his sister were separated from their mother at Polocka and taken to Narima, where they were officially sentenced: 20 years exile in Siberia for crimes against border district laws. Meanwhile, their mother was sent to the Molotov district and sentenced to 5 years forced labor for being a "socially dangerous element".

After 5 years in Narima, Silpert was transferred to internal exile in Tomsk. He had no personal documents and had to register with the authorities on a weekly basis. While in Tomsk, he met and soon married another deportee - Irēna Maijs from Rīga. Their son Isaac was born there.

After Stalin's death in 1953, the Silperts were given their passports and released. They were made to sign a promise never to return to Latvia. They nonetheless returned in 1961 and settled in Jūrmala. Silpert found a job as a laborer in the Construction Trust, and worked his way up to the position of Assistant Supervisor. His wife was employed as a nurse in a sanatorium. Their son graduated from the Polytechnical Institute in Rīga. While living in Jūrmala, the Silperts witnessed the changes that took place as the beach resorts were converted to a playground for high ranking Soviet party officials. In 1979 the family emigrated to Israel, where they have taken up permanent residence.

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Heiman Silpert  
(complete testimony)

The incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union in 1940, which is characterized as the "wish of the people" and as having its legal basis as the result of general elections, is entirely false.

I well remember that each voter had his passport stamped after he had voted. Before the elections rumors abounded that those citizens who did not have such a stamp in their passports would be deported to Siberia. In this way the Latvian people were intimidated and forced to take part in the voting, because they were afraid of being sent to Siberia. I remember that my neighbors, who were in fact Lithuanian citizens, made the trip especially to vote and to receive the stamp in their passports.

On the 14th of June, 1941, we were deported to Siberia. This was an unlawful act as we had not broken any Latvian laws. Even after the establishment of Soviet power in Latvia, we had not broken any Soviet laws. The theory was that the bourgeoisie was to be liquidated as a class because it was an "exploiter class". I do not see any difference between race and class discrimination theories. Everyone was deported, from the youngest babies to the most elderly people - even invalids and the infirm. Men, women and children were all locked into cattle cars, the windows of which had been barred, and under these terrible conditions were taken to Polocka. There the heads of the families were taken out of the wagons, after receiving reassurance that at the final destination the families would be reunited. The women remained together with the children. The adolescents and young adult males also stayed in the cattle cars together with the women and children, without even the most elementary hygienic measures, sleeping on wooden boards in two tiers. They were watched over by armed guards who also supervised the people who brought food and water in buckets. Today I can testify that the deportations had nothing to do with a state of war or some other international event. This was a planned action, for which the state organs had been preparing for a long time. This view is supported by the fact that in the years between 1932 and 1937 the number of Russians deported to Siberia was also large. We got to know these Russians in the forests and in the bogs of Siberia. From

their stories it became clear that they too, the same as us, had been deported to these places.

The heads of families never arrived at their final destinations, but received instead various prison sentences, largely depending upon the size of the properties which they had owned. Only rarely did anyone return from such internment. The majority of the prisoners died of starvation.

We were sentenced to deportation for twenty years, without being allowed any rights of travel. The conditions were very harsh - especially for people who had previously been city dwellers. Our clothing was not suited for the Siberian climate. We were not given enough food. People quickly lost their strength and many died, the elderly and children suffering the most.

In 1945 I was taken to the city of Tomska to the sewer repair works. In Tomska I lived without a passport. In place of a passport I was given a document which stated that I was a deportee and not to be allowed to travel. Every week I had to report to the local commissioner to have this paper stamped. With such a document in place of my passport I felt my morale and my self-esteem was unbearably low. This was a humiliation and a transgression against my basic civil rights.

In 1955 - after the death of Stalin - we were amnestied, but were forced to sign pledges that we would not return to Latvia.

In spite of this in 1961 we returned to Latvia. We went to live at the seaside at Rīga. The Rīga seaside was a recreational area for the local townspeople. Its climatic conditions (a short summer) make it unsuitable for a Soviet resort city. In spite of this fact, it was selected for intense construction. High-rise sanatoriums and rest homes were built, especially for government and party officials. Even the larger summer homes were converted to sanatoriums for official persons. As a result of the excavations, the seaside pine groves suffered irreparable damage, and the area underwent minor changes in climatic conditions. The work force was not available in sufficient quantities locally for the extensive staffs, so a Russian work force was mobilized.

A paper mill was constructed at Sloka. Economically, this

development was not justified. The raw materials had to be imported from Karelia, which would have been a more logical location for the factory. As a russification measure, Russian workers were transported to Sloka. The executive committee for the incoming foreigners consisted of russified Latvians - only the surnames were Latvian.

Defective filtering systems resulted in the pollution of the Lielupe river from the Sloka paper mill. The effect on flora and fauna in the river was catastrophic. Lielupe became a dying river. The peat layers of Ķemeri and adjoining regions began to lose their unique therapeutic properties. Newly constructed sanatoriums and camping areas spilled contaminated waters into the surrounding bog, with harmful results.

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**SERGEI SOLDATOV**

## Witness

Sergei Soldatov was born into a construction worker's family on June 24, 1933 in Narva, Estonia. The young Soldatov saw the Soviet Army march into Estonia in June, 1940, and witnessed the mass deportations of the Estonian people during 1941.

Finishing his education in Estonia after the war, Soldatov went on to study at the Polytechnical Institute in Leningrad. He graduated in 1962 with a degree in Mechanical Engineering, and went to work as a Senior Engineer at the Tallinn Excavator Factory. In 1965 he became an instructor at the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute, where he taught until his dissident activities caused his dismissal at the request of the KGB.

Sergei Soldatov's participation in dissident activities started in 1966. One of the founders of the Estonian Democratic Movement and a principal strategist for the group, he also participated in the activities of the Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union. He was co-editor of two Estonian underground periodicals, the "Estonian Democrat" and the "Estonian National Voice".

The Estonian Democratic Movement developed close ties with not only nationalist movements in Lithuania and Latvia, but with human rights activists in Leningrad and Moscow as well as with the democratically minded officers of the Baltic Fleet. They also maintained close contacts with members of the Estonian Lutheran Church, with Estonian baptists and religious movements in general.

At the end of 1972, Soldatov helped write the "Memorandum to the UN General Assembly" and the "Letter to the UN Secretary-General", which called for freedom and independence for Estonia. Calling upon the UN to implement its power and

influence, the Memorandum and Letter called for the removal of Soviet forces from Estonia, the liquidation of the apparatus of colonial rule, the organizing of free elections, and the formation of a Government of the Republic of Estonia.

In 1974 and 1975, five Estonian democrats, including Soldatov, were arrested in connection with the writing and distribution of the Memorandum and Letter. Soldatov received a 6-year sentence. While serving his time, Soldatov spent 110 days and nights in special confinement because of his beliefs and efforts to defend his rights as a prisoner.

In the fall of 1976 Soldatov's son Aleksander was arrested on false charges. He was sentenced to 5 years in prison in an effort by the authorities to force Soldatov to recant his position. However, the plan did not succeed. Instead of recanting his position, Soldatov participated in a 100 day work strike along with 11 other political prisoners at Mordva Camp No. 19 which began in April of 1977.

Soldatov returned to Tallinn in January, 1981 after serving his sentence. He was watched constantly and restricted in his movements. In May, 1981 Soldatov and his wife Ludmilla were expelled from the Soviet Union. They currently live in Munich, West Germany. Aleksander Soldatov has been released from prison, but the authorities have yet to make good on their promise to let him emigrate to the West to join his parents.



