

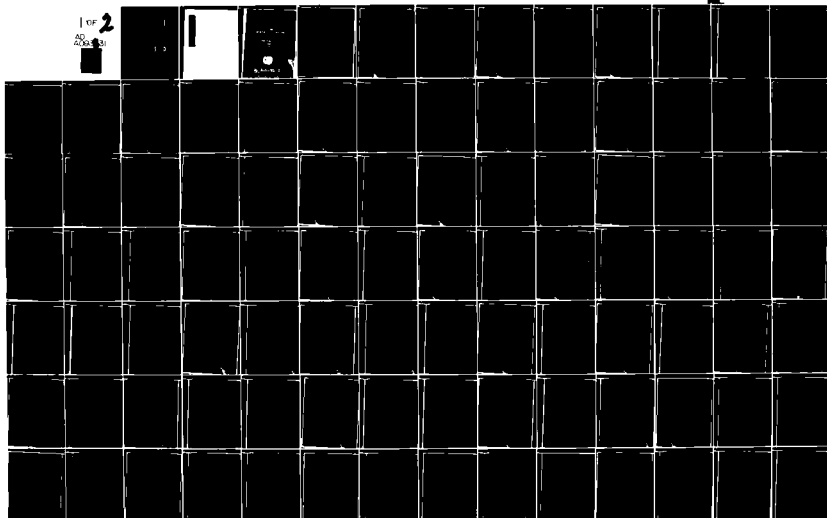
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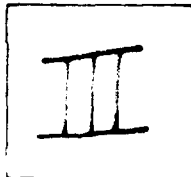
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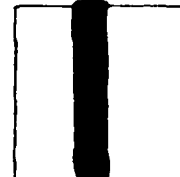
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ATTITUDES OF MAJOR SOVIET NATIONALITIES

Volume II

THE BALTICS

ESTONIA

LATVIA

LITHUANIA

Contract No. IA-16666

Center for International Studies  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Cambridge, Massachusetts

June 1973

This volume includes the following chapters:

ESTONIA AND THE ESTONIANS - Rein Taagepera

LATVIA AND THE LATVIANS - Frederic T. Harned

LITHUANIA AND THE LITHUANIANS - Frederic T. Harned

The chapters are based on papers contributed by the above-named specialists. However, the chapters as presented here have been edited by the project staff and some of the data, tables, and other materials have been added. Responsibility for the final versions therefore rests with the project.

The work reported in this document was conducted under contract between the U.S. Information Agency and the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The distribution of this paper does not indicate endorsement by the United States Information Agency, nor should the contents be construed as reflecting the official opinion of that Agency.

## PREFACE

This volume is a part of the five-volume study, "Attitudes of Major Soviet Nationalities," produced at the Center for International Studies, MIT. The study deals with seventeen Soviet nationalities -- the fifteen which have their own Union Republics, plus the Tatars and the Jews. Each nationality is the subject of one chapter. The nationalities are grouped by geographical and/or cultural affinity in four of the volumes: The Slavs, The Baltics, The Transcaucasus, and Central Asia. The fifth volume, Other Nationalities, includes chapters on the Moldavians, the Tatars, and the Jews, as well as a set of comparative tables for all nationalities.

The Baltic nationalities described in this volume -- the Estonians, the Latvians, and the Lithuanians -- are in a number of ways a distinctive group within the USSR. They are commonly regarded as the most "Western" among the Soviet nationalities. They share many common features in geography, history, mode of incorporation into the USSR, level of development, and national problems. The Baltic area (except Lithuania in some respects) is regarded as the most highly developed in the USSR. (For indicators of development, see the Comparative Tables in Volume V.)

Since all chapters are written according to a uniform pattern, the chapter outline and note on references given at the beginning of the volume apply to all of them.

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Acknowledgements are gratefully expressed to the specialists who have written chapters on each nationality and to all at the Center for International Studies, MIT, who have contributed to the completion of this study.



## CHAPTER OUTLINE FOR EACH NATIONALITY

### Part A. General Information

- I. Territory
- II. Economy
- III. History
- IV. Demography
- V. Culture
- VI. External Relations

### Part B. Media

- I. Language Data
- II. Local Media
- III. Educational Institutions
- IV. Cultural and Scientific Institutions

### Part C. National Attitudes

- I. Review of Factors Forming National Attitudes
- II. Basic Views of Scholars on National Attitudes
- III. Recent Manifestations of Nationalism

#### NOTES ON REFERENCES

Where several quotations are taken from a single source, reference is provided at the end of the last quotation. Similarly, where information in a paragraph is from one source, the source is cited at the end of the paragraph.

Sources used more than once in a chapter are cited in abbreviated form in the footnotes. Full citations are given in the list of references at the end of each chapter. Sources containing only one page are cited without page numbers.

Except where noted, emphasis in quotations has been added.

Project: Attitudes of Major Soviet Nationalities

ESTONIA AND THE ESTONIANS

prepared by

Rein Taagepera

University of California at Irvine

This chapter is based on a paper contributed by the above-named specialist. However, the chapter as presented here has been edited by the project staff, and some of the data, tables, and other materials have been added. Responsibility for the final version therefore rests with the project.

Center for International Studies  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Cambridge, Massachusetts

June 1973

ESTONIA AND THE ESTONIANS

PART A

General Information

## 1. Territory<sup>1</sup>

Ethnically Estonian territory has remained the same at least since 1200 A.D. It includes the present Estonian SSR and the Petseri district of the RSFSR Pskov oblast. It is a quasi-peninsula the size of Denmark, separated from Sweden by the 124-mile wide Baltic Sea, from Finland by the 50-mile wide Gulf of Finland, and from Russia by the 19-mile wide Peipsi Lake and the Narva River. Only the border with Latvia offers no natural barriers.

Estonia consists of rather marshy plains, with the highest hills reaching up to 1000 feet at most. Although the climate is softened by the presence of the sea, rye rather than wheat is the traditional cereal. Communication lines are well developed. With the exception of oil shale, there are few natural resources apart from phosphates, peat and water.

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<sup>1</sup>ENE, 1970: 2; Hooson 1966:232-250.

## II. Economy<sup>1</sup>

A skilled labor force is Estonia's main asset, and as a result the republic is extensively industrialized in spite of a lack of natural resources. Per capita gross industrial output (2100 rubles in 1968) is higher than in any other Soviet area outside the RSFSR Northwest (2300 rubles) and Center (2200 rubles), and Latvia (2100 rubles). Per capita national income follows the same pattern.<sup>2</sup> Estonia produces 75% of all Soviet oil shale, 6% of its oil instrumentation, 5% of its excavators, and 3% of its paper and cotton fabrics. Oil shale is used for electricity and as a basis for the chemical industry.

Agriculture is relatively efficient and yields are among the highest in the USSR, in spite of the Northern climate and indifferent soil. Yet about 80% of agricultural income is from animal husbandry, with a Denmark-like emphasis on dairy farming and bacon. Agricultural production is small in the all-Soviet context. In fishing Estonia's share is 3% of the Soviet total.

From 1960 to 1967 the production and employment trends were the following. Industry's share of total production grew from 60.3% to 64.0%, while agriculture's share decreased from 20.9% to 18.4%. Collective farms' share of total employed population decreased from 17.5% to 11.0%; the share of "production" workers and employees (including state farms) grew from 61.5% to 67.1%; the share of "non-production" employees grew from 20.3% to 21.8%.<sup>1</sup> Since 1967 "production" labor has remained at 67%, while collective farmers' share has further decreased to 9% and "non-production" labor has grown to 24% in 1971.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>ENE, 1970: 2.

<sup>2</sup>Wagener, 1971:24, Bush, 1970.

<sup>3</sup>ESSR 1971: 239.

### III. History<sup>1,2</sup>

Man has inhabited Estonia for 10,000 years, and the Finnic forefathers of the present-day Estonians arrived 5,000 years ago.<sup>1</sup> The loosely organized Estonian counties resisted early Russian conquest attempts, but were subdued (and incidentally baptized) around 1220 by German knights who later joined the Teutonic Order. Serfdom was gradually established and became complete by 1500, under a German-speaking nobility, clergy and city elite which were loosely tied to the German Empire. This establishment's switch to vernacular-oriented Lutheranism in 1521 triggered the printing of the first Estonian-language book in 1535--barely 80 years after Gutenberg perfected the art. The German political rule started to crumble around 1560, and after brief Russian and Polish penetrations Sweden held all of Estonia during the 17th century.

Around 1710 Russia conquered Estonia, and its German establishment re-achieved autonomous status which began to be restricted only around 1840. A Pietist movement during the 18th century for the first time effectively converted the Estonian peasants to Christianity. In 1802-19 serfdom was abolished, and starting from 1849 land ownership by peasants became feasible in practice. This emancipation coincided with the start of industrialization and supplied an economic basis for an Estonian national awakening which was encouraged by romantic and nationalist trends elsewhere in Europe. The Tsarist government occasionally supported this nationalism as a counterweight to the ruling Germans, but peasant goodwill was subsequently lost in an all-out Russification drive after 1880. By 1900 Estonians had emerged as a fully literate nation conscious of its separate identity, proud of its rapid economic and cultural progress, and demanding a voice in local politics and administration. Their vision of the future Russian Empire was along federalist lines with broad local autonomy.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ENE, 1970: 2.

<sup>2</sup> Uustalu, 1952; Kruus, 1935; Rei, 1970.

<sup>3</sup> Raun, 1971.

After the Russian February Revolution of 1917, Estonian autonomy became a reality. Under the twin pressure of the Bolshevik takeover and the threat of a German occupation, independence was declared in early 1918 by the non-Bolshevik leaders who had obtained 63% of the national vote in late 1917. After two years of fighting against the Soviets and the Germans, independence became a reality, and a democratic regime was established. A drastic land reform was carried out which helped agriculture flourish. But industry was badly hurt by being cut off from its Russian markets. Cultural autonomy for ethnic minorities was established and preserved for the duration of the republic. World depression and the spread of fascism lead to a "preventive dictatorship" in 1934 but a return to democracy started in 1938. The Communist vote which had been 37% in late 1917 dropped to less than 10% by 1920. After an abortive putsch attempt in 1924, the Communist party was declared illegal, and played hardly any role thereafter.<sup>1</sup> In 1938 most of its imprisoned members were released. Cultural development during independence was rapid, social legislation was one of the most advanced in Europe, but living standards remained low compared to Scandinavia.

The 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact gave the Soviet Union a free hand in Estonia which had to abandon its previous stand of neutrality and accept a mutual assistance pact involving Soviet military bases on the Estonian coast. In June 1940 the Soviet army suddenly occupied all of Estonia. Due to the presence of these forces, the non-Communist parties were not in a position to protest when their tickets were disqualified prior to the subsequent elections. Nor were they in a position to demand a recount when the Communists announced a landslide in favor of their single ticket. Joining the Soviet Union was not a declared issue during this brief "People's Democracy" period, during which some local Communists talked about an "Outer Mongolian status" for Estonia. On orders by Stalin, and with the shadow of the 1937-38 Stalinist purges at their backs, the local Communists asked for incorporation

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<sup>1</sup> Lipping, 1971; Nodel, 1971.



into the Soviet Union in August 1940. Subsequently Estonia suffered its share of Stalinist excesses, including forced collectivization of agriculture and mass deportations which involved by 1949 about 10% of the population.<sup>1</sup>

During the twilight of the 1941-44 German occupation the government of the pre-war Republic of Estonia reconstituted itself and went into exile in Scandinavia where it still exists. About 6% of the population also left and, with extremely few exceptions, have remained in the West.

In 1950 the native-born Communist leaders of Estonia were purged for alleged nationalism. They were replaced by Estonians who had grown up in Russia. These "Yestonians," as they are called, still occupy all major government and Party posts in Soviet Estonia.<sup>2</sup>

After Stalin's death most of the surviving deportees returned. Russification of the culture largely stopped, but denationalization of the country through a partly uncontrolled influx of Russian immigrants continued. The consumer goods situation in the cities improved, and during the 1960's the collective farmers' life also improved markedly. Local autonomy increased in 1956, and decreased again during the 1960's. Industry has sky-rocketed, with partly undesirable ecological and demographic results.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Rei, 1970:320; Uustalu, 1970:352; Parming, 1972.

<sup>2</sup>Because their Russian accent changed "e" into "ye", people started to call them jeestlased (which might be translated as "Yestonians") instead of estlased (Estonians). Cf. Taagepera, 1970.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Järvesoo, 1969.

#### IV. Demography<sup>1</sup>

A basic demographic factor in 20th century Estonia has been a low birth rate which during independence led to practically zero population growth. Under present conditions growth has occurred, but through massive immigration. The birth rate has been under 2.0% per year ever since 1915, and has been around 1.4 to 1.6% since 1963. (In comparison the all-Soviet rate was over 2.5% until 1960.) Natural increase in Estonia was 0.4% to 0.6% throughout the 1960's, at a time when the all-Soviet natural increase dropped from 1.8 to 0.9%.<sup>2</sup> The number of ethnic Estonians increased by 0.3% per year.

Combined with the labor needs of an industry-worshipping regime, and with the easier and more "Western" living conditions in Estonia, the low natural increase has resulted in a continuous flow of mainly Russian-speaking immigrants. From 1959 to 1970, the ethnically Estonian population grew by 32,000 while the non-Estonian population grew by 127,000. The total population growth was relatively slower (13%) than the Soviet average (16%). The lack of massive immigration into higher-birth-rate Lithuania suggests that immigration is not deliberately organized for Russification purposes. But the Soviet authorities have not undertaken anything to stem the flow with its visible denationalizing effects, despite some efforts in this direction by the few home-grown Communist leaders.

From 1959 to 1970 the Estonians' share of the republic's population dropped from 75% to 68%, while the Russians' share increased from 20 to 25%. If the present trend continues, Estonia would become ethnically less than half Estonian by the year 2000. The recent decrease in the Russian birth rate (which reduced the RSFSR rate below that of the Estonian SSR by 1968)<sup>3</sup> suggests that immigration trends into Estonia may

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<sup>1</sup> Parmin, 1972; Itopi 1970; Horisont, 1968; Taapenera, 1973.

<sup>2</sup> ESSR, 1971.

<sup>3</sup> K. Laas, in Eesti Kommunist (November), 1971.

...ance before Estonians are reduced to a minority in their own country. It should be emphasized that while the country is being denationalized through immigration, the assimilation of individuals works rather in favor of Estonians: 62% of the offspring of mixed marriages in Tallinn has been reported opting for the Estonian nationality;<sup>1</sup> there is much anecdotal evidence for Russian children picking up the Estonian language; and 6.1% of the rural Russians declared a "non-Russian" everyday language in the 1970 Census.

Urbanization in Estonia has accelerated ever since 1950. By 1970, 65% of the population lived in cities and towns, compared to 56% in 1959 and 35% in 1939. This makes Estonia the most urbanized union republic; however, Central and Northwest Russia are even more urbanized (71 and 73%, respectively). Estonians formed in 1970 58% of the urban population and 88% of the rural population. Due to the heavy migration of young people into the cities the rural birth rate has fallen below the urban birth rate which is rather unusual. Of the labor force 22% were employed in agriculture in 1968, compared to 27% for the USSR.

The elite in the republic is predominantly Estonian in cultural field and strongly Russian in political and special-technology fields. To judge from the distribution of decorations, communications and transport (especially civil aviation) are in Russian hands, while universities are run by Estonians. Estonians are strongly under-represented in the Communist Party membership--on a union-wide basis 30% of Estonians belonged to the Party in 1965, compared to 6% of Russians and Georgians. On January 1, 1970, 52.3% of the members of the Communist Party of Estonia were Estonians.<sup>2</sup> 4.0% of the Estonians in Estonia were Party members. In contrast, 7.7%

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<sup>1</sup>  
Terentjeva, 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Institut Istorii Partii pri TsK KP Estonii, Nekotorye Voprosy Organizatsionno-Partiinoi Raboty (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1971): 74.

of the Russians in Estonia were Party members. The disparity between the skills and the political power of the Estonians is marked: with 68% of the republic's population, Estonians represent 76% of the "specialists",<sup>1</sup> but only 52% of the Party membership. The issue is further complicated by the existence of "Yestonians"--people of Estonian extraction who grew up in the Soviet Union while Estonia was not part of it. These semi-denationalized people occupy most of the power positions and, as a group, they may account for an appreciable fraction of the nominally Estonian party membership. The highest-ranking native Communists are presently Vice-premiers E. Tõnurist and A. Green, and the Third Party Secretary V. Väljas. There are few ethnic Russians among the power elite, and it remains to be seen who will replace the present Yestonian leaders when these old men die.<sup>2</sup>

At the other extreme of the social scale, Russian immigrants also are Estonia's "Puerto Ricans" (as an Estonian put it to a visitor from New York), doing the unskilled jobs shunned by Estonians, especially in construction.<sup>3</sup> Geographically, Russians are a majority in Northeast Estonia's oil shale region, and a strong minority in the capital city, Tallinn.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nõukogude Õpetaja [Soviet Teacher] (July 22), 1972: 2.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Taagepera, 1970. On the term "Yestonian," see the section on history.

<sup>3</sup>Taagepera, 1968.

<sup>4</sup>In 1970 Tallinn was 55.7% Estonian and 35.0% Russian (Itogi 1970: 4: 320).

## Culture<sup>1</sup>

In terms of culture, Estonia (along with most of Latvia) could be characterized as "Soviet Scandinavia." The similarity with Scandinavia starts with racial characteristics, a largely common history, the use of Latin script and the predominance of Lutheranism as the traditional religion. It continues with present tastes in applied art and architecture. Some Russians characterize the area as the "Soviet 'Abroad'" [Sovetskaya zagranitsa], a chunk of the West within the Union, to which the Moscow youth flocks for holidays as a substitute for Stockholm and Paris.

Apart from Iceland, Estonia may be the smallest nation of the world with a modern culture expressed through its own language. There are some drawbacks to it--sometimes one has a feeling that every tenth Estonian is busy translating--but Estonians can read everything ranging from Homer and Shakespeare to Segal's Love Story and graduate-level physics texts in their own language. The Russian language definitely does not represent for them an indispensable link to the rest of the world. Their contemporary artistic and literary evolution goes abreast with the Russian, and sometimes precedes it. Estonian composers like A. Pärt and J. Rääts have been in the forefront of dodecaphonal music in the USSR.<sup>2</sup> The first Soviet jazz festival was held in Estonia which is currently a bastion of pop music. Abstract art was practiced in Estonia at least as early as in Moscow, and, possibly in contrast to Moscow, has by now acquired wide popularity (and probably snob appeal). Kafka, Ionesco and Dostoyevsky were available to Soviet Estonians earlier than to the Russian reading public.

Of all aspects of contemporary Estonian culture, the theater has maybe the greatest potential for a Soviet-wide and even wider impact. Paul-Eerik Rummo's "Cinderella Game" (1969) has been performed in New York (1971) although not yet in the USSR beyond Estonia.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vardys, 1970; Taagepera, 1973; Nirk, 1970.

<sup>2</sup>See Olt, 1972.

<sup>3</sup>See Valgemäe, 1972.

Contemporary prose includes Mrozek-style satire (A. Valton<sup>1</sup>), historical novels which combine literary quality with national appeal (J. Kross<sup>2</sup>), collective farm realism at its best (M. Traat<sup>1</sup>), realistic descriptions of city life and work (Aimee Beekman<sup>3</sup>) and analysis of Stalinism (E. Vetemaa<sup>4</sup>). In poetry all modern trends and styles are represented, although some surrealist (A. Alliksaar<sup>5</sup>), mystical (U. Masing) and "hippy" (J. Isotamm<sup>6</sup>) poets have difficulties in getting published.

Present Estonian cultural activity is another stage in a continuous cultural evolution which started with the "national awakening" around 1860, caught up with contemporary West European developments early in this century, and continued unabated through the independence and the Soviet period, except for a "historical gap" (a term used by young Soviet Estonians)<sup>7</sup> under Stalin. In the midst of this modernism, Estonia retains its authentic folk-singers, with orally-transmitted repertoire going back to the pre-Christian era--possibly the only ones in Europe. In resonance with the world-wide new interest in folk-song, Estonia is delving with new pride into this heritage.

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<sup>1</sup>For brief analyses of some of these works, see Books Abroad, 1973: 47:394-396.

<sup>2</sup>Books Abroad, 1972: 46: 142.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1969: 43: 446.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1968: 42: 310.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.: 621.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1972: 46: 329.

<sup>7</sup>See Grabb1, 1969.

## External Relations<sup>1</sup>

Estonia has direct trade agreements with several East European Communist countries (East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia) and also with Finland.<sup>2</sup> Like other European Union republics it is a member of the International Radio and Television Organization, and its foreign affairs minister occasionally is part of the Soviet U.N. delegation. In the mid-sixties restrictions on tourism in and out of Estonia were relaxed, and it now involves hundreds of Estonians and thousands of foreigners (mainly Finns) per year. Estonia's student construction corps works each summer in People's Democracies, and its superb male chorus has repeatedly visited Scandinavia. A number of international scientific conferences have been held in Estonia, including a UNESCO symposium on oil shale.

Estonia's ties with Finland are of special interest. The languages are similar and the Finnish TV can be seen in Northern Estonia. Estonian-Finnish kinship feelings have become acceptable, and a direct shipline between Tallinn and Helsinki has operated since 1965. It is mainly used by Finns (who often come to Tallinn only because of its cheap liquor). Cultural interaction has also become quite frequent. A high-rise hotel has been built in Tallinn by a Finnish company, with Finnish materials and labor, resulting in a number of intermarriages; the brides were allowed to emigrate to Finland.

Interaction with Estonian exiles (mostly in Sweden and in North America) has also broadened. With most Estonians having some relatives abroad, visits to and from Estonia have become frequent compared to those available to the Russian population, although the process of getting a visitor's visa remains extremely frustrating and often fruitless. Parcels sent by exiles were credited with visibly raising the

<sup>1</sup> See Estonian Events for details.

<sup>2</sup> Estonian Events (December), 1972: 35; (February), 1971: 24; and (February), 1968: 4.

consumption level in Estonia as far back as the late fifties. In short, the exiles are a subculture which is part and parcel of Soviet Estonia in spite of the geographic and political separation. Their cultural activity sometimes induces the Soviets to allow more funds and leave to Estonian culture at home, and their usually rigid anticommunism has not prevented contacts on human and cultural levels.

Among Soviet nations, contacts are predictably the most intense with the other Baltic republics, and the mastering of the Russian lingua franca may have facilitated them. Various cultural meetings are becoming so frequent that one might wonder whether a common Baltic cultural community is not in the process of formation.<sup>1</sup> Contacts with nations further off are greatly impeded by popular prejudice toward darker-skinned people and the tendency to consider them all as Russians. But the cultural elite is consciously trying to overcome this barrier, especially with regard to Georgians and Armenians whose achievements they admire. As the largest and most developed Finnic nation within the Soviet Union, Estonia may represent an example to follow for the five Finnic-language autonomous republics within the RSFSR (Karelia, Komi, Mari, Mordva, Udmurt). Their linguists often defend dissertations in Estonia, and some cultural contacts exist.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Vardys, 1970.

<sup>2</sup>See Estonian Events (February), 1971: 24: 5, and Baltic Events (June), 1973: 3: 2.



ESTONIA AND THE ESTONIANS

PART B

Media

### Language Data

Estonian belongs to the Finno-Ugric language group and uses the Latin script. Finnish and Estonian are mutually about as intelligible as German and Dutch or French and Spanish, while Hungarian and Volga Finnic languages are unintelligible to an untrained Estonian, as are all Indo-European languages (including Latvian, Russian and German). The language is characterized by many vowels and few consonants, elaborate declension of nouns and adjectives, rather long agglutinative words, lack of gender and article, and distinction between three different durations of stressed vowels and consonants. Through scholarly "linguistic engineering" during the last 50 years new word roots and derivatives have been created to keep pace with modern developments, e.g., instead of the Russian lunokhod [moon vehicle], Soviet Estonian press uses kuukulgur.

Estonian is also used by about 100,000 emigrants and exiles in the West, mostly in Sweden (22,000) and in North America (40,000). They have newspapers, publishing houses and organized youth education (including a college-level summer institute in Canada).

Native and Second Languages Spoken by Estonians  
(in thousands)

Estonia - Language :Latvian

<sup>a</sup> No data are available for 1959, since no questions regarding command of a second language were asked in the 1959 census.

<sup>b</sup> Including Estonian if not the native language.

