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Russification of Latvia

1940-1990

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Foreword

The efforts by foreign powers to Russify Latvia to ensure Russian dominance have a long and difficult history. It began in tsarist Russia and continued and expanded during the existence of the Soviet empire.

In his final report, dated 25 October 1908, on the Russian population in the Baltic region, P. Koshkin, privy councillor of the tsarist government, wrote:

The activities of the Russian state, along with strengthening the Russian element, must be directed towards attracting Latvians and Estonians to Russian culture and statehood. With these measures, it is necessary to consistently strive to replace the local, particularly important positions with our people, who are endowed with the awareness of the special national importance of their service in the Baltic region. Only such people, carefully delving into the structure of local life, are able to work energetically so that the residents of different nationalities of the region completely merge with the great, common Fatherland.

Based on this information, temporary governor-general of the Baltics Aleksandr Möller-Zakomelski sent Russian prime minister Pyotr Stolypin a report on the situation in the Baltic provinces on 30 October 1908:

By adding the news about the Russian population in the Baltic region, which was noted in the October 4 letter no. 4470, I report to Your Highness that this news, which was partly collected by Privy Councillor Koshkin and partly taken from the files of my administration, is incomplete, but neither the governor nor other regional government institutions have much more detailed (news).

From these reports, one cannot fail to see that the cultural development of the Russian [ethnic] population is quite weak, as can be seen from the large number of illiterates, which exceeds that of all other peoples of the region.

The public influence of the Russian population must be recognised as equal to zero. The latest laws on freedom of conscience and on the opening of schools with instruction in local languages, of course, do not contribute to the strengthening of the Russian language and culture. Teaching in local languages should be allowed only in the first year of school and only where the pupils are only of the same nationality, but in a mixed composition, it must be Russian, with the exception of the teaching of the faith of other religions, church singing, and the language of each of these nations as a subject of teaching.

For this reason, it is necessary to open as many Russian primary schools as possible in the region because even in Riga, there are not enough of them, so many Russian children remain illiterate due to the lack of places in Russian schools.

Recently, quite a few Latvians and Estonians have converted from the Orthodox faith to Lutheranism, and as a result, their last ties with the Russians were severed. The reason for this sad phenomenon is the weak composition of the Russian clergy, especially in

the countryside – inactivity, laziness, lack of spiritual development, and in addition, some of them, by devoting themselves to a harmful and reprehensible lifestyle, push many members away from Orthodoxy.

It is difficult to fight with those pastors who are much more developed and better materially provided, and dedication is also not enough. For example, the Archbishop of Riga himself does not visit the diocese except Mītava [Jelgava], he does not go anywhere.

The Germans, like the Latvians and Estonians, are equally hostile towards Russians; moreover Latvians and Estonians are either nationalists or social revolutionaries.

The whole province is looking forward to early implementation of reforms, especially the zemstvo and churches.

Russians (wherever they are in sufficient numbers) should be given the right to elect city and zemstvo deputies, regardless of general elections with other nationalities....

Finally, it is best to give land to all Russians in order to create a class of Russian peasants instead of foreign serfs and landless people. To this end, land acquired by the crown and the farmers' bank must be transferred to a special fund. It is necessary to organise transfer from the internal provinces to these lands, and to create sufficiently supplied permanent farms, it is necessary to give each family no less than 15-20 desyatinas of land. As for the landless Latvians and Estonians, then they could be given land in the provinces of Russia, Siberia, and Tsarist Poland.

There is no doubt that it is important for every Russian that his nationality is truly dominant...

Such was the tsarist programme of colonisation and Russification of the Baltic region at that time. But much had already been done in this regard.

Notable Latvian politician, statistician, and publicist Mārgers Skujenieks summed up the tsarist policy of the Russification of Latvia:

A dark, depressing era of Russification began. In 1889, the government opened the Russian Alexander Gymnasium. In 1884, former region schools were converted to Russian city schools. In 1887, even national schools were Russified and soon Latvian children had to learn in Russian, which they did not understand, from the first day of school. Courts were also Russified, and judges could only talk to defendants and witnesses with the help of an interpreter. In Latgale, interpreters were not even allowed and the court had to pass judgements, even though the judges did not understand what the complainant or the accused had said! Orthodox churches were built to strengthen Russian influence, and for this purpose, the central government spent 80 000 roubles annually. When Senator Manasein audited Baltic institutions from 1883 to 1885, the majority of Latvians expected favourable changes from this audit. But instead, a most merciless policy of Russification continued.

The local population was pushed out of participation in land management to an even greater extent and replaced by the all-determining Russian civil servant who knew nothing of local life, local needs, and who was guided only by the levelling and

uniformising orders of the central government And once again, the death sentence was given to the Latvian people – it was decided to Russify them.

Latvian diplomat, teacher, and journalist Jānis Seskis wrote about this policy of Russification of Latvians by the tsarist government and its disastrous consequences:

The tsarist government tried by all means to denationalise the Latvian people and turn them into Russians. In a short period, the Russian government took control of all administrative and public institutions, which they turned into weapons of disempowerment and Russification. In Latvian folk schools, Russian was introduced as the language of instruction, which occupied the main place throughout Everything reminiscent of the special spirit and culture of the Latvian people was eradicated from Latvian schools. Pupils no longer learned about the history of the Latvian people, their folklore, literature, and art. In school they never spoke about the rights and ideals of the Latvian people, their spirit and aspirations. Disenfranchised youth had to be Russified at school: think and speak Russian, get excited and strive for the well-being and ideals of the great enslaving nation. Russian invaders killed the children's Latvian spirit and in its place, they brought the Russian national spirit.

Yet, the Russian government was not satisfied with the spiritual oppression of the Latvian people and acted with more tangible means. The Russian agrarian bank bought manors in Latvia, which were divided and either sold at good rates or given to Russian farmers for free. A particularly large number of such Russian settlers arrived in Latgale, which had to withstand the strongest pressure of Russification. Shortly before the war, Krivoshein, a fellow minister of agriculture, had developed a plan for settling 300 000 Russian farmers on Kurzeme crown estates. By implementing such a project, Kurzeme would have transformed into a land of mixed nationalities, and the Latvian people would be threatened with complete expulsion from their native land. The government did not think about the welfare of landless Latvian people and workers, but about the spread of Russian national power and the destruction of the national Latvian people.

The tsarist government ended Russification of Latvia only after the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 and the establishment of the independent Latvian state in November 1918. At that time, it might have seemed that the widespread cruel and barbaric oppression and Russification of the Latvian people was in the distant past, that such a thing would never happen again in Latvia. However, only a few decades would pass before Latvia fell again under the yoke of a foreign power and the processes of Russification of the Latvian people resumed with new force and on an even greater scale.

In the autumn of 1939, the Soviet Union and Germany signed a secret pact that Latvia (along with some other countries) would henceforth be in the Soviet "sphere of interest". The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact gave the Soviet Union free reign to deal with Latvia as it saw fit. Soon after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was signed, the Soviet Union forced Latvia to allow

Soviet military bases on its territory. Latvia signed the agreement (the “Assistance Treaty”) on 5 October 1939. This gave the Soviet Union the right to establish military bases in Latvia in which up to 25 000 soldiers could be stationed.

On 6 June 1940, the Soviet Union presented an ultimatum, accusing Latvia of violating the 1939 Soviet–Latvian Mutual Assistance Treaty and demanded that the Latvian government “Form a government capable of ensuring the ‘implementation’ of the Treaty; to freely allow additional Soviet troop units into Latvia and to place them in the most important centres of Latvia.”

Considering the overwhelming military superiority of the USSR, the Latvian government was forced to accept this ultimatum, the execution of which was given eight hours. Even before the expiration of the formal ultimatum, Red Army units began to invade Latvia. Latvia was completely occupied by 17 June 1940.

Notable statistician and eyewitness of these events Alfreds Ceihners wrote: “An important factor is that in Latvia, a large part – 25% of the population – were non-Latvians. In 1935, 1 473 000 Latvians and 478 000 minority nationalities lived in Latvia. A large number of Russians viewed the destruction of the Latvian state and the entry of the Red Army into Latvia not as a Bolshevik victory, but as a triumph of the great Russian state and the Russian people. Apparently, the old days had returned, just as 20 years ago, when the ruling nationality in Latvia was not Latvians, but Russians. Such a sudden change flattered the national pride of many Russians in Latvia.”

From that moment on, no expression of the will of the Latvian government was possible. On 17 June 1940, Latvia would no longer act as a state for the next fifty years. All further manifestations of Latvian state power stemmed from the USSR and its authorised emissaries in Latvia.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR authorised A. Vyshinsky, deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (CPC) and former Prosecutor General of the USSR and one of the enforcers of the Great Terror of 1937-1938, to lead the negotiations team in Latvia. On 16 June 1940, he left Moscow for Riga to "conduct negotiations with the President of the Republic of Latvia on issues related to the ultimatum". Vyshinsky and the employees of the Soviet embassy in Riga created a list of new government positions. The Soviet occupiers did not limit themselves to the establishment of a new puppet government and the installation of occupying troops, as demanded in the ultimatum. After 17 June 1940, Moscow officials began to actively interfere in the internal affairs of the occupied country, even though, formally, they were still under Latvian control.

On 4 July 1940, it was decided to hold Saeima (Parliament) elections on July 14 and 15. This was organised quickly and solely to legitimise the occupation; only one candidate list was allowed to participate – the Working People's Bloc – that included people obedient and reliable to the occupiers. These "elections" are generally considered a gross falsification of the will of the people. On 14-15 July, the newly elected Saeima met for their first session and decided to change the name of the Republic of Latvia to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR). The members also voted to petition the Supreme Council of the USSR for admission into the Soviet Union, which the Supreme Council agreed on 5 August 1940 to “fulfil the request of the Latvian Saeima to admit the Latvian SSR into the Soviet Union”.

After the annexation of Latvia into the Soviet Union, all spheres of life were quickly adapted to the Soviet model (sovietisation). This process was led by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party (CPSU) and the CPC in Latvia. This position was created in the summer of 1940 and after the formal inclusion of Latvia in the USSR, it was entrusted to former USSR envoy to Latvia V. Derevyansky. Vilis Lācis became the nominal head of the Latvian government; he received all orders and instructions regarding the sovietisation of Latvia from Derevyansky. The main pillar of the sovietisation and Russification of Latvia became the Latvian Communist Party (LCP), legalised in the summer of 1940, which was included in the CPSU on 8 October 1940. In 1940, Jānis Kalnbērziņš was appointed first secretary of the Central Committee of the LCP and held this position until November 1959.

One of the main instruments of the Russification became the installation of leading personnel of various levels from Moscow, Leningrad, and other regions of the USSR. On 26 June 1940, Vyshinsky and Derevyansky requested 10 to 15 persons from Moscow who "could provide assistance to the new ministers". They also reported to Moscow that they were busy selecting staff for Latvian state institutions and editorial offices; 31 officials, mostly Russians, were sent from the USSR to Latvia. During this time, Kalnbērziņš sent many letters and telegrams requesting Moscow send "reliable cadres" to Latvia. These requirements were mostly met, resulting in the Russification of leading personnel in Latvia. By May of 1941, industry in occupied Latvia was run by 27 000 officials and controllers, most of whom were migrants from Russia. Various institutions and organisations were also Russified. For example, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) of the LSSR and all its control structures, established in August 1940, were mainly staffed with incoming Russians. They immediately started extensive political repressions against the people of Latvia. This reached a climax on 14 June 1941 when 15 424 people were deported to the Gulag punishment camps and special concentration camps in Siberia. At least 349 people were imprisoned in local jails. These

politically repressed were the pride and backbone of the nation – politicians, entrepreneurs, military personnel, civil servants, workers, farmers, intelligentsia – from all layers of society.

Border controls and a strictly defined pass system limited “spontaneous” migration to Latvia. You could enter Latvia only with special passes.

Russification of Latvia resumed with new vigour at the end of the Second World War after the second Soviet occupation. The most extensive and effective tool for Russification of Latvia was the influx of non-nationals, primarily Russians, both in the cities and the countryside. This occurred both spontaneously and in an organised manner.