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Sergei Soldatov  
(complete testimony)

In Estonia at the end of the 1960's, a group of individuals believing in the principles of national self-determination, democracy and human rights, formed an illegal organization called "The Democratic Movement of Estonia" (DME). The organization's goals included the restoration of the Republic of Estonia, and guarantees for a free society and human rights. The methods employed were to include political activity among the population and distribution of political documents with future plans for mass boycotts, strikes and demonstrations.

I was one of many who participated in the formation of this group and in the development of its program. I also co-edited the publications The Estonian Democrat and The Estonian National Voice. At the end of 1972, we composed two appeals - a Memorandum to the UN General Assembly and a Letter to the UN Secretary-General. These were later transmitted to the West and delivered to UN headquarters. These appeals called for the restoration of freedom and independence for Estonia under the auspices of the UN.

The activities of the DME also included cooperating closely with the nationalist movements in Lithuania and Latvia, with human rights activists in Leningrad and Moscow, and with the democratically-minded officers of the Baltic Fleet. Close contacts were also maintained with members of religious movements.

Also in the 60's, working in cooperation with dissidents from other nationalities, and from other areas, we established the Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union (DMSU). This group included democrats from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, northwestern Russia, Moscow and Leningrad. We developed the DMSU Program and Tactics, wrote the DMSU Memorandum to the Supreme Soviet, and put out the Russian-language publications Democrat and Ray of Freedom.

In connection with the activities of the DMSU, Davydov and Petrov in Leningrad and Bolonkin and Balakirev in Moscow were arrested at the end of 1972.

In 1974 and 1975, in connection with the appearance of the UN

Memorandum and Letter in the West, the Soviet authorities started settling accounts with the Democratic Movement of Estonia. Mattik, Kiirend, Juskevits and Varato were arrested in 1974, and in the beginning of 1975, I was also arrested. In the fall of 1975, four of the accused were sentenced to labor camps, and one was released after confessing and repenting. I received a 6-year sentence.

Activities in Estonia did not subside after the arrest of the five democrats in 1974-75. Quite the opposite. In 1979, 45 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians signed an appeal on the 40th Anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In 1980, Mart Niklus, Juri Kukk, Veljo Kalep, Tiit Madisson, Viktor Niitsoo and Vello Salum were among the many arrested in Estonia. In the fall of 1980, large student demonstrations took place in Tallinn as well as in Tartu, Parnu and Viljandi. A strike took place in Kuldre.

Beginning on June 1st, 1981, democratic activists in Estonia, and other areas of the Soviet Union, began distributing leaflets calling for "half-hour silences" on December 1st, and on the first workday every following month. The demands were as follows: withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan; non-interference in the internal affairs of Poland; release of all political prisoners; abolition of the secret preferential distribution of goods; reduction of the term of military service by six months; and the implementation of the provisions of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords.

The KGB naturally took immediate steps to try and kill these initiatives, particularly in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Nevertheless, the news of these preparations was widely reported in the Western press.

Leaflets were distributed on a very wide scale. The KGB used all possible methods to suppress any possible support for these initiatives. A great number of people suspected of distributing leaflets were interrogated, including Mattik, Juskevits (deceased January 27, 1982), Ahonen and dozens of others. Searches were instigated on a massive scale.

Of those being held on charges of distributing leaflets, the following names have reached the West:

- Valdur Jarve, a construction worker from Viljandi;
- Peeter Kuum, a carpenter from Parnu;
- Endel Rose, a doctor at the Mustamae polyclinic in Tallinn;

- Siim Sade, an engineer from Tallinn.

As the above names indicate the participants in these actions come from all walks of life and all parts of Estonia.

Although these events cannot be compared to the scale of Solidarity activity in Poland, certain concrete results can be seen. The authorities have been forced to raise the level of food supplies in Estonia. In fact, butter, milk, meat products and other hard to come by foodstuffs have started appearing in shops in rather good supply. This should be counted as the positive result of the planned strikes.

The political opposition movement in the Soviet Union, including the Democratic Movement of Estonia, has not yet become strong enough to replace the existing totalitarian regime with a democratic system. To achieve such an aim in Estonia and elsewhere, the opposition movement must expand its geographical base and receive necessary logistical and political support from the West. The political opposition is nevertheless a growing force which will play an ever more important role in the future developments of Estonia as well as other areas of the Soviet Union. Working underground, the political opposition cannot always openly declare itself, and even when news does reach the West, some forces seem to prefer the maintenance of the status quo in Europe.

As for the details of my personal situation, in the fall of 1976, my son Aleksander was arrested on false charges and sentenced to 5 years in prison. This was an attempt to force me to recant my positions and ask for mercy from the Soviet Government. The plan did not succeed, instead a 100-day work strike was declared at Mordovian camp No. 19, by 11 political prisoners including myself. At the end of my sentence in January of 1981, I went to live with my wife in Tallinn. At that time I was placed under official surveillance and my movements were restricted. In May of 1981, my wife and I were forced to leave the Soviet Union. My son, who has finished serving his sentence is now not allowed to leave the Soviet Union to join us in West Germany. I feel that the authorities are holding my son hostage in an attempt to force me to be silent.

In closing I'd like to say that despite all the aforementioned difficulties, the fight for human rights, a free society and national self-determination will continue, and we are convinced that we will be victorious in our struggle.

**BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE**

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

**BRONIUS VENCLOVA**

## Witness

Bronius Venclova escaped from the USSR on February 22, 1985 by leaving his post as an instructor of history and translator (of French and Russian) at the Soviet mission in the Congo - Brazzaville. He reached the USA via Zaire and Rome, Italy on March 29, 1985 and was granted political asylum.

Venclova is a graduate of the Moscow Lumumba University which specializes in the education of Third World youths from 112 countries. About 10% of the students are from the USSR - he was the second, and presumably last Lithuanian there. The students are trained for Soviet service abroad. The curriculum is 6 years long and starts with total submersion training in a foreign language. Venclova specialized in French and majored in History.

As a draftee, Venclova served 2 years in a surface to air missile unit. He is a graduate of a Non-Commissioned Officers School from which he was discharged at the rank of Staff Sergeant.

Venclova was in Lithuania for the last time 1-1/2 years prior to leaving for the Congo - Brazzaville. He conceived of the possibility of escape at the time of his enrollment at Lumumba University 8 years ago, and patiently waited for an opportunity to do so. Constant oppression and never ending deceit were among the reasons which led Venclova to his thoughts of escaping from the USSR.

Venclova was born in Lithuania in 1955. His parents, 9 brothers and one sister remained behind at the time of his escape. He was a member of the Communist Youth (Komsomol) and later was admitted to the Communist Party of the USSR. While in Lithuania, he was very aware of the underground movement and the clandestine press. He was also a regular listener of foreign broadcasts in Lithuanian and Russian.

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Bronius Venclova  
(complete testimony)

## COLONIAL EXPLOITATION

### Subservience to Military Requirements

According to the USSR Constitution all Soviet republics are equal before the law; however, in reality, neither the Baltic nor other enslaved nations have any rights either to independent foreign policies, or to develop economically their national productive capabilities. The natural resources and worker energies of these nations are exploited solely to strengthen Russian economic and military power, in disregard of their own interests.