## Local Media

### Soviet Print Media

Of the periodicals available for foreign subscription in 1973, 24 are in Estonian, 2 in Russian and 8 mixed or double-edition. Language distribution of local and special interest periodicals is similar. The total number of periodicals is higher than in any union republic except Russia and Ukraine. Of the books published in 1969, 19% were in Russian.

Major newspapers (with circulation in 1968):<sup>1</sup> Rahva Hääl [People's Voice], 150,000; Noorte Hääl [Voice of the Youth], 115,000; Sovetskaya Estonia (in Russian) and Molodezh Estonii (in Russian) are typical Soviet 4-page dailies. Edasi [Forward], 86,000, the local daily of the university city of Tartu, is more intellectual and controversial, and is in demand throughout Estonia although subscriptions are restricted to Tartu. Tallinn's Ohtuleht [Evening Paper] is popular for its buy-and-sell ads. Sirp ja Vasar [Sickle and Hammer] is the major cultural weekly (16 pages; circulation 54,000), and combines ideological near-orthodoxy with moderate cultural nationalism. There are special weeklies for Estonians abroad (Kodumaa [Homeland]), teachers (Nõukogude Õpetaja [Soviet Teacher]), radio and TV news (Raadioleht [Radio Paper] and Televisioon), children (Säde, [Spark], twice weekly) and sports (Spordileht [Sports Paper], thrice weekly). In 1972 Estonia had 43 newspapers, of which 28 (i.e. 78%) were in Estonian.<sup>2</sup>

Major monthly journals: Looming [Creative Work] publishes original prose and poetry, a few translations, and cultural-social articles (about 160 pages per issue; circulation 5,000 in 1962, 16,000 in 1972). Eesti Kommunist/Kommunist Estonii (80 pages; 15,000 in Estonian, 5,000 in Russian) is relatively liberal compared to other republic Party journals, and seems to miss few occasions to commemorate an Estonian Communist killed by Stalin. There are monthlies for nature and ecology (Eesti Loodus

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<sup>1</sup>ENE, 1970: 2. No later figures have been found for individual newspapers, except for Sirp ja Vasar (55,500 in 1973).

<sup>2</sup>

J. Käbin, in Eesti Kommunist (Nov.), 1972: 11: 7-12.

[Estonia's Nature]; 37,000 in 1972), sports (Kehakultuur [Body Cultivation]; twice monthly), teen-agers (Noorus [Youth]), health (N. E. Tervishoid [Sov. Nat. Health Preservation]; every second month), pedagogy (Nõukogude Kool [Soviet School]), women (Nõukogude Naine [Soviet Women]), popular science (Horisont [Horizon]; 50,000), pioneers (Pioneer), agriculture (Sotsialistlik Põllumajandus [Socialist Agriculture]; twice monthly), technology (Tehnika ja Tootmine [Technology and Production]; 17,000), small children (Täheke [Starlet]; 68,000) and language and literature (Keel ja Kirjandus [Language and Literature]; 2,500).

The ESSR Academy of Sciences publishes five quarterlies including the Union-wide journal of Finno-Ugric studies (Sovetskoe Finnougrovedeniye). They use predominantly Russian and have a circulation of 900 each. An 80-page fashion quarterly (Siluet) with a 1.50 rubles price tag per issue has a 50,000 circulation in Estonian and 350,000 in Russian, suggesting union-wide prestige.

A weekly paperback series (Loomingu Raamatukogu [Library of Creative Work]; circulation 15,000 to 25,000) offers an excellent world-wide selection of classics and of current best-sellers.<sup>1</sup> Estonian pre-Soviet literature is available to a fairly large extent -- works by social-democrat (E. Vilde), liberal (A.H. Tammsaare) and even definitely conservative (K.A. Hindrey) authors, originally published during the independence period or earlier, have been republished. Some exile works (e.g. by M. Under and K. Ristikivi<sup>2</sup>) also have been reprinted. Typical printings of prose fiction are 20,000 to 35,000 copies for new works, and 50,000 copies for some pre-Soviet classics. Poetry and popular science printings range from 6,000 to 12,000 copies. There is a large variety of original and translated children's books, with printings of 30,000 to 60,000 copies.

<sup>1</sup> Some 1972 translations: E. Segal, Love Story; E. O'Neill, Long Day's Journey Into Night; L.J. Peter and R. Hull, The Peter Principle; I. Babel, Maria; P. Brook, The Empty Place; A. Camus, Le mythe de Sisphe.

<sup>2</sup> See Books Abroad, 1973: 47: 394.

b. Soviet Electronic Media<sup>1</sup>

As of 1973, the single TV program seems to be one quarter in Estonian and three quarters in Russian.<sup>2</sup> (Leningrad and Central TV can also be seen in Estonia.) There are 3 parallel radio programmes (including 3 hours of stereo daily), with Estonian probably predominating.<sup>3</sup> There are over 300,000 TV sets and nearly 600,000 radio sets (in 1971: 191,000 and 537,000 respectively<sup>4</sup>). Ownership of sets per 1000 population (209 and 386, respectively, in 1971<sup>4</sup>) is the highest of all union republics. Locally originating color TV started in January 1973, with 4 hours per day and with 800 receivers. By the end of 1973, 15,000 color sets are expected.

c. Foreign Media

An undeterminable number of Western publications reach Estonia through exile letters and mail subscriptions (e.g. sports and science magazines paid for in the West reach subscribers in Estonia fairly regularly), and through tourists. Estonian-language exile literary publications command high prices on the black market, and exile books and newspapers are available in research libraries but require special permission. Foreign communist newspapers are available. Of these Finland's Kansan Uutiset is popular because it has the Finnish TV programs.

Finnish TV can be seen (and partly understood) in Northern Estonia which seems to be the only part of the Soviet Union where any non-Communist TV can be seen. Due to the self-censorship of the Finnish media in matters which might offend the Soviet Union, the Soviet Estonian authorities have

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<sup>1</sup>Rahva Hääli (February 1 and May 6), 1973.

<sup>2</sup>In 1973, 1100 hours of a total 3500 broadcast on TV will be produced in Estonia. Scanning of programs in Rahva Hääli confirms that at least one half of the items are listed as originating in the Central and Leningrad TV or in central studios like "Lenfilm"; moreover, a few apparently locally produced items bear the label "in Russian."

<sup>3</sup>Impression based on program listings in Rahva Hääli.

<sup>4</sup>Nar. khoz. 1972: 681, 690.

Due to except that unique window through which neutral Western news reports (such as those of John Wailes) reach Estonia directly and rapidly, the BBC and Voice of America broadcasts (in Estonian and Russian, as well as Radio Liberty broadcasts (in Russian but not in Estonian) have some listeners and are occasionally attacked in the press.

In addition to numerous East European films, some Western films are shown, e.g. "They Shoot Horses, Don't They?" in 1973.

Table B.2. Publications in the Estonian SSR

Language of Publication	Year	Newspapers <sup>a</sup>			Magazines			Books and Brochures <sup>b</sup>		
		No.	Per Issue Circulation (1000)	Copies/100 in Language Group	No.	Per Issue Circulation (1000)	Copies/100 in Language Group	No. of Titles	Total Volume (1000)	Books and Brochures /100 in Language Group
Russian	1959	12	69	26.1	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	179	696	263.6
	1971	7	123	32.9	2	202	54.0	674	2,004	535.7
Estonian	1959	55	518	56.4	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	933	7,070	770.3
	1971	27	896	96.3	18	535	57.5	1,505	10,615	1,140.6
Minority Languages	1959	0	0	----	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5 <sup>b</sup>	15	ca. 25
	1971	0	0	----	d	----	----	5 <sup>b</sup>	75	146.1
Foreign Languages	1959	0	0	----	N.A.	N.A.	----	(28) <sup>c</sup>	(169)	----
	1971	0	0	----	5 <sup>d</sup>	5	----	(182) <sup>c</sup>	(368)	----
All Languages	1959	67	587	43.3	19	222	16.4	1,145 <sup>c</sup>	7,950	586.3
	1971	34	1,019	75.1	25	742	56.7	2,366 <sup>c</sup>	13,062	963.2

<sup>a</sup>1971 figures do not include kolkhoz newspapers.<sup>b</sup>This figure may include publication in non-Soviet languages.<sup>c</sup>Book totals as given in Pechat' usually differ from totals in language categories. The indication is that books are published in other languages, but no data is given. Figures in parentheses are the presumed production of books in other languages based on this discrepancy.<sup>d</sup>Denoted in source as "other languages of the world," not clearly Soviet or foreign.Source: Pechat' 1971: 97, 160, 189.  
Pechat' 1959: 58, 130, 165.



Table R.3.

## Electronic Media and Films in the Estonian SSR

Year	Radio			Television			Total population (1971) million
	Stations	Wired sets (1000)	/100 population Wireless sets (1000)	All Stations	Stations originating programming	Sets (1000)	
1960	N.A.	81 <sup>a</sup>	6.8 <sup>d</sup>	N.A.	N.A.	38 <sup>a</sup>	41 <sup>b</sup> 3.4 <sup>d</sup>
1970	N.A.	96 <sup>a</sup>	6.9 <sup>d</sup>	N.A.	N.A.	277 <sup>a</sup>	79 <sup>b</sup> 5.7 <sup>d</sup>
1971	N.A.	99 <sup>d</sup>	7.1 <sup>d</sup>	N.A.	2 <sup>e</sup>	291 <sup>c</sup>	N.A. N.A.

<sup>a</sup>Transport i svyaz' SSR, 1972: 296-298.<sup>b</sup>Nar. obraz., 1971: 325.<sup>c</sup>Nar. khoz. 1972: 684, 690.<sup>d</sup>Computed.<sup>e</sup>1972. Televideniye i radioveshchaniye (December), 1972: 12: 13.

Estonia - Local Media- 6

### III. Educational Institutions

"Estonian is the language spoken at all our schools, except for the few public schools and kindergartens where education is carried on in Russian," says an English-language Soviet Estonian source,<sup>1</sup> and it is largely true, except in regions with concentrated Russian immigration. Estonian children attend Estonian-language schools, along with many mixed-marriage children and even some Russians (because of lack of Russian-language facilities, and even because of what Sovetskaya Estonia has chided as snob appeal). Of Estonia's 757 general schools, 556 (i.e. 73%) use Estonian, 90 use Russian and 60 are mixed.<sup>2</sup>

The same applies to the six institutions of higher education: Tartu State University (6,300 undergraduate students in 1971), Tallinn Polytechnical Institute (9,100), Estonian Academy of Agriculture (3,600), Tallinn Pedagogical Institute (2,100), Estonian State Art Institute (500), and Tallinn State Conservatory (360).<sup>3</sup> The language breakdown for the most prestigious of them (Tartu State University, founded in 1632) is the following.<sup>4</sup> In 1960, 89% of the students studied in Estonian-language courses. In 1962, 90% of faculty had Estonian names. University press publications in 1958-62 (over 200 books and course outlines) were 88% in Estonian and 7% in Russian. In 1970, 81% of the 6,200 students were Estonian by nationality (compared to 84% in 1933, during Estonia's independence). In all higher education institutions, 82% of students were Estonians in 1960, with the Tallinn Polytech probably the most multinational and the Pedagogical Institute the most Estonian.

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<sup>1</sup> Reinop, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> J. Käbin, in Eesti Kommunist (Nov.) 1972: 11: 7-12.

<sup>3</sup> ESSR 1971: 321. The total number of students is quite stable: 21,360 in 1965, 21,980 in 1971.

<sup>4</sup> Künnapas, 1965; Rahva Hääl (August 21), 1970.

Table B.4.

Selected Data on Education in the Estonian SSR  
(1971)

(p. 691)	<u>All Schools</u>		(Per 1000 Population)	
	number of schools	---	766	0.55
	number of students	---	212,000	152.4
(p. 689)	<u>Newly opened Elementary, Incomplete Secondary, and Secondary Schools</u>			
	number of schools	---	5	4.17
	number of student places	--	5,800	
(p. 691)	<u>Secondary Special Schools</u>			
	number of schools	---	37	
	number of students	---	23,600	17.0
(p. 691)	<u>Institutions of Higher Education</u>			
	number of institutions	---	6	
	number of students	---	22,000	15.8
(p. 439)	<u>Universities</u>			
	number of universities	---	1	
	number of students			(% of Total)
	total	---	6,297	4.5
	day students	---	4,322	3.1 68.6%
	evening students	---	0	
	correspondence students -		1,975	1.4 31.4%
	newly admitted			
	total	---	1,391	1.0
	day students	---	1,007	0.7 72.4%
	evening students	---	0	
	correspondence students -		384	0.28 27.3%
	graduated			
	total	---	859	0.6
	day students	---	668	0.48 77.8%
	evening students	---	0	
	correspondence students -		191	0.14 22.2%

(continued)

Selected Data on Education in the Estonian SSP, 1971 (continued)

p. 683)	<u>Graduate students</u>	(Per 1000 Population)
	total ---	536 0.39
	in scientific research	
	institutions ---	246 0.18
	in universities ---	290 0.21
p. 681)	<u>Number of Persons (in 1970) with Higher or Secondary (Complete and Incomplete) Education</u>	
	per 1000 individuals,	
	10 years and older --	506
	per 1000 individuals	
	employed in national	
	economy ---	660
p. 688)	<u>Number of Workers Graduated From Professional-Technical Schools</u>	
	---	5,000

Source: Nar. khoz. 1972 (page references are given above).  
January 1972 population for Estonia was 1,391,000 (p. 10).

### Scientific and Cultural Institutions

The first Cybernetics Institute in the Soviet Union was founded in 1961 in Tallinn, Estonia.<sup>1</sup> "Estonia was chosen as an experimental republic for creating a general automatized planning and directing system."<sup>2</sup> The first econometric model in the USSR was constructed for Estonia by Moscow economists, and it was reduced to a manageable size by Estonian economists.<sup>3</sup> Computerized bookkeeping is being tested in Estonia, for future Union-wide use.

Other Soviet "firsts" in Estonia include eradication of polio (1958), introduction of money wages for farm workers, and switching to sovkhoz self-management.

Of the researchers at the Cybernetics Institute, 90% are Estonians, including the Institute head.<sup>4</sup> About 75% of paper authors in the physics-math journal of the ESSR Academy of Sciences in 1969 had Estonian names. Regarding the relative number of scientific workers, Estonians (with 0.30% of the population) are about on par with Russians, and are markedly surpassed in the USSR only by Georgians and Armenians.<sup>5</sup> Of all science workers active in Estonia, 84% are Estonians and 11% are Russians. Medical and agricultural research is almost completely in Estonian hands and so are the well-developed folklore and language studies. (The Institute of Language and Literature has a staff of 100).<sup>6</sup> In social science and humanities Russians occupy a number of key ideological positions.

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<sup>1</sup> Kahk, 1965: 22.

<sup>2</sup> Kahk, 1967: 10.

<sup>3</sup> Eesti Kommunist (August), 1969: 8: 24-29.

<sup>4</sup> From list in Aben, 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Kahk, 1965.

<sup>6</sup> Ahven, 1970.

Table B.5.

Selected Data on Scientific and Cultural Facilities and Personnel in the Estonian SSR  
(1971)Academy of Science

number of members	38
number of scientific institutions affiliated with the Academy	15
total number of scientific workers in these	811

Museums

number of museums	44
attendance	995,000
attendance/1000 population	715

Theaters

number of theaters	9
attendance	1,252,000
attendance/1000 population	900

Number of Persons Working in Education and Culture

total	47,000
number/1000 population	33.8

Number of Persons Working in Science and Scientific Services

total	18,000
number/1000 population	13

Number of Public Libraries 816

number of books and magazines in public libraries	9,158,000
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Number of Clubs 515

Source: Nar. khoz. 1972: 106, 451, 601.  
January 1972 population for Estonia was 1,391,000 (p. 10)

ESTONIA AND THE ESTONIANS

PART C

National Attitudes

## 1. Review of Factors Forming National Attitudes

The basic factor for the existence of the Estonian nation is its language, which sets it apart from all neighbors except Finns and makes a gradual fusion (or expansion) difficult. Additional factors are its semi-peninsular location, and a power shift from Germans to Russians precisely at a time when assimilation into Germans was starting on a somewhat larger scale. Assimilation into Russians has been made especially difficult by differences in script and traditional religion, coupled with a feeling of superiority that every European nation seems to have toward its Eastern neighbor. (The complementary feeling of cultural inferiority toward the Western neighbor also is manifested by some Russians toward the Estonians.)

The short period of independence helped Estonia to leapfrog the German influence and make direct contact with Western Europe. It also demonstrated to Estonians that they could manage without German or Russian tutelage. The generation of Estonians is gone who still had to persuade themselves that they were "just as smart as any other people." The present-day Estonian takes that for granted, as he takes for granted that he is Estonian.

Attitudes toward Soviet rule are affected by various conflicting considerations. The advent of the Soviet rule did away with independent statehood, rather than continuing Tsarist Russian rule or taking over from the Germans or other foreigners. It is known in Estonia that an exile government exists, and that the United States does not recognize the annexation by the Soviet Union. But in Estonia Soviet power is uncontested. The influx of immigrants and foreign control are resented. Joining the Communist Party was considered treason by many until 1956; since then feelings have been mixed. The high average age and the low number of 15 to 25 year olds makes for caution rather than bravado. Even people who dislike the regime do not always enjoy the prospect of a turbulent change.



## 1. Basic Views of Scholars on National Attitudes

The only known attempt at even a half-systematic inquiry of Estonian attitudes was carried out by a Swedish journalist of Estonian origin, A. K ng.<sup>1</sup> On a visit to Estonia, he systematically asked all Estonians he met: "What are the three best and three worst things about present-day Estonia?" While the inquiry lacked (and, given the conditions in the USSR, had to lack) the rigor normally demanded of opinion polls, his report is of interest because it is the only one available. On the positive side, nearly all respondents first mentioned a vigorous educational and cultural development. Also frequently mentioned were improvements of rural living standards, and industrial development. On the negative side, Russification came first. Also mentioned were the shortage and poor quality of consumer goods, and the lack of freedom to travel abroad and to criticize the power holders.

K ng's book has the subtitle "A Study in Imperialism." This is the diagnosis of the situation in Soviet Estonia by an author who had earlier criticized Swedish policies toward the Lapps, investigated the oppressed ethnic minorities world-wide, and is openly critical both of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and of the "cold warriors" among the Estonian exiles. He views Estonia as annexed to Soviet Union against its will, exploited (although still wealthier than the exploiter), bossed around, threatened by slow genocide through foreign-imposed immigration, resigned exteriorly, and resentful deep inside. Similar views are presented by Uustalu<sup>2</sup> and by most Western scholars.

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<sup>1</sup>K ng, 1971.

<sup>2</sup>Uustalu, 1970.

Soviet views on Estonia are presented authoritatively in the Soviet Estonian Encyclopedia.<sup>1</sup> It is important to point out the differences between these 1970 views and earlier ones. The Stalinist assertion of early medieval friendship and cooperation with Russians (under Russian leadership) has been reduced to the level existing in pre-war bourgeois history.<sup>2</sup> The Russian conquest of Estonia, in 1710, is no longer presented as an unmitigated boon to the Estonian people. While still calling the 1934-37 dictatorship "Fascist," it is acknowledged that it "differed fundamentally from the German variety," and the term 'dictatorship' is not extended to the post-1938 period. In June 1940 bourgeois Estonia was forced to consent to the arrival of further Soviet army units, but President K. Päts temporized with forming a new government. Under such conditions the socialist revolution started. It is recognized that in the course of the 1949 collectivization of agriculture the wealthier farmers "were dispersed and resettled in the interior regions of the USSR," and that "grave errors" were committed in the course of the 1950 anti-nationalist campaign. The rapid economic and cultural development after 1956 is stressed.

Consensus between Western (almost entirely exile-stock) and Soviet scholars on the interpretation of Estonia's past and present has increased since the 1950s. Western scholars recognize the post-Stalin cultural and economic progress, and have increasingly accepted that 1934-37 was indeed a dictatorial period, that industry suffered under independence, and that the Swedish rule of the 17th century was not a golden age compared to the following Russian tsarist rule.<sup>3</sup> The Soviet scholars are increasingly recognizing that Russian-dominated periods in history were not the best for Estonians, that the independence period saw intensive cultural development, that the Soviet Army was in Estonia during the 1940 "revolution," that the Stalinist period was

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<sup>1</sup> ENE. 1970:2.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Kruus, 1935.

<sup>3</sup> Loit, 1971.

culturally an "historical gap," and that industrialization can be overcome from the ecological viewpoint. Disagreement persists strongly regarding three issues: whether the July 1940 election results (93% for the Communist front) were blatantly falsified (there is agreement that no other parties were allowed to run); to what extent the population presently accepts Communism and/or Moscow-centered rule; and whether the Russian immigration represents a threat to the Estonian nation. There is little difference in the degree of cultural nationalism between the Soviet Estonian cultural establishment and the exiles.

### III. Nationalism and Dissent

#### a. Nationalism--Officially Tolerated Forms<sup>1</sup>

Estonian cultural nationalism has become widely accepted by the regime (in contrast to Stalin's days). Demands to recognize the existence of dead and exiled non-Communist writers culminated in 1968 and were largely successful.<sup>2</sup> Demands for purity of language from Russian loan words have been addressed by Eesti Kommunist (2/70, p. 76) to Party propagandists. Around 1968 demands were made that music and art must be "national" (e.g., folklore-inspired) but such extremes have decreased since. The mammoth song festivals (attendance in 1969 was 250,000, i.e., one-quarter of the Estonians) are a prime example of a cultural safety valve for nationalism: traditional Estonian songs predominate; visiting Finnish choruses get large ovations and Russian ones little; the public and the choruses demonstratively repeat a certain patriotic song after the close of the official program.<sup>3</sup>

Poems were published in 1967/68 demanding less bossing by "Aunt Masha," attacking the language fusion doctrine, and declaring the precedence of nationality over ideology. But lately the tone has been subdued.

Economic nationalism is almost forced upon local officials by the excessive centralization. Often it is more localism than nationalism, indistinguishable from similar home rule demands made in Siberia and even in the Moscow oblast. But the Soviet Estonian establishment has also occasionally objected to immigration, and the desire to avoid problems on the home front has made First Secretary Kähin effectively shelter moderate nationalism from Moscow suspicions. Cooperation with other Baltic republics in culture and economics has increased beyond what was allowed in the 1950s, an expression of internationalism which is not adverse to nationalism.

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<sup>1</sup>See Taagepera, 1970 and 1973.

<sup>2</sup>There is no basic contrast between treatments in Nirk, 1970 (Soviet) and Mägi, 1968 (exile).

<sup>3</sup>See Estonian Events (August), 1969:15:3.

b. Non-Nationalist Dissent

Estonia has been the focus of some Union-wide quests for civil rights which are not nationalist except to the extent that civil rights include national rights. In 1969 a "Union of Fighters for Political Freedom" led by navy officers was crushed in Tallinn. A quarter of the 31 people arrested were Estonians.<sup>1</sup> A widely circulated "Program of the Democratic Movement" could have been the work of the same group; it shows signs of non-Russian and probably Baltic authorship.<sup>2</sup> An earlier (1968) anonymous memo by "numerous members of the ESSR technological intelligentsia" also soft-pedaled the national issue and concentrated on all-Union problems of civil rights and of rapprochement with the West. Residents of Estonia have been arrested for sympathizing with Solzhenitsyn<sup>4</sup> and for protesting against the invasion of Czechoslovakia.<sup>5</sup> At a Party organization meeting called to endorse the invasion, Tartu State University Communists refused to do so and a faculty member blurted out: "In the house of the hanged man one does not speak of rope." (He received a light reprimand because of his previous good record, and because of the general atmosphere of the moment.)<sup>6</sup>

Hippy behavior (including wearing of crosses)<sup>7</sup> and New Leftist manifestations<sup>8</sup> are some other forms of non-national protest, as is a poet's

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<sup>1</sup> Khronika, 1969:9; New York Times (October 24), 1969:1.

<sup>2</sup> Khronika, 1969:10; Radio Liberty Dispatch (May 20), 1970.

<sup>3</sup> Münchener Merkur, 1968:306; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (December 18), 1968.

<sup>4</sup> Khronika, 1971:18.

<sup>5</sup> Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (October 9), 1968.

<sup>6</sup> Private communication, directly checked by author with people attending the meeting.

<sup>7</sup> Described in the poem "Ristilugu" ["The Cross Story"] by A. Siig, 1971--text and translation in Estonian Events (April), 1972:31.