The "Declaration on the Occupation of Latvia", adopted by the Saeima of the independent Republic of Latvia on 26 August 1996, states: “The leadership of the USSR purposefully poured hundreds of thousands of migrants into Latvia and with their help, tried to destroy the identity of the Latvian people. As a result of this policy, the proportion of Latvians as the titular nation decreased from 77 to 52 percent.”

The first major influx of spontaneous migration to Latvia occurred at the end of WWII. The Red Army reoccupied Latvia, crossing the borders in July 1944; Riga fell on October 13. Kurzeme, on the other hand, remained unoccupied until the end of the war and fell into Russian hands when Germany capitulated. Because of this strategic situation, masses of Russian troops, active members of army auxiliary units, converged in Latvia. When the war ended on 8 May 1945, the Soviet occupation authorities suddenly had a large number of available people after demobilisation. Many, looking for a better life, decided to stay in Latvia forever. Arturs Landsmanis writes about their choice:

... there is no reason to conclude that all or many of those who were brought to the shores of the Baltic Sea by the events of the war remained against their will. It is clear that for many, it was the best way out. Many family ties to their native regions were broken during the war. Compared to many regions of inner Russia, the Baltics were less affected by the war. Before the war, the standard of living here was higher than in Russia, which remained visible despite the destruction of the war. Several hundred thousand Balts had left their homes and gone west as refugees. Their apartments served the Russians well. Premises belonging to the Jewish population, exterminated by Hitler's occupation, were also available. In addition, the Russian secret police arrested and deported a large number of local residents, both in larger campaigns and ongoing purges, thus freeing up space for newcomers. If necessary, the local population could be ordered to squeeze together because people in the Baltics did not live as closely together as was common in Russia.

The migration of people from other regions of the USSR to Latvia initially was spontaneous. Although the non-fertile lands of Russia and other regions of the USSR were left

without able-bodied residents due to the large number of migrants, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government fully supported and encouraged the flow of migration to Latvia as well as to other national republics of the USSR. Russians, Belarusians, and other nationalities came to Latvia, mainly in order to improve their living conditions, but also because Latvia was better supplied with consumer goods compared to other regions of the USSR.

"My younger brother," wrote Belarusian A. Osipov, "was where he ended the war. Got a job at Liepāja commercial port, and when I demobilised, they gave me a message ... In Liepāja you could always get bread and it was not very expensive. Smoked cod was sold in heaps in the market. We were aware that in our homeland people live in poverty, but here life is relatively good. At that time, more and more of our brothers poured into the city. They called their relatives... And although at first glance there was no visible expression of hatred between the locals and the newcomers, something grew in each person's heart."

There were many reasons for this. Most often, it was the open disrespect of the migrants towards the land in which they had arrived, towards its inhabitants, their culture, language, and customs.

Migrants – mainly from the regions of the Russian Federation closest to Latvia and from Belarus and Ukraine – mostly settled in cities, so the proportion of national minorities was particularly high among city residents. By 1989, only 36.5% of the residents of Riga were Latvians (Russians – 47.3%), and the number of Latvians in Daugavpils did not exceed 15%.

Russification of Latvia was largely caused and facilitated by organised migration. After the occupation in 1940, Latvia's economy became a part of the national economy complex of the USSR. Industrial management, planning, and financing were determined by various directives and administrative methods that did not take Latvia's specificities or conditions into account. Dictates from the All-Union departments, guided only by their ministries and not by the interests of Latvia, grew. When planning the construction of various industrial facilities in Latvia, the All-Union authorities assumed that they would be supplied with workers and specialists at the expense of the migrants. Therefore, the State Plan Committee of the Latvian SSR also planned to increase the number of people employed in industry mainly at the expense of migrants.

The Kremlin rulers thought it important to place in Latvia a large number of people on whom the occupying power could rely.

Russian historians V. Kotov and V. Trepalov note: "As a result of the more organised and less spontaneous displacement of the population, a huge number of the Russian population merged into the national republics. They were traditionally considered guarantors of statehood."

English researcher W. Kolarz concurs: “Practice shows that every new factory, every new coal mine, every new oil well is built not for the sake of this territory, but for the Great Russians.”

Concerned about the rapid and extensive course of colonisation and Russification of Latvia, Kārlis Reimanis, a contributor to the newspaper *Padomju Jaunatne* [Soviet Youth], sent an extensive report to the editorial office of the newspaper *Pravda* in Moscow on 16 March 1957 in which, among other things, he wrote:

Some features of Latvia's industrialisation also cause confusion. We have a whole series of large companies for whose needs literally everything is imported from Russia: equipment, engineers, workers, raw materials. The production is also taken back – there. The question arises – what is the point of creating such factories in the national republic, except for one thing: to increase the number of Russians, make them form a majority. Then one fine day, based on this majority, declare the national united republic liquidated and ask the Supreme Council of the CPSU to include in Russia a new autonomous republic. ... The example of the Karelian-Finnish Republic lets many Latvians see a very sad perspective of fate.

The Karelian ASSR was established in 1923; in March 1940 it became the Karelian-Finnish SSR, and in June 1956, again into an autonomous republic within the RSFSR.

In 1983 Russian researcher I. Kudryavtsev described the problems for Latvia caused by "organised migration":

When opening more and more new companies, ministries prefer to bring labour into the republic from outside. And now, about 50% of the population in Latvia are not Latvians. Their [migrants] share in industrial enterprises - up to 90%. ... Of course, the Moscow ministries are not at all concerned about how much smoke their factories make and what they dump into the distant Baltic Sea. ... One problem creates another. The flow of new arrivals lowers the level of social security in the republic. ... Next, there is a national-economic-cultural imbalance between the Russian-speaking staff of mostly industrial companies and Latvians working in agriculture and household services. Divided work further contrasts the nations.

The visitors themselves are often casual workers. ... The Russian person behaves like a "caring guest" who says to the host, completely honestly and benevolently (without any malice): "Feel at home!" ... Therefore, when Latvians respond to Russians with aggression, it creates complete confusion in them. And the response.... If Russians understand such reactions, it is more difficult for Latvians to understand it.... They simply see that everything is headed towards the fact that their nation will be washed away and cease to exist. ... Now the point is that the nation will disappear in a few tens of years.

The growth rate of the population in Latvia due to migration was the highest in all the Soviet republics. It was particularly large in Riga, where more than a third of Latvia's population lived. The high level of migration created an overload for social infrastructure; it complicated housing and food issues, education, health services, and cultural institutions and delayed creation of medical, utilities and household, and trade and transport services for the citizens of the republic, completely ignoring the interests of Latvia. As a result, the economy of the Latvian SSR as a whole was in a state of deep crisis. The ecological situation was catastrophic and the population's level of well-being plummeted. The widespread Russification of Latvia threatened the existence of Latvians for the first time in their thousand-year history as the titular nation of the republic.

Historian Ilga Apine notes: “About 7 million people passed through Latvia, the direct population increase amounted to about 900 000. Migration can be economically justified, with subsequent adaptation. But this migration was a persistent, aggressive attack with subsequent colonisation and Russification of the republic. Stunning demographic changes – the decrease of the share of Latvians from four-fifths to half of the population – took place within one generation.”

Demographers Ilmārs Mežs and Pārsla Eglīte conclude: “In general, throughout the years of Soviet rule, the ethnic composition of Latvia's population was drastically changed, maximising the number of Russians, as well as other, mostly Russified nationalities, with the share of Latvians falling to a catastrophically low level. The consequences of this will be felt for several more generations.”

One of the largest, most active, and most hostile group of migrants were demobilised Soviet army officers and their numerous family members. In the post-war years, over 55 000 retired officers and their families settled in Latvia, mainly in Riga – about 180 000 people with no social or economic ties to Latvia. The Soviet government gave them many undeserved privileges, first of all, receipt of a new, well-furnished apartment in a surprisingly short time. In the early 1990s, when the Latvian people began the struggle for restoration of Latvian sovereignty, this group of colonisers were the fiercest, most militant opponents of Latvian independence.

Unfortunately, some Russian military personnel were left in Latvia even after Latvia regained its independence. According to the 30 April 1994 "Agreement between Latvia and Russia on social protection of demobilised military personnel of the Russian Federation and their family members residing in Latvia" and protocols on issues of social protection of Russian Federation military pensioners and their family members, officially only 22 320 such

pensioners remained in Latvia, but the addition of their wives and other family members brought the number of Soviet military personnel who remained in Latvia to over 66 000.

One of the most important tasks of sovietisation and Russification was the recruitment and placement of persons in the most important and responsible positions of power who were reliable to the regime, as well as the "cleansing" of companies and institutions of local national, and therefore "unreliable" employees. Stalin's slogan "Cadres decide everything" was not an empty phrase but a direct instruction – management and control of Soviet society must be carried out with the help of people completely loyal to the regime, mainly Russians.

At the centre of the Soviet political system was power in the person of the Communist Party. Soviet power was actually the power of the Communist Party, and by that, one meant the party apparatus. This meant that the appointment to any, even the most insignificant position had to be coordinated with the highest party authorities. Communists were supposed to occupy all leading positions at the administrative level – from the republic to the rural.

Throughout the existence of the USSR, the top leadership was always dominated by Russians. Russian dominance spread further down the power vertical. Over time, a number of strictly defined principles of personnel policy had developed that reserved the highest positions in the all republics for Russians. A Russian was the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of any republic, and additionally as a rule, he was sent from Moscow. He was the "local governor", the real policy maker, including for personnel and nomenclature control. The duplication of first secretaries with a Russian counterpart went further up the ladder of the party and Soviet hierarchy, all the way to party committees and executive committees. Also, the commander of the Armed Forces stationed in the republics was usually a Russian. The local population rightly saw the ruling power as a 'Russian regime', which, to a large extent, it was.

During this time, the CPSU CC and other Soviet central institutions sent a huge number of Russian functionaries to Latvia in leading positions; they openly despised the traditions, culture, and customs of the local population, could not speak Latvian, and arrogantly and stubbornly refused to learn it. This personnel policy led to total Russification. For example, in the spring of 1953, only 42% of leading personnel of the LCP Central Committee were Latvians, and 31% of the secretaries of the party's city and district committees. Latvians made up only 43% of the Latvian Soviet Social Republic (LSSR) Council of Ministers. All other Latvian institutions, companies, and organisations were also Russified in a similar manner. A particularly large number of Russians were in repressive institutions, which on 25 March 1949 carried out the deportation of more than 41 000 Latvian residents to Siberia.

Russification of cadres continued in the later years as well. In 1959, of 552 directors of enterprises of the National Economy Council, only 202 were Latvians and only 100 Latvians worked as chief engineers in these enterprises, that is, little more than one quarter. Of 36 heads in the Ministry of Road Transport, 11 were Latvians; of 46 heads and chief engineers in construction boards and trusts, 19 were Latvians; of 16 company directors and chief engineers, only two were Latvians; of 44 medical institutions, 18 were Latvians, but in 53 medical institutions in Riga, 19 were Latvians. A total of 20 057 employees worked in the Ministry of Trade throughout Latvia of which only 361 were Latvians. A particularly large percentage of Russians were in the Latvian Communist Party, especially in its leading institutions.

After the defeat of the Latvian national communists in 1959, a large-scale "cleansing" of cadres began again. Party meetings, activities, and other gatherings were convened where empire-minded functionaries loudly and noisily exposed "Latvian nationalists" and demanded their expulsion from all positions of responsibility. Many complaints about persecution of Russians were sent to Moscow, and severe condemnation of Latvian nationalists was demanded. These requests were met. By 1961, 2000 Latvian communists who had held important positions in power structures were expelled or demoted from their jobs.

Continued active political life was denied to many, including Eduards Berklavs, Indriķis Pinksis, Edgars Mukins, Pāvels Dzērvīns, Vilis Krūmiņš, Pāvels Pizāns, Kārlis Ozoliņš, Aleksandrus Ņikonovs, Nikolajs Bisenieks, Vladislavs Ruskulis, Jānis Brencis, Jānis Kalnbērziņš, Vilis Lācis, Eduards Liberts, Voldemārs Kalpiņš, Pāvels Čerkovskis, Osvalds Darbiņš, Jānis Vanags, Kārlis Voltmanis, Aleksandrs Straujums, Benjamins Trejs, Pēteris Vilks, Kondrads Sondors, Henrihs Valters, Jānis Kacēns, Eduards Baško, and Viktors Kreituss. They were replaced by loyal and reliable people, mostly migrants.