Thus, for example, heavy industry enterprises are being constructed in Lithuania despite the fact that the country does not have the required raw materials, nor a need for the output of these enterprises. Such installations are the thermal power plant in Elektrenai, the petroleum refinery in Mazeikiai, and especially the atomic power plant currently being completed in Ignalina. The basic purpose of such installations is to meet the needs of USSR military bases for fuel and electric power. This applies in particular to missile and air bases. In the course of service at the Non-Commissioned Officers' School (in 1977) of a special missile complex, the strategic significance of the Ignalina atomic power plant was stressed quite openly - specifically, that it is to service the bases of this missile complex (in Kaliningrad, Siauliai, the island of Saaremaa).

The construction of such installations and their operation constitutes an immense danger to Lithuania's natural environment and its population because of their harmfulness, especially in the disposal of radioactive wastes within the Lithuanian countryside.

### Troops Cause Shortage of Food

The territory of Lithuania, as well as its resources, especially in food products, are used to supply USSR military units, without taking into account the fact that there is a

shortage of such products for the Lithuanian population. My parents live virtually at the Polish-USSR border; the residents of this zone are experiencing particularly severe suffering because of the presence of a huge contingent of military forces in the area; actually the suffering is also felt throughout all of Lithuania. With the development of events in Poland, beginning in 1980, the numerical strength of military forces has been undergoing a constant increase. This was occurring with particular intensity in August of 1983, when, virtually every night, military units - largely tanks - were being deployed from the Kaliningrad region in the direction of the Polish border. At the time I was living very close to a highway of strategic importance connecting the Kaliningrad region with the Lithuanian-Polish border area.

Back in 1983, during the winter, a ration card system was introduced which allowed the holder to obtain a very limited quantity of food products in one's place of employment (for example, 2-3 kilograms of meat for a month for a working family of two; 300 grams of butter, etc.). Products that were needed the most did not find their way into stores causing very severe distress for a great number of people, especially the retired living on pensions and unemployed mothers. Food products were used up in supplying huge military forces and in providing support to Poland's governmental and Party establishments without regard for the people of Lithuania who were their principal producers.

#### Mobilization for Hard Labor Without Pay

The people of Lithuania are exploited under duress for labor in the Russian hinterland. This is done through the use of the method of so-called temporary military mobilization which makes use of military law. Men who have fulfilled their military service obligation are recalled for a term of 2-6 months for military training, and for the duration of this period are shipped out for labor to nonblack soil areas of Kazakhstan, to BAM railroad projects, and other Siberian construction sites. Labor performed during this period is not compensated; it is done without monetary pay, only for issues of a ration of food and clothing. In practice, this is equivalent to slave labor. Every Lithuanian male who had previously done his service in the armed forces was subjugated to this system. Usually, this is repeated every 2-3 years. Some school mates of my age group have

experienced such training recalls three times during a period of 8 years after military service. My brother Zenonas has been recalled 4 times and brother Sigitas 3 times.

## RUSSIFICATION

### The Impact of New Industries

One of the intensive methods of Russification is the previously mentioned construction of large-scale heavy industry projects. As justification in such instances, the projects are declared as being of All-Union significance and their construction is delegated to Russian organizations. Thereafter, not only the engineers or managing cadres are assigned from Russia, but, together with them, thousands of Russian workers and their families are brought in and settled in the area of the installation. This occurs despite the fact that there is no shortage in Lithuania either of engineering personnel or of a labor force; quite the contrary - such shortages do exist in Russia. As a result of this, in the areas of construction sites, separate towns come into being with a largely Russian population. This is followed by the establishment of Russian schools and Russian cultural centers. Russian becomes the principal language and an effort is made to expand such towns as much as possible. The city named for A. Snieckus became a town of this type, created to house construction workers of the Ignalina atomic power plant.

### Russian Language is Compulsory

The Russian language, as all other disciplines in secondary and higher schools, is not an elective but a required course of study. At present it is taught beginning with the first grade, though actually, studies of Russian language are also included in kindergartens. Editions of Russian books for children, as well as of books in Lithuanian-Russian languages, are being increased with regularity. The number of Russian language hours of study is being constantly extended. It is the usual practice to bring in teachers from Russia or White Russia (Byelorussia).

### National History is Dangerous to Communist Ideology

An important method of Russification is the teaching of history in secondary and higher institutions of learning. For one year (1974-1975) I had occasion to teach history in an 8-year school. The basic, and required, course is in USSR history, in effect, a course in Russian history, because the history of the USSR republics is virtually unmentioned, or if mentioned, the historical facts are distorted. The history of Lithuania may be taught only if there are any hours left over from USSR studies. However, as usually is the case, there are no hours to spare because studies of material from the Plenums of the USSR Central Committee and Party Congresses are added to the course on USSR history. These studies are obligatory. In practice, Lithuanian history is often left completely untaught. Recently I have learned from colleagues who are history teachers that the intent is to eliminate the teaching of Lithuanian altogether by including it into the overall USSR course of study. This is to be put into effect with the implementation of the secondary school reform which was begun in 1984.

In higher institutions of learning, the USSR history course makes virtually no reference to Lithuanian history. USSR history is identified with Russian history. That is the way it is taught, especially to foreign students, in the P. Lumumba University in Moscow where the histories of oppressed nations are completely ignored. At this university it is not permitted even to research historical questions related to the period of independent existence of the Baltic States. Thus, in 1983, when completing studies at the Lumumba University's Department of History, I was not permitted to defend a graduate thesis on the subject "The Question of Vilnius at the League of Nations during 1918-1939". Prof. A. A. Iskenderov, Director of the Department of General History and a Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Prof. A. Protopopov and Prof. P. I. Puchkov stated that there is no need to raise historical questions on national minorities, that they are, in fact, dangerous to Communist ideology and simultaneously to USSR domestic and foreign policies. This occurred despite the fact that my thesis had gone through several stages of censorship and of the substantive content only the title had remained.



## VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

### Baltic Conscripts Cannot Serve in the Baltic States

The youth of the Baltic nations (as well as of other nations) is subject to from 2-4 years of obligatory military service. To perform this service the Baltic conscripts are specially taken beyond the borders of their home republics, largely to the Russian interior, and in particularly many instances, to Siberia, in that part of Asia near the border with China, and also to the North. While on duty at the Leningrad Non-Commissioned Officers' School I had an opportunity to witness these types of assignments. After six months of training, sergeants were usually scattered in military units throughout the entire Soviet Union. Quite a few Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians found their way into this school, but there was not a single instance of any of them being assigned after training to continue their service closer to home in their own republics, despite the fact that bases of this particular type of missile complex did exist in Lithuania, Latvia, and particularly in Estonia. Assignees to these bases were in large part Russians, and members of Asian and Caucasian nationalities. Balts, as a rule, were sent to the China border area and the Far East.

### Re-education by Psychiatric Treatment

Any resistance or protest against such military service is punished by the loss of freedom, or by incarceration in a psychiatric hospital. In 1974, in protest against unjust governmental actions when I applied for admission to an institution of learning, I refused to go into service. Toward the end of October militia officials came to my home, arrested me and took me to the Vilkaviskis Military Commissariat. There, on orders of Commissar Vosylius, documents were prepared to place me in the psychoneurological hospital in Ziegzdziiai. I was taken there on the same day and was kept in the hospital almost a month with mentally ill patients. It was only when I prepared a statement confessing that I had been at fault, was I released. I had come to the realization that my continued presence among such people was threatening to make me ill as well. After all this, Commissar Vosylius stated that by using such methods they re-educated everybody.