<sup>8</sup> See Taagepera, 1971.

publishing his esoteric verses in Sweden when he could not do it in Estonia.<sup>1</sup> Publishing of Jewish authors, shunned in the USSR and immediately after an anti-Jewish campaign,<sup>2</sup> has the same connotations. Consumer protest against shortage of goods is quite differently motivated, but in Estonia it quickly becomes anti-Russian when the shortage of goods is seen as due to export to Russia or excessive purchasing by Russian tourists.<sup>3</sup> The sorest spot is the housing shortage, which is widely viewed as caused or worsened by preferential treatment given to Russian immigrants.

### c. Nationalist Dissent

Even high Soviet Estonian officials are liable to crack jokes making fun of Russians and their alleged lack of culture.<sup>4</sup> In streetcars and other public places Russians are "routinely" cursed according to numerous visitors, with apparently decreasing concern for consequences. Students repeatedly have carried unorthodox slogans and sung nationalist songs during officially organized demonstrations.<sup>5</sup> After the Czechs won

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<sup>1</sup>See Estonian Events (December), 1969:17:3.

<sup>2</sup>See Estonian Events (April), 1972:31:1, and (August/October) 1972:21/22:1.

<sup>3</sup>This feeling is reflected in many private letters. Tourists interested only in shoes, sausages and textiles are also scored in a Lithuanian short piece (by V. Zilinskaite) reproduced in Sirp ja Vasar (September 3), 1971. In a story by V. Ilus (Looming (November), 1968:11:1656-1664), the main motive of a Russian moving from Moscow oblast to Estonia is that "they have all sorts of sausages in the store. But we had only one type."

<sup>4</sup>Personal observation. Sample: The Czechs wanted to create a ministry for maritime affairs. When reminded that their country is landlocked, they replied: "So what? After all, Russia does have a ministry for cultural affairs."

<sup>5</sup>Sample slogans and ditties: "Yankees, Go Behind the Peipsi!" /i.e., into Russia/; "Out, out of this republic, you who eat Estonia's bread but do not speak Estonian language!" See Estonian Events (October), 1969:16:2 and (August) 1971:27:1.

a televised Soviet-Czech ice hockey match on 20 April 1972, several hundred Tallinn Polytech students shouted "We won!" and took to the streets.<sup>1</sup> Some were arrested and many more expelled. There are still flowers on the grave of Kuperjanov, a 1919 independence war hero who died fighting the Bolsheviks, although he has no relatives left.<sup>2</sup> The prevalent mood of Soviet Estonians the author has met is well expressed by a U.S. press quote: "If we were just left alone, we could do better."<sup>3</sup> The only exception the author has met argued that leaving the Soviet Union would cost Estonian scientists research grants. However, many are disturbed by the thought of a violent change of regime. Behind the friction between technocrats and intellectuals, there lurks a deeper cleavage: there are those who were deported around 1949 and those who helped to deport them. While the latter obviously have a vested interest in the regime's survival, the specter of potential white terror scares wider circles.<sup>4</sup> National Communism aiming at a separate but Communist Estonian state seems a preferable solution to some, besides seeming also more realizable. Recent open attacks<sup>5</sup> against the idea of an Estonian People's Democracy suggest that the idea is spreading. But the existence of an underground democratic "Estonian National Front" also has been reported.<sup>6</sup> It demands a referendum on self-determination, and published in May 1972 a voluminous first issue of an underground journal, "Eesti Demokraat."

<sup>1</sup>For details, see Estonian Events (December), 1972:35:2.

<sup>2</sup>Private communication by an eyewitness.

<sup>3</sup>Christian Science Monitor (September 17), 1969.

<sup>4</sup>Mati Unt, a young and rather unorthodox Soviet Estonian writer, describes how a drunken "patriot" declares Unt personally responsible for, and fit to be executed because of everything that has happened under Soviet rule, even while Unt was a small child (M. Unt, "Tühirand: Love Story," Looming [May], 1972:5:707).

<sup>5</sup>A. Vader, Eesti Kommunist (May), 1972:5:3-12; A. Lebbin, Eesti Kommunist (May), 1971:5:37-47; translations of relevant passages in Estonian Events (August), 1972:33:6, and (August), 1961:27:4. Three independent private communications agree that the issue was discussed at a writers' Party meeting around 1967, with some writers coming out in favor of the People's Democracy proposal.

<sup>6</sup>Khronika, 1972:25.

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Project: Attitudes of Major Soviet Nationalities

LATVIA AND THE LATVIANS

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LATVIA AND THE LATVIANS

PART A

General Information

## 1. Territory

The Latvian SSR is one of the youngest union republics of the USSR. It was incorporated into the Union, together with its neighbors, Estonia and Lithuania, on August 5, 1940. In the struggle for the control of the important trade route, the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea--of which Latvia and its capital Riga occupy the central position--has been attacked and conquered at one time or another by all of the major nations of the Baltic region. Riga itself was founded by the German Teutonic Order in 1201 A.D.<sup>1</sup> For the past 800 years the Latvians have been less participants than prizes of war. Although they have at times fought ably, there have always been too few of them to stem the tide of conquest. Only in 1918, amid the chaos of the Russian Civil War, were the Latvians able to found their own independent state. However, they were only able to maintain it for twenty years.

Located between 55°40' and 58°5' north latitude,<sup>2</sup> the territory of the Latvian SSR coincides with that of the independent Republic of Latvia, with the exception of an area of 464 square miles on the northeastern border which was annexed to the RSFSR in 1945, and of cessions to the RSFSR and Estonia, totaling about 308 square miles, made between 1953 and 1957.<sup>3</sup> Its total area of 24,595 square miles, roughly equal to that of West Virginia, makes it the fourth smallest union republic. The 1,171 mile-long border of Latvia touches upon Estonia, the RSFSR, Belorussia, and Lithuania, and includes 307 miles of seacoast along the Baltic and the Gulf of Riga.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Spekke, 1951: 135.

<sup>2</sup>Rutkis, 1967: 14.

<sup>3</sup>King, 1965: 10; BSF, 1953: XXIV: 318; BSF Yezhegodnik 1957: 147.

<sup>4</sup>Rutkis, 1967: 155.

Latvia's climate is relatively mild and moist, reflecting the influence of the Baltic Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Its growing season extends roughly between April 15 and October 15, averaging 183 days per year.<sup>1</sup> Annual rainfall averages 21.6 to 31.5 inches in different parts of the country.<sup>2</sup> The large majority of the land of the republic is a gentle, rolling plain. Uplands, with a maximum elevating of 1,017 feet, are located in the east-central part of the country and in the west.<sup>3</sup> Sixty percent of the territory is used for agriculture, and 27% of it is in forests.<sup>4</sup> Latvia is rich in lakes and rivers. The chief among the latter are the Daugava (222 miles in Latvia; in Belorussia, it is known as the Western Dvina), the Gauja, Lielupe, and the Venta. The republic is, however, poorly supplied with mineral deposits. The primary mining products are sand and sandstone, gypsum, dolomite, limestone and clay.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Rutkis, 1967: 109

<sup>2</sup>LME, 1969: II: 280.

<sup>3</sup>Rutkis, 1967: 109.

<sup>4</sup>King, 1965: 11, 13.

<sup>5</sup>Rutkis, 1967: 23-24.

## II. Economy

Latvia entered a period of swift industrial growth and economic development in the second half of the nineteenth century, when it was a part of Tsarist Russia. The Baltic coast soon became one of the most developed parts of the empire. It was the only area to have achieved general literacy by 1897.<sup>1</sup> The port of Riga carried a significant portion of Russia's European trade. This tie, together with the influence of the German baronial class and Latvia's trade partnership with Europe between the two world wars has left a lasting Western imprint on the population. Economic growth was seriously impaired by World War I. Much of Latvia's industrial plant was destroyed or evacuated to Russia. The loss of its source of raw materials and of its markets, due to its subsequent separation from the Soviet Union and the autarchic policies of the latter, led the Latvian government to concentrate on the development of the country as a source of high-quality agricultural products for the urban Western markets (on the model of Denmark). Since 1940, the Soviet government has concentrated on re-developing the republic's industrial significance, due in part to its relatively skilled labor force, its well-developed rail and highway network, and its proximity to major population centers.<sup>2</sup>

Nearly 38% of the Latvian labor force is employed in industry, making it the most heavily industrialized of the Soviet Union republics.<sup>3</sup> The most important branches of industry are machine building and metalworking, which

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<sup>1</sup>Soviet Union 50 Years, 1969: 278.

<sup>2</sup>Maciuka, 1972: 19-20. In 1938, approximately 6% of the Latvian population was employed in industry, including 1% in metalworking, vs. 17% and 5%, respectively, in 1966. Percentages computed from King (p. 44) on the basis of 1935 population (Rutkis, 1967: 292), and from LME (II: 282) and LTS (1968: 307), on the basis of 1966 population (Rutkis, 1967: 296). King (1965: 69) notes that in 1950 the production of the machine-building and metalworking industry was already 1157% of that for 1940.

<sup>3</sup>Var. khoz.Latvii 1971: 38.

alone employed 33% of the industrial labor force in 1971. Light industry employed 23%, the lumber, cellulose and paper industries, 13%, and the food industry, 13%.<sup>1</sup> With less than 1% of the USSR's population, Latvia produces over half of the motorcycles, almost half of the telephones, one-third of the tractors, cars, more than one-fourth of the railroad passenger cars, about one-fourth of the radios and radio-phonographs, 19% of the refrigeration plants, 12% of the washing machines, and 4.3% of the agricultural machines made in the USSR.<sup>2</sup>

The Latvian peasant has traditionally lived on his own farmstead, with his house located in the middle of his fields, rather than in a village as was the pattern in central and southern Russia. When collectivization on the Russian model was forcibly accomplished between 1947 and 1950, losses and disruption were very great.<sup>3</sup> Thousands of "kulaks" were deported to Siberia. Grain production in 1950 was roughly half of what it had been in 1940. Meat production was down 35%; milk, 40%.<sup>4</sup>

Approximately 20% of the working population in Latvia are employed in agriculture.<sup>5</sup> This figure includes some 163,000 collective farmers and 14,000 workers and employees, primarily occupied in sovkhoz work. Just as during the period of independence, animal husbandry remains the most important branch of agriculture. In 1970, 77% of the monetary income of Latvian kolkhozy was obtained from the sale of animals and animal products (i.e., milk and eggs).<sup>6</sup> Cattle and hogs are the most important types of livestock. Crops grown include rye, barley, oats, wheat, flax, sugarbeets, potatoes, and fodder grasses.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Nar. khoz. Latvii 1971: 76.

<sup>2</sup>Nar. khoz. 1970: 70-79. Nar. khoz. Latvii 1971: 34-35.

<sup>3</sup>See Rutkis, 1967: 344-356. Isolated farm-houses have not disappeared entirely, although the authorities have continually pushed for the re-settlement of farmers into villages.

<sup>4</sup>Widmer, 1969: 392-393.

<sup>5</sup>Nar. khoz. Latvii 1971: 264-265.

<sup>6</sup>LTS, 1970: 220.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.: 171; LME: II: 284.

The Latvian ports of Riga, Ventspils [Vindau] and Liepaja [Libau] handle more than 40% of the Soviet foreign trade that travels via the Baltic. Riga's share in Baltic shipping is second only to that of Leningrad.<sup>1</sup> However, winter routes can usually be maintained in Riga with the help of ice-breakers, and the ports of Liepaja and Ventspils are essentially ice-free.<sup>2</sup>

In both level of productivity and standard of living, Latvia is among the leading Soviet republics. The per capita produced national income in 1970 was 1,574 rubles, second only to Estonia's and one-third higher than the corresponding figure for the USSR as a whole.<sup>3</sup> The diet of the average Latvian includes considerably more protein and less cereal than that of the average Soviet citizen.

Of all 15 union republics, Latvia ranks first in the amount of useful living space for urban residents, first in hospital beds per 10,000 residents, second in doctors per 10,000 (at 36.2, one of the highest ratios in the world), first in the number of radios, TV's and radio loudspeakers per capita,<sup>5</sup> second in per capita trade turnover and in the proportion of the population having a savings account, and fourth in the amount of money saved per capita.<sup>6</sup> Their consistently high showing in all these indices demonstrates that in a general sense Latvia and its neighbor Estonia are among the most developed and economically favored parts of the Soviet Union.

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<sup>1</sup> Butkis, 1967: 473.

<sup>2</sup> King, 1965: 17.

<sup>3</sup> Nar. khoz. Latvii 1971: 56. Soviet calculation of national incomes excludes services and is thus not really comparable to Western figures. See R. Campbell, et al., "Methodological Problems Comparing the US and the USSR Economies" in Soviet Economic Prospects For the Seventies (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1973): 122-146.

<sup>4</sup> See Nar. khoz. 1970: 561; LTS, 1968: 350.

<sup>5</sup> Latvia had a considerable number of radio receivers during the period of independence. The proportion of wave receivers (allowing a choice of channels) to loudspeakers (wire transmissions, no choice of channels) in the Baltic republics was roughly double that for the USSR as a whole as late as 1959 (F. Gayle Durham, Radio and Television in the Soviet Union, Research Program on Problems of International Communication and Security, Center for International Studies, M.I.T., 1965: 96), and is still significantly higher than the all-union average. See Nar. khoz. Latvii 1972: 240.

<sup>6</sup> Nar. khoz. 1970: 546, 563-564, 579; Soviet Union 50 Years, 1969: 312-340; Figures for hospital beds are for 1966; others for 1970 and 1971.

### III. History

Baltic tribes entered the territory of modern Latvia sometime during the last two millennia B.C. Over the course of centuries they pushed out or absorbed the indigenous Finno-Ugric tribes of Estonians and Livs. The Latvian tribes of Sels, Latgallians, Semigallians, and Cours developed agriculture and metals, traded with the Romans in amber, and gained a reputation as sea pirates. By the latter part of the first millennium A.D., they had developed a system of fortresses to protect their lands from constant incursions by Vikings and Slavs. Eastern portions of the country may well have been under tribute to Novogorod and Pskov at various times, but at others--as in a major battle between the Semigallians and the Princes of Polotsk in 1106--the Balts successfully repulsed the Slavs.<sup>1</sup>

At the turn of the 13th century a new threat appeared which proved too much for the Latvian tribes. German ecclesiastics followed their merchants into the area. Bishop Albert founded the city of Riga in 1201 and the Order of the Brethren of the Sword the following year, which began to bring the Latvians the way of the cross in a very literal sense. The Semigallians and Cours fought back fiercely. In 1236, they united with Lithuanian forces to defeat the Order at the Battle of Saule [Siauliai].<sup>2</sup> The Germans reorganized themselves into the Livonian Order of Teutonic Knights, which continued the struggle until the conquest of Latvia was completed in 1290. A decentralized state, the Livonian Confederation, was organized, and the Latvians were reduced to peasants and bound to the land in an early form of serfdom. The

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<sup>1</sup> See Latvia, 1968: 15; Spekke, 1951: 112; Rutkis, 1967: 6; Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 30-32.

<sup>2</sup> Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 35-36. Even Stalinist history does not claim Russian participation in the battle, although it does claim that the defenders were "inspired" by a Russian victory at Yuriyev two years earlier.

land-owning and governing class of German barons, created during this time, survived the later Polish, Swedish, and Russian conquests and remained in power until the Revolution of 1917-1918.

The Livonian Confederation endured through internal dissension, peasant revolts and the incursions of the growing Russian and Polish-Lithuanian states until 1561, when weakened by strife growing out of the Reformation (Lutheranism was especially active in the towns of Riga and Reval [Tallinn]) and by the long Livonian War of Ivan IV, it was dissolved. Lithuania-Poland occupied eastern Latvia and defended it against the Russians. The Duchy of Courland was organized in the west. It recognized the suzerainty of the Polish crown but in fact was virtually autonomous.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries Latvia was exposed to the intellectual currents of the Reformation and Counter-reformation and to the influences of three different western cultures--Swedish, Polish, and German. Livonia and Courland remained predominantly Lutheran. Latgale, in the east, was held by Poland until the first partition of that country in 1772 and was re-converted to Catholicism. Religious works were printed in the local language; German and Swedish scholars began to discover Latvian folksongs, customs, and traditions. The life of the peasant became increasingly harsh, however, as the rights of the barons and the requirements of statutory labor were extended, culminating in full serfdom after the Russian take-over.<sup>2</sup> Until that time, Riga served as a city of refuge for peasants fleeing the control of harsh landlords and the devastation of war. During this period, the cities, while still predominantly German in character, had gained in native population.

Sweden's control over Riga and Livonia was consolidated early in the 17th century. It was not broken until Peter I's victory in the Great Northern War, which once again devastated the countryside. This victory brought the province under the Russian crown in 1721. Peter welcomed the

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<sup>1</sup>Rutkis, 1967: 217.

<sup>2</sup>Spekke, 1951: 188; Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 95.



German barons into the service of the Russian state and allowed them to retain their privileges. The widow of the Duke of Courland became the Empress Anna Ivanovna in 1730, and a later Duke, Ernst Biron, exercised great power in Russia as a favorite of the empress.<sup>1</sup> Formal Russian control over Courland did not come until the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, but Russian influence had grown continuously throughout the century.

The end of the eighteenth century saw the rest of Latvia come under Russian control via the partitions of Poland and marked the end of three centuries of intermittent warfare and strife. Latvia did not again become a major battlefield until World War I. Soviet historians stress the great positive benefit of the peace, unity, and opportunity for economic development which the unification with Russia afforded the people of Latvia.<sup>2</sup> Some credence must be granted this assertion, although the picture was by no means rosy. Serfdom prevailed, mitigated somewhat by the reforms of Alexander I in 1804 and 1816-1819.<sup>3</sup> Famines and peasant revolts occurred. The oppressions of the autocracy hindered, but did not stop, the development of media, literature, and learning in the Latvian language.

The Russians governed Latvia in three separate units: the gubernii of Livonia (which also included part of Estonia) and Courland contained most of the country, but Latgale was administered as a part of the Vitebsk guberniya and did not enjoy the same limited degree of autonomy as did the other

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<sup>1</sup>Spekke, 1951: 255-256.

<sup>2</sup>Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 114. There was some fighting in Latvia during the Napoleonic invasion; see Ibid.: 124.

<sup>3</sup>The decree of 1804 provided that peasants in Livland, Estland, and Courland could not be sold without selling the land also; the laws of 1816-1819 granted the peasants personal freedom requiring that their relations with the landlords be regulated by "free contracts." The peasants received no land, which led to the reference to their new rights as "the freedom of the bird." This differed from the 1861 abolition of serfdom in Russia, when the state purchased land for the peasants and saddled them with a heavy repayment burden. See Spekke, 1951: 290 and Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 128.

two provinces.<sup>1</sup> This autonomy, exercised by the local nobility, contributed to the maintenance of a non-Russian culture in the region, but it became increasingly restricted in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Alexander III essentially abolished it, but by that time the Latvian National Awakening was in full swing.

The personal freedom (without land) granted to Latvian peasants in 1816-1819 allowed considerable movement to the cities and the growth of manufacturing and trade.<sup>2</sup> Riga began to become a Latvian city rather than German.<sup>3</sup> The first Latvian-language newspaper was published in 1822 in Jelgava. Latvian literature began to move away from its clerical and religious origins and to establish more secular concerns. The small but growing Latvian intelligentsia included men such as P. Balodis (1839-1918), who had been educated in St. Petersburg and who had established ties with the growing radical movement in Russia.

In 1854, a group of Latvian students at the University of Tartu, in Estonia, founded a small intellectual circle which grew into the movement known as the Young Latvians [Mladolatyschi] and became a major force in the growth of Latvian culture and national consciousness. Unable to publish in Latvia, these men founded a Latvian newspaper in St. Petersburg in 1862. Although it existed for only three years, the Petersburgas Avize was uncompromising in its call for national rights. It gained a significant readership in Latvia.<sup>4</sup> Among the leaders of the Young Latvians were such national heroes as Krisjanis Barons, who devoted his later life to a massive compilation of Latvian folksongs; Juris Alunans, poet and journalist;

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<sup>1</sup> Rutkis, 1967: 216-217.

<sup>2</sup> Soviet historians note that Riga had 54 capitalist manufacturing enterprises in either 1820 or 1830, depending on which source is consulted. See Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 142 and Vesture, 1967: 121. Neither book notes the date as an error, and neither gives a reference source.

<sup>3</sup> Rutkis, 1967: 181.

<sup>4</sup> See Spekke, 1951: 307; Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 211; Latvia, 1968: 18.

Kristjanis Valdemars and Atis Kronvalds, who worked as publicists and public speakers and assisted in the formation of the Latvian Society of Riga. This society sponsored the first national gathering of the Latvians, a song festival in 1873.

In 1897, Riga had 48,000 industrial workers in a total population of 222,000.<sup>1</sup> The wealth of the country was increasing rapidly, and Latvians were sharing in it to a greater and greater extent. Many of the large landed estates of the German nobility were divided up and sold to the peasants. The growth of a successful entrepreneurial class drained much of the militancy from the Young Latvian movement. This created a vacuum which was soon filled by a new generation of young intellectuals who became even more deeply influenced by socialist thought and teaching. These men came to be known as the "New Current" (Jaunā Strava, Novotechentsy), and were among the leaders of the growing revolutionary movement. One of them, Peteris Stuchka, later founded the Communist Party of Latvia. Another, the great poet Jānis Rainis, is acclaimed and claimed by both Communist and nationalist Latvians.

Social Democratic organizations were founded throughout Latvia in 1901 and 1902, at first primarily by Russians, but Latvians quickly began to take on leading roles. In 1904, representatives of many of these groups, with a total membership of perhaps 4000, met in Riga and organized the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party. They worked closely with the Russian SD's but insisted on a national principle of federation, rather than a territorial one as the Leninists wanted.<sup>2</sup> By late 1905, in the midst of the revolution, the Party claimed 14,000 members. Lenin is said to have remarked that during the 1905 Revolution the workers and SD's of Latvia "occupied one of the first, most important places in the struggle against autocracy."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Spekke, 1951: 308 and Rutkis, 1967: 292. Spekke's actual figure of 148,000 must be an error, as this represents some 51% of Riga's total population at that time. Rutkis, 1967: 316, gives a figure of 61,000 industrial workers in Riga in 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 262-268.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.: 281.

Indeed, Soviet statistics indicate that Latvia was the most revolutionary part of the empire in terms of the ratio of strikers to the total number of workers.<sup>1</sup>

Nationalist and socialist currents remained strong in Latvia after the suppression of the 1905 Revolution. They exploded under the impact of the devastation caused by World War I, which was fought for three years on Latvian territory (the battle lines divided the country in half for much of the time), and the anarchy that followed Russia's February Revolution.

In 1917, provisional governmental and semi-governmental councils proliferated among Latvian Rifle Regiments in the Russian Army (formed in 1915) and among Latvian refugees scattered throughout Russia. Several of these cooperated to form the Latvian Provisional National Council on November 18, 1917. After the October Revolution, pro-Bolshevik groups proclaimed the establishment of Soviet power in unoccupied eastern Latvia, but left the country in the van of the German advance in the spring of 1918, in which all of Latvia was occupied. Enjoying limited recognition from the German occupation authorities, the Provisional Council and leaders from Courland, previously isolated from the rest of the country by the battle lines, united to form a pre-parliament, the Latvian People's Council, and to elect a provisional government under Kārlis Ulmanis in November of 1918.

In 1919, following the collapse of Imperial Germany, Soviet troops, including major elements of the Latvian Rifles Regiments, returned to Latvia. They pressed hard against Latvian national forces from the east, as did freebooting German forces in the west. But with some assistance in the form of money and supplies from the Allies and military support from Estonia, the Latvians succeeded in driving both Soviet and German forces out of the country by early 1920. A peace treaty with Soviet Russia, in which the young Bolshevik government renounced all claims to Latvian territory, was signed in August

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<sup>1</sup> Istoriya LSSR, 1955: 281-282.

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A great many Latvians remained in Russia after the creation of the Latvian Republic. They played a disproportionately large role in the creation of the Soviet Union. The Red Latvian Rifles were one of the most reliable units available to the Bolsheviks. In the Civil War battles, from the Ukraine to Siberia, they played a significant role. Latvian Communists such as Roberts Eiche, Roberts Eidemanis, and Jānis Rudzutaks, were widely influential, the last named as a member of the Politburo. However, Latvian Communists in the Soviet Union were virtually annihilated during Stalin's purges. Soviet historiography has consistently downplayed their significance.<sup>1</sup>

The Republic of Latvia carried out an extensive land reform during the 1920s. The degree of equality of access to land thus obtained is still in dispute between Soviet and Western authors.<sup>2</sup> The parliamentary system established in Latvia provided extensive cultural autonomy, including schools and press, for the ethnic minorities. Political parties proliferated. Twenty-five of them were represented in the 100-member Saeima [Parliament] in 1928.<sup>3</sup> The development of a stable government proved impossible, and in May, 1934, Prime Minister Ulmanis dissolved the Saeima and established an authoritarian regime, corporate and national in character but not clearly fascist. Political parties were banned, a few leaders of extremist parties on both the left and the right were interred and/or prosecuted, and some restrictions were placed on the press, but there was no secret police, and the courts remained relatively independent.<sup>4</sup> This regime remained in power until the Soviet occupation.