The position of LCP CC secretaries was entrusted to Russians from Moscow and other parts of the USSR including I. Lebedev, Y. Titov, P. Litvinov, A. Chernishev, F. Kashnikov, N. Gribkov, N. Beluha, and V. Sobolev. Simultaneously, other CC functionary positions were entrusted to Russians and other nationalities: N. Shagunina, P. Sokurenko, I. Davidov, A. Alexandrov, N. Jevlev, K. Tolmadzhiv, N. Saleevs, I. Bondaletov, and many others.

Russification was also promoted by Latvians sent from the USSR to Latvia for high positions: Arvīds Pelše, Žanis Spure, Jānis Ostrovs, Jānis Jurgens, Nikolajs Bisenieks, Ādolfs Migliniks, Augusts Voss, Voldemārs Lejiņš, Elmārs Bēmanis, and others. Latvians sent from the USSR worked in leading positions in the Council of Ministers, trade unions, party and Komsomol, and repressive institutions: Jānis Vēvers, Roberts Ķīsis, Antons Ozolings, Matīss Plūdonis, Fricis Deglavs, Kārlis Voltmanis, Emilija Veinberga, Edgars Apinis, Georgijs Gaile,

Jānis Peive, Viktors Blūms, Vitālijs Rubenis. Professors were sent to universities as teaching staff for the social sciences: Jānis Krastiņš, Jānis Paškevičs, Vladimirs Miške, Pēteris Valeskalns, Jānis Zutis; docents Jānis Āboliņš, Kārlis Martinsons, Jānis Vilks, Voldemārs Ozols, Aleksandrs Drīzulis, Andrejs Elvihs, Matvejs Kadeks, and Kārlis Graudiņš among others. Unfortunately, not all of them spoke Latvian and they were not familiar with Latvian culture, history, and way of life. But they were the ones who loudly chanted slogans about "bourgeois nationalism", which was supposedly possessed by the majority of the leading national officials of the LSSR. Anyone who stood up for the national interests of the Latvian people, for learning Latvian, and promoting Latvian cadres and who opposed unlimited migration and promoting heavy industry in Latvia was painted with the nationalist brush.

In the beginning of the 1960s, the leading cadres sent from the USSR used Stalinist methods of slander and demagoguery to destroy the struggle of progressive Latvians against the Russification of Latvia, resulting in the strengthening of the system of partocracy and totalitarianism in Latvia.

Russification in Latvia is most closely tied to the long-time leaders of the Latvian Communist Party – Jānis Kalnbērziņš, Arvīds Pelše, and Augusts Voss. These Russian Latvians were the most active and persistent glorifiers of the "great Russian nation" and its "fraternal assistance" and the "promoters of Russification". This was especially evident after the defeat of the Latvian national communists in 1959 when the influx of migrants and Russification of cadres increased rapidly again. For example, in the article "Manifesto of Great Friendship" Pelše thanked Moscow for the Russification project of the Latvian people and eagerly promised to promote its implementation. He called the Russian language "the second mother tongue of the working people of the Latvian SSR" and announced that all expressions of nationalism would be destroyed in Latvia because they would not disappear by themselves. Voss, justifying unlimited migration and colonisation and Russification of Latvia, proudly announced: "In our republic, the majority of work collectives are multinational collectives; usually, the pupils in general education schools, vocational technical secondary schools, and universities are also multinational. Millions of people change their place of residence every year, often crossing the border between united and autonomous republics."

The national policy implemented in the Soviet Union can undoubtedly be assessed as imperial. Its essence was expressed in the formula: one nation – one people speaking one language. And this language was Russian. The goal of this policy was the creation of a denationalised, Russian-speaking population.

The Latvian language was pushed out of many spheres. Foreigners could live and work in Latvia without learning Latvian. Also, teaching of the Latvian language was ignored in schools where Russian was the language of instruction. From the first days of occupation, Russian was imposed in record keeping and in political and administrative life. All Communist Party meetings, region-wide meetings, and other official events were held in Russian. Officially, Latvian and Russian had equal status. However, the use of Russian was imposed and promoted in many different ways. Since the staff of institutions and businesses were mostly non-Latvians, speaking Russian seemed completely natural and practical. The use of Russian was reinforced by the fact that all aspects of life had to be coordinated with the appropriate institution in Moscow, and all reports on the execution of various decisions and orders were also sent to Moscow.

Extensive Russification also took place in educational institutions. In Latvian schools, the number of Russian language lessons was significantly increased, but in Russian schools, Latvian was almost ignored. Russians treated the Latvian language with disdain and contempt. In institutions, shops, and in everyday life, tactless insults offensive to Latvian national feelings were often heard: "Govoriķe pa ruski!" [Speak in Russian!]

In his letter of 16 March 1957 to the editors of the newspaper *Pravda*, the previously mentioned journalist Kārlis Reimanis wrote:

No person who knows that two times two is four, but not nine, can deny that Russification is a fact of life here in Latvia. Latvians are discriminated against almost at every step. I will mention only a few examples.

A Latvian who does not speak Russian is not a master in his own country - Latvia. He needs an ambulance - the nurse on duty answers him in Russian; he turns to the militia - there are people sitting there who do not know Latvian; he enters a store - the saleswoman does not understand him, she only speaks Russian. On Gorkija Street (by the way, this street was once named after a Latvian national awakening supporter) the cafe "Sigulda" recently opened. The design is national, the interior decoration is national, but if you talk to the waitress, she doesn't know a word of Latvian. It seems like a small thing, but a very typical small thing. If a Latvian who does not know a word of Russian went to Voronezh or Tula and wanted to work there in the Soviet or party apparatus, he would not be accepted because of his lack of language skills. On the other hand, knowledge of the Latvian language is not required of Russians who come to Latvia in similar cases.

In fact, in 1944 and 1945 and also later, the LCP Central Committee and the LSSR CPC adopted several decisions on strengthening the status of the Latvian language requiring migrants – functionaries – to learn Latvian within a specific period of time, but these were never

implemented. But the Latvian authorities did not have effective means to end the ignoring and discrimination of the Latvian language. Kalnbērziņš, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the LCP, was also forced to admit this. Speaking at the 2nd City of Riga party conference on 8-9 December, he was forced to point out:

I would say that we, in the organisation of the Riga Party, have a harmful habit that has been condemned by the Central Committee several times. An opinion has emerged that party meetings should be held only in Russian, even when all present speak Latvian. This is motivated by the fact that our party workers seem to be used to expressing their thoughts more easily in Russian and that all documents (minutes, etc.) must be sent to the highest party bodies in Russian.... But according to the decision of the Central Committee, all employees who do not know the Latvian language are obliged to learn it in order to more successfully implement their work with the masses.

Unfortunately, no decisions stopped discrimination against the Latvian language. Vilis Krūmiņš, LCP Central Committee 2nd secretary, spoke about national problems at the LCP City of Riga Committee plenum on 27 September 1957:

The first measure of national mutual respect is language knowledge - Russian for Latvians and Latvian for Russians. If in the first case the situation is more or less good, then the learning of the Latvian language by Russian comrades is yielding negligible results, for the time being.

So, only Russian should be spoken. A deplorable situation was introduced into everyday life: if there was even one person in a workplace who did not know or did not want to speak Latvian, then everyone was forced to speak only in Russian, so as not to be offended by "bourgeois nationalism". The situation had developed so that Latvians could no longer converse freely in their mother tongue in their "sovereign" republic.

Concurrently, Russification of Latvian schools also continued. Many nationalist teachers were either deported in 1941 or went into forced exile to the west. Those who remained, having felt the effects of lies and violence, did not dare openly support the revival of the 'Latvian school'. The influx of pupils and students from Russia increased dramatically, who accompanied their parents in the "great work of restoring the Baltic republics and eliminating the consequences of the war". Many ethnic Latvian school employees, who used to work in other Soviet republics, also arrived in Latvia and with great energy and set about bringing the principles of Soviet pedagogy to life.

This situation indicates that the Russian language was consistently imposed on the life of Latvian society. The suppression of the Latvian language had a negative impact on the cultural direction of the titular nation and hindered the cultivation of the traditions of the Latvian

people. However, the Latvian language did not disappear during the long, difficult years of occupation because it continued to be preserved in Latvian schools, families, individual institutions, and personal mutual communication and existed quite strongly in the Latvian countryside.

Russification greatly impacted the educational system and cultural life of the Latvian people. Private and religious schools were abolished. Nationalist teachers and principals were expelled from many schools. Russian was taught from Grade 3. New textbooks were published that were translated from Russian and gave a distorted description of Latvian history, geography, and other issues. However, the "great Russian nation" was constantly praised as the "elder brother" and for its "selfless help" to other nations. Children and youth organisations that had existed in independent Latvia (scouts, agricultural groups, and others) were banned, but instead, like everywhere else in the Soviet Union, Little Octobrists, Young Pioneers, and Komsomol youth organisations were imposed.

Theatres mainly staged plays by Russian authors. Newspapers published extensive articles about the "free and happy life" in the Soviet Union. The destruction of the national cultural treasures of the Latvian people took place indiscriminately - "harmful books" were taken out of libraries and burned, books about Latvian history, culture, and religion. Instead, the works of "Marxist classics" and Soviet statesmen and various communist propaganda publications were diligently printed in large numbers that were used to disparage the life of the people during the independent Republic of Latvia and to justify the Russification of Latvia.

The task of cultural workers was set by the Communist Party – to glorify the occupying power, Marxist classics, achievements of collective farm equipment and factory workers, the friendship of nations, and the "great Russian nation". Books, paintings, and music but especially sculpture had to reflect "loyalty to the party and its leaders and the Red Army - the liberators". Dozens of monuments were built in the most beautiful places of Latvia to glorify the Red Army - the Victory Monument in Riga and tanks placed on pedestals in Dobeles, Ērgļi, Daugavpils, and elsewhere. However, the greatest number of monuments were built in honour of the leader of the Russian Bolsheviks, V. Lenin. This took place simultaneously with the destruction of the Latvians' most sacred monuments. Freedom monuments in Jelgava, Dobeles, Cēsis, and Rēzekne and countless memorials to Latvian soldiers were destroyed throughout Latvia.

The occupying regime tried to destroy the history of Latvia. Historical research on the history of the Latvian people was replaced by hastily written books that tried to prove that Latvia was an historic part of Russia, about the "close, centuries-long friendship between the Latvian and Russian peoples", and that Latvian cultural and economic development had only

begun in the 18th century when Latvian lands became a part of Russia. Soviet history lessons required young people memorise the glory of the Russian Empire, distorted facts of the people's history, and other inaccuracies. University students were required to take subjects such as CPSU history, Marxism-Leninism philosophy, and scientific communism. Museums were required to devote the greatest attention to the "progress of the revolutionary struggle and the construction of socialism" when creating exhibitions. Street names were renamed for various communist leaders, Russian writers, and political and military personnel. A similar scene was observed in the Latvian countryside, especially when naming collective farms.

The Russification of Latvia was closely connected with various manifestations of Great Russian chauvinism. The Communist Party was well aware that the implementation of its nationalist policy – the excessive glorification of the Russian people as the true master of the Soviet Empire – had transformed Russians into a chauvinistic nation, and the deliberate, purposeful injection of Russians into other republics had created a country without separate national borders or sovereignty and a cosmopolitan society where life was good, no matter where you were.

A song with a romantic international, cosmopolitan refrain – "My address is neither a house nor a street, my address is the Soviet Union" – gained wide popularity in the Soviet Union. Norwegian Pels Koste analysed polls taken during the early 1970s and 1980s that showed that while 80% of people of other nationalities considered their national republic to be their homeland, 70% of Russians declared that their homeland was the Soviet Union. Russian researcher V. Solovey described this trend:

A fundamentally new phenomenon was the normalised identification of Russians with the entire Soviet space and feelings of responsibility for the Soviet Union, which Russians began to regard as their Motherland. Especially among Russians, the All-Union identification was significantly higher than a republic one: a sociological survey conducted in Moscow in the fall of 1987 showed that most Russians (almost 70%) considered the entire Soviet Union to be their Motherland, but not the RSFSR, with which only 14% of the respondents identified themselves. In general among Russians, the level of identification with the All-Union was even higher than in the Soviet capital, amounting to almost 80%.