## DISCRIMINATION

### Balts are "Incapable" of Advanced Studies

Young people of the Baltic nations are discriminated against when they apply for admission to USSR institutions of higher learning that are of an international level and offer the possibility of doing diplomatic work or other types of work abroad. This applies to the Institute of International Relations and also to the P. Lumumba University in Moscow where students from abroad are studying. In general, one cannot apply for admission to the P. Lumumba University on one's own initiative. For admission it is essential to have the university's special recommendation - permission which can be obtained only through Central Committees of Communist Parties of the republics. However, for Baltic youth this has become an impossibility even through the party, because the Central Committees of the Parties in the Baltic republics quite simply do not receive student allocations from Moscow. This practice is an effort to isolate the youth of the Baltic States from the outside world, to minimize any and all opportunities to receive news from the Free World, and especially to prevent dissemination of data abroad about the condition of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians in the USSR. In an attempt to justify this discriminatory practice, the absurd argument is being officially advanced that the representatives of these nationalities are not capable of study in institutions of this level. This was acknowledged by the University Rector himself, Prof. V. F. Stanis, during the diploma award ceremony on February 25, 1983.

## DISCRIMINATION AND PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS

### Believers are not Admitted to Colleges

The persecution of believers is especially active among the young people, namely in schools. While still attending the Graziskiai secondary school (Vilkaviskis District), I had occasion to encounter threats from school administrators against those who go to church, particularly to students of upper grades. For those who did not join the Komsomol, endless kinds of punishment were devised. For example, those who refused to join the Komsomol were kept after classes to perform various types of work at the school. On Saturdays

they were not admitted to evening entertainments, discotheques, or concerts. Above all, the constant threat being made that those who are observed going to church will receive character references with entries that they "have not rid themselves of religious superstitions". The principal leaders in these activities were the school director, V. Rozas, and the head of the teaching staff, Mrs. Sabaliauskas. I was also given precisely that type of a character reference because I did attend church and refused to join the Komsomol. On completing secondary education (in 1974), I applied for admission to the Pedagogical Institute in Vilnius, but I was not permitted to study there because I was not a Komsomol, although I had successfully passed competitive examinations and was successful in the competition. At the present time this has become standard practice - doors to higher education are closed to a young person who is a believer.

#### All Schools Promulgate Atheism

The persecution of believers is an obligatory function for teachers. I sensed this when I was employed as a history-geography teacher in the 8-year school in Paezeriai. A teacher is required to conduct schooling on atheism, especially in his role of a class leader. On occasions of religious holidays teachers are given special assignments to stand guard at churches and observe children on their way to church. As a rule, this activity was led by Director V. Grinius, and the head of the teaching staff, Mrs. A. Vosylius. Lists were compiled of the children and, after the holidays, they were kept after school for education in atheism.

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TOMAS VENCLOVA

Witness

Tomas Venclova was born in 1937 in Klaipeda, Lithuania - the only son of a successful and prolific writer. His father was also one of the pro-Communist delegates who petitioned the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to incorporate independent Lithuania into the Soviet Union on August 3, 1940. (He joined the Communist party in 1950 and subsequently has held a number of high government posts.)

Venclova graduated from the University of Vilnius in 1960 with a diploma in Lithuanian Language and Literature. He worked as a translator of poetry, freelance writer, populizer of science, and poet. Between 1966-76, he taught the History of 20th Century Western Literature, Comparative Linguistics, and Semiotics at the University of Vilnius.

In 1976 Venclova became a founding member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. Shortly thereafter, the Soviets allowed him to visit the University of California at Berkeley on a lecture tour. While in the U.S., Venclova was stripped of his Soviet citizenship and he lost his right to return home. The Soviet government allowed his wife and daughter to join him 5 years later. They arrived in the U.S. in 1982. His mother chose to remain in Lithuania.

Venclova joined the faculty of Yale University in 1980 and pursued advanced studies. He was awarded a Ph.D. in Literature in 1985. He is now Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature at Yale University.

Tomas Venclova is a renowned author, poet and translator in his own right. He has translated into Lithuanian selected chapters of J. Joyce's Ulysses, as well as works by A. Achamatova, T.S. Eliot, R. Frost, O. Mandelstam, O. Milozs, R. Wilbur, C. Norwid, B. Pasternak, and St. John Perse. When he was stripped of Soviet citizenship, all of his

publications were removed from libraries and bookstores and destroyed by order of the authorities.

During his brief residence in the U.S., Venclova has published: two books of poetry - 98 eilerasciai (98 poems), 1977, and Balsai (Voices), 1980; Survey of Lithuanian Literature (in English and Portuguese), 1979; and a collection of his polemics in periodicals - Lietuva pasaulyje (Lithuania in the World), 1981. He has been a member of the International PEN Club since 1977.

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 Chairman

Tomas Venclova  
 (complete testimony)

## Restrictions and Denial of Free Travel Within One's Own Country

In the Soviet Union and the territories it controls, including the Baltic, freedom of movement within the country is not assured. In this area there are at least two categories of restrictive measures. First, Soviet citizens are required to have internal passports which must be registered according to the place of residence. If one moves to another locality, one can live there only a few days without re-registering (when I lived in the USSR, this time period equaled 3 days). An infraction of this rule brings the threat of various penalties, compulsory eviction, or even imprisonment. One may register to reside with relatives only if they have sufficient living space, something that occurs rarely; but even if living space is adequate, often other artificial obstacles are created. There is also a "Catch-22" situation: without being registered, one cannot get employment, but without employment, one cannot register. The requirement of registration creates many great hardships for former prisoners and exiles, who are commonly forbidden to reside within their own country's borders or near larger cities. Thus, for example, several thousand former Lithuanian political prisoners and exiles live in Latvia near the Lithuanian border. Some of them are also in the so-called Kaliningrad area. Registration difficulties are sometimes circumvented through bribes and contacts, fictional marriages or simply by hiding from the militia: in every larger city there may be thousands or more unregistered residents but they live in constant fear and in an atmosphere of humiliation. The passport must always be carried on one's person and shown without delay upon a request from a militiaman or a security official. The registration requirement is also used to manipulate resident migrations, especially for the purposes of Russification, since Russians or Russified inhabitants of other nationalities are sent to the Baltic for administrative or industrial work and they, as a rule, receive registrations without problems.

The second of the restrictive measures are the so-called restricted (militarized) zones. To reside in them, or even to visit them, it is necessary to have special permits which are not easy to obtain. There are relatively few such zones

in Lithuania (they are along the coast and the Polish border), but in Latvia and Estonia they cover quite a substantial portion of the territory of those countries: included in these zones, as far as I know, are practically the entire coastal area and islands and even such large cities as Liepaja (which is sometimes "open" and sometimes "closed"). In such zones a large, and often the major, percentage of inhabitants are Russian.

It is self-evident that foreign citizens are subjected to even harsher restrictions: as tourists they can visit, in practice, only the capitals of the Baltic States and then for only a short time.