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<sup>1</sup> See Gērmānis, 1970: 6-12.

<sup>2</sup> For a statistical assessment, see Rein Taagepera, "Inequality Indices for Baltic Farm Size Distribution, 1929-1940," Journal of Baltic Studies (Spring), 1972: III: 1: 26-34.

<sup>3</sup> Spekke, 1951: 375.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.: 376; Von Rauch, 1970: 132-133; Rutkis, 1967: 242; Bilmanis, 1947: 154. Dependent upon agricultural exports, Latvia was significantly affected by the Great Depression. This factor apparently hastened the end of democratic government there. The Ulmanis regime kept a balanced budget, but was apparently successful in encouraging recovery and further developing the road network and supply of electric power. Latvia's economic situation improved considerably in 1936-1937. See Bilmanis, 1947: 306, 333-337.

In 1939, after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact with Germany, the Soviet Union forced the Baltic states to sign Mutual Assistance Pacts which allowed the stationing of Soviet troops on their soil but guaranteed non-interference in internal affairs. Nine months later, in June of 1940, under threat of imminent Soviet attack, the government of Latvia was forced to resign in favor of one more "friendly" to the Soviet Union (and in fact, hand-picked by Andrei Vyshinsky, the special Soviet emissary to Latvia) and to allow the entry of Soviet forces in unlimited numbers. New elections were proclaimed, in which only the Communist-backed list of candidates was allowed to stand. After a campaign in which the Communists consistently denied any desire to Sovietize Latvia, the new parliament immediately requested incorporation into the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup>

The new Soviet regime proclaimed the nationalization of property, dismantled much of the existing social system, but had little time to organize Soviet style institutions before the Nazi invasion of June 1941. There was, however, time to plan and carry out deportations (on the night of June 14, 1941, more than 15,000 Latvians of all ages and in all walks of life were taken) and the execution of many more.<sup>2</sup> All major political leaders, including President Ulmanis and the Commander of Latvian forces, J. Balodis, disappeared. Most estimates agree that some 34,000 Latvians died or disappeared in 1940-1941. Additional deportations followed the expulsion of Nazi troops from Latvia, in connection with the re-establishment of Soviet control, the elimination of nationalist guerrillas who actively fought the Soviets until at least 1948, and the collectivization drive. There is no accurate way to calculate the losses inflicted on the Latvian nation by the war and the imposition of the Soviet system. They may easily have been in the neighborhood of 290,000 dead from military action, executions, or deportation. In addition to those killed or imprisoned, many more sought refuge in Western nations, from Sweden to Australia.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Tarulis, 1959: 253; Berzins, 1963: 90.

<sup>2</sup>Rutkis, 1967: 253, 774.

<sup>3</sup>See Rutkis, 1967: 292-327; Latvia, 1968: 53-54; King, 1965: 86.

## Demography

The population of Latvia, according to the 1970 census, was 2,364,127, an increase of 13% from 1959.<sup>1</sup> This rate of growth was about average for European peoples of the USSR. Much of that growth, however (58% according to data from one Soviet source<sup>2</sup>) was achieved through immigration, mostly of non-Latvians, from other parts of the Union. Ethnic Latvians represented 62.0% of the republic's population in 1959, but only 56.8% in 1970. Russians increased from 11.6% to 29.8% of the population, and other Slavic peoples (Belorussians, Poles, and Ukrainians) from 7.2% to 9.0%. In 1935, ethnic Latvians had constituted over three-quarters of the population of the republic.<sup>3</sup>

The steady erosion of the ethnic nature of their country is apparently of great concern to many Latvians, both at home and among emigrants. De-nationalization is strongest in the cities, where the Russian population tends to concentrate. Latvians constituted only 41% of the 1970 population of Riga, down from 45% in 1959.<sup>4</sup> Nearly 94% of all Latvians living in the USSR already live in their republic, so that the Latvian portion of the republic population is not likely to be significantly reinforced by further concentration of the nationality in its homeland. That concentration is already one of the highest in the Soviet Union. It is exceeded only by that of the Georgians and the Lithuanians.

With the urban population making up almost two-thirds (62%) of the total republic population Latvia is one of the most highly urbanized parts of the Soviet Union. Riga, the capital, with over 700,000 inhabitants, is second only to Leningrad as the largest city on the Soviet Baltic coast. The population is also one of the most highly educated in the Soviet Union.

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<sup>1</sup>CDSP, 1971: XXIII: 16: 14.

<sup>2</sup>Sovetskaya Latvija (June 23), 1971. Translated in JPRS #53732, "Translations on USSR Political and Sociological Affairs," series (August 2), 1971: 166: 73.

<sup>3</sup>Rutkis, 1967: 292, 302. The absolute number of Latvians in Latvia in 1970 was smaller than in 1935!

<sup>4</sup>Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians constituted over 50% of the population of Riga in 1970. Itogi 1970: IV: 283.

Only Estonia has a higher proportion of specialists with higher or specialized secondary education.<sup>1</sup>

A major reason that immigration presents such a considerable threat to the Latvian nation is its very low rate of natural population growth. While Latvia's birth rate of 14.5 births per 1000 population is only marginally lower than the rate for the RSFSR (14.6), the death rate, at 11.6 per thousand, is considerably higher and leaves a natural growth rate of only 2.9 per thousand, lowest in the USSR (only a little over half the rate for the RSFSR). Two factors are at work here. First, there is a large population of the aged (17.3% of Latvia's population is over 60 years old, and only 28.7% under 20, whereas the corresponding figures for the USSR as a whole are 11.8% and 38%) which is reflected in the high death rate (life expectancy in Latvia is nearly equal to that of the U.S.).<sup>2</sup> The age structure of the USSR's ethnic Latvian population is even less favorable; fully 20% are over 60 years old, and only 26% are under 20.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, there is a cultural preference in Latvia for smaller families, begun later in life.<sup>4</sup>

The Communist Party of Latvia reported 127,753 members and candidate members on January 1, 1971,<sup>5</sup> or roughly 5.4% of the population, compared to the CPSU's 5.9%.<sup>6</sup> At the time of the formation of the LSSR, the Latvian Communist Party was miniscule, comprising less than 700 members and candidates as late as 1944.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nar. khoz. 1970: 234.

<sup>2</sup>Nar. khoz. 1970: 50-51; LTS, 1971: 331. Statistical Abstract of U.S., 1971: 53.

<sup>3</sup>Itogi 1970: IV: 363.

<sup>4</sup>Vestnik statistiki (June), 1971: 6: 23-24. Translated in JPRS, "Translations on USSR Political and Sociological Affairs," (August 17), 1971: 170. Another complicating factor is the divorce rate, one of the highest in the world (in 1970, 45 divorces were recorded for every 100 marriages). See Nauka i tekhnika (January), 1972: 1: 4-7.

<sup>5</sup>Voss report to XXI Congress CPL, February 25, 1971; Sovetskaya Latvija (February 26), 1971.

<sup>6</sup>From Partiinaya zhizn' (December), 1971: 24: 4 and Nar. khoz. 1970: 7. A more informative figure is CP strength as a percent of adult population: Latvia - 7.2%, USSR - 9.0%. Radio Liberty Dispatch, "Major Turnover of Leading Party Cadres in Union Republics," (April 20), 1971: 9.

<sup>7</sup>Ocherki. 19 : 92.



after the war, the ranks of the Party were filled in large part by the importation of cadres, both Latvian and non-Latvian, from other Soviet republics. The Party remained relatively small in comparison to the population throughout the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>1</sup> Current data on the ethnic breakdown in the Party are not published, but Western studies have indicated a clear preponderance of Russians at all levels.<sup>2</sup>

Certainly it is clear that non-Latvians or Latvians with long residence in Russia, considered to be "Russified" by Western writers and apparently by some native Latvian Communists,<sup>3</sup> play a disproportionate role in the top Party leadership. Of the five secretaries of the CPL, First Secretary August Voss was raised in Russia and arrived in Latvia in 1945. Second Secretary N. Belukha, apparently in charge of cadres and Party organization, is a Ukrainian and speaks no Latvian at all. Secretary for propaganda A. Drizulis lived in Russia until he was 25, as apparently did Industry Secretary E. Petersons. Agriculture Secretary R. Verro, is an Estonian and does not speak Latvian. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers was born in Belorussia; the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, in Moscow.<sup>4</sup> The slow promotion of native cadres and the failure to encourage the use of the Latvian language by Party workers was one of the major concerns of a group of Latvian Communists, nominally led by Deputy Premier E. Berklāvs, that was removed in a major purge of the CPL in 1959-1960.<sup>5</sup> The dominance of the political system by men with few ties to the local population continues to be a major concern in Latvia.

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<sup>1</sup>See Widmer, 1969: 167.

<sup>2</sup>See Vardys, 1964: 9-10; King, 1968: 61-62; Trapans, 1963.

<sup>3</sup>See the "Letter of 17 Latvian Communists," Brīvība (Stockholm) (January), 1972: 1: 225: 5-8, and in the Congressional Record (February 21), 1972. See also the analysis of the "Letter" and of Soviet rebuttal in Soviet Analyst (London) (March 2), 1972: I: 1: 306 and (April 13), 1972: I: 4: 4-6.

<sup>4</sup>"Letter of 17 Latvian Communists"; see also the biographical sketches of these men in LME.

<sup>5</sup>See King, 1965: 188-203; Berzins, 1963: 255-261; "Letter of 17 Latvian Communists"; Widmer, 1969: 311-317.

## Literature

The beginnings of modern Latvian literature and culture are generally dated from the works of the poet Juris Alunans and the Young Latvian writers of the late nineteenth century. The publication of the national epic Lāčplēsis [Bearslayer] in 1888 was a milestone, coming only a few years after the Finnish Kalevala and the Estonian Kalevipoeg. Janis Rainis (1865-1929) is widely regarded as the greatest Latvian writer. His wife Aspazija (1868-1943) is also ranked highly in the West, although the Soviets have treated her less kindly.<sup>1</sup> Other major writers in this same period include Rudolfs Blaumanis, Augusts Deglavs and Andrievs Niedra.

In 1935, approximately 68% of the Latvian population claimed adherence to the Evangelical Lutheran Church and 26% to the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>2</sup> Religious feelings reflected the historical development of the country, as most of the Catholics were concentrated in Latgale, which had been under Polish rule during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The strength of religion in Latvia today cannot be determined with any accuracy, given Soviet pressures against such expression. However, a survey conducted by A.I. Kholmogorov, between 1964 and 1969, suggests that roughly 10% of the Latvians surveyed claimed to participate in religious holidays, as against 6.6% of the Russians and 28% of the Lithuanians resident in Latvia.<sup>3</sup> The implication is that religious beliefs are not held as tenaciously by the Latvians as by the neighboring Lithuanians, nor are as closely tied with national identity.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Ekmanis, 1972: 44-70, passim; Rutkis, 509-510.

<sup>2</sup> Rutkis, 1967: 616.

<sup>3</sup> Kholmogorov, 1970: 74-75. The significance of the figures is not clear, and they should be interpreted with caution. As additional evidence of the maintenance of religious feelings in Latvia, Rein Taagepera has reported an interview given by the Lutheran Archbishop of Latvia in which he stated that 240 Latvian congregations own their own church buildings (Estonian Events [June] 1969: 14: 5). In 1936 there were 325 Lutheran congregations in Latvia (Rutkis, 1967: 618).

<sup>4</sup> Such identification has been given limited recognition by the Soviets. See Newsletter from Behind the Iron Curtain, (June) 1971: 470.

The traditions and culture associated with religion, especially the achievement ethic of Lutheranism, do strengthen the Western orientation of the Latvians and distinguish them from the Slavs whose culture was heavily influenced by Orthodoxy. Latvians tend to be disciplined and hardworking. Cleanliness, orderliness and making a good appearance are deeply rooted cultural values.<sup>1</sup> The quality of Latvian and Estonian manufactures is clearly among the highest in the USSR, and is generally recognized as such. Latvian furniture and clothing products are in great demand throughout the USSR.

An old Latvian tradition, more national and folkloristic than religious, is the celebration of Midsummer Day and its eve, called St. John's eve or Janu Laktis. This holiday was abolished by the Soviets in 1960, but its observation has continued. Since 1966 it has received limited recognition in the official press (a photograph and some traditional songs are printed on the back page of Cina, the Party's Latvian-language daily), but Latvians are not given the day off from work. In 1973, and perhaps in other years, Intourist, the Soviet Company for Travel in the USSR, sponsored an observance of the holiday for Latvian visitors from abroad. Signs of local observances were widespread in Riga.<sup>2</sup>

The folksong is a particularly characteristic form in Latvian culture, and national songfests, now held every five years, occasionally provide settings for the demonstration of national feelings.<sup>3</sup> The most noted Latvian composers of both folk and classical music include Emēlis Melngailis and the brothers Jāzeps and Jānis Medīns. The latter is well-received by the Soviets even though he lived in Sweden from World War II until his death in 1966.<sup>4</sup>

Soviet Latvian writers who have been awarded prizes by the Soviet regime include Vilis Lacis (Chairman of the Council of Ministers from 1946 to 1959), Andrejs Upīts, and Jānis Sudrabkalns. However their work is generally considered poor quality in the West.<sup>5</sup> Today young writers in Latvia apparently continue to be

<sup>1</sup> Andersons, 1953: 79, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Rutkis, 1967: 501, and personal observations of F. Harned.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.: 501, 547.

<sup>4</sup> See Glimpses of Latvian Culture, 1971: 21-22.

<sup>5</sup> Rutkis, 1967: 517-518.

concerned with national or non-Soviet cultural values. There has been frequent criticism of these writers and of the organizations responsible for their work in the Party press, as well as some arrests.<sup>1</sup> (For information on Latvian literary journals and press see the section on media.)

The Latvian republic is regarded as one of high culture in the USSR. Riga is a highly developed and well maintained metropolis with architectural and cultural features similar to those of other large European cities. Latvia has ten theaters. Most of them are located in Riga. They include the Opera and Ballet Theater; the Rainis, a Latvian Drama Theater; the Russian Drama Theater; the Youth Theater; and the Komsomol Theater. The Riga Cinema Studio produces films in both Latvian and Russian. The Latvian Academy of Sciences (established in 1946) consists of 16 scientific institutions and a personnel of 1500 including 45 academicians. Latvia has also an Academy of Agriculture, an Art Academy, and the Stuchka Latvian State University. The Latvian Public Library holds three million volumes (1967). The Riga Museum of Fine Arts and the Museum of Latvian History are well known throughout the republic.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Ekmanis, 1972: 60; Estonian Events (February), 1968: 4: 1, and (December), 1968: 11: 1; Cina, (September 15), 1970 and (March 3), 1972.

<sup>2</sup>Nar. obraz., 1971: 334; SSSR, 1967: 591; Nar. khoz. 1970: 660, 674.

## II. External Relations

Unlike their neighbors, the Estonians and the Lithuanians, the Latvians have no unambiguous established external face which can provide support for their national distinctness. Estonians in Tallinn can receive and understand the radio and television broadcasts of their Finnish cousins across the Gulf. The ethnic and linguistic tie reinforces their own national awareness of being non-Russian and non-Slav. The Catholic Lithuanians have the Church and can argue for religious policies on the model of those prevailing in neighboring Poland. The Latvians have no ethnic relatives except the Lithuanians and the role of Lutheranism as a national church is not clear. Although they received a great deal of German cultural influence, the memory of the Baltic barons and of German policies during the two World Wars is still strong. Sweden is home for several thousand Latvian emigres and serves as a center for many of their political and intellectual activities. But it is ethnically and linguistically foreign. Great Britain gave Latvia some support in the struggle for independence, but on the whole the Latvians are relatively isolated.

Their position as a small, developed, Europeanized segment in a large, mostly Slavic state is shared by their two small neighbors. There was some limited cooperation among the three Baltic states during the period of independence, but it was not carried very far. This was in part due to Lithuania's involvement in the dispute with Poland over Vilnius. The Soviets have allowed a slowly increasing amount of inter-republic cooperation among the three. For some purposes they treat the Baltic region (the three republics plus the Kaliningrad oblast) as a unit, with Riga as the principal headquarters. This practice has contributed to the flow of Russian officials into Riga, however, and under Soviet conditions could at best be of only limited support in maintaining the distinctiveness of the region.

The Latvians are one of those USSR nationalities who have a relatively large and nationally conscious emigration. Latvians in the emigration population have worked to preserve and expand their national culture and have maintained contacts and communication with their homeland. They have also tried to make world opinion aware of the mode of Latvia's accession to the Soviet Union and the position of its people.

Latvian language periodicals are published in the West, and several Latvian publishing houses are maintained by the émigrés. Latvians played a leading role in the establishment of the Baltiska Institutet in Stockholm and of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies, headquartered in New York. Latvian National Associations exist in almost every city that has a Latvian community. They sponsor special schools for their children, cultural festivals, radio broadcasts, and news publications on the developments in Soviet Latvia. Judging from the reaction of the Soviet press, their influence in the homeland is not inconsiderable. The authorities of Soviet Latvia make a special effort to reach their emigrant co-nationals through special broadcasts and publications, as well as through encouraging tourism to their former homeland.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Personal conversations with a number of such tourists in June, 1973 gave a clear impression that the effect of these programs is not necessarily favorable to the regime, either among the tourists or among their relatives and friends in Latvia.

LATVIA AND THE LATVIANS

PART B

Media

## 1. Language Data

The Latvian and Lithuanian languages are the only surviving members of the Baltic group of Indo-European languages. They are clearly distinct, in vocabulary, structure and morphology, from the Germanic and Slavic languages of the surrounding countries.<sup>1</sup> Books appeared in Latvian as early as the 17th century. The standard literary form of the language was established during the National Awakening of the second half of the 19th century and the period of independence (1918 to 1940). The current system of orthography uses the Latin alphabet with certain diacritic marks.

In 1970 more than 95% of the Latvians in the USSR, and more than 98% of those resident in Latvia, considered Latvian their native language (see Table B.1.).<sup>2</sup> By comparison, 97.9% of the Lithuanians of the Soviet Union--who are only marginally more concentrated in their own republic than are the Latvians--considered Lithuanian their native tongue. Similarly, almost 96% of Estonians, fewer of whom live in Estonia, considered Estonian their first language.<sup>3</sup> Thus the loyalty of the Latvians to their national language would appear to be slightly less than that of their neighbors. However, it is well above that of the Ukrainians, Belorussians, or Armenians.

In 1970, more than half of the total population of Latvia (56.9%, including some 29,000 non-Latvians) claimed that Latvian was their native language. An additional 8% claimed fluency in Latvian as a second language. Approximately two-fifths of the population claimed Russian as a native language, and another one-third claimed Russian as their second language. Thus the proportions of the total population fluent in either one of the other of the two languages were quite similar--64.9% for Latvian, 67.2% for Russian.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Estonian, a Finnic language, is even more foreign. Only a few words of Finnic origin have been incorporated into Latvian.

<sup>2</sup> Itogi 1970: IV: 20, 280.

<sup>3</sup> In 1970, 94.1% of the Lithuanians in the Soviet Union lived in their own republic as did 93.8% of the Latvians and 91.9% of the Estonians in their respective republics. The figures for all three peoples represented increases over those for 1959. CDSF, XXIII: 16: 16-18.

<sup>4</sup> Itogi 1970: IV: 280. For the urban population, the figures are 55% Latvian, 70% Russian; for Riga, 51% Latvian, 81% Russian. See Ibid., 281, 283.



Table 8.1.  
Native and Second Languages Spoken by Latvians  
(in thousands)

Number of Latvians residing:	Speaking as their Native Language						Speaking as a Second Language <sup>a</sup>	
	1959		1970		Percentage Point Change 1959-1970		Russian 1970	
	1959	1970	1959	1970	1959	1970	1959	1970
in the Latvian SSR	1,298 (92.7%)	1,342 (93.8%)	1,277 (98.4%)	1,316 (98.1%)	- 0.3	19 (1.5%)	25 (1.9%)	608 (45.3%)
in other Soviet republics	102 (7.3%)	88 (6.2%)	54 (52.9%)	45 (51.1%)	- 1.8	45 (44.1%)	40 (45.5%)	38 (43.2%)
Total	1,400 (100%)	1,430 (100%)	1,331 (95.1%)	1,361 (95.2%)	+ 0.1	64 (4.6%)	65 (4.5%)	646 (45.2%)
								10 (0.7%)
								5.6 (6.4%)
								4.4 (0.3%)

Latvia - Language Data - 1

Sources: Ito 1959: Tables 53-55; Ito 1970: IV: 20, 280; Kar. Khoz. 1972: 32.

<sup>a</sup> No data are available for 1959, since no questions regarding command of a second language were asked in the 1959 census.

# Latvia - Language Data - 3

Data from the 1970 census regarding native language by age indicates that, among all Latvians in the Soviet Union, those in their twenties and those over fifty-years-old are most likely to claim Latvian as their native language. The following table summarizes the data:

## Age Structure and Native Language of Latvians in the USSR, 1970

Age Group (years)	Number of Latvians	<u>Claiming Latvian as a Native Language</u>	
		<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage of Age Group</u>
0-10	215,689	207,889	96.4
11-15	94,056	90,808	96.5
16-19	64,234	62,254	96.9
20-29	179,944	176,048	97.8
30-39	202,149	197,477	97.7
40-49	170,654	166,619	97.6
50-59	133,817	131,625	98.4
60+	295,966	292,414	98.8
Total	1,429,844 <sup>1</sup>	1,361,414	95.2

<sup>1</sup> Data for age groups is for Latvians in the Latvian SSR and other major regions of settlement; 94.9% of the total number of Soviet Latvians is included in this listing, whereas the total given in the table is for all Soviet Latvians. Itogi 1970: IV: 360(n), 363.

## II. Local Media

Latvia achieved general literacy by the beginning of the twentieth century. Its population has been plentifully supplied with reading materials by the Soviet regime. A total of 76 newspapers are published in Latvia, 49 in Latvian and the rest in Russian (see Table B.2.). Their 1971 average circulation (1,297,000) amounted to 71.8 copies of Latvian newspapers per 100 inhabitants of the republic who considered Latvian their native language, and 39.0 per 100 Russian speakers.<sup>1</sup> The Russian speakers have, of course, the centrally published newspapers available as well.

Of the nine all-republic newspapers, the most important are the two dailies, Cīņa [Struggle] (in Latvian, with a 1970 circulation of 190,000) and Sovetskaya Latvija (in Russian, circulation, 105,000), organs of the CC CP Latvia and the LSSR Council of Ministers; the Komsomol papers, Padomju Jaunatne [Soviet Youth] (circulation, 157,000) and Sovetskaya molodyozh [Soviet Youth] (circulation, 152,000); and Literatūra un Māksla [Literature and Art] (circulation, 48,000), a weekly organ of the Writer's Union as well as those of other creative artists.<sup>2</sup> Dzimtenes Balss [Voice of the Homeland], a weekly publication for Latvians abroad, is counted among the all-republic papers.

The eleven city newspapers include Latvian and Russian language pairs for the cities of Riga (and Jūrmala), Jelgava, Liepāja, Ventspils, and Rezekne; Daugavpils is served by a Russian paper alone. The 1970 circulation of Rīgas Balss [Voice of Riga] was 78,000 in Latvian and 61,000 in Russian.<sup>3</sup>

Two-thirds of the 27 magazines published in Latvia are in Latvian. In 1970, they had a total per issue circulation of 1,043,000, 93% in Latvian. Thus, Latvian-language readers are far better supplied with locally produced journals than are the Russian readers. Magazines published

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<sup>1</sup>Computed from Pechat' 1971: 189 and Itogi 1970: IV: 280.