Wide spread propaganda and glorification of Russians as the "first, most excellent nation" began in the late 1930s. The expression "first among equals" became a template for the designation of the Russian people. To justify their leading role, propagandists later invented another concept - "elder brother". At that time, the newspaper *Leningradskaya Pravda* published an article "Senior among equals" stating: "When the Russian nation rose to its full

height – freedom-loving, talented, masculine, and more just than any other nation that carries the flag of freedom – other nations recognised them as the leader in brotherhood. Thus, brothers in an friendly family give first place to their elders.”

Shortly after the capitulation of Germany, a Soviet army victory parade was held in Moscow on 24 June 1945. An evening reception was held in honour of the Army Command that Stalin used once again to declare that the Russian people were the "most excellent nation" in a toast that has gone down in history as a "victory toast". Raising his glass, he said: “I want to raise this glass to the health of our people, first of all the Russian people, I drink because it is the most excellent nation of all the nations that are part of the Soviet Union. I raise this glass to the health of the Russian people, because they have earned recognition in this war as the leading power of the Soviet Union among the peoples of our land. I raise this glass to the Russian people not only because they are a leading nation, but also because they have a clear mind, strong character, and patience.”

Researcher M. Salje comments on this declaration of the Russian people as "the first among equals" and the "elder brother": “From 1917 on, the role of the messianic task in the realisation of socialist ideas and in building a paradise (communism) on earth and not in heaven was continuously imposed on the Russian people. The new ‘god’ appeared in the person of Marxism, his apostles, his ‘clergy’ who preached not some abstract state, but ‘real’ communism on this sinful earth. The Russian people were chosen as the messiah to create it. The seed of the sermons of the chosen nation, the martyr of the nation, fell into fertile soil because the ideas of ‘national messianism’, the great calling of Russia, ideas about its duty to humanity and the whole world have always been characteristic of Russian self-consciousness.” This was also the basis for widespread Great Russian chauvinism.

Great Russian chauvinism manifested itself in various ways. Russian colonists, consumed by the great Russian people's messianism and liberator syndrome, actively introduced "Soviet order" into Latvia; they constantly and aggressively fought "Latvian bourgeois nationalists", openly ignored the Latvian language, treated the history, culture and domestic traditions of the Latvian people with contempt and constantly wrote complaints to Moscow about efforts to ‘Latvianise’ workers. Russification, supported by chauvinists and promoted in every way, often led to aggressive behaviour by Russian youth. Organised Russian youth groups attacked and beat Latvians – children and adults – on the streets, in parks, and elsewhere just because they were Latvian. One of the biggest attacks took place in April 1987, when around 200 Russian youths chanting slogans "Beat the Latvians! Beat the fascists!" attacked Riga Applied Arts Secondary School pupils in the *Ziemeļblāzma* Culture building.

These attacks on Latvians were usually covered up by the militia, and the perpetrators were not punished. Particularly extensive, militant, and aggressive expressions of Great Russian chauvinism were observed in Latvia during the years of the National Awakening, the period when the Latvian people started the struggle to regain their national independence.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, there were 25,289,500 Russians (17.4% of the total population of the USSR in 1989) and 401 000 persons of other nationalities of the Russian Federation (18.5%) outside the borders of the Russian Federation.

Russians in the national republics of the former USSR had become the most denationalised segment of the population; they were less aware of their national roots than others. But they did not fit into the life of the national republics either. The least integrated were the marginal, low-skilled, and poorly-situated workers who wandered all over the vast Soviet state, as well as the retired military and former nomenklatura employees who had an absolutely privileged position. After the collapse of the USSR and the formation of many new, independent countries, many of them did not even think about returning to their former homes, and stayed where they had settled. Thus, the consequences of the colonial policy of the Soviet Empire and the Russification of Latvia were not eliminated.

The materials found in the State Archives of Latvia and the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, translated from Russian, were used in the preparation of this book. Many of the documents included in this book are published in my previously published collections of documents *Destroyed land. USSR military in Riga* (1998), *Migrants in Latvia* (2004), *About the Latvian language. Against Russification* (2012), in my book *Colonial Policy of the Soviet Empire and the Colonisation of Latvia* (2015), and my articles in the official government publication *Latvijas Vēstnesis*.

Jānis Riekstiņš

Chapter I

The first year of the occupation of Latvia.

Initiation of Russification

USSR government note – ultimatum to the Latvian government on 16 June 1940

... The Government of the USSR considers the following necessary and urgent:

1. immediately form a government in Latvia that would be able and ready to ensure the fair implementation of the Soviet-Latvian Mutual Assistance Treaty;
2. without delay, to ensure the free entry of Soviet troop units into the territory of Latvia, in order to place them in the most important centres of Latvia in a number that would be sufficient to ensure the possibility of realising the treaty of mutual assistance between the USSR and Latvia and to prevent possible provocative acts against the Soviet garrisons in Latvia.

The Soviet government considers the fulfilment of these requirements to be such an elementary rule, without which it is impossible to achieve fair and loyal fulfilment of the mutual treaty.

Valdības Vēstnesis. 17 June 1940

Cabinet of Ministers Decision of 16 June 1940 on accepting the ultimatum of the USSR government

Minutes No. 40

Cabinet of Ministers Meeting

16 June 1940

...

The meeting begins at 19:00.

- 1) Minister of Foreign Affairs V. Munters reports on the ultimatum submitted by the chairman of the USSR Council of Commissars to the Latvian envoy in Moscow on 16 June 1940 at 14:00 (13:00 Latvia time).

- 2) It is decided to accept the request of the government of the Soviet Union for the entry of additional troops into Latvia.
- 3) It is decided to notify the President of the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers and to consider this decision as having been immediately communicated to the President of the State, Kārlis Ulmanis.

Meeting is adjourned at 22:00

Prime Minister	K. Ulmanis
Acting Director of the State Chancellery	R. Bulsons

LVA, 270. f., 1. apr., 2. l., 84. lp.

Excerpt from Minutes of the Cabinet of Ministers 17 June 1940 meeting No. 41

...

- 1) ... Those Cabinet of Ministers members who did not participate in the Cabinet of Ministers June 16 meeting, fully supported the decisions of the Cabinet of Ministers of that day.

LVA, 270. f., 1. apr., 2. l., 85. lp.

Cabinet of Ministers 17 June 1940 Decision

Minutes No. 42

Cabinet of Ministers meeting

17 June 1940

...

Discussions on the maintenance of order and the steps to be taken to ensure the smooth and orderly deployment of incoming Soviet troops. Authorises the Minister of Internal Affairs to issue the necessary orders based on the law on order and public safety in the country.

Prime Minister	K. Ulmanis.
Acting Director of the State Chancellery	R. Bulsons

LVA, 270. f., 1. apr., 2. l., 86. lp.

Excerpts from the 18 June 1940 telegram from the authorised representative of the USSR in Latvia V. Derevyansky to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the USSR

18 June 1940

... Around one o'clock in the afternoon, vanguard tank units began to enter Riga, which quickly occupied the city and its most important points. The authorities did not expect such a quick arrival and quick action on our part, because at 12:30 Ulmanis was still calmly driving through the streets of the city. ... Tanks were stopped by crowds of people. The Red Army men were hugged and kissed, flowers were presented to them. There were attempts to hold demonstrations in some places. Red flags were raised in the crowd. There were clashes with the police. As a result of the clashes, 30 police officers were injured among the same number of injured residents. ... Our command acted to establish order in the city. It was enough for our commanders to appeal to the population to maintain peace and order, so that complete order was established within 30 minutes, at 11 in the evening, the city was already calm. ... Together with the command, I demanded that they prevent demonstrations and riots, and if they break out, to be suppressed by military force. ... Today, on June 18, the formation of a new government is expected, the establishment of a new regime in the country and, by the way, political prisoners will also be released. ... Last night we authorised radio transmissions on the condition that the programme of transmissions will be coordinated with us in the future and that disloyal statements regarding the USSR and the Red Army will not be tolerated. Today in the morning we allowed normal work to be resumed in the port. We requested a special order to be issued with a ban on accepting Soviet [money] notes for exchange for local currency and for paying for goods in stores, which was also immediately implemented. We demanded the creation of a special body for supplying our [troop] units with everything necessary, which was also established under the leadership of General Hartmanis. The president and ministers are fulfilling their duties for the time being.

Derevyansky

**Excerpt from the 22 June 1940 telegram sent by A. Vyshinsky,
plenipotentiary of the USSR government, and V. Derevyansky,
plenipotentiary representative of the USSR in Latvia, to V. Molotov,
People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR**

22 June 1940

...

2. Throughout the day, the ministers of the new government received cases, reports from the heads of departments and got acquainted with the situation in the institutions and their operation.

3. In Liepāja, the local authorities got confused, the police ran away, and our troops ensured all order in the city. The workers occupied the editorial office of the newspaper "Kurzemes Vārds", the newspaper "Komunisti" was published, there were no incidents.

4. The new ministers are not provided with reliable assistants. Together with them, we deal with cadre selection, but it would be necessary to send 10-15 people from Moscow to be placed in various ministries to help the ministers.

5. We deal with the selection of people for editorial offices and various state institutions.

6. In order to avoid armed clashes between the population and the Defenders, we consider it necessary to disarm and disband the latter. Dismantling can take place either by including the Defenders in the army reserve and subjecting them to the appropriate regime, or by liquidating this organisation. We consider the last option to be purposeful.

Please give instructions on the following issues:

1. On the legalisation of the social-democratic and other bourgeois-democratic parties, on the issue of the legalisation of the Communist Party and assistance in restoring its activity. It is self-evident that serious help from the USSR in terms of people and funds is also needed in this regard.
2. On elections of local self-government bodies and other related issues, and on revision of election laws for its further democratisation. In the event that you deem it necessary, we will submit specific proposals. This issue is already being raised from various sides.
3. Is there a purposeful merger of the communist and social democratic parties, which, according to the news, especially the social democratic groups are pushing, apparently hoping to use the moment in their own interests. We doubt

the purposefulness of this step. In this regard, it would be necessary to give appropriate instructions along the line of the Comintern.

Vyshinsky, Derevyansky

Okupācijas varu politika Latvijā, p. 78

Excerpt from 21 July 1940 “Declaration on Latvia's entry into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics”

[21 July 1940]

**Declaration on the accession of Latvia
into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

...

Based on the unanimously expressed will of the Latvian people, the Saeima has decided to:

Ask the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to admit the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republics into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a United Republic on the same terms as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Belarus and other United Soviet Socialist Republics are included in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

...

Okupācijas varu politika Latvijā, p. 87

Excerpt from 21 July 1940 “Declaration of State Power”

[21 July 1940]

Declaration of State Power

...

Expressing the will of all the free working people of Latvia, Saeima solemnly announces the establishment of Soviet power in the entire territory of Latvia.

With the adoption of this declaration in Saeima, Latvia is declared a Soviet Socialist Republic. This decision of Saeima enters into force immediately.

...

Okupācijas varu politika Latvijā, p. 88.

LCP CC discussion on the progress of the sovietisation of Latvia

Secret

Minutes No. 3

LCP CC meeting 1 August 1940

Present: Zaķis, Jablonskis, Deglavs, Vinholde, Spure, Nurža, Gailis, Marianna Ozoliņa, Lapiņš, Karlsons, Vanags, Gustsons, Leitmans, Sergejevs, Vladimirovs, Bokmelders.

Agenda:

1. Report by Finance Minister Karlsons.
2. Report by Agriculture Minister Vanags.
3. Other business.

I

c. Karlsons' report

The apparatus of the ministry has been partially restored. Less important positions are still held by old employees. The second most important task was the takeover of the banks. Klive and Dzelzītis have been replaced, as well as others. Three farmers' banks merged. The next task was to tackle state enterprises. The data on this is collected in a separate report.

The most important issue is the nationalisation of industry and banks. We added the banks to the Bank of Latvia. The further plan of bank transformation is as follows: there will be a branch of Gosbank here in Latvia, it will absorb all others, except Zemes and Komunālo banks. Another cooperative bank will have to be established. In general, banks should be aligned with the banking system of the USSR.