#### Restrictions and Denial of Travel Outside of the USSR and Free Return to One's Own Country

Only a small number of people can depart from Soviet controlled territory for reasons of tourism, professional purposes, or to visit relatives. They must go through particularly complex bureaucratic procedures and then, almost always, must leave behind their family members as "hostages". Upon leaving they sign a set of rules, which are not publicized, on how they must behave while abroad and, upon returning, always or almost always, they are required to provide a detailed account of what they saw or experienced abroad: in this way, the USSR intelligence data is also augmented. There is a large segment of people who are considered untrustworthy and have no hope of ever visiting abroad: for these people there even exists an unofficial term "neveyzdnye" (not able to leave). Nevertheless, these restrictions are sometimes circumvented through protectionism or bribes, though not very often. On the other hand, Party members and security officials of higher standing leave for travel abroad practically without any problems. Those wishing to emigrate can expect very great hardships. Marija Jurgutiene has been unable to leave for many years in order to join her refugee husband who fled to the US. (According to an unpublicized directive, family members are not allowed to leave to join refugees.) Also, the well-known artist, Laimis Loceris, for years has been unable to join relatives in Canada. Such instances occur not only among Balts, but also among Baltic Jews, Germans, and Russians. It is not easy even for an emigre who has retained USSR citizenship to get permission to visit his own country. (This affects, for instance, persons who have established families with

foreigners.) Those who took advantage of the so-called Israeli emigration visas (among them there are not only Jews but also many Balts), or those who had USSR citizenship revoked by special decree (such as Gunars Rode or myself), have no possibilities of ever seeing their homeland or loved ones in it again.

Denial of Freedom of Thought, Conscience, Convictions, Exchange of Views, Assembly and Press

In the Baltic States, very strong feelings of nationalism and independence continue to persist. However, open discussions on these issues are forbidden with greatest severity, while secret discussions or activity for national independence are punishable by long-term prison sentences (in theory - including the death sentence, although instances of such death sentences in recent years are not known to me). This must be considered as a basic measure of controlling freedom of thought. Freedom of conscience is restricted in the sense that a person who publicly practices any religion becomes a third-class citizen and cannot hold any kind of employment of great meaning; children who practice religion are harassed and threatened in the schools, they become objects of ridicule and cannot gain admittance to institutions of higher learning. The number of Catholic priests and churches is being artificially decreased (this also applies to other faiths); all Catholic convents are closed; certain Protestant and other similar sects are officially forbidden. Persons who attempt to openly express non-communist or even liberal Marxist views (in discussions, etc.) become objects of KGB interest, are interrogated and often imprisoned. (I have personally experienced interrogations and discrimination for this reason; the case of Antanas Terleckas is also typical and well documented.) The public press, down to the level of printing personal calling cards, is under the most rigid censorship by "Glavlit". Glavlit decisions are not explained to authors and cannot be contested. Publishers of the underground press and their collaborators are punished by long prison terms. The establishment of any kind of an association, even with thoroughly constructive objectives (for example, ecological, temperance) is forbidden without governmental permission. Essentially, associations may be established only by Communist party initiative. Independent associations (the Helsinki Monitoring Group, Committee for Defense of the Rights of Believers), functioning within the bounds of the Constitution, were extinguished with extreme



brutality.

### Employment of Criminal Methods Against Dissidents

Very often criminal methods are used against dissidents. Rev. B. Laurinavicius, a member of Lithuania's Helsinki Monitoring Group, perished under the wheels of a truck; from data which was gathered by unofficial sources, it can be surmised that this was a murder organized by the KGB. Rev. J. Zdebskis, a former member of the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers, became ill with a mysterious ailment (body burns), which came about, according to unofficial sources, through the use of poisonous materials by the KGB. Dissident M. Tamonis was confined in a psychiatric hospital and, upon his release, perished under a train. This event is also to be equated with murder (or a suicide provoked by psychiatric tortures, which is morally equivalent to murder). In addition, there are instances of fictitious criminal charges being leveled against dissidents. This practice is most prevalent in the Ukraine, but there are examples of it also in Lithuania, i.e., the trial of Viktoras Petkus.

### Illegal Searches, Imprisonments, Interrogations

There are great quantities of documented material on illegal searches, interrogations and arrests, for instance, in the memoirs of N. Sadunaite and A. Terleckas. They will be restated at this hearing and submitted in written form. Intensive and demeaning interrogations, as far as I know, shortened the lives of O. Lukauskaite-Poskiene and Rev. K. Garuckas, elderly and ailing members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group. I even personally experienced interrogations and particular types of searches.

### Employment of State Controlled Media to Discredit Individuals

False and discrediting information was disseminated in newspapers in Lithuania about Rev. A. Svarinskas (even before his arrest), about V. Petkus, about E. Finkelsteinas and many others. An interesting and revealing incident occurred when the communist journalist V. Denas, after publishing erroneous and discrediting data about Rev. V. Gelgota, realized his error and out of professional decency tried to apologize to

him through the press. However, he was not allowed to do so by the censors. It is also a favored practice to disseminate every type of negative information and the most common kinds of disinformation about dissidents who have emigrated (S. Kudirka, V. Sakalys, J. Jurasas, A. Jurasiene, A. Shtromas and myself). The journalist, J. Lukosevicius, is especially prominent in this practice.

### Violations of the Helsinki Accords

Everything that is being discussed at this hearing is a direct violation of the "Third Basket" of the Helsinki Accords. Separate note should be taken of the fate of the members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group. The Helsinki group in Lithuania had eleven members. Two of them - O. Lukauskaite-Poskiene and Rev. K. Garuckas - died after prolonged torment and interrogations. One - Rev. B. Laurinavicius - perished (most likely murdered) under the wheels of a truck. Three of the Group's leaders, V. Petkus, B. Gajauskas, and V. Skuodis, are serving harsh prison sentences. A. Statkevicius is being forcibly held in a psychiatric hospital. M. Jurevicius and V. Vaiciunas recently returned from prison, are being threatened and can be seized again at any time. E. Finkelsteinas - after twelve years of unemployment and hardship - was allowed to emigrate. The easiest fate was mine - I was expelled from the Soviet Union without the right to return.

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Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

BORIS WEIL

Witness

Boris Weil was born in Kursk, USSR. In 1956 he began his studies at the Leningrad Institute for Library Science.

Because of his participation in an anti-Soviet underground organization, he was arrested in 1957 and sentenced to 6 years in a labor camp in Siberia. While there he was sentenced anew to an additional 2-1/2 years imprisonment.

In 1965 Weil was released from prison. He returned to Kursk and found work at the city Puppet Theater.

In 1979 he was accused of distributing samizdat literature in Kaluga and was sentenced to 5 years in exile. He spent those 5 years in the Tiumen region, working in a sovhoz and in a factory.

Weil emigrated to the West in 1977. He currently resides in Copenhagen and is employed as a librarian. His writings have appeared in Russian emigre and other Western publications. In 1980 his work of reminiscences entitled "Osobo Opasniy" (Exceptionally Dangerous) was published.

# BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

Boris Weil  
(complete testimony)

From 1957 until 1965 I was in prisons of the KGB and in political camps where I served sentence for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". There I met many people from the Baltic Republics. At that time, and perhaps even today, the largest number of people in the camps, next to Russians and Ukrainians were Lithuanians, then came Estonians, and then Latvians. In certain camps Lithuanians were so numerous, that they lived in separate barracks. Although 20 years have passed, some of the prisoners I got to know in the camps are still there. That is to say, at one time they were released, but then arrested again - a very wide-spread practice in the USSR, and especially in recent years. I should therefore like to tell you about some of the prisoners I knew well, and who are now in Soviet prisons and camps.

## 1) Victoras Petkus

I met Victoras Petkus in Siberia, in 1959, in a political camp not far from where the Bratsk hydro-electro plant is now situated. He was intelligent and young. He spoke Russian very well, with only a slight accent. He once told me that he had been brought up in a Jesuit school. He had been sentenced for his participation in a Catholic Youth Organization. I told him that I am an atheist, but this had no effect on our relationship. Petkus had a wide range of friends, not only Lithuanian, but also Jewish, both Russian and Latvian. The various groups of nationalities were kept separate then, but Petkus was one of the few who had friends in all the groups of the different nationalities. He was highly respected by everyone. His closest relationship was with the Russian youths - students, who had been sent to the camp after the 20th Party Congress. He was able to win his fellows' confidence with his intelligence and kindness, which are qualities you don't often meet among the inmates.