<sup>2</sup>Preses Hronika, December 1970: 79-111. This is a monthly listing of publications in Latvia. Once a year it carries complete information on journals and newspapers.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

Table 8.2. Publications in the Latvian SSR

Year	Newspapers		Magazines		Books and Pamphlets		
	Copies '100 in Language Group	No.	Per Issue Circulation (1000)	Copies '100 in Language Group	No. of Titles	Total Volume (1000)	Copies '100 in Language Group
1940	194	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	700	2,910	442.9
1941	331	10	75	8.8	1,140	2,646	311.8
1942	632	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,256	9,737	746.1
1943	966	17 <sup>b</sup>	1,019	75.8	1,169	12,625	938.9
1944	0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0	0	0
1945	0	0	0	0	3	56	32.8
1946	0	N.A.	N.A.	---	(21) <sup>c</sup>	(202) <sup>c</sup>	---
1947	0	0	0	---	(82) <sup>c</sup>	(289) <sup>c</sup>	---
1948	826	15	474	22.6	1,977 <sup>c</sup>	12,849	613.8
1949	1,297	27	1,094	46.3	2,394 <sup>c</sup>	15,616	660.5

<sup>a</sup>1940 figures do not include kolkhoz newspapers.

<sup>b</sup>Includes journals appearing simultaneously in Russian and Latvian.

<sup>c</sup>Book totals as given in Pechat' sometimes differ from totals in language categories. The indication is that books are published in other languages, but no data is given.

Figures in parentheses are the presumed production of books in other languages based on this discrepancy.

Latvia - Local

Media -

Source: Pechat' 1949: 58, 129, 165;  
Pechat' 1971: 96, 159, 189.

in Moscow are readily available in Latvia, which redresses the balance. The most important journals, with their 1970 circulation figures, are Padomju Latvijas Komunisti (16,300; also published in Russian as Kommunist Sovetskoi Latvii, circulation 5,100), the Party monthly; Zvaigzne [Star] (111,700), a popular fiction fortnightly; Karogs [Banner] (18,000), the journal of the Writers' Union; Veseliba [Health] (162,000), the Ministry of Health's journal of popular medicine; Padomju Latvijas Sieviete [Soviet Latvian Woman] (169,700), a political and literary journal for women published by the CC CP Latvia; and Dadzis [Burdock] (76,400), the official satirical journal.

In the realm of book publishing, only Estonia publishes more titles per capita, or larger editions per capita, than Latvia does. However, the proportion of Latvian-language books out of all books published in Latvia has steadily declined from a high of 81% of new titles in 1945 to slightly over 50% in 1970.<sup>1</sup> Almost all the rest are published in Russian. In volume, Latvian books have consistently outnumbered the Russian by three or four to one. In 1970, nearly one-quarter of the titles appearing in Latvian, encompassing over two-fifths of the total volume, were translations from other languages, especially Russian.<sup>2</sup>

The Baltic republics are far better supplied with radio and television receivers than the rest of the Soviet Union. In 1971, Latvia had more TV sets per 1000 inhabitants than France had in 1969.<sup>3</sup> There was a radio or radio-phonograph for every third inhabitant. Wired loudspeakers constituted only 16% of the radio receiving points in Latvia, less than half of the all-union average.<sup>4</sup> This supply of selector receivers, coupled with Latvia's geographic position, suggests that the country has a high capacity for receiving foreign broadcasts. Radio Luxembourg, in particular, is a popular source of western music.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> LTS, 1971: 418. Latvian-language books are published in larger editions, so that four-fifths of all copies of books published in Latvia in 1970 were in Latvian. This percentage has been increasing since 1965.

<sup>2</sup> Pechat' 1970: 96.

<sup>3</sup> 202 vs. 201, or one set for every five persons. Nar. khoz. 1972: 628;

<sup>4</sup> Statistical Yearbook, 1970: 805.

<sup>5</sup> Computed from Nar. khoz. 1972: passim.

<sup>6</sup> Personal communication, June 1973.

In 1968, Latvian SSR Radio broadcast four separate programmes, including one in stereo, for a total of 27 hours daily. Broadcasting is in Latvian and in Russian. A foreign service in Latvian and Swedish is also maintained.<sup>1</sup> Small local stations also exist in the cities of Jelgava and Rezekne, in 26 raions, and in many sovkhozy, kolkhozy and large industrial establishments.<sup>2</sup> Amateur radio is widely popular. Organized and encouraged by DOSAAF, some 30,000 amateurs, operating 300 stations, were registered in 1968.<sup>3</sup>

Eight TV stations existed in Latvia in 1970, but none originated local programming except the one in Riga. There are two programmes available. TV Riga broadcasts approximately five and a half hours per day, roughly two-thirds of which is of local origin (in both Latvian and Russian), the rest from Moscow. Central television broadcasts about 14 hours per day. On TV Riga, programming in Latvian averages just under two hours per day, out of the total five to six hours; on Central television, all programming is in Russian.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>LME, 1970: III: 119.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.: 116.

<sup>4</sup>See, e.g., schedules in Sovetskaya Latviya (July 23), 1972.

Table 8.4.

## Electronic Media and Films in the Latvian SSR

Year	Radio			Television				Movies  /100 Seats popula- (1000) tion			
	No. of Stations  of Wired Sets (1000)	No. of /100 popula- tion	No. of wireless sets (1000)	No. of Stations	Of Which Stations Originating Programming	No. of sets (1000)	/100 popula- tion				
1960	*	183	8.5	419	19.5	4	1	83	3.9	119	5.6
1970	*	245	10.3	787	33.0	8	1	459	19.2	177	7.4
1971	*	263	10.9	865	35.9	8	1	487	20.2	180	7.5

\* Numerical data are not available. See text.

Sources: Televedeniye i radioveshchaniye, 1972: 12, 13; Pechat' i kulturno-prosvetitel'nye uchrezhdeniya Latvifskoi SSR, (Riga: Statistika, 1967), 24; Nar. khoz. 1972: 622, 628; Nar. khoz. Latvii 1971: 239, 358; Transport i svyaz' SSR, 1972: 296-298; and Nar. obraz., 1971: 325.

Latvia - Local  
Media - 5

### III. Educational Institutions

General education in the Latvian Republic is provided chiefly in unified eight-year schools. The abolition of Khrushchev's educational reforms in the early 1960s included a return to the Soviet standard of general seven-year education. Pressure from Baltic educators and writers, however, led to the decision to allow these three republics to resume the more traditional eight-year period.<sup>1</sup> Four-year primary schools exist almost exclusively in rural areas, and their number has been halved since 1945.<sup>2</sup>

Official reference sources do not distinguish among these schools by language of instruction. One Western source estimated that Russian-language general education schools enrolled about one-third of all students in 1955-1956.<sup>3</sup> During the 1960s this proportion may have been reduced by the marked increase in schools with classes taught in both Latvian and Russian. There were 240 of these bilingual schools in 1967, out of a total of some 1200. Almost one-third of the country's school children were enrolled in them.<sup>4</sup> The proportion of children of any given nationality attending the bilingual schools is not known. It may be presumed that they include many of the largest schools, especially in the cities and that the continued consolidation of rural schools has added to their number. In Latvian-language schools, Russian is a compulsory subject, beginning in the second grade.<sup>5</sup>

Roughly two-thirds of the graduates of the eight-year schools continue their education in either general secondary or specialized secondary schools.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vardys, 1967:60-61; Bilinsky, 1968:424; Pennar, 1971:241.

<sup>2</sup>LTS, 1971:389

<sup>3</sup>Rutkis, 1967:574.

<sup>4</sup>Izvestia (Jan. 5), 1967:3. See also Vardys, 1967:60; Pennar, 1971:241.

<sup>5</sup>LME, III:160.

<sup>6</sup>Computed from LTS, 1971:391, 397. Many others continue in evening schools for working and rural youth. See Ibid.:392.



About one-third of the students in these schools have a chance to go on to one of Latvia's ten higher educational institutions or vuzy.<sup>1</sup> In 1971, the enrollment in Latvia's 55 specialized secondary schools was 38,600.<sup>2</sup>

The most important vuzy in Latvia include the Latvian State University named for Peteris Stucka, at Riga; the Riga Polytechnical Institute; the Latvian Agricultural Academy, and other specialized institutes for medicine, pedagogy, music, and art.<sup>3</sup> Both Latvian and Russian tend to be used for teaching at these institutes, except for the University, where many courses are available in Latvian only.<sup>4</sup>

Latvia is well supplied with educated manpower. With Estonia, she tops the list of Soviet republics in specialists with higher or specialized secondary education working in the economy (78 per 1000 inhabitants).<sup>5</sup> Only 55% of these, however, are Latvian.<sup>6</sup> Only 47% of the students in Latvia's vuzy in 1970-1971 were Latvians, down from 64% in 1960-1961, whereas the Latvian share of the population had diminished only from 62.0% to 56.8% during the same period.<sup>7</sup> When ranked by nationality, Latvians are sixth in the ratio of specialists with higher education to population.<sup>8</sup> Their ranking in the proportion of students is lower; Latvians are eleventh among the

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<sup>1</sup>Nar. khoz. 1972:629. In the USSR, the term vuz (vyssheye ychebnoye zavedeniye [higher educational institutions]) refers to such institutions as universities, technical institutes, agricultural academies, etc.

<sup>2</sup>Computed from average class size and rate of vuz matriculation. LTS, 1971:397; Nar. obraz., 1971:173.

<sup>3</sup>For a complete list, see Rutkis, 1967:575-576. For enrollments, see LTS, 1971:400.

<sup>4</sup>Dreifelds, 1970:4.

<sup>5</sup>Computed from Nar. obraz., 1971:234.

<sup>6</sup>Pennar, 1972:249.

<sup>7</sup>Computed from Nar. obraz., 1971:201. 88% of Latvian college students are in school in Latvia.

<sup>8</sup>The first five, in order, are: Jews, Georgians, Armenians, Estonians, Russians. From Nar. obraz., 1971:240.

nationalities in this study in the ratio of vuzy students to population, and tenth in students in specialized secondary education.<sup>1</sup> Complete secondary education in Latvia is more thorough than in the other republics: it entails 11 years of study instead of the ten years required elsewhere.

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<sup>1</sup>Nar. obraz., 1971: 196. The comparatively low proportion of the Latvian population in the corresponding age brackets should be considered here.

Table B. 4.

Selected Data on Education in the Latvian SSR (1971)

Population: 2,409,000

(p.629)	<u>All Schools</u>		Per 1000	
	- number of schools	- 1,137	pop.	.47
	- number of students	- 358,000		149.6
(p. 627)	<u>Newly Opened Elementary, Incomplete Secondary, and Secondary Schools</u>			
	- number of schools	- 11		
	- number of student places	- 6,800		2.8
(p. 629)	<u>Secondary Special Schools</u>			
	- number of schools	- 55		
	- number of students	- 38,600		16.0
(p. 629)	<u>Institutions of Higher Education</u>			
	- number of institutions	- 10		
	- number of students	- 41,000		17.0
(p. 439)	<u>Universities</u>			
	- number of universities	- 1		
	- number of students		Percent of	
	total	- 8,641	3.59	Total
	day students	- 3,879	1.6	44.9%
	evening students	- 1,724	0.72	20.0%
	correspondence students	- 3,038	1.26	35.1%
	- newly admitted			
	total	- 1,669	0.69	
	day students	- 894	0.37	53.6%
	evening students	- 300	0.12	18.0%
	correspondence students	- 475	0.20	28.4%

Selected Data on Education in the Latvian SSR (1971) (continued)Universities (continued)

## - graduated

total	- 1,250	0.5	
day students	- 767	0.32	61.4%
evening students	- 213	0.09	17.0%
correspondence students	- 270	0.11	21.6%

Graduate Students

- total number of	- 914	0.38	
- in scientific research institutions	- 325	0.13	
- in universities	- 589	0.24	

p. 619)

Number of Persons with  
Higher or Secondary (Complete  
and Incomplete) Education

- per 1000 individuals, 10 years and older	- 517		
- per 1000 individuals employed in national economy	- 661		

(p. 626)

Number of Workers Who Are  
Graduates of Professional-  
Technical Schools

- 15,400	6.39		
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#### IV. Cultural and Scientific Institutions

The Latvian Academy of Sciences was founded in 1946. As of January 1970, it encompasses 14 research institutes organized into three divisions (physics and technical science, chemistry and biology, and social sciences), plus a general library. Its presidents have all been ethnic Latvians, although K. Plaude, president since 1960, and both of the vice presidents spent the inter-war years in the Soviet Union. The Director of the Institute of History, A. Drizulis, who is also a secretary of the CC CP Latvia, was reared and educated in Russia. At the end of 1968, the Academy had 23 full members and 25 corresponding members. Twenty of the former and 19 of the latter have Latvian surnames; the rest appear to be of Slavic origin.<sup>1</sup>

The 1971 production of the Riga Film Studio included 7 full-length films (six features and one documentary), and 79 shorter films, cartoons and newsreels. There are 1,172 movie houses and 129 mobile film units in Latvia. The average citizen of the republic goes to the movies 16 times per year, somewhat less than the average Soviet citizen (19 times).<sup>2</sup> Russian-language and foreign films are shown with Latvian subtitles. This substitution for the Russian language occurs only in the Baltic republics and Kazakhstan.<sup>3</sup>

Except for cinematography, publishing and the electronic media, cultural affairs in Latvia are guided by the Ministry of Culture. Its guidance includes budgetary allocations as well as controls over the "ideological and artistic quality" of dramatic, musical, and artistic works.<sup>4</sup> Museums, libraries, clubs, parks and the zoo are all under the Ministry of Culture. V. Kaupuzh, a musician reared in independent Latvia, has been Minister of Culture since 1962.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> LME: I: 411, 677; III: 42, 606, 761-763.

<sup>2</sup> Nar. obraz., 1971: 327, 330; Nar. khoz. Latvii 1972: 358-359.

<sup>3</sup> Taagepera, Estonian Events (December), 1970: 23: 5, citing Sirp ja Vasar (September 4), 1970.

<sup>4</sup> LME, 1969: II: 580.

<sup>5</sup> LME, 1969: II: 56.

Ten professional theaters were operating in Latvia at the end of 1970, including the State Opera and Ballet Theater. Seven are located in Riga, and three in other cities. Four perform only in Latvian, two only in Russian, and four perform in both languages. Amateur theater has always been very popular. The best amateur companies are awarded the title of "People's Theaters." Eighteen of these existed in 1969, 13 Latvian, 3 Russian, and one (in Rezekne) with both Latvian and Russian companies.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>LME, 1969: II: 708-709; and 1970: III: 501; Rutkis, 1967: 552-553.

Table B.5.

Selected Data on Scientific and Cultural Facilities and Personnel in  
Latvian SSR (1971)

Population: 2,409,000

Academy of Science

- number of members	51
- number of scientific institutions affiliated with the Academy	16
- total number of scientific workers in these	1,558

Museums

- number of museums	54
- attendance	2,717,000
- attendance per 1000 population	1,128

Theaters

- number of theaters	10
- attendance	2,203,000
- attendance per 1000 population	914

Number of persons working  
in education and culture

- total	81,000
- no. per 1000 population	33.6

Number of persons working  
in science and scientific  
services

- total	27,000
- number per 1000 population	11.2

Number of public libraries

1,511

- number of books and magazines in public libraries	16,643,000
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Number of clubs

1,021

Source: Nar. khoz. 1972: 106, 451, 625.

LATVIA AND THE LATVIANS

PART C

National Attitudes



## I. Review of Factors Forming National Attitudes

The Latvians are a small people, ethnically distinct from their neighbors except for the Lithuanians. For centuries they have maintained their distinctiveness in spite of assimilative efforts by their German and Russian overlords. The development of an intelligentsia in the latter half of the nineteenth century coincided with a period of rapid industrial development, resulting in the formation of both nationalist and socialist-internationalist trends. During the Russian Civil War the Latvians became even more divided amongst themselves--pro-Communists against anti-Communists--than were the Estonians or Lithuanians. The establishment of the independent Latvian republic isolated most pro-Bolshevik Latvians, however, and Stalin's purges decimated those Latvians who lived in the USSR. There were few native Communists with strong local ties left by the time Latvia became part of the Soviet Union.

Oriented toward west-central Europe by their heritage of Germanic culture, religion, alphabet, and historic trade ties, the Baltic peoples are the most Westernized portion of the Soviet population and have served as a major channel for the introduction of Western ideas and fashions into the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup> Their higher level of economic development and welfare, both at the time of incorporation into the Soviet Union and at present, combines with this background to produce an environment in which the Latvians may well feel themselves superior to the Russians and other Slavs.<sup>2</sup>

The incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union occurred within the lifetime of almost 60% of its present population.<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that Soviet historiography has slowly eliminated references to the significant roles played by the "changed international circumstances" (a euphemism for the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) and by the Red Army, the Sovietization of Latvia was neither free nor voluntary. In fact, it led to the deportation of most of its political leaders and a major portion of its mobilized and educated population, as well as to considerable emigration. This traumatic series of

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<sup>1</sup> Rein Taagepera, 1972. For a Soviet viewpoint, see Vasilii Aksenov, A Ticket To The Stars (N.Y. Signet Books, 1963), passim.

<sup>2</sup> King, 1968: 62. For a similar sentiment among Lithuanians, see Analyst (November), 1972: I: 18: 4.

<sup>3</sup> Latvian Latvia (June 10, 1971).

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MASSACHUSETTS INST OF TECH CAMBRIDGE CENTER FOR INTE--ETC F/6 5/4  
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events left many Latvians with relatives in the West, a factor which has led the Soviet regime to make unceasing efforts to counter and discredit the information and political activities of the exiles.<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet period of Latvian history has seen a continued large immigration of Russians and other Slavs into the republic. This has significantly reduced the predominance of ethnic Balts in the population, especially in the cities. A great deal of this immigration was connected with the re-establishment of heavy industry in Latvia, and some natives have argued that a primary purpose of such industrialization was to provide for the importation of Russians.<sup>2</sup> The small size and slow growth of the native contingent in the CPL have meant that political power in the republic was and continues to be exercised by Russians and by imports of Latvian origin who had long been resident in Russia and who speak Latvian imperfectly. This leadership has resisted the tendency to become "re-nationalized" and to act as a buffer between Moscow and national communists that seems to have prevailed in Estonia.<sup>3</sup> They remain close to the Moscow line, perhaps influenced by the rise of one of their number, Arvids Pelshe, to the Chairmanship of the CPSU Party Control Committee. The one attempt of native communists to gain influence and to speak out for republic and national interests was crushed in 1959.<sup>4</sup>

The attitudes of Latvians today toward the Soviet system in general and toward the future of their nation in particular are of course difficult to determine. Most information has to be gleaned from official publications, private communications, and the reports of visitors. Latvian participation in samizdat has been relatively small, especially in comparison to the activities of Estonians, Lithuanians, and the Jewish population of Riga. The latter group has played a conspicuous role in the current Jewish awakening in the Soviet Union. Such sources do, however, provide many indications that the Latvians are concerned--perhaps increasingly so--about the preservation of their national culture.

<sup>1</sup> E.G. see Cina (February 24), 1972, wherein the exiled Social Democratic leader Dr. Bruno Kalnins is accused of forging the "Letter of 17 Latvian Communists"; and Radio Liberty Dispatch, Dissidents Among the National Minorities in the USSR (August 29), 1972: 4.

<sup>2</sup> See "Nationality Problems: Latvia," Soviet Analyst (March 2), 1972: 1: 1: 4.

<sup>3</sup> Taagepera, 1972: 7-9.

<sup>4</sup> On the events of 1959 see the section on nationalism.

The leadership of the Latvian CP has frequently attacked any expression of nationalist feelings and "political immaturity" thereby demonstrating the persistence of such feelings. Cīna criticized the Union of Writers and Artists in September of 1970 for not giving sufficient attention to the "ideological growth" of its members. The 1972 Congress of the Latvian Komsomol also heard criticism of poor political education work among young writers.<sup>1</sup> The existence of cultural nationalism and a desire on the part of young Latvian writers to reevaluate those parts of the Latvian literary heritage that have been denigrated by the Soviets has been documented by Rolfs Ekmanis of Arizona State University.<sup>2</sup>

Augusts Voss, First Secretary of the CPL, has repeatedly castigated survivals of bourgeois nationalism among the population.<sup>3</sup> The publication of an official rebuttal--a highly inadequate one--to the so-called "Letter of 17 Latvian Communists," is evidence of the interest created by this letter when it was re-broadcast to Latvia by Radio Liberty.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cīna, September 15, 1970; March 3, 1972. Sovietskaya Latviya (March 10), 1973, repeats criticism of this kind and directly connects it to nationalism. Translated in FBIS (March 19), 1973: FBIS -SOV-73-53: III: J2-J5.

<sup>2</sup> Ekmanis, 1972: 59-60, 66.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, his articles in Pravda (March 20), 1971, and in Politicheskoye samoobrazovaniye (June), 1972. The latter was quoted in Radio Liberty Dispatch (August 20), 1972: 4. Also see his speech to the XXI Congress of the CPL, Sovietskaya Latviya (February 26), 1971 (FBIS No. 55, Supp. 11, March 22, 1971, especially pages 60-61).

<sup>4</sup> Soviet Analyst (April 13), 1972: Vol 1: 4: 4, (April 13, 1972). Private communications in Riga in June, 1963 indicated a belief that the "Letter" could have originated locally.

## II. Basic Views of Scholars on National Attitudes

Rein Taagepera of the University of California at Irvine has written that "resistance to the regime has been sporadic, varied, and possibly slowly increasing in all Baltic republics."<sup>1</sup> He is less sanguine about the future of the Latvian nation, however, and concludes that it is in greater danger of assimilation than its neighbors. This is in large part due to the ever-increasing Russian population and the lack of support and protection from its own Party elite.

A major study of attitudes and social behavior in the area of national relations was conducted between 1964 and 1969 by a group of Soviet scholars led by A.I. Kholmogorov. His data showed a strong trend toward the growth of "international features" among the population of Latvia, but with some interesting variations. For example, although census data show that a great many use Russian at work, only 7.4% of the Latvians use Russian in the home.<sup>2</sup> Two-thirds of the Latvians surveyed said that they had friends from among other nationalities, a figure significantly below the 86% average for the non-Latvian residents of the republic.<sup>3</sup> Latvians were also noticeably less favorable to the idea of multinational work collectives than were the others, were less likely to have visited another Soviet Republic, and showed a stronger preference for their national culture.<sup>4</sup>

Other Soviet studies, including one by the ethnographer L. Terent'eva, have shown a marked increase in the frequency of mixed marriages in the city of Riga, from 30% in 1948 to 36% in 1963. Jānis Vitols has reported that 38% of the marriages in Riga in 1970 were between people of different nationalities.<sup>5</sup> The publication of Terent'eva's results in the Latvian journal Zinātne un Tehnika in 1970 apparently caused some commotion, as that issue of the journal was almost immediately withdrawn from public circulation.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Taagepera, 1972: 9.

<sup>2</sup>Kholmogorov, 1970: 119, 121.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.: 175.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.: 172, 180, 185.

<sup>5</sup>Nauka i tehnika (February) 1972: 32-35.

<sup>6</sup>The article is translated, with a commentary, in King, 1970. See also Terenteva's article in Sovetskaya etnografiya, 1969: 3: 20-30.

Kholmogorov's sample of several different parts of Latvia, however, indicated that Latvians were less prone to enter mixed marriages than were representatives of other nationalities. Only slightly over 11% of the Latvians he surveyed had made such marriages, vs. approximately a third of the Russian population.

Under Soviet law, the children of such marriages have the opportunity to choose the nationality of either one of their parents as their own for their internal passports. In Riga, the children of Latvian-Russian marriages showed a tendency to prefer Latvian registration 57% to 43%. Children of marriages between Latvians and members of other nationalities chose Latvian with even greater frequency.<sup>1</sup>

Such studies, though inconclusive, do tend to show that nationalist feelings and particularism have not disappeared among the Latvians. Although they have not been manifested in illegal dissent as frequently as among the other Baltic peoples, there have been other kinds of activities which will be discussed in the next section.

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<sup>1</sup>Zinātne un tehnika (August), 1970: 8: 12.

### III. Recent Manifestations of Nationalism

As Anthony Astrakhan, former Moscow correspondent for the Washington Post, wrote in 1970, "Nationalism in Estonia and neighboring Latvia is easy for a visitor to sense but hard to document. What you see with your eyes is more a wish for cultural autonomy than a plan or dream of seceding from the Soviet Union."<sup>1</sup> This observation seems to be more true for Latvia than for Estonia, where the Khronika [Chronicle] has reported the existence of an organized national movement. Still, a number of Latvians have been involved in illegal dissent in recent years. Teataja, an Estonian émigré journal, reported the trial of seven young Latvian writers and literary critics in May-June of 1968. Soviet underground channels carried reports of the arrest of ten persons who had gathered at the grave of Jānis Čakste, the first President of independent Latvia, on the 1969 anniversary of their Declaration of Independence, November 18.<sup>3</sup> In February 1971, three young Latvians were sentenced to prison terms for distributing anti-Soviet leaflets.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible that Latvians are among the self-styled "Democrats of Russia, Ukraine, and the Baltic States" who have authored two major pieces of samizdat literature. The Memorandum of this group, published abroad in December 1970, mentions Latvians among the "hundreds" who have been imprisoned for advocating the secession of their republics from the Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Washington Post (December 11), 1970.