Many commissars have already been appointed in industry. Companies are taken over by the state. The factory will now be led by the director. Branch administrations will be organised, 11 state commissioners have already been appointed in individual branches. Several companies will have to be merged. All branch administrations will be subordinated to industrial commissariats. The organisation of commissariats is the next important task. The cadre issue is very difficult. c. Vimba will help us solve this question. A campaign should be launched to raise discipline in production. More energetic steps should be taken. Things are getting worse. A breakthrough must be made here as soon as possible.

Then Karlsons answers various questions.

Debates.

Gustsons. There are many shortcomings in the process of nationalisation. Many untested people have been appointed as commissioners. Now the complaints and bickering begin. Workers' committees also make many mistakes. In "Cementfabrik" agr. Krūze was appointed as commissar. There is no good relationship with "Cep" and "Cementfabrika". Adds some more facts from other companies. There is a felt factory in Vangaži, which is being nationalised. Raw materials are exported. The commissar does not take any steps. Many party members and also workers' committees act incorrectly, on their own initiative. The director of "Lenta" was fired and even thrown out of his apartment. Such facts also happen in the provinces. Arbitrary actions must be eliminated. Latgale complains that many scoundrels have been appointed as commissars.

Lapiņš. The people who were appointed as commissars were not prepared. The commissars were appointed very hastily. The trade unions have given instructions on raising work discipline. The condition is still relatively good, it could have been worse. There are uncertainties in the work of the workers' committees themselves, the trade unions are bypassed. Farmers' sons should be sent to the fields and for the same salary as agricultural workers... In order to raise work discipline, the issue of salaries should be regulated. Salaries in Ventspils have already been increased by 45%. Wages should be equalised, equal wages should be paid for equal work.

Spure. Too much dealing with the salary issue. We organised meetings in Riga, we were well understood. Salary issues should be linked to raising labour productivity. Unions approach this issue in the wrong way. Appointing trustees is a very difficult task. Errors are possible, they must be corrected. The enemy is working energetically and developing specialist instigators. The role of trade unions must be raised. The most important thing is to raise labour productivity. We also have the seeds of the Stakhanovite movement. Commissars are slow to act.

Leitmans. Our practice proves that the bourgeois apparatus cannot be used. There are a lot of enemies sitting in the system. It is impossible to combine industry, finance, trade in one ministry. This question will arise very sharply tomorrow. In basic industries, commissariats should be roughly denoted. We are already preparing the cadres for the industrial administration. Serious attention should be paid to industry. The CC should give instructions to local organisations. Lots of confusion. Workers in many places do not understand the situation. Gives a typical example from Ventspils. The workers generally understand if explained, but we are not able to solidify this. A very serious issue is the question of finances. 40 million are needed for industry. The countryside will need around 200 million. The CC will have to give

basic instructions on this issue. Maybe we can turn to the USSR. Trade is reducing. Companies have products, traders often do not accept them. It is necessary to decide, to give instructions. It will be necessary to lay the foundation for state trade and create cooperation among workers.

Sergejevs. Some issues are premature and now more difficult to resolve. This is also the issue of commissariats. When the issue of joining the USSR is resolved, many things will become clearer. The ministry itself treats people a little distrustfully. Two people cannot do the work in the ministry. Sabotage will occur and already is (in trade, labour productivity, decline, etc.). More that can be used should be found for the ministry. Commissars have been appointed in only 700 companies. In 100 companies, not yet. This is because only 2 people are dealing with this issue. Clarification work is necessary. The press should help. Experience should be exchanged. Show the best. All means should be used. The radio is not used. The organisers of sabotage must be punished. A press campaign should be launched. The main task of the party and trade unions is to raise awareness among the masses of workers. Production consultation is a very important thing. The main thing is to instruct the commissars and appoint the remaining 100 commissars, to mobilise attention against sabotage. Karlsons should be advised to group assets and expel the enemies.

Vladimirovs. In Dancigers, a woman, Bušs, works as a commissar. Leaves a very good impression. In the beginning, there were problems. Well prepared for company takeovers, also in financial matters. At the same time, other work is also being done. A club has been organised, a canteen is set up. Further impressions are that the workers do not understand what is happening. No break yet. The most important thing is to raise labour productivity. VEF is working on raising wages. You have to get down sincerely to the task of clarifying.

Gustsons (once more). Information about people must be collected. It is necessary to fight against traders – saboteurs.

Lapiņš (once more). Trade unions are new. Organisers are often poorly prepared. It cannot be said that the trade unions do nothing. Trade unions do not have premises, etc. Yesterday there was a meeting of small entrepreneurs. There is no guiding line.

Karlsons (concluding remarks). The discussion on this question is exhausted. Many factory committees are also of an occasional nature. Commissars are poorly prepared. It is not correct to say that we work alone. The importance of propaganda is great, but it cannot be served by 3 people. Dancigers is a very old company, the situation is worse in new companies.

Decision: Karlsons, Sergejevs, Spure in the commission.

Vanags. Not one of our people was in the ministry. It was Ulmanis' citadel. There were about 30 progressive agronomists. That was our base.

A bigger task was the liquidation of the Agriculture Chamber. The main thing is the preparation of the Land Law (Law on Land Speculation Service). Now the most important thing is to implement the law on land.

To prepare the cadres – call together and instruct every 3 weeks. That would be very important. A council should be organised at the ministry that decides fundamental issues, with the participation of a representative of the CC.

Decision: commission – Zaķis, Vanags, Vladimirovs – Develop a resolution within 2 days.

J. Kalnberziņš

LVA, PA-101. f., 1. apr., 6. l., 7., 8., 9., 10., 11., 12. lp.

Latvian SSR Cabinet of Ministers Decision to send congratulatory telegrammes to the leading persons of the Soviet Union

Minutes No. 79

6 August 1940

...

The session starts at 8.30

Acting Prime Minister V. Lācis congratulates the government on the admission of Latvia to the Soviet Union. He compares Latvia's former political and economic situation with the current one and draws future possibilities. It is proposed to send congratulatory telegrams to the following leading persons of the Soviet Union. Telegrams will be signed by the government together with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia.

The following telegram texts are accepted:

"To the great leader of the working people of the whole world, Comrade Stalin.

Dear Josif Visarionovich!

With true excitement about the acceptance of Soviet Latvia into the great family of Soviet Socialist Republics, we send you, our leader and teacher, dear Comrade Stalin, the most sincere and heartfelt greetings and express our deepest gratitude for the opportunity provided to us to build socialism in our country under your leadership.

During many years of hard underground work, we followed your great teaching, which was always the guiding star in the struggle against the reactionary dictatorship. You, dear Comrade Stalin, have led us through all the pressures of dictatorship to a better, sunnier future,

you have helped us join the ranks of the builders of socialism. The entire working people of Latvia will transform their happy life on the foundations of Stalin's constitution with the greatest energy and enthusiasm, under your leadership, and with unprecedented prosperity.

All the working people of Latvia thank you, dear Comrade Stalin, for the fact that you gave the working people true freedom. Only now, with the establishment of Soviet power in Latvia, with Latvia's entry into the great socialist family of nations, have we found our true father, we have the opportunity to build socialism and create a better future for ourselves.

Beloved Comrade Stalin, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia and the Government of Soviet Latvia, on behalf of the working people of Latvia, promise to steadfastly follow your chosen path in the struggle for socialism and to justify the trust that the Supreme Council of the USSR has given us by accepting Soviet Latvia into the family of friendly nations of the Soviet land.

Long live Soviet Latvia!

Long live our mighty homeland – the USSR!

Long live the invincible flag of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin!

Long live the brilliant and beloved leader of the working people of the whole world, our dear Stalin!”

“To the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs c. Molotov.

Dear Vyacheslav Mikhailovich! On this historic day when the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia was admitted to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we send you our warmest gratitude for the great help provided to Latvia by the mighty father of all oppressed working people – the USSR.

After the defeat of Soviet Latvia in 1919, the people of Latvia were oppressed for more than 21 years by a bourgeois clique that sold out to foreign imperialists, who sought to turn Latvia into a base for the imperialists in their fight against the homeland of the working people of the whole world – the USSR.

Thanks to your wisely led Soviet peace policy and the help of the mighty Red Army, the people of Latvia drove out the usurpers of the plutocratic clique and established Soviet rule. With the admission of Soviet Latvia into the family of socialist nations, the most ardent longings of the working people have been fulfilled – to get rid of the power of exploiters, build socialism, and reach the level of prosperity and culture that the happy peoples of the Soviet Union have won for themselves. Only now has Latvia gained true freedom, and only now will the true history of the Latvian people begin.

By expressing gratitude for the acceptance of Soviet Latvia into the family of socialist nations, the Communist Party of Latvia and the Government of Soviet Latvia promise, on behalf of the nation, together with all the nations of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, under the victorious flags of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, to fight for the victory of communism throughout the world.

Long live the policy of peace of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Soviet government and its head Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov!

Long live our pride and glory – the great Stalin!"

“To the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, c. Kalinin!

To you, a student of Lenin and a trusted associate of the great Stalin, on the historic day when Soviet Latvia was accepted into the family of nations of the USSR, we send our fervent greetings.

On August 5, the longings of the Latvian working class, labour agriculture and labour intelligentsia, were fulfilled – the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia was accepted as a full member of the family of peoples of the Soviet land. The long era of oppression, exploitation, and humiliation of the working man is over. Now a new, happy, bright life has begun. The working people of Soviet Latvia will build a socialist society together with the happiest peoples of the Soviet land. For this we must thank the mighty USSR, for this we must thank her invincible Red Army.

Long live the USSR!

Long live the heroic Red Army!

Long live the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR!

Long live the great Stalin!"

“To the People's Commissar in Defence Affairs of the USSR Marshal c. Tymoshenko.

With deep feelings of gratitude and joy, the working people of Latvia welcomed the great liberator – the Red Army. For over 20 years, our whole life resembled a prison, where there was scarcity, hunger, human humiliation, and captivity. Now the widest prospects for economic and cultural development have opened up for us. The hearts of the working people of Latvia are burning with joy and gratitude towards you, the leader of the great, mighty, invincible Red Army, the leader of the army that saved us from the horrors of war and captivity. We will be worthy guardians of the new, mighty father. In mighty, unbreakable ranks, we will lead the people of Latvia in the fight for the final victory of the working people.

Long live the invincible Red Army of workers and peasants!

Long live the creator of the Red Army and the inspirer of its historical victories – the great Stalin!”

Meeting adjourns at 9:00.

Acting Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior

V. Lācis

Acting Director of the State Chancellery

V. Stalažs

LVA, 270. f., 1. apr., 2. l., 143., 144. lp.

**Minister of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR V. Lācis and Head of the
Main Literature Administration J. Niedre's 26 August 1940 order to
remove from circulation polygraphic materials undesirable to the
occupying regime**

Riga, 26 August 1940

Ministry of the Interior Order

I instruct all leaders of the people's militia, in communication with the committees of local LCP organisations and the political leaders of local Red Army units, within 10 days from the publication of this order, to remove from circulation in shops, antique shops, libraries, and kiosks all fiction, scientific, and practical books, magazines, brochures, leaflets, postcards, songs, paintings, and other printed products, the content of which is contrary to the Soviet system, the Marxist worldview, or the content of which glorifies the views of the former plutocratic regime or the White Guards. Printing products can be withdrawn from circulation, regardless of the language or country in which the publication was published. Also, all printed content and paperbacks (light, "Orient", etc.) can be removed from circulation. Receipts must be issued to their previous owners or holders for collected printed products. The materials should be sent immediately to the Head Office in Riga.

Minister of the Interior V. Lācis

Main literature authority Head J. Niedre

**CPSU CC and USSR CPC 16 September 1940 decision on the approval of
authorised representatives in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania**

SECRET

Moscow, Kremlin, 16 September 1940

CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of People's Commissars

DECISION No. 1716-688-s

On the CPSU CC and USSR Council of People's Commissars authorised representatives in
the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Soviet Republics

CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of People's Commissars decide:

Authorise:

c. V. Bochkarjov – as the CPSU CC and USSR Council of People's Commissars
authorised representative in Union Estonian SSR;

c. V. Derevyansky – as the CPSU CC and USSR Council of People's Commissars
authorised representative in Union Latvian SSR;

c. N. Pozdnakov – as the CPSU CC and USSR Council of People's Commissars
authorised representative in Union Lithuanian SSR.