In an atmosphere of violence, hunger and slave work it is difficult to maintain a spiritual balance and goodwill towards men. Knowing Petkus somehow restored one's faith in mankind.

In the beginning of the 60's we were sent to different camps in Mordovia, and we sometimes sent each other notes. When I

was released, I obtained Petkus' address in Vilnius, and in August of 1968 my wife and I went there for a holiday for the first time in our lives. Petkus made a list of things to see and places to go, and appointed himself our guide. Never before or since have we had such a competent guide. He has great knowledge of Lithuanian cultural, religious and political life. He knew the history of every statue and almost every building in Vilnius and Kaunas.

Nine years later, on August 23, 1977, Victoras Petkus was arrested. I lived in the area of Smolensk then and learned of his arrest from a broadcast from the West, in Russian - that is one of the paradoxes of Soviet life...

Petkus was arrested in 1977 for his activities with a Lithuanian Helsinki group. Petkus' behavior during the trial is very characteristic: he practically didn't participate in it as he didn't consider himself guilty, but he knew full well that his sentence had been decided right from the beginning. He was given the maximum sentence: 10 years in camps and 5 years in exile after that. (Under Stalin and Khrushchev he spent 14 years in camps and prisons.) Petkus is now in political camp No. 36-1 in the Perm area, which is in the northwestern part of Ural.

## 2) Mart-Olav Niklus

I met Niklus in one of the Mordovian camps, in 1961, as far as I recall. Niklus is a zoologist, or to be more precise, an ornithologist. His greatest interest is birdwatching. This study of birds is not only his specialty, but is his calling. I do believe he knows thousands of sorts of Baltic and Scandinavian birds. he has written about 50 articles on ornithology. Also, in his youth, he learned the English language, and started translating Charles Darwin. This was the first translation into Estonian of Darwin's book The Development of Species. Until then, Estonians could only read it in Russian or English. Mart Niklus never managed to study birds or to finish translating Darwin because in 1958 he was arrested and charged with breaking article 58-4 of the Criminal Code of those days. That section sounds quite serious: "Offering help to the international bourgeoisie." What "help" had then Niklus "offered" this bourgeoisie? It seems that he gave a Finnish tourist some photographs. There were no military objects on these photos, but they showed those sights of the city that the leaders don't like Western tourists to see - "the lining of reality" as they say in the

USSR. During those "liberal" years under Khrushchev, Niklus was sentenced to 8 years in Mordovian political camps: roughly half a year per photograph.

In the camps Niklus tried to use his scarce free time studying zoology. It is true, that you don't see any birds in the camps, or at least only from afar, but he was able to work on Darwin. After his release in 1966, Niklus was practically unable to get work in his field although ornithology has nothing to do with politics, and therefore he taught English and French at night school.

In the Mordovian camps Niklus met Petkus. When Petkus was tried in 1978 in Vilnius, Niklus went to the court and wrote about the case. On April 29, 1980, Niklus himself was arrested. He was arrested because of what he had written about the Petkus case and also for listening to "Voice of America" with his students, but most serious of all it seems, he was charged with having signed a statement in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement. This was a statement written by a group of Baltic people in 1979, which stated that this agreement first of all ought to be published in the USSR, and secondly that it should be declared invalid. Niklus hunger-striking during the investigations and, at the time of the trial, he was on his 135th day - after which they fed him by force. He never admitted his guilt, and he was sentenced to the same term of imprisonment as Petkus: 10 years in camps, plus 5 years in exile. He is now in prison in the town of Chistopol, in the Tartar Republic. In those Mordovian camps in the beginning of the 60's, I first met Ints Cālītis. He had become friends with Petkus and Niklus. Now he had been arrested and sentenced to 6 years in camps. He had already spent no less than 10 years in camps. In the beginning of the 60's came a new inmate from Rīga - Gunārs Astra. In Rīga he had worked as a shop-steward in a radio factory, and he had been sentenced to 15 years for "high treason". He had served those 15 years, and now he had received another 7 years in camps and 5 years in exile because he had translated the statement on the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact (which I have mentioned earlier) into Latvian, and for passing on such books as George Orwell's 1984.

In camps I also met Lithuanians Alfonsas Svarinskas, Balys Gajauskas and Antanas Terletskas. All of these people still sit in camps for their political views. I don't think I am mistaken when I say that all of these people are prisoners for life.

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Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

**SERGEI ZAMASCIKOV****Witness**

Sergei Zamascikov was born on May 22, 1951 in Gomel, USSR. His father was a Soviet political officer and traveled extensively. Zamascikov spent most of his life in Byelorussia, Lithuania and Latvia.

In 1973, Zamascikov graduated from the Latvian State University in Riga, with a degree equivalent to a Master of Arts in Russian and Slavic Studies. While studying at the university he, as well as all students, was required to take the compulsory Reserve Officers Training Course.

Upon graduation in 1973, Zamascikov was called up for active service and assigned to the 3rd Motorized-Rifle Division of the Baltic Military District headquartered in Rīga, Latvia. He was assigned to serve as political officer in charge of the Young Communist League organization.

Zamascikov lived in Latvia for 9 years, from 1970-79, and traveled throughout the Baltic States in his position as political officer. In July 1979 he went on a trip to Italy where he asked for political asylum. It was granted and he currently resides in Los Angeles, California.

Zamascikov has acquired Master of Arts Degrees in Russian Literature and Political Science from U.C.L.A., and is in the University's Ph.D. program in Soviet Studies. He is a consultant for the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, and for various agencies of the U.S. Government.

Zamascikov is a freelance writer and a frequent co-host and participant on TV and radio programs in Los Angeles and elsewhere. He has lectured at various U.S. universities as well as at the U.S. Army Russian Institute in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, the University of Bonn, the University of Kiel and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

## BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

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Chairman

Sergei Zamascikov  
(complete testimony)

I was born on May 22, 1951 in Gomel, USSR and now live in Los Angeles, California. My father was a Soviet political officer and I grew up travelling constantly in Byelorussia, Lithuania and Latvia. I lived in Soviet occupied Latvia for 9 years: from July, 1970 through July, 1979, when I left for a trip to Italy and asked for political asylum there.

In 1973 I graduated from the Latvian State University in Rīga with a degree equivalent to an M.A. in Russian and Slavic Studies. During my studies at the university I, as well as all other students, was required to take the compulsory Reserve Officers Training Course which was offered by a special department headed by Colonel Jukna. This military training was conducted once a week and lasted the entire day of classes.

Military training classes were conducted in Russian only and by Russian officers who couldn't speak Latvian. Students weren't allowed to speak Latvian during the classes or even during breaks. Most of the officers were very chauvinistic and anti-Latvian. Besides regular military subjects, the officers training program consisted of political indoctrination classes. The major purpose of these classes was to condemn the so-called "bourgeois nationalism" (meaning Latvian ethnic traditions) and to promote the view that the Soviet Army is not an occupation force but the "defender and protector" of the Latvian people.

Of course, the majority of students, particularly Latvians, didn't at all like the idea of taking these ROTC classes, but to obtain a college degree in today's Latvia means one must become a reserve officer in the Soviet Army. Those students who didn't receive passing grades for their military training classes were immediately kicked out from the university. Needless to say, any attempt to question the political indoctrination instructor was reported to the KGB.