<sup>2</sup>Cited in Estonian Events (December), 1968: 11: 1.

<sup>3</sup>Anthony Astrakhan, Washington Post (December 11), 1970.

<sup>4</sup>Latvian Information Bulletin (Latvian Legation, Washington, D.C.), (October), 1971: 4: 13.

<sup>5</sup>Myroslav Prokop, 1971; "Translations on USSR Political and Social Affairs," JPRS (December 9), 1971: 193: 4.

The most important document to have emerged from Latvia today is the "Letter of 17 Latvian Communists," (further referred to as Letter) which appeared in the West in January, 1972. Although its authors are unknown, as are the channels by which it reached the West, this document is widely held to be authentic.<sup>1</sup> In the Letter, the authors identify themselves as long-time Party members, all of whom were born in Latvia. Most of them appear to have formerly been Party undergrounders in bourgeois Latvia, who had become convinced that Leninism was being used consciously and deliberately as a screen for Great-Russian chauvinism. They recall that at the June, 1953 Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPL, the Russian domination of the Latvian Party and its apparatus was criticized as a distortion of the Leninist nationalities policy. The "thaw" lasted only a short time, however (it apparently reflected Beria's attempt to gain power in the Party by winning the support of the non-Russian cadres<sup>2</sup>), and Russification was resumed "ever more obtrusively and purposefully." The Letter then describes several aspects of that policy: 1) Russian control of the Second Secretary and Cadres Secretary posts; 2) importation of both construction workers and permanent labor for large new factories; 3) location of major military bases and All-Union health resorts in Latvia; 4) Russian domination of many government departments (65% of the doctors in the city health services are said not to speak Latvian, which causes "crude errors in diagnoses and the prescription of remedies"); 5) use of Russian for two-thirds of all radio and television broadcasts; and 6) insistence on conducting meetings in Russian even if there is only one Russian in the group. The authors conclude: "Everything national is being eliminated. Forced assimilation is being practiced. Peoples, cultures, and traditions do not have equal rights."

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<sup>1</sup>Brīvība, (January), 1972: 1 (225): 2-4; New York Times (February 27), 1972; Duevel, 1972; Soviet Analyst (March 2), 1972: I: 1: 3-6.

<sup>2</sup>See especially Duevel, 1972.



As one example of attempts by natives to resist this policy (others are implied but not described), the Letter recounts the Berklaivs affair in 1959, when a majority of the members of the Latvian Politburo began to support him in opposing Russification. Khrushchev himself came to Latvia and oversaw Berklaivs' dismissal. In the purge that followed, CPL First Secretary, J. Kalnberzins, was kicked upstairs to be Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Premier V. Lacis was removed, as were two other Central Committee CPL Secretaries, the Chairman of the Republic Trade Union, the editor of Cīņa, the First Secretary and several other members of the Riga City committee, the First and Second Secretaries of the Latvian Komsomol, and numerous other Party and government officials. According to the Letter, "today only foreigners and those Latvians who have lived all their lives in Russia and appeared in Latvia only after the Second World War work in leadership positions."<sup>1</sup>

After the Voice of America broadcast of the content of the Letter to the USSR, both the Russian and Latvian press organs of the CC CPL printed a rebuttal which failed to confront any of the major charges directly. Instead it concentrated on accusing émigrés of forging the letter and countered with information not related to the points raised in it.<sup>2</sup> The obvious inadequacy of the rebuttal points to the truth of the accusations and reveals the leadership's concern over the continued existence of nationalism in Latvia.

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<sup>1</sup>For additional references to the Berklaivs affair, see the section on demography.

<sup>2</sup>Soviet Analyst (April 13), 1972: 1: 4: 4-6.

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LITHUANIA AND THE LITHUANIANS

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LITHUANIA AND THE LITHUANIANS

PART A

General Information



## 1. Territory<sup>1</sup>

The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is the southernmost and largest of the three Baltic Republics which were incorporated into the Soviet Union in August 1940. Its 25,000 square-mile area is slightly less than the combined area of Belgium and the Netherlands. It is bordered by the Latvian SSR to the north, the Belorussian SSR to the east and south, the Kaliningrad oblast of the RSFSR in the west (formerly the Koenigsberg region of German East Prussia), and Poland to the southwest. The republic possesses some 60 miles of seacoast along the Baltic Sea, including the ports of Klaipeda (Memel) and Palanga. The capital is Vilnius (Russian, Vilna; Polish, Wilno).

Lithuania's history has been one of stubborn resistance to the encroachments of three powerful neighboring cultures, those of Germany, Poland, and Russia. Unlike their Latvian neighbors, the medieval Lithuanians successfully resisted German conquest and, in union with Poland, built a powerful empire. Russian pressure steadily reduced the size of their domain, and Polish influence their distinctiveness, until both were submerged in the partitions of Poland. When independence was reestablished in the aftermath of World War I, two major cities, Klaipeda and Vilnius, were in foreign hands.<sup>2</sup> Lithuania seized Klaipeda from Germany in 1923 and held it until 1939, but Vilnius remained under Polish control until the start of World War II.

Occupying the lower reaches of the Nemunas (Niemen) River basin, Lithuania is predominantly a relatively flat lowland, with many marshes, rivers, and glacial lakes. Highlands in the east and southeast reach a maximum elevation of 967 feet. Deciduous and fir forests cover 16% of the territory of the republic, some 58%

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<sup>1</sup>SSSR 1967: 567-8; Ekonomika Litvy 1970: Simutis, 1942: 16-18; LME, 1969: 2: 374-377.

<sup>2</sup>The historic Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, had at times more Poles and Jews than Lithuanians in its population. The adjacent territories are predominantly Lithuanian although a large Polish minority still lives there.

of which is used for agriculture.

Although Lithuania's latitude is roughly that of Moscow, the climate of the republic is considerably milder, due to the moderating influence of the Atlantic air mass and the Baltic Sea. Mean annual temperatures range from 23° F in January to 63° F in July. Average rainfall, much of which falls in August, ranges from 23 to 31 inches per year. The ground is frozen for about four months of the year. The climate is excellent for raising livestock and for growing flax.

Lithuania lacks any kind of fuel resources other than wood and peat. There is some iron ore, but the primary resources are chalk, gypsum, limestone, sand and clay. The Lithuanian seacoast has been known as a source of amber since the days of the Roman Empire.

## II. Economy

Unlike the other Baltic provinces, Lithuania remained economically underdeveloped during the Tsarist period. Except for some leather and metalworking, there was little industry because of the lack of raw materials, absence of a large port, and proximity to Germany.<sup>1</sup> Lithuania's abundant timber supplied a growing lumber industry in Klaipeda, then a part of Germany. Much of the land remained in large landed estates and was primarily used for the cultivation of grain crops or flax and for horse-breeding.<sup>2</sup> Dairying and swine and poultry raising were minimal.

Lithuania's industrial base, such as it was, was largely destroyed or dislocated during World War I. In the years that followed, the government of independent Lithuania pursued a consciously agrarian policy and encouraged the production of high-quality meats, eggs, and dairy products. These industries showed significant growth during the inter-war years, in part due to the very low level from which they began, and formed the predominant share of the country's exports.<sup>3</sup> A thorough land reform greatly improved the distribution of land holdings and had a great economic impact, since some 76% of the population depended on the land for their subsistence.<sup>4</sup> Industrial production also grew during the period, although at a slower rate. The primary industries included textiles, food and luxury goods, timber, clay, and stone products.<sup>5</sup> Klaipeda, re-united with the body of Lithuania in 1923-1939 and since 1945, remained the most industrialized area.

World War II and the imposition of the Soviet system again brought substantial damage to Lithuania's economy. Agricultural output of many important commodities such as rye, wheat, barley, sugar beets, and flax declined markedly in 1939-1950 and even between 1950 and 1955.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vardys, 1965: 21-22

<sup>2</sup>Simutis, 1942: 22, 66.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.: 51-65.

<sup>4</sup>Taagepera, 1972: 26-34; Sabaliunas, 1972: 4-5.

<sup>5</sup>Simutis, 1942: 68-70.

<sup>6</sup>Vardys, 1965: 154.

After the initial dislocation and disruption--in part conditioned by the widespread guerrilla warfare against the Soviets--Lithuania's economy began a period of remarkable growth and continuous industrialization. Although still trailing Latvia and Estonia in level of development, Lithuania has steadily gained on them and has surpassed much of the rest of the Soviet Union. Whereas only 22.9% of the population in 1939 lived in cities, the 1970 census showed that urban population slightly exceeded the rural population (50.2% to 49.8%). Estimates for 1971 placed 53% of the population in cities.<sup>1</sup> Lithuania led all union republics in the growth rate of its gross industrial product between 1949 and 1969. Official figures showed that this index grew 28-fold in the 29-year period, while the figure for the USSR as a whole was eleven-fold.<sup>2</sup> A 1972 report gave the volume of Lithuania's industrial output as 34 times higher than before the war, and electric power production over 90 times higher.<sup>3</sup>

1970 statistics list 28.5% of the working population as kolkhozniki or sovkhoz workers, and 27% as employed in industry.<sup>4</sup> The contribution of agriculture to the gross social product in 1970 was approximately half that of industry, again reflecting the growth of the latter in Lithuania's economy.<sup>5</sup> Within the sphere of agricultural production, dairying and livestock remained the most important branches. Together they accounted for almost 90% of the ruble payments to collective and state farms for agricultural produce in 1970.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 18, Nar. khoz. 1972: 594.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.: 421

<sup>3</sup>Soviet Life, Nov., 1972: 15.

<sup>4</sup>Data is for "kolkhozniki taking part in work" of kolkhozy, plus sovkhoz workers. Members of kolkhoz families are not included. Even so, collective farm workers outnumber sovkhoz workers by almost two to one.

<sup>5</sup>Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 47.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.: 185.

In 1965, 60% of Lithuania's total industrial production was accounted for by light industry, food, and fish, the earliest industries to be strongly developed.<sup>1</sup> The greatest growth during the 1960s, however, was experienced in heavy industry. The gross production of electrical energy in 1970 was nearly eight times the 1960 figure; chemical and oil refining, more than 13 times; machine-building and metalworking, almost six times; and construction materials, four times.<sup>2</sup> In the same period, the percentage of industrial workers employed in machine-building and metalworking grew from 23% to 33%, and that of workers in light industry and food production dropped from 45% to 38%.<sup>3</sup>

Lithuania produces machine tools and instruments, automation equipment, electronic computers, radio and TV sets, refrigerators, and fishing trawlers.<sup>4</sup> With 1.3% of the USSR's population, in 1970 it produced 11.3% of its metal-cutting lathes, 5.5% of its socks and stockings, 4.8% of its fish, and 4.1% of its animal fats.<sup>5</sup>

The growth of Lithuania's economy has corresponded with a growth in the indicators of the standard of living. The republic led all union republics in the growth of its national income between 1960 and 1970; in savings per capita it moved from ninth place to fifth during the same period. Lithuania's ranking in terms of per capita trade turnover went from fifth to third during the decade, so that it now trails only Estonia and Latvia, as is the case in terms of produced national income per capita. The republic ranked sixth among Soviet republics in doctors per 10,000 in 1971, up from eighth in 1966, and surpasses West Germany, France, and Italy in this respect.<sup>6</sup> Emerging from its long years of backwardness, Lithuania is rapidly assuming a leading position in the Union in terms of economic growth and development.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Litva, 1967: 315.

<sup>2</sup> Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 69. By contrast the growth of all industry was 269%, and light industry, 269%.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.: 101; Nar. khoz. Litvy 1965: 72.

<sup>4</sup> Soviet Life, Nov., 1972: 15.

<sup>5</sup> Nar. khoz. 1970: 70-79.

<sup>6</sup> Soviet Life, Nov., 1972: 15.

<sup>7</sup> Nar. khoz. 1970: 534, 563-564, 579; Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 457; Nar. khoz. 1972: 515ff; Nar. khoz. Latvii 1972: 56.

## II. History

By the beginning of the 13th century, the ancestors of the modern Lithuanians had established a feudal-noble social order, loosely uniting the several Baltic tribes under the leadership of five major families. These peoples had arrived in the region during the last two millennia B.C., and until the fourth century after Christ had occupied much of what today is Belorussia. The pressure of Slavic expansion had steadily forced them toward the north and west, where new threats confronted them: the Order of the Sword in Riga and the Teutonic Order in East Prussia. In part protected by their central position among the Baltic peoples, the Lithuanians avoided the respective fates of the Latvians (subjugation) and Old Prussians (annihilation) and formed a unified monarchy under Mindaugas.<sup>1</sup> In 1236 the Lithuanians and Slavs defeated the Order of the Sword at Siauliai. Mindaugas later accepted Christianity in exchange for recognition by the Germans, reorganized into the Livonian Order, as King of Lithuania. Continued incursions by the Order led him to renounce his decision. Gediminas (1316-1341) organized the territory into a Grand Duchy and founded the city of Vilnius as its capital in 1323.<sup>2</sup> Two of his sons succeeded him and extended Lithuania's power over Belorussia and most of the western Ukraine to the Black Sea. Lithuania thus became one of the largest empires of medieval Europe. Gediminas' grandson, Grand Duke Jogaila, was invited to marry the Polish Queen and become King of Poland in 1385, on condition that he unite the two states.<sup>3</sup> In exchange for formal subordination, he named his cousin Vytautas Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1392. At this beginning stage of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, the two states remained separate, under a common sovereign.<sup>4</sup> Together, Vytautas and Jogaila (called Jagiello by the Poles) soundly defeated the Teutonic Order at Tannenburg in 1410, ending the Germans' eastward expansion.<sup>5</sup>

The reign of Vytautas (1392-1430) marked the apex of Lithuanian power and territorial extent. He inflicted a Pyrrhic victory on the Tatars at Vorkala in 1399, ending their westward expansion. His daughter was regent in Moscow

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<sup>1</sup>Gerutis, 1969: 45-46.

<sup>2</sup>Stukas, 1966: 6.

<sup>3</sup>Vardys, 1965: 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Jurgela, 1948: 150-160.

and mother of Grand Duke Basil II.<sup>1</sup> During the same period, Catholicism became thoroughly entrenched as the national religion, opening the way to the influx of Western culture, which was received in Lithuania through Polish mediation. Its power and attraction led to an increase in Polish influence and the gradual Polonization of the Lithuanian nobility.

Simultaneously during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Muscovy was growing stronger and eating away at the Lithuanians' empire. The steady pressure from the east, the extra burden of protecting the territories of Latgale and Courland won in the Livonian War (1558-1582), and the end of the Jagiellonian dynasty led to the Union of Lublin (1572), which bound Lithuania still more tightly to Poland.<sup>2</sup> Under this agreement, Lithuania maintained a separate executive and judicial system and currency, but the person of the Grand Duke was formally united with that of the Polish King, while previously the two titles could be held by different people.<sup>3</sup> Further, the diets of the two countries were prohibited from meeting separately.<sup>4</sup>

Within the Union of Lublin, Lithuania was almost completely engulfed by European culture.<sup>5</sup> The Renaissance attracted the young nobility to European universities. The Polish language spread among the members of the nobility, eventually becoming their first language and, in 1698, the official language of all state institutions.<sup>6</sup> The University of Vilnius was founded in 1579 by Jesuits, who were a major force in bringing Western culture to the masses through sermons in the vernacular.<sup>7</sup> Culturally, Lithuania was well on its way

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<sup>1</sup>Vardys, 1965: 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.: 5-6; Gerutis, 1969: 78-80.

<sup>3</sup>In practice the titles of King and Grand Duke had been held by the same person, with few exceptions, since 1440 (Stukas, 1966: 14).

<sup>4</sup>Stukas, 1966: 16.

<sup>5</sup>Gerutis, 1969: 83.

<sup>6</sup>Stukas, 1966: 17.

<sup>7</sup>Gerutis, 1969: 86-89.

to becoming a part of Poland, although enough of a sense of difference remained for the Lithuanian nobility to play a major role in preventing the centralization of authority. They thus contributed to the decline of the state and left it an easy prey for its larger neighbors in the partitions of the 18th century.<sup>1</sup>

Although submerged, the Lithuanian language and culture remained alive, preserved by the lower classes, until revitalized by the nascent intelligentsia in the 19th century.

In 1796, Russia occupied all of Lithuania except for Klaipeda, the coast-line south of the city, and the area west to the Nemunas River, all of which fell to Prussia. These areas, together with the Lithuanian-inhabited areas around Koenigsberg which had been held by the Germans since the 15th century, were known as Lithuania Minor. It was here in the early 18th century, under the influence of Lutheran pastors and work at the University of Koenigsberg, that the development of Lithuanian into a literary language began.<sup>2</sup> The work was picked up at the University of Vilnius in the beginning of the nineteenth century; historical, folkloristic and linguistic researches began.<sup>3</sup> The ideas of Romanticism and nationalism engendered by Europe's Age of Revolution were echoed at the University. Students founded secret societies and discussed revolutionary ideas. Their activities led to the closing of the University (1832) as a part of the Tsarist reaction to the Polish-Lithuanian revolt of 1831.<sup>4</sup>

However, unrest was not eliminated; the Poles and Lithuanians rebelled again in 1863. Tsarist figures show that most of the battles occurred in Lithuanian districts.<sup>5</sup> The revolt bore a social as well as a national character as grievances were expressed over the emancipation of the serfs without ceding them any land and over impressment into the Army. Afterwards the Tsarist government sought to pacify the region by reducing Polish influence. Some improvement in the lot of the peasantry occurred vis-a-vis the Polish (or Polonized) landlords, and the publication of Lithuanian books in the Latin alphabet (a vehicle for Polish influence) was banned.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.: 99-103.

<sup>2</sup> Stukas, 1966: 64, 101-105.

<sup>3</sup> Gerutis, 1968: 112-117.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.: 119-120.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.: 126.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.: 129-131.



The latter measure had a decisively counterproductive effect, for Lithuanian books and periodicals in Latin were readily available in Lithuania Minor. The Church, led by Bishop Motiejus Valancius (1810-1875), refused to allow the printing of religious books in Cyrillic. To supply the need, Valancius assisted in the organization of a network of "book-carriers" who smuggled Lithuanian books and periodicals in the forbidden alphabet from Lithuania Minor. He also played a major role in creating a literate audience, having earlier established a wide system of schools in the parishes of his diocese.<sup>1</sup>

Patriotic and nationalist literature soon began to be spread throughout Lithuania by the book-carriers, who attained the status of folk heroes as cultural Robin Hoods.<sup>2</sup> The first such newspaper to appear was Ausra [Dawn], published in 1883-1886 by Dr. Jonas Basanavicius, who is regarded as a patriarch of the nation.<sup>3</sup> Varpas [The Bell], founded by Vincas Kudirka (1858-1899), was more directly politically oriented and printed harsh criticisms of Russian and Polish activities. Many others followed. The press ban provided a cause and created an underground communications network uniting representatives of the rising Lithuanian middle classes and the intelligentsia. By the time of its revocation in 1904, a strong national movement had emerged.

Socialist ideas were also emerging in Lithuania. Vilnius was an important center for the Jewish Bund, the Polish Socialist Party and the Lithuanian Social-Democrats.<sup>4</sup> As the Lithuanian proletariat was minimal, however, socialism remained more of an intellectual current and less of a popular one than was the case in neighboring Latvia. After the centuries of gradual Polonization and the

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<sup>1</sup>Stukas, 1966: 61-64.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.: 77.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. See also Jurgėla, 1948: 475-81, 488.

<sup>4</sup>Gerutis, 1969: 135.

blurring of the distinction between the two countries (both Poland and Lithuania consider Adam Mickiewicz [Adomas Mickevicius] a national poet), national identity remained the more burning issue. As a result, during the Revolution of 1905 the Assembly of Vilnius demanded autonomy for Lithuania.<sup>1</sup> This was one of the first such appeals within the Russian Empire.

During World War I, all of Lithuania was occupied by Germany from September 1915 until the end of the war. The Germans allowed the formation of a national council or Taryba at Vilnius in September 1917, which they hoped to use to legitimize their planned annexation of the country. The Council proved stubborn but realistic, cooperating when the pressure was on and resisting when it could. It proclaimed independence and perpetual union with Germany in December 1917 and unconditional independence in February 1918. In June it invited a German prince to become King of Lithuania, but withdrew the invitation in November 1918.<sup>2</sup> With the German surrender, the Taryba sought to form a provisional government in Vilnius. The Red Army, however, took the city in January 1919, proclaiming a Soviet regime under Vincas Mickivicius-Kapsukas. The Lithuanian nationalists retreated to Kaunas, where they began forming an army.

With some financial and material assistance from Western states, and especially with the inadvertent aid of the Bolsheviks, who had alienated the peasantry with their premature attempts at collectivization, the Lithuanians succeeded in advancing to the Daugava by August 1919.<sup>3</sup> They also defeated a German army under Bermond-Avalov in northern Lithuania in November 1919, but they were unable to retake Vilnius which had been seized by Poland. The Soviets reoccupied Vilnius during their advance on Warsaw in 1920 and abandoned it again after their defeat. A "rebellion," planned in Warsaw, left the city in Polish hands.<sup>4</sup> Trusting in the League of Nations, Lithuania sought the return of Vilnius through peaceful means. The League failed to act, in part due to France's support of Poland, and the dispute over the city poisoned Lithuanian-Polish relations throughout the inter-war period.

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<sup>1</sup>Vardys, 1965: 7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.: 13-14; Gerutis, 1969: 152-160.

<sup>3</sup>Vardys, 1965: 15.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.: 18.

The Lithuanian Constituent Assembly convened in May 1920 and adopted a Constitution in August 1922.<sup>1</sup> The government was to be formed by a President elected by the parliament, or Seimas, and was responsible to it. The 1922 elections returned too many different parties to the Seimas for a stable government to be formed. Center-right coalitions led by the Christian-Democrats held power until 1926, when they were dislodged by a Populist-Socialist coalition backed by parties of the German, Jewish, and Polish minorities. The leftist policies of this government and antagonism towards the Poles were key factors in leading Antanas Smetona, first President of the infant republic, and a strong nationalist, to seize power in December 1926 and organize a dictatorial regime.<sup>2</sup>

Despite its difficulties and short life, the democratic government was able to achieve an effective land reform and institute public education, permitting the Catholic church and national minorities to continue operating their own private school systems as well. Externally, the government seized Klaipeda from Germany in 1923, and the seaport was united with the hinterland for the first time in 700 years.

Smetona's nationalist regime was authoritarian and restrictive but not Fascist, although the president had expressed some admiration for Mussolini's theories. The regime was reluctant to use "arbitrary and excessive compulsion" against the opposition, which continued to exist, although hampered by press controls and a ban on opposition parties.<sup>3</sup> Economic and social policies tended to be conservative. Lithuania kept a balanced budget and took on little foreign debt. Investment was directed towards the encouragement of agriculture rather than industrial development.

Forced by Hitler's Germany to return Klaipeda in March 1939, the nationalist government lost so much support that it had to form a new cabinet which included Christian Democrats and Populists. This concession might have presaged a return to liberal politics,<sup>5</sup> but any such possibilities were cut short by the Soviet

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<sup>1</sup>Gerutis, 1969: 193-199.

<sup>2</sup>Vardys, 1965: 32-34; Sabaliunas, 1972: 6-8.

<sup>3</sup>Vardys, 1965: 30-31, 38-39.

<sup>4</sup>Vardys, 1965: 26.