CPSU Central Committee
Secretary J. Stalin

USSR
Council of People's Commissars
Chair V. Molotov

LVA, 270. f., 1.s apr., 2. l., 2. lp.

Vladimir Derevyansky – born in 1902 in Yaroslavl. Graduated from the Leningrad Metallurgical Institute. Economic worker. In 1937, he was appointed as the authorised representative of the USSR in Finland; in 1940 as the authorised representative of the USSR in Latvia.

Excerpt from 7 September 1940 Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the procedure for obtaining USSR citizenship for citizens of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia

Moscow, Kremlin, 7 September 1940

1. In accordance with Article 1 of the Statehood Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 19 August 1938, to establish that the citizens of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are citizens of the USSR, starting from the day of admission of these republics into the USSR.
2. Citizens of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia who are outside the borders of the USSR at the time of the issuance of this decree and whose citizenship has not been revoked by the Soviet governments of these republics must register as Soviet citizens at authorised representative offices or consulates of the USSR no later than 1 November 1940, either by coming in person or by sending a separate application by post and attaching the national passport.

The aforementioned persons who have not registered as Soviet citizens in authorised missions or consulates of the USSR by 1 November 1940 may be granted citizenship of the USSR on a general basis in accordance with Article 3 of the Citizenship Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

...

Chair of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

M. Kalinin
A. Gorkin

Presidium of the Supreme Council of the LSSR gazette, 11 September 1940

**Order by the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the LSSR A. Noviks
on the opening of the NKVD Internal Prison**

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Latvian SSR

Decree No. 13

9 November 1940

Content: On the opening of the Internal Prison of the LSSR NKVD

The newly built internal prison of the NKVD of the LSSR shall be considered accepted and transferred to the control of the prison division of the NKVD of the LSSR.

I decree:

- 1) Comrade Grīnbergs, head of the Prisons Department of the LSSR NKVD, to temporarily obtain the necessary number of prison employees until the staff is approved, and from 9 November 1940 ... to consider the Internal Prison operational.
- 2) I am appointing state security sergeant Zevin V. G., operational officer of the Prison Division of the LSSR NKVD, as the temporary executor of the head of the Internal Prison.

Latvian SSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs

/Noviks/

LR IeM archive, 12. f., 1. apr., 1. lp.

For more, see Zenons Indrikovs. An insight into the activities of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in 1940, *Latvijas Arhīvi*. 1. 1997, p. 63, 64.

The LSSR NKVD Internal underground prison in Riga at Brīvības Street 37/39 (now Brīvības Street 61) was built at lightning speed in two months. For fifty years, this prison was a place of torture for the best sons and daughters of Latvia, but for many of them, the thread of life also broke here.

**LSSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, A. Noviks, order regarding
the staff of the Internal Prison of the LSSR NKVD**

LSSR Internal affairs commissar's

Order

About 1940

Contents: Regarding the staff

26 November 1940

Assigned to: NKVD Internal Prison

As duty chief assistant – Yevstratov Stepan Mikhail's son - from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Alekseev Ivan Ivan's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Rospopov Mikhail Fjodor's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Karpachev Gavril Trifon's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Horoshevsky Vasily Sergey's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Rogachev Nikolay Alexander's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Cherepanov Mikhail Sergey's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Redlich Alexander Ivan's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Toropigin Ivan Isak's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Lukonin Nikolay Aleksey's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Popov Aleksey Andrey's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Kochetkov Andrey Ivan's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Savchenko Stepan Yemelyan's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Kochergin Zakhar Ivan's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Dikarev Grigory Andrey's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Zanetdinov Nurilla Fatepov's son – from 21 November 1940.

As guard – Rodionov Vasily Jefim's son – from 21 November 1940.

As cleaner – Krilova Agripina Martin's daughter – from 21 November 1940.

As recordkeeping head – Anufriyev Dmitry Ivan's son – from 21 November 1940.

(A. Noviks)

majority were sent from the USSR, mainly Russians (LR IeM archive, 12. f., 1. apr., 1. l., 1.-7. lp.).

**Permanent Representation in Moscow of the Council of People's
Commissars of the LSSR employee A. Bumšteins report to V. Lācis and J.
Kalnbērziņš on the use of seconded workers**

27 January 1941

“... c. Korkhin from CPSU CC reports that members sent to the Latvian SSR must be assigned to the following work [in the Council of People's Commissars - J.R.]:

1. Head of the mobilisation department – c. Sharapov.
2. Head of the agrarian department – c. Muravyov.
3. Head of the department of organisational and instructor work - c. Kiesis.
4. Deputy head of affairs administration – c. Usachev.
5. Assistant to the Deputy Chairman of the CPC – c. Klochkov.

LVA, PA-101. f., 2. apr., 52. l., 5. lp.

In a report dated 28 April 1941 to the Secretary of the CPSU CC G. Malenkovs, J. Kalnbērziņš requested "specialists and responsible employees in various branches - 153 people"¹, but in a telegram to the Cadre Department of the CPSU CC, he asked "to send for our use twelve members selected by the Leningrad party organisation".²

¹ LVA, PA-101. f., 2. apr., 92. l., 33., 34. lp.

² LVA, PA-101. f., 1. apr., 43. l., 44. lp.

For work in the LCP Central Committee, K. Makhanko was sent as assistant secretary; D. Matlakhov and P. Litvinov as department heads; Zvyagin, L. Solovyov, I. Kondratyev as sector heads; M. Ulyanov, M. Yelizarov, M. Ryabov, and A. Sobolev as instructors. Many other responsible positions in the CPSU CC were occupied by "reliable cadres" sent from the USSR. Also, "responsible comrades" started working in people's commissariats and various institutions and organisations, sent from the USSR.

LVA, PA-101. f., 2. apr., 115. l., 25. lp.

**LCPB CC Transport affairs Secretary P. Plēsums' submission to the CPSU
CC Cadre Department regarding sending employees to Latvia**

8 April 1941

In order to strengthen the cadres of the Latvian State Maritime Shipping, the Latvian CPSU CC requests to send the following members to permanent work in the system of the People's Commissariat of the Navy:

1. Chief accountant.
2. Harbour master.
3. Head of the Department of Naval War Affairs.
4. Riga, Liepāja, and Ventspils port plan heads.
5. Heads of labour and salary departments of these ports.
6. Maritime shipping economists - financiers.
7. Three engineers - mechanics for shipping and ports.
8. Three rate-fixers for loading and unloading.
9. Director of the Riga Ship Repair Plant.
10. Head of the industrial planning and production department.
11. Two rationing calculators for the factory.
12. Head of shipping procurement and supply.

LVA, PA-101. f., 1. apr., 43. l., 18. lp.

In 1941, Latvian industry was managed by 27 000 officials and controllers, among whom the great majority were migrants from the USSR, mainly Russians.

List of employees sent to the Latvian SSR NKVD from USSR NKVD cadres

From 4 March until June 1940

Top Secret

Surname and initials	Position assigned	Commanded from where
Tkachenko V. D.	Chief of Liepāja fire protection	NKVD Kursk region administration
Alexandrov V. A.	Deputy chief of Riga fire protection	NKVD Leningrad region administration
Sokolov A. N.	Deputy head of the Prisons Department in political work	NKVD Tula region administration
Mamajev P. V.	LSSR NKVD OUR (undeciphered – J. R.) senior operations officer	NKVD administration – Moscow
Daube V. P.	LSSR NKVD OAGS (undeciphered – J. R.) chief	NKVD Voronezh region administration
Ruleva M. M.	LSSR NKVD staff typist	NKVD administration – Worker-Peasant Militia administration. Moscow
Zaiceva M. A.	LSSR NKVD Socialist Property Protection Department of the Militia Administration typist	NKVD administration – Worker-Peasant Militia administration. Moscow
Shnitkov N. K.	LSSR NKVD deputy head of the cadre department	PSRS NKVD. Moscow
Vasenkov D. I.	Senior operations officer for mobilisation in the Red Army	PSRS NKVD. Moscow
Korshunov A. J.	LSSR NKVD 6 th group operative representative	NKVD Yaroslavl region administration
Gnidin M. N.	LSSR NKVD senior operational officer of the 1 st special unit	NKVD Yaroslavl region administration

Vengrizhin V. K.	LSSR NKVD employee sector senior inspector	NKVD Yaroslavl region administration
Starovait A. I.	LSSR NKVD Daugavpils region section chief	UPSR NKVD
Usanov A. A.	LSSR NKVD administrative- economic sector senior inspector	NKVD Yaroslavl region administration
Larionov F. I.	LSSR NKVD OPO (undeciphered – J. R.) senior inspector	NKVD Leningrad region administration
Sevastyanov N. N.	LSSR NKVD Department of Militia Administration for Combating Banditry chief	NKVD Leningrad region administration
Gerasimov V. A.	LSSR NKVD Prison No. 1 chief	NKVD Leningrad region administration
Babushkin P. J.	LSSR NKVD 6 th group operations officer	USSR NKVD
Tarasov P. P.	LSSR NKVD Correctional labour colony section deputy chief	Udmurt APSR NKVD
Modin I. A.	LSSR NKVD administrative- economic sector deputy chief	Dagestan APSR NKVD
Suharev P. N.	GPO (undeciphered – J. R.) political leader – did not come	NKVD Ivanovo region administration
Burlin I. P.	GPO (undeciphered – J. R.) political leader – did not come	Ivanovo region administration
Samodranov B. Z.	OPO (undeciphered – J. R.) senior inspector – did not come	NKVD Oryol region administration

Kalyanov V.I.	LSSR NKVD OPO (undeciphered – J. R.) deputy chief political section	USSR NKVD Firefighting headquarters
Vorobyov G. S.	GOM (undeciphered – J. R.) section chief – did not come	NKVD Rostov region administration
Grinkin K. U.	ROM (undeciphered – J. R.) chief – did not come	NKVD Rostov region administration
Zikov A. I.	LSSR NKVD 1 st special unit chief – did not come	BPSR NKVD
Solovikh F. M.	1 st special unit deputy chief – did not come	BPSR NKVD
Karandaev K. J.	ROM (undeciphered – J. R.) chief – did not come	NKVD Kuybyshev region administration
Bikov V. A.	ROM (undeciphered – J. R.) chief – did not come	NKVD Kuybyshev region administration

LSSR NKVD Cadre section 1st unit chief

National security senior lieutenant

(Gaišiņecs)

LR IeM arhīvs, 12. f., 1. apr., 4. l., 436., 437. lp.

Russification was also facilitated by the fact that many units of the occupying army were stationed in Latvia because the headquarters of the Baltic Military District was located in Riga. As a result, a huge number of officers' family members also came to Latvia.

For more, see:

Alfreds Ceihners. *Latvijas boļševizācija. 1940-1941*. Rīga, 1944.

Okupācijas varu politika Latvijā. 1939-1991. Rīga, 1999.

Ilga Gore, Aivars Stranga. *Latvija: neatkarības mījkrēslis. Okupācija. 1939. gada septembris – 1940 jūnijs*. Rīga, 1992.

Jānis Riekstiņš. *Padomju impērijas koloniālā politika un Latvijas kolonizācija*. Rīga, 2015.

Chapter 2

Threatening numbers of Russian migrants

1. Unorganised or spontaneous migration

Excerpt from the service report by Latvian SSR Internal Affairs Deputy People's Commissar, A. Koshelev, to the Latvian SSR Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, V. Lācis, regarding documentation of the residents of the city of Riga

Riga

No. 8/6/463 s

10 April 1945

Latvian SSR NKVD Militia Administration Passport Department
To the Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars Chairman
comrade V. Lācis

Service report

On the documentation of residents of the city of Riga

...

II Results of the documentation of residents of the city of Riga

a) Issuing and registering passport documents

According to the plan, a total of 161 856 people should have been documented in the city of Riga. In the period from 10 December 1944 to 20 March 1945 – issued:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| a. passports | 141 722 pcs. |
| b. temporary certificates | 4854 pcs. |
| c. special certificates | 8251 pcs. |

Thus, a total of 154 877 people were documented, i.e. 6979 people less than planned.

...