After my graduation in 1973, I was called up for active service as a political officer. I was assigned to the 3rd Motorized-Rifle Division of the Baltic Military District. This district, with headquarters in Rīga (Merkelu iela 13), was first formed in July, 1940 when the USSR annexed the



Baltic republics. It was reformed after the war from the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Kaliningrad oblast (formerly East Prussia). I'd been assigned to serve as a political officer in charge of the Young Communist League organization in a motorized rifle regiment in the town of Telshiai (Lithuania). During my time spent in the military I frequently travelled and thus was able to keep in touch with some of my former colleagues from the Latvian University who were also called up for active service from the reserves.

None of the Latvian students were assigned to serve in Latvia. Among the enlisted personnel in my unit in Lithuania, not one was Lithuanian. Similarly, in the units stationed in the Baltic military district in Latvia there were virtually no Latvian nationals. Most of the soldiers stationed in the Baltic military district came from Great Russia and Central Asia. Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians are usually sent to serve their military duty in distant locations in Central Russia, the far East or Central Asia. The purpose of such politics is to prevent soldiers from keeping close contacts with the local population. That makes it easy to use the army (if necessary) against the people.

Such policies, of course, result in great resentment towards the military service by young Latvians: there is no justification to the fact that Latvia is not allowed to have her own armed forces (the last national units were disbanded in the 50's).

After World War II the Soviet Union started to deploy a large number of troops in the Baltic area including Latvia. Now, the Baltic military district has 3 tank, 6 motorized-rifle, 2 airborne and 2 artillery divisions, plus several units of internal troops and KGB border guards. The Baltic Fleet is the largest of the four Soviet fleets in total number of vessels and manpower. It has 32 submarines and hundreds of surface combatants, greatly outnumbering the fleets of all the other Baltic states.

The Soviet occupied Baltic States were turned into fortified military camps. The Soviets built a great number of military bases and installations including two major naval bases in Latvia in the cities of Riga and Liepāja. Latvia right now is virtually closed to foreign visitors except for two cities - Riga and Ventspils. Many areas are closed even for Latvian citizens including almost all of the Ventspils district (rayon), and big areas in the Talsi, Tukums, and Liepāja

districts. With the expansion of the Liepaja naval base it is quite possible that this city will also become "closed" even for Latvians.

Recently several Nordic states introduced the initiative to declare the Baltic area a nuclear free zone. This initiative has been supported by various political parties and citizen groups. It is quite ironic that the Soviet Union was one of the principal supporters of this initiative.

It is well known that none of the independent states bordering the Baltic Sea has in their possession nuclear weapons. At the same time the Soviet Union stockpiles the largest quantity of nuclear devices in the territory of the occupied Baltic States. Each of the divisions stationed in the Baltic area has a battalion of FROG-7 surface missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads. These warheads are stockpiled in the territory of the Baltic States. Also, the Soviet Union has stationed in the occupied Baltic territory some of its Strategic Rocket Forces units whose intercontinental ballistic missiles present a real threat against practically any country in the world.

Soviet naval bases in the Baltic Sea, such as Liepāja, Rīga, Klaipeda, Paldiski are frequented by harbor attack-submarines armed with missiles as well as major surface combatants capable of delivering nuclear weapons.

Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia are also the sites of major Soviet air-force bases which have aircrafts able to deliver nuclear weapons. It is quite obvious that these airforce units are oriented against Western Europe.

The Soviet Army also has chemical weapons in its arsenal which were used several times during manoeuvres of the Baltic Military District which took place during the years 1973-75.

These facts clearly indicate that Soviet Armed Forces stationed in the occupied Baltic countries present a real threat to their neighboring Nordic states. The idea of the Baltic Sea area as a Nuclear Free Zone can be realistic only if the populations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are allowed to decide whether or not they want nuclear weapons to be stationed on their territory. But as for now, the people of these occupied nations are deprived by Soviet authorities from any discussions of this vitally important issue. Furthermore, the Soviet government denies the fact that it

has nuclear weapons in the Baltic territory at all. Soviet militarization of the traditionally neutral Baltic States is just further evidence of their aggressive colonial policies.

For two and a half years I served as a political officer in charge of the indoctrination of enlisted personnel and young officers - members of the Young Communist League (Komsomol).

During the years I spent in the Army, I came to my decision to defect. I planned my escape for more than 5 years. After I finished my military service I was offered a job as Inspector in the Central Committee of the Latvian Komsomol in Riga (ulitsa Kirova 45/47). I felt that working there was the best way to eventually get to the West. In 1978, I was elected the First Secretary of the Komsomol in Riga's Jurmala. On my first trip to the West in July, 1979, I defected in Italy and came to the US in December of 1979.

Being a native Russian, I was not subjected to any national discrimination as the Latvians are in their own country. In my position as a Komsomol official I learned about the Soviet government's Russification policies - probably more than the average citizen can learn.

These policies started right after the Soviet occupation of Latvia and included: the forced relocation of the Baltic people away from their homeland, an assault on their traditional family and religious values, the establishment of Russian as the official language in the government, place names, and employment, job discrimination, restrictions on artistic portrayals of ethnic Baltic themes, artificial creation of an influx of non-Baltic colonists (mostly Slavs) and the reduction of Balts to a minority in their own homelands.

These Soviet policies have been intensified lately by troubling demographic developments in the national composition of the population in Latvia. The last Soviet census conducted in 1979, revealed a marked proportional decrease in titular nationality and significant gains for Russian and other Slavic elements. Between 1959 and 1979 the Latvian proportion shrunk from 62 to 53.7%, while the Russian increased from 30.9 to 40%. The Latvian population increased by only 250 persons per year in the previous intercensal period from 1959 to 1970.

Part of this problem stems from the fact that Latvians have

an extremely low reproduction rate - it is close to zero. As a result of low birth rates and the tremendous losses this nation suffered from emigration and deportations, its population is still below the pre-war level: in 1934 there were 1,472,000 Latvians, there are only 1,344,000 today.

However, the dramatic increase in the Slavic, especially Russian, component of Latvia's population cannot be explained by the natural increase of the Slavs already residing in the region, since their birthrates are also very low. The growth of the non-native population thus must be attributed almost exclusively to immigration. Since immigration in any area of the Soviet Union is strictly controlled and requires a special permit (PROPISKA) in each individual case, it is quite obvious that the influx of Russians is the result of conscious policy by the Moscow regime to achieve gradual denationalization.

For example, during the years I spent in Latvia, several big industrial projects were started (Rīga's textile factory "Rīgas Manufaktūra", the construction of the large Ventspils port and chemical plant, which, incidentally, was built with the help of the American Occidental Petroleum Corporation), that required a large influx of the work force. Since Latvia didn't have enough people to work at these factories, all of the workers were brought in from neighboring Byelorussia and the Ukraine. As a result the only language spoken at these factories, as well as at most other big enterprises in Latvia, is Russian.

Another side of the Soviet Russification strategy is the aggressive campaign to promote the use of Russian at the expense of the native language. This has intensified since the late 70's. The campaign, designed for colonized areas of the Soviet Union, was signaled by the adoption of a decree by the USSR Council of Ministers on October 13, 1978, legislating measures to improve the teaching of Russian in non-Russian areas.