<sup>5</sup>See Sabaliunas, 1972: 8-9.

intervention. The details were similar in all three Baltic republics: imposition of "Mutual Assistance Pacts" allowing the introduction of the Red Army, complaints that the governments were anti-Soviet and not living up to the Pacts, imposition of a new government hand-picked by a Soviet plenipotentiary, elections in which only the Communist slate was allowed, and new assemblies which "unanimously" voted for incorporation into the USSR.<sup>1</sup> In Lithuania's case the deal was sweetened by the return of Vilnius, which the Soviets had taken from Poland. Soviet policies in 1940-41, however, which included nationalizations, deportations, and persecution of the clergy, negated whatever good will might have been won by the offering of the historic city. When the Nazis attacked Russia in June, 1941, the Lithuanians rose up, hastening the Russians' retreat. Nationalist forces were in control of most major cities by the time the Germans arrived.<sup>2</sup>

Spurned in their efforts to win recognition from the Nazis, the Lithuanian nationalists turned to underground resistance and guerilla warfare and received widespread popular support.<sup>3</sup> The Nazi retreat did not end the struggle; guerrilla warfare against the Soviets dragged on for eight more years until the power of the KGB troops and the collectivization of the countryside effectively ended it. Soviet sources have estimated that some 20,000 on each side died in the fighting.<sup>4</sup> Save for the OUN movement in the Western Ukraine, the duration and scope of the Lithuanian armed resistance to Soviet power was unequalled among Soviet nationalities since the Basmachi rebellion in Central Asia during the 1920s.

The supremacy of the Soviet system in Lithuania appears to have become generally accepted during the mid-1950s. The Lithuanians have made the most of their new circumstances, achieving a truly remarkable rate of economic growth during the 1960s. The local Communist regime is led by native Lithuanians and

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<sup>1</sup> See Tarulis, 1959: 145-256.

<sup>2</sup> Vardys, 1965: 64-67.

<sup>3</sup> Vardys, 1965: 69.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.: 86. Khronika (July 2), 1971: 20, cites KGB sources as saying that 50,000 partisans died.

seems to be allowed substantial autonomy from Moscow. Things have not, however, been entirely peaceful. There were major riots in Kaunas in 1956 during the Hungarian Revolution. Educational and cultural cadres were purged for nationalism in 1959,<sup>1</sup> and religious and nationalist dissent surfaced repeatedly during the early 1970s, including major demonstrations in 1972.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lituanus (Summer), 1972:18:2:6; Pospelovsky, 1972: 4.

<sup>2</sup>See Part C.

## III. Demography

World War II and the imposition of the Soviet system were demographically disastrous for Lithuania. The Nazis inflicted losses of some 250,000 to 300,000 on the pre-war population of approximately three million, including the majority of the nearly 200,000 Jews in the country. Emigration of the German and Polish populations meant the loss of another quarter of a million persons. Aside from these war losses, Soviet rule brought mass deportations in 1940-41 and 1946-50. An authoritative western source has estimated a loss of 500,000 persons liquidated, confined to camps, dispersed, or deported.<sup>1</sup> Despite its relatively high birth rate, Lithuania's population in 1959 was smaller than in 1939.

According to census results, the population of the Lithuanian SSR on January 15, 1970, was 3,128,236. Of these, 80.1% were ethnic Lithuanians, 8.6% were Russians, 7.7% Poles, and 1.1% Belorussians, making Lithuania one of the most homogeneous of the Soviet republics. In sharp contrast to the case in the other Baltic republics (and, incidentally, in all other European Soviet republics), the indigenous nationality actually increased as a percentage of the total population between 1959 and 1970 (from 79.3% to 80.1%).<sup>2</sup> The total number of Lithuanians in the USSR increased by almost fifteen percent during the decade of the 1960s (a rate higher than that for any other European nation in the USSR except the Moldavians), and they have shown a strong loyalty to the republic. The proportion of all Soviet Lithuanians who live in the Lithuanian republic increased from 92.3% to 94.1% (again, the largest percentage increase among Soviet Europeans), and a Soviet source has indicated that of the 50,000 net immigrants to the republic in 1959-1970, over half were Lithuanians returning from other Soviet republics.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vardys, 1965: 240-241.

<sup>2</sup>See the comparative tables in the fifth volume of this series.

<sup>3</sup>P. Gaucas in Mokslas ir Gyvenimas [Science and Life], June 1971, cited in Taagepera, 1972b: 4.

Although a majority of the population lived in cities as of 1970, among Lithuanians in the republic the rural population still held a slight edge, 54% to 46%. In 1959, only one-third of the Lithuanians were urbanized. The cities of Lithuania have traditionally contained large populations of other ethnic groups. In the past, these have been primarily Jews and Poles (especially in Vilnius) and Germans (in Klaipeda).<sup>1</sup> Russians became a major component of the urban population after World War II. The urbanization of the ethnic Lithuanians in the 1960s, however, has given them a dominant position in the great population centers of the republic. In Vilnius their percentage of the population increased from 33.6% to 42.8% in 1959-1970; in Kaunas, from 82% to 84%; and in Klaipeda from 55% to 61%. This trend may well insure that these major cities will remain true national centers.<sup>2</sup>

The educational level of the population rose markedly in the 1960s. Only 23% of the population aged 10 and over had even a partial secondary education in 1959; 38% did in 1970. Still, the level remained low by all-Soviet standards; the corresponding averages for the USSR were 36% and 48%.<sup>3</sup> However, the Lithuanian figures for the working population were higher and showed an even more significant growth than those for the population at large--from 25% to 48.6%.

A Soviet source blames "the joyless heritage of bourgeois Lithuania" for the relatively low proportion of people with more than secondary education. Indeed, the proportion of people so educated in Lithuania in 1939 was less than half of that for Latvia and Estonia.<sup>4</sup>

The Communist Party of Lithuania has historically had a relatively small following, although its leadership is predominantly native-born. The Party was founded during World War I among Lithuanian refugees in Russia. During the inter-war years its membership never exceeded 2000, and much of it was apparently drawn from national minorities living in Lithuania.<sup>5</sup> By 1959 the

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<sup>1</sup>Many Poles continue to live in the Vilnius area. 18% of the city's population is Polish, and three surrounding rural raions publish newspapers in Polish. Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 36; Spaudos Metraštis, 1971:1:65-76.

<sup>2</sup>Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 36. See also Szporluk, 1971: 30.

<sup>3</sup>Nar. obraz. (August), 1971: Table 5. Lithuania has a relatively large aged population (15% of the inhabitants were over 60 in 1970, versus 11.8% for the all-Soviet average), which may account for much of the difference.

<sup>4</sup>Sovetskaya Litva (May 11), 1971:5.

<sup>5</sup>Vardys, 1965: 112-113.

party had grown to some 54,000 members, or 2% of the population of the republic at that time. This was well below the 4% of the USSR population in the CPSU. In 1971, with 122,469 members (3.9% of the population), the CP Lithuania was still the second smallest, relative to the population, among the European Soviet republic parties. The rank-and-file membership of the CP Lithuania has consistently contained a lower proportion of ethnic Lithuanians than does the general population. In 1961 62% of the CPL membership was Lithuanian, versus 79% of the population. In 1972, if all Lithuanians in the CPSU were members of the CPL, they would still constitute only 76% of the membership, versus 80% of the population.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, ethnic Lithuanians have dominated the top leadership of the CPL since the Khrushchev years. Antanas Sniechkus has been First Secretary of the party since 1936. Among current leaders of national communist parties, only Mao Tse-tung has greater seniority. Although in the early Soviet years as much as 50% of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian party was non-Lithuanian, the number of Lithuanians at this level has consistently increased. The Party bureau and secretariat elected in 1971 contained only one non-Lithuanian, the Russian second secretary Kharazov.<sup>2</sup> Western observers have referred to the CPL as "Sniechkus' personal machine" and noted that it is committed to developing Lithuanian culture.<sup>3</sup> Protection by the top party leadership has undoubtedly contributed to the maintenance of a more relaxed cultural atmosphere in the republic.

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<sup>1</sup>Vardys, 1964: 9-10, Tables 2a and 2b. There are no data on the number of Lithuanians in the CPL after 1961.

<sup>2</sup>Vardys, 1965: 115-122; Sovetskaya Litva (March 6), 1971.

<sup>3</sup>Vardys, 1965: 122; Taagepera, 1972c: 22.



## 1. Culture

Although religious books were published in Lithuanian in the mid-sixteenth century, Lithuanian secular literature is generally agreed to have begun with Kristijonas Donelaitis (1714-1780), whose principal work, The Seasons, depicts the life of the Lithuanian peasant through the year's cycle.<sup>1</sup> Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) is widely considered to be the greatest Lithuanian poet. Although he wrote in Polish, his works invoked the Lithuanian spirit and countryside. The national awakening movement in the second half of the 19th century was fed by numerous poets and writers, among them Antanas Baranuskas (1835-1902) and Maironis (1862-1932). The fact that these two men and many of the other writers were also Catholic clergy attests to the very close identification of the Church with Lithuanian culture and intellectual development.<sup>2</sup>

In 1940 over 80% of the population of Lithuania, and 94% of the ethnic Lithuanians, were Catholic.<sup>3</sup> Most of the rest were Lutheran, living in the areas formerly controlled by Germany. The educational system in Tsarist Lithuania was largely administered by the Catholic Church, and Catholic-oriented parties played a major role in the politics of independent Lithuania. Many churchmen supported the partisan warfare against the Soviets in the late 1940s. The establishment of Soviet power brought sharp persecution of both the clergy and believers,<sup>4</sup> but despite all pressures, there is ample evidence that Catholicism remains strong among Lithuanians. The Soviet press indicated in 1972 that a community of Lithuanians as far away as Kazakhstan continued to practice their beliefs.<sup>5</sup>

Catholicism and the impact of western ideas and values represent one major aspect of Lithuanian culture brought to the country through Poland. The impact of Polish culture was especially strong on the upper classes. However, among the peasantry traditional forms were preserved. As perhaps befits a nation only now in the full flood of modernization, distinctive folkloristic elements remain a second major strand in Lithuanian culture. The daina, a form of folk-song shared by the Lithuanians and Latvians, is considered a central part of the nation's creative heritage. Ceramics, woodcut, embroidery,

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<sup>1</sup> Stukas, 1966: 105-106; Litva, 1967: 103.

<sup>2</sup> Rimaitis, 1971: 1.

<sup>3</sup> Vardys, 1965: 21-22, 213.

<sup>4</sup> See The Church and State under Communism, 1965.

<sup>5</sup> Kaz. pravda (Aug. 27), 1972, translated in FBIS Daily Report (Sept. 14), 1972.

and the working of amber are highly developed; pictorial art, sculpture, mosaics and stained glass are popular forms. Of some 296 contributors to a USSR photo exhibition that toured the United States in 1970, 40, a full 10%, were Lithuanians.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most renowned Lithuanian artist is Mykolas Ciurlionis (1875-1911), whose work anticipated abstractionist and surrealist art.<sup>2</sup> Modern Lithuanian artists also experiment with abstract art and Western techniques, but are rarely allowed to exhibit them.<sup>3</sup>

Western critics have had relatively little praise for Soviet Lithuanian literature. However, young writers, such as J. Marcinkevicius, E. Miezelaitis, and R. Lankauskas have received some favorable attention, especially since 1960. Dramatists appear to have been somewhat bolder than other writers in testing the limits of permitted literary expression.<sup>4</sup> (See Section B-17.)

Exemplifying the twin elements of native tradition and Western influence, Lithuanian writers have described the character of their people as an interesting and complex mixture of western activity and purposefulness with eastern passivity. Lithuanians are said to be doggedly perseverent and inclined to resist authority passively, "except when authoritarianism exceeds reasonable limits."<sup>5</sup> Immanuel Kant has reportedly written that the Lithuanian "knows no servility. He is accustomed to speak to his superiors on terms of equality... [he] is proud, but knows nothing of arrogance."<sup>6</sup> The Lithuanians are proud of their historical and cultural traditions, and capable of working patiently at their problems despite obstacles. They are determined, realistic, and steady, placing a high value on moderation. Perhaps traits such as these are in part responsible for enabling them to make the most of the system that has been thrust upon them.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Contributors listed in "Soviet Union Today," a brochure accompanying the exhibition, published by Novosti Press Agency.

<sup>2</sup>Lituanus (Winter), 1965:XI:4:5-24.

<sup>3</sup>Private communications.

<sup>4</sup>Lituanus (Fall), 1966:XII:3:25-43; Vardys, 1965:197-214.

<sup>5</sup>Stukas, 1966: 172-173.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>For additional evaluations of the national character, see Simutis 1942: 112 and Sabaliunas 1972: 32.

## VI. External Relations

During its independence, Lithuania was clearly oriented to the west and was regarded by the intelligentsia as a Western European country.<sup>1</sup> Its economy was consciously modeled on that of Denmark, and its major trading partners were Germany and Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> The ideology of the nationalist dictatorship had many similarities to the ideas of Fascist Italy, although its application was more restrained.<sup>3</sup> Trade, religion, tradition, and intellectual currents all bound the country to the European world. In addition, beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Lithuanians had emigrated to the West, the great majority of them to America. These emigres played an active role in the struggle for their homeland's independence. Lithuanian-Americans sought to win United States recognition of the young government, bought bonds to finance its armament, and some even returned to Lithuania to take part in the armed struggle. World War II brought about a new movement among Lithuanians abroad and renewed concern for the nation's future. The bitter partisan warfare against the Soviets deepened these ties; one of the last leaders of the guerrillas was American-born.<sup>4</sup>

As of 1972, many of the roughly two million<sup>5</sup> Lithuanians outside the Soviet Union continue to work actively to maintain their culture, language, and identity. Various organizations seek to keep the issue of Baltic independence alive before Western governments and the United Nations, to transmit materials to Lithuania, and to gather data about conditions there.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Vardys, 1965: 89.

<sup>2</sup>Simutis, 1942: 92.

<sup>3</sup>Sabaliunas, 1972: 30-31.

<sup>4</sup>Vardys, 1965: 86.

<sup>5</sup>The Marian (Chicago, Ill.: American Province of the Congregation of Marian Fathers), Feb., 1969: 27. Some 1,600,000 of these Lithuanians are in the U.S.A.

<sup>6</sup>See Audenas, 1963, especially pp. 89-90; "Baltic Action Manual," 1971.

Repeated denunciations in the Soviet press testify to their continued influence.<sup>1</sup>

Unquestionably the single most important external influence on Lithuania is the Catholic Church. The Church in Lithuania has long viewed itself as an outpost of Catholicism in the northeast, on the front lines against the worlds of Orthodoxy and of Lutheranism. Accordingly, the tone and intensity of religious teaching has been especially strong, and Catholicism has become an important element of national identity.<sup>2</sup> The Soviets have repeatedly cited Radio Vatican and Radio Rome as disturbing influences in the republic.<sup>3</sup> Popular opposition to Soviet interference with the work of the Church was widespread in 1971 and 1972, and indicated the continuing significance of this Western influence.

Poland is another focus of particular importance for Lithuania. By tradition an ally, the primary conduit for Western culture and religion, in the nineteenth century Poland became the foil against which Lithuanian distinctiveness and national separateness had to be asserted. In the twentieth century Poland became an enemy in the conflict over Vilnius. The relationship is thus characterized by an approach-avoidance conflict, by the ties of a shared religion and the resolute assertion of differences. The modus vivendi established between the Church and the Polish Communist regime thus draws attention as a possible model for Lithuania, one which could be asserted in opposition to present Soviet policies.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Benyusis, 1972.

<sup>2</sup> Even the Soviets have recognized this phenomenon. See G. Ziminas in Zhurnalist, 1972:7:6-7.

<sup>3</sup> See Sovetskaya Litva, July 4, 1972; A. Sniechkus in Zhurnalist, 1972: 12:11-12; and a report on an article in Partiinaya Zhizn', in The New York Times, March 8, 1970.

LITHUANIA AND THE LITHUANIANS

PART B

Media

## 1. Language Data

The Lithuanian language is one of the oldest surviving Indo-European languages. Together with Sanskrit it is considered an important tool in the study of the common roots of the Indo-European family. Among living languages, Lithuanian and Latvian are the only representatives of the Baltic group; they are distinct from both the Germanic and Slavic groups. Lithuanian is written in the Latin alphabet with the addition of certain diacritical marks.

As indicated in Table B.1, Lithuanians in the USSR as a whole and in the republic itself demonstrate a strong loyalty to their language, stronger than that of the other European peoples of the Soviet Union. Between 95.0% and 95.5% of the Estonians, Latvians, and Moldavians in the USSR cited the language of their nationality as their native language in 1970; the figure for the Lithuanians was 97.9%, a small increase from 1959. Conversely, only 1.3% of the Lithuanians gave Russian as their native tongue, versus some 4% for the others. These figures are undoubtedly conditioned by the greater homogeneity of the republic, the greater concentration of Lithuanians in their republic, and the somewhat greater protection from Russianizing pressures provided by the local regime.<sup>1</sup> Nearly a quarter of the non-Lithuanians in the republic cited Lithuanian as either their first or second language. A 1965 study in two rural raions showed that almost all non-Lithuanians knew the language.

A study of 1959 census data for several nationalities by Brian D. Silver showed among the Latvians, Estonians, and others, usage of the national language was highest among older age groups, and showed a definite downtrend in the younger groups. For the Lithuanians, highest retention of

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<sup>1</sup>See Lituanus (Winter), 1972: XVIII:4:60-61.

<sup>2</sup>Kommunist (Litva), 1972:2:42-47, translated in JPRS, no. 221, p. 47. Census results report only 20% of the non-Lithuanian rural population as speaking Lithuanian. Itogi 1970: IV:273-275.

the national language was among people between 20 and 39.<sup>1</sup> Soviet statistics show that 84% of the schoolchildren in the republic study in Lithuanian-language schools.<sup>2</sup> These data suggest that the use of Lithuanian is likely to remain strong at least through the 1970s.

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<sup>1</sup>Silver, 1972: 221-223. The data above are for all Lithuanians in the USSR. 1970 census data yield similar results for Lithuanians in their republic. Itogi 1970:IV:380.

<sup>2</sup>Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 358.

Table B.1.

Native and Second Languages Spoken by Lithuanians  
(in thousands)

Number of Lithuanians residing:	Speaking as their Native Language					Speaking as a Second Language	
	1959	1970	Lithuanian		Percentage point change 1959-1970	Russian	
			1959	1970		1959	1970
in the Lithuanian SSR	2,151 (100%)	2,507 (100%)	2,133 (99.2%)	2,494 (99.5%)	+0.3	3 (0.1%)	872 (34.8%)
in other Soviet republics	175 (100%)	158 (100%)	141 (80.6%)	115 (72.8%)	-7.8	26 (15%)	85 (53.8%)
Total	2,326 (100%)	2,665 (100%)	2,275 (97.8%)	2,609 (97.9%)	+0.1	29 (1.2%)	957 (35.9%)
						32 (1.5%)	51 (1.9%)

Lithuania - Language - 3

Sources: for 1959 census, Itoġi SSR, 1959, Table 53; Itoġi Litovskaya SSR, 1959, Table 53.  
for 1970 census, Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 35; Nar. khoz. 1972: 32.<sup>a</sup> No data are available for 1959, since no questions regarding command of a second language were asked in the 1959 census.<sup>b</sup> Including Lithuanian, if not native language.

\* These data, although collected in the 1970 census, are as yet not available.



## II. Local Media

In 1897, according to the Russian census of that year, 54% of the population of Lithuania was literate. This level of literacy, well above that of most of the empire, was attained largely through the work of Catholic schools. A major effort to eliminate illiteracy among the entire population did not come until the Sovietization of the country; Soviet statistics record that 77% of the population was literate in 1939, and 98.5% in 1959.<sup>1</sup>

Lithuania is one of the leading Soviet republics in the publication of books, newspapers, and journals per capita, although it lags noticeably behind Estonia and Latvia in this regard. 2186 books and pamphlets were published in Lithuania in 1970, with a total press run of over 14,000,000, a ratio of over four books per inhabitant. Of these, nearly two-thirds of the titles, and over 80% of the total copies, were published in Lithuanian. One-fifth were translations from other languages. Divided into functional categories, nearly one-third (712) were instructional materials or manuals related to production; 257 were fiction, including childrens' books, and 252 were reference materials.<sup>2</sup>

Ninety-one newspapers are published in Lithuania, the large majority of them in Lithuanian (74), but also in Russian (13) and four in Polish.<sup>4</sup> The 13 republic-level papers include official party-government organs in each of the three languages (Tiesa, [Truth] in Lithuanian with a circulation of 251,992;<sup>4</sup> Sovietskaya Litva, in Russian, with a circulation of 66,295; Czerwony Sztandar [Red Banner], in Polish with a circulation of 35,377) and the Komsomol organ in Lithuanian (circulation, 91,002) and Russian (14,113). Other republic-level organs appear only in Lithuanian

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<sup>1</sup> Nar. khoz. 1972: 594.

<sup>2</sup> Pechat' 1970: 96, 126-127. See also Table B.2.

<sup>3</sup> Three of these are published in raions near Vilnius, which indicates that Lithuania's Polish population is concentrated in the city and its environs.

<sup>4</sup> All circulation figures are for 1970 unless otherwise indicated.

and include Valstieciu Laikrastis [Peasant's Paper] with a circulation of 237,801; Literatura ir Menas [Literature and Art], a cultural weekly with a circulation of 31,500; and Lietuvos Pionierius [Lithuanian Pioneer], a twice-weekly paper for children 10 to 14 years of age, with a circulation of 180,749.

Of the five cities with their own daily newspapers, Kaunas, Panevezis and Sauliai publish in Lithuanian only; Klaipeda publishes papers in Lithuanian and Russian (circulations 26,929 and 15,914, respectively), and an evening newspaper serves both Vilnius and Kaunas in the two languages (Lithuanian edition 27,947, Russian 29,412).<sup>1</sup>

Official sources disagree on the number of Russian-language journals published in Lithuania. Pechat' 1970 lists five, with a total circulation of 6000 copies per issue; but Spaudos Metraštis, the Lithuanian press chronicle, names only one, Kommunist, with a per-issue circulation of 34,500.<sup>2</sup> One journal, Kobieta Radziecka, an illustrated monthly for women, is in Polish. It is clear, however, that the overwhelming majority of journals are in Lithuanian. Major journals include Komunistas [Communist], the Party theoretical monthly, with a circulation of 173,600; Mokslas ir Gyvenimas [Science and Life], the Znanie Society journal, which has a circulation of 194,700; and Jaunimo Gretos [The Ranks of Youth], an illustrated literary monthly for young people with a circulation of 135,800.<sup>3</sup>

Radio communications in Lithuania developed fairly early. A station in Kaunas began broadcasting in 1926 and one in Klaipeda in 1936.<sup>4</sup> Partly as a result of the early development, radio receivers have been in relatively good supply for some time. In 1971 the republic ranked third in the Soviet Union, behind Latvia

<sup>1</sup> Spaudos Metraštis, 1971:1:65-76.

<sup>2</sup> Pechat' 1970: 159; Spaudos Metraštis, 1971:1:65-72.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the cultural press in Lithuania, see Lituanus (Spring), 1966:XII:1:21-32.

<sup>4</sup> Gerutis, 1972:255.

and Estonia, in the number of broadcast receivers per capita, with one for every four inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> These receivers exceeded the number of wired loudspeakers by a factor of more than four to one, a pattern distinguishing the Baltic republics from the rest of the USSR.<sup>2</sup> Radio Vilnius, the major broadcast station in the republic, broadcasts three separate programs, a total of 26 hours per day, in four languages.<sup>3</sup> In addition, editorial boards operate in all of the republic's 44 raions, broadcasting local news through the wired radio network.<sup>4</sup>

Television broadcasting in Lithuania began in 1957 with the opening of a station in Vilnius. In 1972 this was still the only station in the republic originating local programming, although a second "auxiliary" station exists in Kaunas.<sup>5</sup> In 1971 Lithuania had over 500,000 TV sets, or 16 for every 100 inhabitants. This ratio was exceeded in the Soviet Union only by Estonia, Latvia, the RSFSR, and the Ukraine.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nar. khoz. 1972: 604.

<sup>2</sup>Transport i svyaz, 1972: 296, 298. See also Table B.3.

<sup>3</sup>Litva za polveka, 1967: 408.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Televedeniye i radioveshchaniye, 1972:12:13.

<sup>6</sup>Nar. khoz. 1972: 604.