During the documentation of the residents of the city of Riga, the following persons were listed:

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| a) permanently residing or arriving in the city of Riga until 1941 | 150 609 people; |
| b) arrived during the German fascist occupation | 2560 people; |
| c) arrived in the city of Riga after it had been liberated by Red Army units | 1708 people. |

Of them:

By nationality:

- | | |
|-----------------|---------|
| a) Latvians | 112 111 |
| b) Russians | 292 134 |
| c) Poles | 10 090 |
| d) Hebrews | 378 |
| e) Ukrainians | 180 |
| f) Belarussians | 1009 |
| g) Lithuanians | 1043 |
| h) Estonians | 750 |
| i) Czechs | 18 |
| j) Gypsies | 28 |
| k) Japanese | 3 |
| l) Germans | 5 |
| m) Slovaks | 2 |
| n) Tatars | 29 |
| o) Armenians | 13 |
| p) French | 9 |
| q) Finns | 14 |
| r) English | 3 |
| s) Others | 49 |

LSSR Internal Affairs Deputy People's Commissar

A. Koshelev

**Excerpt from the Latvian SSR Statistics Bureau on the results of the
mechanical movement of the population in the cities and rural areas of the
Latvian SSR in 1949**

Internal use

[1st q. 1950]

**Results of the mechanical movement of the population
in cities and rural areas of the Latvian SSR in 1949**

1. Residents arrived

A. Cities

In 1949, a total of 78 900 people arrived in the cities of the Latvian SSR, compared to 1948 – 92 585 people or 13 700 fewer people ... of the total number of people who arrived in the cities of the republic – 78 904 – people from outside the borders of the Latvian SSR – 35 918 people or 45.5% arrived.

The bulk of the population in the cities of the republic came from outside the borders of the Latvian SSR:

	Thousands	As a percentage of all arrivals from outside the borders of the republic
From RSFSR	23,9	66,5
Incl.		
Leningrad	2,8	7,7
Moscow	1,8	5,1
Kaliningrad reg.	1,5	4,1
Velikiye Luuk reg.	1,2	3,3
Peskov reg.	0,9	2,5
Kalinin reg.	0,8	2,2
Ukrainian SSR	3,3	9,2

Belorussian SSR	2,2	6,1
Lithuanian SSR	1,9	5,2
Estonian SSR	1,0	2,8
From abroad	0,6	1,7

...

B. Countryside

43 546 people arrived in the rural areas of the Latvian SSR in 1949, incl. 5240 people or 12.0% from outside the borders of the republic....

LVA, 277. f., 14. apr., 28. l., 91. lp.

**Excerpt from Latvian SSR Statistics Bureau Report for the USSR Statistics
Bureau Population Statistics and Health Protection Department on the
mechanical movement of the population in 1955**

20 July 1956

...

To the cities and workers' villages of the Latvian SSR, most arrived from other republics:

Places they came from	Arrived people
RSFSR	26 348
Incl.	
Leningrad	2728
Moscow	1520
Kaliningrad reg.	2176
Velikiye Luku reg.	1204
Pskov reg.	932
Komi ASSR	856

Ukrainian SSR	4320
incl. Crimea reg.	416
Stalin reg.	340
Kharkov city	324
Belorussian SSR	3028
Incl..	
Molodechnya reg.	864
Vitebsk reg.	616
Lithuanian SSR	1559
Kazakhstan SSR	924
Estonian SSR	952

...

B. Rural areas

In 1955, 58 632 people arrived in the rural areas of the Republic

LVA, 277. f., 14. apr., 84. l., 94. lp.

Excerpt from the Latvian SSR Statistics Bureau Report to the Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium on the approximate results of the 1959 All- Union Census of the Latvian SSR

No. 120 ps

14 May 1959

...

(percent)

Republics	1939		1959	
	Titular nation	Russians	Titular nation	Russians
Latvian SSR	77	10	62	26
Lithuanian SSR	74	4	79	9

Estonian SSR	88	8	74	20
Belorussian SSR	77	6	80	9

...

Changes in the population of Latvians and Russians after 1897, 1935, and 1959 as well as the base - 1939 census data of the Latvian SSR - are shown in the following table:

Year	Latvians		Russians	
	Thousands	Change (thousands)	Thousands	Change (thousands)
1897	1318	-	132	-
1935	1467	+ 149	168	- 64
1939	1460	- 7	180	+ 12
1959	1310	- 150	550	+ 370

Head of the Latvian SSR Statistics Bureau

E. Āboliņš

LVA, 277. f., 17. apr., 20. l., 95., 104. lp.

**Excerpt from the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's First
secretary J. Kalnbērziņš' speech at the Latvian Communist Party Central
Committee VII closed plenum on 7-8 July 1959**

Secret

7 July 1959

Latvian CP Central Committee VII Closed Plenum transcript on 7-8 July 1959

...

In our country, there cannot be such a situation that only one nationality will live in the national republic. We have to take this into account and work with people in such a way that everyone understands us well. ...

Some leading employees believe that the issue of national cadres is quite unfavourable in the republic, that the main leading positions are held by members who came from elsewhere. It doesn't take much effort to disprove this. ...

...

Serious mistakes were made by restricting registration in Riga. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the City of Riga Executive committee, with the knowledge of the CC, referring to the need to strictly observe the passport regime in Riga, prevented people from signing up, especially foreigners. ... Various obstacles were created in the registration of family members of soldiers as well as specialists sent to Riga for work. It seems that registering would be a purely technical issue, but as a result of incorrect implementation, it has turned into a purely political issue for us and acquired a nationalist tone.

Currently, according to incomplete data, more than 20 000 people live in Riga without registration. Police officers impose fines and constantly issue warnings that unregistered persons should leave Riga. This was reflected in the newspaper "Padomju Jaunatne", which in the article "That's how Riga is filling up" expresses indignation at the fact that the assembler Troshnikov brought his wife to Riga. The article expresses the wish to experience the wonderful day when Riga's unregistered persons will leave this city and return to where they used to live.

Such a "restriction" regarding registration in Riga has basically stopped people from entering Latvia from other counties and regions, that is, it has led to national detachment.

There were attempts to divert the party organisations from the correct Leninist path and to establish national isolation and seclusion in our country. For example, CC bureau comrade c. Berklavs, when the seven-year plan was discussed at the joint meeting of the CC bureau and the Council of Ministers last October, openly opposed the party's general line on developing heavy industry and persistently demanded not to expand the wagon factory and the diesel factory and not to increase their output. How did he motivate these objections? The main evidence for him was that in recent years the population of the republic had increased by 450 000 with the influx of workers from elsewhere and that the construction and expansion of factories would require further influx of labour. In his opinion, inviting foreigners to Latvia should not be practiced because, as is known, metal is imported into our republic. Diesel output should not be expanded because in the event of a war, Riga will be the first to suffer. ... At the same time, c. Berklavs spoke about the need to comprehensively develop the light and food industries, the production of which must be consumed on the spot. ...

Basically, Berklavs' proposals did not mean anything other than a threat - national isolation, seclusion, which is very harmful to the common interests of the country, the Latvian

people, Latvia's economic relations with other republics of our country, and the development of productive forces in our republic.

Various arguments about the fact that it is not useful to develop certain industries were also put forward by some employees. Most typically - in a nationalist spirit - c. Reimanis, literary collaborator of the newspaper "Padomju Jaunatne". In a letter he sent to the Pravda newspaper, he said:

“Some calculations of the Latvian industry are surprising. Several large companies are founded here for which everything is brought from Russia – equipment, specialists, workers and raw materials. The production is taken back to Russia. One must ask, what is the point of establishing such factories on the territory of a national republic, if only to increase the number of Russians so that they are in the majority, and then one fine day, on the basis of this majority, announce the dissolution of the national united republic.”

These are politically harmful, bourgeois nationalist views. ...

We need developed large-scale industry in Latvia. This can be achieved by establishing close mutual relations with other fraternal republics from which we receive the necessary equipment, raw materials, machinery and fuel for the various means of transport that we have. But the products produced in our enterprises are distributed and must be distributed in the common interest of the economy of our land, contrary to some comrades who want national isolation and seclusion.

These comrades have forgotten that we are a Soviet Socialist Republic and not a separate bourgeois state. We live in the fraternal family of peoples of the Soviet Union with a common plan for the whole country, common interests, common goals - to build communism.

...

**Excerpt from LSSR State Security Committee Chairman J. Vēvers' speech
at the LCP CC plenum on 7-8 July 1959**

...

Resistance to the industrialisation of the republic is the same thing about which Latvian nationalists raised a big fuss in 1958 because of the Pļaviņi HES construction project.

As you know, last summer, public workers and representatives of the Latvian intelligentsia began a broad campaign against the construction of this HES. The argument against the construction of the HES was that the Koknese region and surrounding areas would be flooded. The authors of the protests declared that no Latvian could imagine his existence without these places. This is the official, external side of the issue.

Behind this external protest, the authors hatched another idea, their real idea that with the construction of Pļaviņi HES, the need for labour would naturally increase. To cover these needs, labour would have to be imported from the USSR, which means the Russification of Latvia. This is exactly why the so-called Latvian society representatives rebelled against the construction of Pļaviņi HES. These representatives tried to involve broad sections of Riga's workers and students in this case. Collecting signatures for collective protest statements against the construction of Pļaviņi HES began in companies, universities, and other higher education institutions. These collective protests, which agitated society against industrialisation, had to be stopped by our operative intervention.

...

LVA, PA-101. f., 22. apr., 15. l., 128. lp.

Excerpt from LSSR State Planning Commission Chairman A. Čulītis' speech to the LCP CC on 7-8 July 1959

...

Actually c. Berklavs consistently maintained a line against citizens from other republics entering the republic (not only Riga, but also other cities) in any way. ...

...

Look what happens. Riga does not let anyone in. In the spring at the meeting of the deputy chairmen of the region executive committees c. Berklavs announced that the gates of

the cities under the control of the republic should be closed to newcomers. So you must not go to Riga, the capital. It is forbidden to go to the major cities of the republic, but recently the CC adopted a decision ... in which the region committees are obliged to check, together with the militia bodies, whether there are any persons living and registered in the regions in violation of the requirements of the passport regime and to take measures for their return to their former places of residence. It turns out that now the region committees of the party together with the militia have to check the entire republic (we are talking about kolkhozes) whether the arrivals are registered correctly, and if not, send them back, but if they don't go, what then? So, forced deportation from the republic? ... Something similar to a general check results, whether the residents, who are not counted as locals, live legally in the territory of the republic. It turns out, there is only one more step left: to declare entry with visas and close the border. In my opinion, it is heavily exaggerated, it should be corrected. ...

LVA, PA-101. f., 22. apr., 15. l., 77., 78., 79. lp.

**Excerpt from the Latvian SSR Statistics Bureau report to the USSR
Council of Ministers Central Statistics Bureau on the population, education
level, national composition, and age structure of the Latvian SSR according
to 1959 All-Union Census data**

[8 February 1960]

Latvian SSR Statistics Bureau report

On the population, education level, national composition, and age structure of the Latvian
SSR according to 1959 All-Union Census data

Number of inhabitants

On 15 January 1959 the population of the Latvian SSR was 2 093 458 people, incl. 919 008 men and 1 174 450 women. Compared to 1939, the population of the republic has increased by 209 000 people or by 11 percent.

...

National composition of the population

...

In the 1959 census, the respondents named their nationality and native language. Children's nationality and native language were determined by the parents. Native language may not coincide with nationality.

The distribution of the population of the Latvian SSR by nationality is characterised by the following data.

	Number of persons by nationality – one thousand people	Percentage of total
All residents of the Latvian SSR	2093	100,0
Latvians	1298	62,0
Russians	556	26,6
Belarussians	62	2,9
Poles	66	2,9
Hebrews	37	1,7
Lithuanians	32	1,5
Ukrainians	29	1,4
Estonians	5	0,2
Gypsies	4	0,2
Tatars	2	0,1
Germans	2	0,1
Armenians	1,1	0,1

1 298 000 Latvians live in the Latvian SSR, but in total the population of Latvians in the Soviet Union is 1 400 000 as 102 000 Latvians live in other fraternal republics.

...

During Hitler's occupation, almost 1/3 of the population of the republic was decimated or left for Germany. Despite this, the total number of inhabitants has increased compared to 1939, but the number of Latvians has not yet reached the pre-war level.

...

Latvian SSR Statistics Bureau Chairman

E. Āboliņš

 LVA, 277. f., 14. apr., 21. l., 103.-105., 109. lp.