In Latvia, where the Russian language already enjoys a dominant position in some areas, the new measures have generated widespread resentment. The introduction of Russian at the kindergarten level, the transformation of many national schools into so-called "integrated" schools, and the language policies pursued in the area of higher education have been particularly unpopular. Throughout the educational system, Russian is clearly given preference. Even in Latvian

schools more time is devoted to the study of Russian than to the native tongue. On the other hand, non-native students attending Russian schools are seldom required to seriously study the native language. The dominant position of Russian is particularly pronounced in higher education institutions, where it is virtually impossible to achieve an educational objective without fluency in Russian. This is especially true of the sciences; many scientific courses are taught in Russian, and most textbooks and other materials are available only in Russian.

The penetration of Russian into Latvian society and culture is especially disturbing. Two out of three television channels in the republic broadcast in Russian and the third broadcasts in both Russian and Latvian. 88% of all books published in 1935 were in Latvian, whereas 52% are in Latvian today, and the proportions are similar for journals and magazines. The number of publications in the Latvian literature category has dropped from 455 in 1935 to 169 in 1977.

Of course, the Soviet leadership is concerned with popular dissatisfaction and with Western reaction to their Russification policies. In fact, the political passiveness among young Latvians in official organizations has gone so far that the Soviets have problems finding Latvians to fill official positions in both the Party and government apparatus. In trying to preserve the image of a "native Latvian government", authorities imposed quotas for Latvian surnames in all of the major government and Party offices. However, because of the general unwillingness of young, educated and conscientious Latvians to enter Party and government service, 75% of both Komsomol and the Party Central apparatus are composed of non-Latvians. In 1979, 8 of the 10 heads of major departments in the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee were Russians. Russian is the only language spoken in the Party Central Committee, Council of Ministers and Komsomol Central Committee. All documents and directives are issued in Russian. For a long time, the Central Committee of the Komsomol did not have a Latvian language typist and there was never a need for one.

Many party and government officials, although having Latvian surnames, in fact can hardly speak Latvian. Others who can, as former First Secretary A. Voss, never speak it. Government and party leaders always speak publically in Russian.

The Russification policy of Soviet authorities is one of the most ugly and unpopular features of their colonization strategies. Recent developments in Latvia show that these policies could be intensified with the election of another Russian, Anatoli Gorbunov, to the position of Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Secretary.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

at the

BALTIC TRIBUNAL

by

Olģerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.

Chairman, Baltic World Conference

## BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
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Chairman

This concludes the presentation by the witnesses. Their testimony speaks for itself. This is the fate of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian people. The fate of people who wanted to live in freedom and peace and harmony with their neighbors.

By no means was the testimony complete, nor did the witnesses begin to cover all the violations and oppressions that are taking place in the occupied Baltic States. To this day freedom and human rights are denied the Baltic people. They are subject to an oppressive regime imposed by the Soviet government. To quote from a petition signed and endorsed by Russian human rights defenders, including Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov, Arina Ginsburg, Tatiana Velikanova and others:

"The Baltic Republics - Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia - have been included in the composition of the USSR independent of the will of the peoples of these countries - in essence as a result of occupation by troops of the USSR."

At a recent meeting with Arthur Goldberg, the former United States Supreme Court Justice and former ambassador to the United Nations, I recalled an earlier statement made by him, and I quote: "The occupation of the Baltic States was the biggest rape of modern times." The Justice interrupted me and said: "Do not use the word 'was' - it is and it is continuing so severely."

It is tragic and ironic that today when the world is joyfully commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the end of World War II, the Baltic people are undergoing one of the darkest periods in their 4,000 year history. The post World War II era has seen one of the greatest liberation movements ever known to mankind. Millions of people in Africa, Asia and the Americas have gained their freedom and secured individual rights during these 40 years. Membership in the United Nations has more than tripled from the original 51 nations. Yet, this rebirth of respect for the principles of human rights and national independence in the free world has marked the beginning of an era of continued and ever increasing denial of these same rights to the Baltic people.



All people, the humanitarians as well as the politicians, must come to realize that a secure and lasting peace in Europe and elsewhere can be achieved only if the remaining injustices are eliminated and human rights and freedom are restored to the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian people. It is our hope that those of us who hold human dignity and rights dear, and who are in a position to speak out, will not stand idly by while the very existence of the Baltic people is slowly extinguished. During Stalin's and Hitler's holocausts the West pleaded ignorance as an excuse for inactivity and apathy. Today we know...today there can be no excuses.

Upon weighing the evidence presented by the sixteen witnesses, the verdict was issued by the jurists at the conclusion of the Baltic Tribunal. It was presented in the form of: The Copenhagen Manifesto.

C O P E N H A G E N      M A N I F E S T O

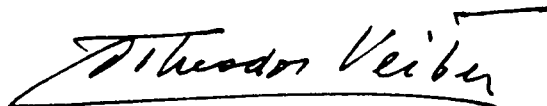
The Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen declares that the occupation and annexation of the once independent States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania serve as prime examples of the violations of international public law and treaties ratified by the Soviet Union.

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.



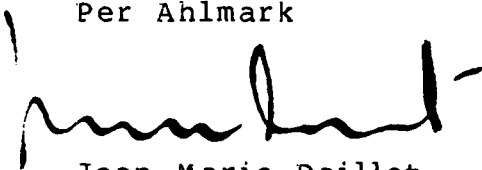
Theodor Veiter, Chairman



Per Ahlmark



Rev. Michael Bourdeaux



Jean-Marie Daillet



Sir James Fawcett

July 26, 1985



The Executive Board Members of the Baltic World Conference at the Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen. Seated left to right: Lembit Savi, President, Estonian World Council; Kazys Bobelis, President, Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania; Olgerts Pavlovskis, President, World Federation of Free Latvians and current Chairman, Baltic World Conference.

# BALTIC WORLD CONFERENCE

**Estonian World Council  
World Federation of Free Latvians  
Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania**

Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, Ph.D.  
Chairman

## ESTABLISHMENT

The Baltic World Conference (BWC) is a federation of the three Supreme Executive bodies of each of the Baltic nationalities and their representative organizations in exile. The BWC was founded on November 18, 1972 to represent the political and cultural interests of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians throughout the free world - Asia, Europe, North and South America, Australia and New Zealand. The organization monitors, collects and distributes information concerning conditions in the Soviet occupied Baltic States, and routinely informs the free world of political, national and human rights violations that occur there.

## ORGANIZATION

The BWC is governed by an Executive Board representing the Presidents of the three central Baltic Organizations. Chairmanship rotates every year among the three nationalities. The current Chairman of the BWC is Olgerts R. Pavlovskis, President of the World Federation of Free Latvians. As the result of a special decree by the Executive Board, Dr. Pavlovskis is presently fulfilling a 2-year term.

## HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of the BWC is presently located in the Washington, D.C. area, at 400 Hurley Av., Rockville, Maryland 20850. Telephone: (301) 340-7646.

## ACTIVITIES

Some of the more recent BWC activities include: participation in the Helsinki Final Act process by submitting numerous memoranda, case histories and other documentation of human rights violations in the Baltic States at the Opening of the

Helsinki Conference (1972), Signing of the Helsinki Accords (1975), the Follow-Up Meetings in Belgrade (1977) and Madrid (1980), the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (1985) and the Human Rights Experts' Meeting in Ottawa (1985). In addition, the BWC has actively supported the European Parliament's resolution regarding the colonization of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union (1983), as well as Baltic representation in Geneva at the UN Human Rights Commission. Other projects include the organization of international Baltic symposia on the Baltic States, coordination of Baltic activities in the free world, and the initiation of new programs of information.