Table B.2. Publications in the Lithuanian SSR

Language of Publication	Year	Newspapers <sup>a</sup>			Magazines			Books & Brochures		
		No.	Per Issue Circulation (1000)	Copies/100 in Language Group	No.	Per Issue Circulation (1000)	Copies/100 in Language Group	No. of Titles	Total Volume (1000)	Books & Brochures /100 in Language Group
Russian	1959	14	92	34.6	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	351	2,283	857.4
	1970	13	188	59.2	5	6	1.9	631	2,067	652.0
	1971	12	151	47.5	5	6	1.9	421	1,635	515.8
Lithuanian	1959	105	799	37.1	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,691	10,203	472.0
	1970	74	1,876	75.2 <sup>d</sup>	23	1,432	57.4 <sup>d</sup>	1,412	12,014	481.6 <sup>d</sup>
	1971	72	1,590	63.7 <sup>d</sup>	24	1,489	59.7 <sup>d</sup>	1,351	12,163	487.6 <sup>d</sup>
Minority Languages	1959	8 <sup>b</sup>	19	6.7	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	1970	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	N.A.
	1971	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	146	N.A.
Foreign Languages (Polish)	1959	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	1970	4	45	20.3	1	33	14.9	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	1971	4	50	22.5	1	37	16.7	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
All Languages	1959	127	910	33.6	18	427	15.7	2,137 <sup>c</sup>	12,810	472.4
	1970	91	2,109	67.5	29	1,471	47.1	2,186 <sup>c</sup>	14,612	467.1
	1971	88	1,791	56.7	30	1,532	48.4	1,884 <sup>c</sup>	14,484	457.5

<sup>a</sup>1970 figures do not include kolkhoz newspapers.<sup>b</sup>This figure may include publication in non-Soviet languages-(Polish).  
<sup>d</sup>1970 & 1971 Lithuanian language group data for ethnic Lithuanians giving Lithuanian as native language only, as given in 1970 census reports.<sup>c</sup>Book totals as given in 'Pechat' sometimes differ from totals

in language categories. The indication is that books are published in other languages, but no data is given.

Sources: 'Pechat' 1959: 56, 129, 165; 1970: 96, 159, 188.

Sources: Rechut 1959: 56, 129, 165; 1970: 96, 159, 188.

Table B.3.

Electronic Media and Films in the Lithuanian SSR

Year	Radio			Television			Movies				
	No. of Stations	No. of Wired Sets (1000)	Sets /100 population	No. of Wireless Sets (1000)	Sets /100 Population	No. of stations originating programming	No. of sets (1000)	Sets /100 population			
1960	N.A.	167 <sup>a</sup>	5.9 <sup>d</sup>	330 <sup>a</sup>	11.8 <sup>c</sup>	N.A.	1	21 <sup>a</sup>	.7 <sup>c</sup>	79 <sup>b</sup>	2.8 <sup>d</sup>
1970	45 <sup>e</sup>	189 <sup>a</sup>	5.9 <sup>d</sup>	699 <sup>a</sup>	22.1 <sup>c</sup>	2	1	453 <sup>a</sup>	14.3 <sup>c</sup>	179 <sup>b</sup>	5.6 <sup>d</sup>
1971	45 <sup>e</sup>	200 <sup>d</sup>	6.2 <sup>d</sup>	772	24.1 <sup>c</sup>	2	1	502 <sup>c</sup>	15.7 <sup>c</sup>	N.A.	N.A.

Lithuania - Local Media - 5

<sup>a</sup>Source: Transport i svyaz' SSR, 1972: 296-298.

<sup>b</sup>Source: Nar. obraz., 1971: 325.

<sup>c</sup>Source: Nar. khoz., 1972: 572, 578.

<sup>d</sup>Computed from data cited above (b and c).

<sup>e</sup>Estimated. One major station in Vilnius and at least one local station in each raion.

### III. Educational Institutions

Lithuania is the only one of the Baltic republics where teaching in general education schools is also in a language (Polish) other than Russian or that of the titular nationality.<sup>1</sup> The following table compares the language of instruction of students in elementary, eight-year, and general secondary schools with the corresponding nationality's percentage in the republic.

Language of Instruction	% of Students	% of Nationality in Republic
Lithuanian	84%	80.1%
Russian	12	8.5
Polish	4	7.7

Students who begin their education in Lithuania suffer no discrimination at higher levels; university instruction is "almost exclusively in Lithuanian," and the vast majority of students in the republic's vuzy<sup>2</sup> (83.5% in 1970-1971) are Lithuanians.<sup>3</sup> Over 95% of all Soviet Lithuanians attending vuzy do so in the republic--a figure higher than the percent of all Lithuanians living in the republic, and the highest for any Soviet nationality.<sup>4</sup> The twelve vuzy in Lithuania include the University at Vilnius, now named for V. Kapsukas (with a 1970-1971 enrollment of 15,700); pedagogical institutes in Vilnius and Siauliai; the Kaunas Polytechnical Institute, second largest school in the republic with 14,900 students; and specialized academies for agriculture,

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<sup>1</sup>Russian is taught as a subject in all schools, beginning in the first year.

<sup>2</sup>This is an acronym for vysshiye uchebnyye zavedeniya [higher educational institutions].

<sup>3</sup>Lituanus (Winter), 1972:XVIII:4:60-61; the percentage was computed from figures in Nar. obraz., 1971: 197ff.

<sup>4</sup>Nar. obraz., 1971: 197ff.

veterinary medicine, art, physical culture, and medicine.<sup>1</sup>

The total 1969-1970 enrollment in Lithuania's vuzy was 55,700, ranking the republic sixth in the USSR for vuzy students per 1000 inhabitants (17.8). In the ratio of technikum (schools for specialized secondary education) students to population, Lithuania ranked first in the USSR with 20.7 per 1000 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>It is an interesting comment on the future of Lithuania that the enrollment in Kaunas Polytechnical is more than twice that of the agricultural and veterinary schools combined.

<sup>2</sup>Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 462-463.

Table B. 4.

Selected Data on Education in the Lithuanian SSP (1971)

Population: 3,202,000

			per 1000 Pop.
(p.605) <u>All Schools</u>			
- number of schools	-	3,432	1.1
- number of students	-	581,000	181.4
(p.603) <u>Newly opened Elementary, Incomplete Secondary, and Secondary Schools</u>			
- number of schools	-	45	
- number of student places	-	20,900	6.53
(p.605) <u>Secondary Special Schools</u>			
- number of schools	-	79	
- number of students	-	65,900	20.6
(p.605) <u>Institutions of Higher Education</u>			
- number of institutions	-	12	
- number of students	-	58,200	18.2
(p.438) <u>Universities</u>			
- number of universities	-	1	
- number of students			% of Total
Total	-	15,826	
day students	-	7,446	47.1%
evening students	-	2,885	18.2%
correspondence students	-	5,495	34.7%
- newly admitted			
Total	-	2,870	
day students	-	1,610	56.0%
evening students	-	500	17.4%
correspondence students	-	760	26.4%



Selected Data on Education in the Lithuanian SSR (1971) (continued)Universities (continued)

		Per 1000 Pop.	% of Total
- graduated	.		
Total	-	1,727	
day students	-	912	53.0%
evening students	-	381	22.0%
correspondence students	-	434	25.1%

(p.108) Graduate Students

- total number of	-	1,020	0.32
- in scientific research institutions	-	409	
- in universities	-	611	

(p.594) Number of persons with (in 1970)  
Higher or Secondary (Complete and  
Incomplete) Education

- per 1000 individuals, 10 years and older	-	382	
- per 1000 individuals employed in national economy	-	496	

Number of Workers Graduated from  
Professional-Technical Schools

-	16,600	5.18
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Source: Nar. khoz. 1972

- 4

% of  
total

3.0%  
2.0%  
5.1%

#### IV. Cultural and Scientific Institutions

The Lithuanian Academy of Science included twelve scientific and research institutes in 1971. It has received wide recognition for its work in mathematics, cybernetics, and the physics of semiconductors.<sup>1</sup> Roughly 70 other scientific organizations are attached to the various ministries, government authorities, and schools. In 1971 there were a total of nearly 9,000 scientific workers in the republic,<sup>2</sup> of whom over 85% were ethnically Lithuanian, 7.4% Russian, and 3.8% Jewish.<sup>3</sup>

The eleven professional theaters in Lithuania include an opera and ballet theater in Vilnius and in Kaunas, puppet and drama theaters in the same cities, and drama theaters as well in Klaipeda, Panevezhis, and Šiauliai. Vilnius also has a Russian Dramatic Theater.<sup>4</sup> Lithuanian playwrights such as Juozas Grušas and Kazys Saja have produced works employing modern Western dramatic techniques and dealing with themes of alienation and tension in Soviet society.<sup>5</sup>

Feature films have been produced by the Lithuanian Film Studio since 1952, and several have won prizes in international competition.<sup>6</sup> Some thirty new films playing in the cinemas of Vilnius and Kaunas were

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<sup>1</sup>Litva za polveka, 1967: 401-402.

<sup>2</sup>Among them, 182 Doctors of Science and 2,710 Candidates of Science.

<sup>3</sup>Ekonomika Litvy, 1970: 368, 370.

<sup>4</sup>Litva za polveka, 1967: 426.

<sup>5</sup>Bronius Vaskelis, "Contemporary Lithuanian Drama," Lituanus (Fall), 1967:XIII:3:11-16, 27.

<sup>6</sup>Litva za polveka, 1967: 415-416; Butkus, 1964: 82-83.

reviewed in Sovetskaya Litva in a seven-week period in early 1973. Of these, one was produced in Lithuania, three in Western Europe, and the rest in Eastern Europe, other Soviet republics, the central studios of Mosfilm and Lenfilm (Moscow and Leningrad), and North Korea.<sup>1</sup> Most are dubbed or subtitled in Lithuanian.<sup>2</sup>

Prominent among Lithuania's 33 museums are the Lithuanian SSR Museum of Art in Vilnius, the Čiurlionis Art Museum in Kaunas, and museums in the historic castles of Vilnius and Trakai. Palanga is the home of a unique museum of amber and artistis works.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sovetskaya Litva (Feb. 14, 20; March 6, 13, 20, 27; April 2), 1973.

<sup>2</sup> Private communication.

<sup>3</sup> Litva za polveka, 1967: 412-414.

Table B. 5.

Selected Data on Scientific and Cultural Facilities and Personnel inLithuanian SSR (1971)

Population: 3,202,000

Academy of Science

- number of members	30
- number of scientific institutions affiliated with the Academy	12
- total number of scientific workers in these	1,285

Museums

- number of museums	33
- attendance	3,253,000
- attendance per 1000 population	1,016

Theaters

- number of theaters	11
- attendance	1,387,000
- attendance per 1000 population	433

Number of persons working in education and culture

- total	103,000
- no. per 1000 population	32

Number of persons working in science and scientific services

- total	31,000
- number per 1000 population	9.7

Number of public libraries

- number of books and magazines in public libraries	2,498
	19,515,000

Number of clubs

1,493

LITHUANIA AND THE LITHUANIANS

PART C

National Attitudes

## 1. Review of Factors Forming National Attitudes

Lithuania, like the other Baltic republics, Latvia and Estonia, is a small, Westernized, highly cultured nation bordering on the territories of far larger and more powerful peoples. Unlike Latvia and Estonia, Lithuania possesses a long history of independence, and even of former imperial greatness. The Soviets have not tried to ignore or suppress the historical past when the Grand Dukes of Lithuania dealt as equals with the princes of Muscovy, but they have chosen to interpret it in the light of the "great friendship" theory of Russian-minority relations. The role of the Grand Duchy in stopping the Germans is particularly stressed. The Lithuanian-Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863 have not been purged of their "national-liberation" character, even in official sources, although, of course, the class element is emphasized, and the revolts are said to have been directed against the Tsar rather than Russia.<sup>1</sup> As a result, Lithuania's history remains a source of national pride and distinctiveness.<sup>2</sup>

More recent history, especially the long partisan war against the Soviets in the aftermath of World War II and the massive deportations that accompanied the establishment of Soviet power, remains a part of the personal experiences of most Lithuanians today. The trial testimony of Simas Kudirka, the sailor who sought asylum in the U. S. in November, 1970, vividly expressed the scale and impact of these repressions, which must have left few Lithuanian families untouched.<sup>3</sup>

Their language also appears to be a factor of particular pride for Lithuanians. The frequency with which both Western and Soviet sources point

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<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Litva, 1967: 72.

<sup>2</sup>See Zimanas (in Pravda, Jan. 24, 1969) attacking "incorrect views of the history of one's people" as an expression of bourgeois nationalism.

<sup>3</sup>See Anatole Shub, The Boston Globe, (Aug. 7), 1971; Khronika (July 2), 1971: 20.

to the preservation of a great many ancient words and forms in the language and to its importance as a research tool unique among living languages, indicates that it is held to have special value as a national symbol.

The ties to Western civilization inherent in Catholicism also remain an integral part of Lithuanian culture. The unrest among Lithuanian Catholics is simultaneously both a religious and a national expression. Soviet restrictions on the training of priests and interference in their work are major issues in themselves. They were the central issues cited in the trials of priests in 1971 and 1972 and in the "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church."<sup>1</sup> But it is worthy of note that these documents and protests concern themselves only with religious repressions in Lithuania, not with those against Catholics in Latvia or Belorussia, and that their authors refer to themselves as "Catholics of Lithuania."<sup>2</sup> Circumstantial evidence points to religious motives behind the attempted defection of Kudirka and the Kaunas riots in May 1972.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Tasgepera, 1973: 2.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Survey (Summer), 1972: 18:3:237-240.

<sup>3</sup>Pospelovsky, 1972.

## II. Basic Views of Scholars on National Attitudes

Scholarly evaluations are not yet available concerning the signs of widespread dissent and unrest in Lithuania which surfaced with particular vigor in 1970-1972. The evidence, however, is abundant and unmistakable. Samizdat documents began appearing in Lithuania in 1968 and have grown in frequency and scope.<sup>1</sup> The underground Khronika tekushchikh sobytii carries a regular section for "Events in Lithuania;" two issues of a separate "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" reached the West in November 1972.<sup>2</sup> Three self-immolations and an attempted fourth occurred in 1972, as did large-scale rioting. Of three known attempts to hijack airplanes in the Soviet Union in 1969-1970, two, including the only successful one, were made by Lithuanians.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning roughly in the mid-1960s, Soviet sources in Lithuania have repeatedly admitted that nationalism has "still not been fully eradicated in our society,"<sup>4</sup> and have cited several different causes of dissatisfaction. A prominent one is foreign media. Voice of America, Radio Vatican, Madrid, and Radio Rome were all cited in 1972 as broadcasting "lying propaganda" to the republic in order to "evoke feelings of national exclusiveness." Young people are cited as particularly susceptible to such efforts.<sup>5</sup> Tourists are accused of smuggling anti-Soviet literature, including works by "bourgeois nationalists" into the republic.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For a list, see Radio Liberty Research Bulletin (Feb. 15), 1973: 47-73.

<sup>2</sup>Taagepera, 1973.

<sup>3</sup>"Violations," 1972: 62-63.

<sup>4</sup>Komunistas, 1972: 10::1-7, translated in JPRS: 300: 36-40.

<sup>5</sup>Sniečkus, in Zhurnalist, 1972: 12:11-12; Benyusis, 1972.

<sup>6</sup>Benyusis, 1972.



The intimate connection between religious and nationalist dissent has been explicitly recognized by Soviet commentators. In 1970 the Vatican was accused of engaging "in a number of hostile acts aimed at stirring up religious and nationalist activities in Lithuania."<sup>1</sup> The Church has been accused of using "the large body of priests for ideologically influencing the people's emotions and intellects."<sup>2</sup>

The rapid economic development of the country under the Soviets has apparently left many Lithuanians unconvinced that the Soviet system is, after all, a good thing. Rather, according to official sources, it has contributed to national pride and begun to provide a cover for nationalist attitudes. According to V. Stanley Vardys of the University of Oklahoma, Komunistas in 1966 published an article in which the author "scolded the youth for preferring republic needs to those of the Soviet Union, for claiming that it was the Lithuanian ability, not the 'help from the brotherly nations' that accounted for the republic's progress." Ideas of "national Communism" were seen as a new incarnation of "bourgeois" nationalism.<sup>3</sup>

G. Zimanas, editor of Tiesa, repeated the warning in 1969, asserting that the Party must oppose the camouflaging of bourgeois nationalism by presenting it as an endeavor to strive for the flourishing of the republic.<sup>4</sup> Zimanas elaborated further on the problem in 1972:

We must refute such inimical inventions as . . . yes, the peoples of the Baltic have achieved certain successes, but the source of these achievements is solely the abilities and talents of the peoples, which Soviet power could not suppress. According to this same logic everything that is good in the Baltic arises exclusively from the

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<sup>1</sup>Article by Barkauskas, a secretary of the CC CP Lithuania in Partiinaya zhizn', reported in The New York Times (March 8), 1970.

<sup>2</sup>Benyusis, 1972

<sup>3</sup>Vardys, in Res Baltica, 1968: 129.

<sup>4</sup>Pravda (Jan. 24), 1969.

national qualities of the Baltic peoples, and the "policy of Moscow" bears responsibility for everything that is unsatisfactory.

It happens that a person praises the achievements of the republic and at the same time, willingly or unwillingly, advocates separatism.<sup>1</sup>

Western scholars such as Benedict Maciuika of the University of Connecticut have also seen evidence that Lithuanians have developed the ability and willingness to use the system for their own ends:

There is mounting evidence, suggesting that although parts of the political-institutional framework have been adopted, it is being used not exclusively for the USSR interests as the regime would want it, but to further the interests of one's own national group. It has been realized by many in Lithuania that the Soviet system can be used, albeit only with difficulty and very circumspectly, to serve the welfare of one's own nation ... [emphasis in original]<sup>2</sup>

Maciuika concludes that the political socialization of Lithuania "is really far from completed," and that it is not likely to be completed "in the foreseeable future." Vardys concluded in 1965, on the basis of continuous Party discussions and attention to the problem, that nationalism is felt to have a broad basis and is feared as a "dangerous social force." Subsequent years have made it clear that this concern is well-placed.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Zimanas, in Zhurnalist, 1972:7:6-7.

<sup>2</sup>Maciuika, 1972

<sup>3</sup>Vardys, 1965: 249-250.

### III. Recent Manifestations of Nationalism

Protest in Lithuania has taken many forms, ranging from refusals to speak or understand Russian, participation in samizdat, and attempted defections such as that of Kudirka,<sup>1</sup> to airplane hijackings<sup>2</sup> and self-immolations on public streets and squares.<sup>3</sup> The speed and regularity with which information on events in Lithuania has been reaching underground circles in Moscow suggests that the dissent movement is well organized and relatively widespread. Further evidence that nationalist organizations do exist in Lithuania is provided in the Khronika report that a Liudvikas Simutis, born in 1935, was sentenced in December 1971 to 25 years of strict regime for being an active member of an underground "Movement for the Freedom of Lithuania."<sup>4</sup>

The demonstrations in Kaunas on May 18-19, 1972, and the petition campaigns<sup>5</sup> against religious persecution are direct evidence of the scale of dissent in Lithuania. On May 14th, a Sunday afternoon, in a city square in Kaunas, Romas Kalanta, a 19-year-old student and Komsomol member who had expressed interest in becoming a priest, made a speech protesting Soviet oppression and then poured gasoline over himself and set fire to it. He died in a hospital several hours later. His burial was set for May 18, and many young people gathered at the home of Kalanta's parents, where the body was laid out, well before the appointed time. Special security agents carried the body to a hearse via a rear exit, and the mourners were unable to keep up with the

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<sup>1</sup>For details, see Lituanus (Fall), 1972:XVIII:3.

<sup>2</sup>See "Violations," 1972:62-63; The New York Times (Oct. 18 and 21), 1970 and (Jan. 20 and Feb. 1), 1971.

<sup>3</sup>Khronika (July 5), 1972:26:22-24.

<sup>4</sup>Khronika (May 20), 1972:25:34.

<sup>5</sup>Petition campaigns and protests have been reported throughout Lithuania, from Klaipeda in the west to Zarasai in the east, and from Akmene in the north to Varena in the south. Most major cities are represented, as are numerous small towns and rural areas.

car as it sped away to the cemetery. Angry at this deception, they went instead to the site of the immolation, where the crowd soon grew to a size of several thousand, a great many of them young people.<sup>1</sup>

The crowd in the square became boisterous; witnesses report shouts of "Freedom for Lithuania" and the singing of national songs. Violence erupted when the police tried to disperse the throng. At least one policeman was killed or seriously injured when hit with a rock.<sup>2</sup> Clashes with the police continued throughout the city for the rest of the day, and reports indicate that fires broke out in several areas, including one in the city headquarters of the Communist Party.<sup>3</sup>

Demonstrations began again at about three a.m. on May 19. Toward 5:00 p.m., military units, presumably of the MVD, were brought in. They succeeded in quelling the disorders. Sources indicate that between 400 and 500 people were detained by the police. Many were released soon afterward, but an estimated 200 were kept in prison for 15 days or more.<sup>4</sup> Soviet sources tried to present the disruptions as the work of a small group of "hooligans," and eight young people were convicted on such charges in October.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to the drama of the events in Kaunas, Catholic dissent has been quieter, more persistent, and more enduring. Apparently, it involves

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<sup>1</sup>See Time (July 31), 1972: 27-28; The New York Times (May 26), 1972; Khronika (Oct. 15), 1972: 17-20; and the July 1972 issue of "ELTA" published by the Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania which is based in New York City.

<sup>2</sup>Khronika, 1972: 27.

<sup>3</sup>Time (July 31), 1972: 28.

<sup>4</sup>Khronika, 1972: 27:19; The New York Times (June 14), 1972.

<sup>5</sup>The New York Times (Oct. 4), 1972; FBIS Daily Reports (Oct. 5 and 17), 1972.

more people. Letters to Soviet and Church authorities began appearing in underground channels in 1968. At first they were signed only by individual priests or by groups of clergymen and protested the strict limits on the number of new priests that could be trained<sup>1</sup> and other harassing restrictions on the Church. However, arrests of priests began in 1970 and apparently brought the laity into the protest movement. In August 1971 Father Jouzas Zdebskis, a priest who had signed one of the earlier letters,<sup>2</sup> was arrested and accused of "systematically" teaching the catechism to children. He was tried and convicted in November. Before his trial, some 2000 members of his parish signed an open letter to the Soviet government protesting the action and demanding his release.<sup>3</sup>

About a month later another petition was circulated, signed by 1190 parishioners in a different raion, protesting the removal of their priest.<sup>4</sup> In December 1971 the sentencing of Father Bubnys of Raseinai raion (between Kaunas and Siauliai) brought another appeal, signed by 1344 parishioners.<sup>5</sup>

None of these petitions received an official reply. The silence provoked a far more massive effort. In January 1972 a stack of identical

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<sup>1</sup>According to one such letter, only five or six new priests are ordained each year, whereas death claims around thirty. See "Violations," 1972: 34.

<sup>2</sup>Radio Liberty Research Bulletin (Feb. 15), 1973:47/73: 8.

<sup>3</sup>The New York Times (Sept. 27), 1971.

<sup>4</sup>Radio Liberty Research Bulletin (Feb. 15), 1973:47/73: 8; Survey (Summer), 1972:XVIII:3:237.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. [both sources].

petitions signed by over 17,000 Catholics from all over Lithuania was received in the West. This appeal was addressed to Kurt Waldheim with the request that he pass it on directly to CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev. The signatures included the full names and addresses, and frequently the telephone numbers, of the signers.<sup>1</sup> The organizers of the appeal noted that even more signatures would have been obtained but for the interference of the militia and the KGB.<sup>2</sup>

Local petitions and protests continued to appear throughout 1972. In the spring, the first issue of the "Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church" appeared.<sup>3</sup> In reporting on events and persecutions in all parts of Lithuania, this document reveals the extent of the underground communications effort. The Moscow Khronika reported that three editions of this journal had appeared by October, 1972; two were received in the West in November.<sup>4</sup> Lithuanian emigre sources have indicated that a copy of the fourth edition was received in April 1973.<sup>5</sup>

The import of all this activity is difficult to assess. It seems clear that a great deal of the Catholic dissent would die down if the Soviet state would live up to the guarantees expressed in its Constitution and implied in its propaganda. But the Kaunas riots and the continuously expressed concern of the Soviet Lithuanian regime over nationalism imply that, particularly among youth, national pride remains widespread and demands more scope than

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<sup>1</sup>The Christian Science Monitor (Dec. 7), 1972.

<sup>2</sup>The text of the appeal is given in Survey (Summer), 1972:XVIII: 3:237-240.

<sup>3</sup>For a list of contents, see Radio Liberty Research Bulletin (Feb. 15), 1973:46/73:6-8.

<sup>4</sup>Khronika (Oct. 15), 1972:27:20; Baltic Events (Feb.), 1973:1:2.

<sup>5</sup>Private communication. See also Baltic Events (June), 1973:3:1.

the Soviet regime is willing to allow. Lithuanians are proud of their heritage, their progress, their culture, and their ties to the West. Their distinctiveness has been in part sheltered by their domination of the leading positions in the republic Party and government. But in 1973, Snieckus, the First Secretary of the CPL, turned seventy years old; whether his "machine" can continue without him, and how Moscow will respond to the unrest, remain open and crucial questions.

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