**Excerpts from Latvian SSR State Planning Commission Chairman
M. Ramāns' Explanatory note of 23 July 1968 on the labour reserve
balance of the Latvian SSR for 1969**

SECRET

23 July 1968

**Explanatory note
on the labour reserve balance of the Latvian SSR for 1969**

...

In the total growth of the population of the Republic, the share of mechanical growth is very high. Thus, for example, if in the early 1950s it accounted for about one-third of all growth, after 1960 it became higher than natural growth, but between 1965 and 1967 its share reached 62.3 percent of total growth . The Republic of Latvia is the only one of the union republics where the mechanical increase of the population exceeds the natural increase.

...

Due to the fact that population reproduction processes in the republic have been unfavourable in recent years, the birth rate is decreasing every year and is not only the lowest among the union republics, but also one of the lowest in the world. This situation is determined by low natural growth, high mechanical population growth, and the tight labour resource balance. It was urgently necessary to conduct research on how the birth rate is affected by the socio-economic and sanitary and hygienic living conditions of the republic's inhabitants.

For this purpose (from 1966 to 1967), the Latvian branch of the USSR Central Statistics Bureau Scientific research institute, together with Latvian SSR health protection specialists, conducted a special survey of women whose marriage was registered in 1959. Of 23 000 women of the republic whose marriage was registered in 1959, 14 000 or 60.9% were surveyed.

...

The research data show that one of the reasons for the voluntary birth control was the poor housing conditions of the titular population, which worsened every year due to the large

mechanical increase in the population of the republic from other regions of the country. More than one third of workers and employees live in shared apartments, but in those families that live in separate apartments, on average 2 people live in 1 room. Eleven percent of the families of workers and servants have 4 m² of living space per family member. Young married couples are in the worst condition

Latvian SSR State Planning Commission
Chairman M. Ramāns

LVA, 207. f., 1.s apr., 1903. l., 45., 46., 49., 50., 52. lp.

Excerpt from the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Case management First section's and Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Case management Letter Group's statement on implementation of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers of the 24 November 1965 Decision No. 602 "On the elimination of shortcomings in observing the passport regime in the Latvian SSR"

10 December 1969

The average growth of the population of the Latvian SSR in the previous period was characterised by the following data:

(thousand people)

Years	Total		
	Annual average growth	Including	
		at the expense of the natural movement of the population	at the expense of the mechanical movement of the population
5 year average 1950-1954	13,3	9,4	3,9
1955-1959	20,5	12,6	7,9
1960-1964	25,7	12,6	13,1

3 year average 1965-1967	22,3	8,4	13,9
18 year average (1950-1967)	20,3	11,0	9,2

From 1950 to 1967, the population of the republic increased by 364 500 people or 18.8 percent, including 198 100 people at the expense of the natural population movements, which is 54.3 percent of the total population growth of the republic. However, it should be noted the tendency of increasing the share of mechanical growth in the total population growth. So, for example, in the early 1950s, mechanical growth accounted for only about one-third of all growth, then after 60 years, it became higher than natural growth, and in recent years it has almost doubled natural growth. ...

On average, from 1965 to 1967, the share of mechanical growth of the republic totals 62.3 percent of the total population growth, and it should be noted that the Latvian SSR is the only union republic where mechanical growth is greater than the natural.

...

Latvian SSR SPC Deputy chairman

J. Rudzāts

LVA, 270. f., 1.s apr., 1905. l., 12.-14., 31. lp.

**Excerpt from the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Central Statistics
Bureau publication for services purposes of the "1970 Results of the All-
Union Census of the Latvian SSR" on the national composition of the
population of Riga in 1959 and 1970**

[1974]

National composition of the population of Riga in 1959 and 1970

	1959			1970		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
All	580 423	249 150	331 273	731 831	329 672	402 159

inhabitants						
Incl.:						
Russians	228 612	96 964	131 648	312 857	141 581	171 276
Latvians	258 528	109 583	148 945	299 072	129 236	169 836
Hebrews	29 836	13 899	1 5937	30 581	14 594	15 987
Belarussian s	18 615	8522	10 093	30 114	14 436	15 678
Ukrainians	16 323	8376	7947	25 293	14 290	11 003
Poles	16 291	6041	10 250	17 324	6606	10 718
Lithuanians	5634	2475	3159	6696	3213	3483
Estonians	1360	476	884	1500	626	874
Other nationalities	5224	2814	2410	8394	5090	3304
As a percentage of the total population						
Incl.:	100	100	100	100	100	100
Russians	39,4	38,9	39,7	42,7	43,0	42,6
Latvians	44,6	44,0	45,0	49,9	39,2	42,2
Hebrews	5,1	5,6	4,8	4,2	4,4	4,0
Belarussian s	3,2	3,4	3,0	4,1	4,4	3,9
Ukrainians	2,8	2,4	3,1	2,4	2,0	2,7
Poles	2,8	2,4	3,1	2,4	2,0	2,7
Lithuanians	1,0	1,0	1,0	0,9	1,0	0,9
Estonians	0,2	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,2	0,2
Other nationalities	0,9	1,1	0,7	1,1	1,5	0,8

LVA, 277. f., 35. apr., 98. l., 115. lp.

**Excerpt from the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Central Statistics
Bureau publication for services purposes of the 1974 edition "1970 Results
of the All-Union Census in the Latvian SSR" on the number of Latvians in
the Latvian SSR and the USSR in 1970**

[1974]

1970 Results of the All-Union Census in the Latvian SSR

...

Between the All-Union censuses of 1959 and 1970, the number of Latvians in the Latvian SSR increased by 43 924 people (by 3 percent), Russians by 148 151 people (by 27 percent), Belarusians by 33 311 people (by 54 percent), Ukrainian by 24 021 people (by 82 percent).

In 1970, 1 341 805 Latvians (57 percent of the total population) lived in the Latvian SSR, and 1 429 844 Latvians in the entire USSR, as 88 039 Latvians lived in other union republics.

LVA, 277. f., 35. apr., 98. l., 7. lp.

**Excerpt from the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Central Statistics
Bureau publication for services purposes "Natural and mechanical
movement of the population of the Latvian SSR in 1974" about the
mechanical movement of the population to the Latvian SSR**

[1975]

Mechanical movement of the population

...

Population flow to the main districts of the Latvian SSR remained the same as in previous years, the main district of Latvian SSR population addition [is from] the RSFSR - 57 percent of the total population mechanical increase. In 1974, inhabitants from Kaliningrad, Pskov, Bryansk and Kaliningrad regions mostly moved to the Latvian SSR.

A significant source of replenishment of the population of the Latvian SSR remains the Belorussian SSR. As in previous years, the Vitebsk region stands out, which in 1974 accounted for 14.3 percent of the total population growth of the Latvian SSR.

Compared to the previous year, there was a slight increase in the mechanical growth of the population, which was given by the Ukrainian SSR (16.1 percent in 1973, 17.6 percent in 1974).

...

LVA, 277. f., 35. apr., 147. l., 13. lp.

**Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Central Statistics Bureau adjusted data
on the population of Daugavpils by nationality and gender**

[1980]

1970 All-Union Census

For internal use

Table 7-s

Residents present within the borders on 17 January 1979

Population distribution by nationality and gender in Daugavpils

Nationality	Both sexes	Men	Women
All inhabitants	100 431	48 337	52 094
incl.			
Latvians	14 406	7758	6648
Russians	57 274	27 213	30 061
Belarussians	7719	3599	4120
Ukrainians	2654	1589	1065
Lithuanians	968	525	443
Hebrews	2101	956	1145
Gypsies	278	148	130
Estonians	51	24	27
Other	684	409	275

LVA, 277. f., 17. apr., 387. l., 30. lp.

Latvian SSR State Statistics Committee Population Statistics Department
Report on the national composition of the population of Latvia according to
1989 All-Union Census data

[15 June 1990]

On the national composition of the population of Latvia

(according to 1989 All-Union Census data)

One of the most important points of the 1989 All-Union population census programme, which is of interest to state bodies, scientists, and the public, was the question of the national composition of the population.

As the processing of census materials showed, more than 130 ethnicities, nationalities, and representatives of ethnic groups live in Latvia.

The number of permanent residents of Latvia increased by 6.5% between the last two censuses and is 2 666 600 people. Compared to the pre-war numbers (1935 data), the population increased by 1.4 times. However, the number of Latvians, the titular nation that live in the territory of the republic, still has not reached the level of 1935: the difference is 79 200 people. Latvians are the only one of the basic nationalities of the USSR who have not reached their pre-war numbers. In 1989, the number of Latvians in the republic was 5.4% less than in 1935, but at the same time the number of Russians increased 5.4 times, Belarusians - 4.5 times, Ukrainians - more than 50 times.

Latvia belongs to the number of republics with a high share of Slavic peoples living in its territory. Only two other united republics - Estonian and Kazakh SSR - have such a high proportion of Slavic nationalities. However, if their share is constantly decreasing in the Kazakh SSR, it is increasing in Estonia and Latvia.

As the data of all post-war censuses show, despite the absolute increase in the number of persons of Latvian nationality, the share of Latvians in the total population of the republic is continuously decreasing.

The share of and decrease in the absolute number of Latvians, as compared to 1935, can be explained mainly by the consequences of the war, subsequent repressions, a relatively large number of older age groups, and the unjustified development of industry and some other sectors of the economy in the post-war years and related workforce influx from other regions of the country.

Changes in the number and proportion of the main nationalities of the Republic are as follows:

	Thousands		1989 in percent compared to 1979	Percentage of total population	
	1979	1989			
Total	2503	2667	106,5	100	100
incl.					
Latvians	1344	1388	103,2	53,7	52,0
Russians	821	906	110,2	32,8	34,0
Belarussians	112	120	107,4	4,5	4,5
Ukrainians	67	92	138,1	2,7	3,5
Poles	63	60	96,4	1,5	2,3
Lithuanians	38	35	91,6	1,5	1,3
Hebrews	28	23	80,9	1,1	0,9
Gypsies	6,1	7,0	14,8	0,2	0,2
Tatars	3,8	4,8	128,3	0,2	0,2
Germans	3,3	3,8	114,7	0,1	0,1
Estonians	3,7	3,3	99,0	0,1	0,1
Other nationalities	13	24	184,8	0,6	0,8

...

At the beginning of 1989, the share of Latvians among urban residents was 44%, among rural residents - 71.5%, compared to 45.1% and 71.9%, respectively, during the previous census in 1979; 332 000 Latvians or 36.5% of the total population live in Riga (38.3% in 1979).

The largest share of titular population in cities is in Jelgava - 49.7%, the smallest - in Daugavpils - 13.0%; in rural regions in Talsi regions - 89.8%, in Daugavpils region - 36%.

The census also collected data on native language and other languages of the peoples of the USSR, which the interviewee is fluent in. The data show that 97.4% of Latvians consider

Latvian to be their native language, and 68% are fluent in Russian. At the same time, it should be noted that only 23% of the population of other nationalities stated that they know the Latvian language.

...

Chairman of the State Statistics Committee of the Latvian SSR

G. Baltiņš

LVA, 277. f., 17. apr., 445. l., 1.-3., 7.-8., 10. lp.

**Excerpt from the Latvian SSR State Statistics Committee Population
Statistics Department Report on the national composition of the population
of Latvia according to 1989 All-Union Census data**

(15 June 1990)

...

	Proportion of nationalities in the total population (%)							
	Latvians	Russians	Belarussians	Ukrainians	Poles	Lithuanians	Estonians	other nationalities
Region								
Alūksne	75,0	18,2	0,9	2,6	0,3	0,2	1,4	1,4
Balvi	71,8	24,5	0,8	1,3	0,3	0,1	0,1	1,1
Bauska	60,4	14,3	4,7	3,1	1,5	6,5	0,1	1,6
Valka	74,3	17,4	2,6	2,0	0,9	0,5	0,8	1,5
Valmiera	78,5	14,3	2,6	2,0	0,9	0,3	0,2	1,2
Ventspils	85,9	8,2	1,2	1,8	0,6	0,4	0,0	1,4
Gulbene	79,8	15,5	1,4	1,4	0,7	0,5	0,1	0,8
Daugavpils	35,9	40,8	7,0	1,9	11,2	1,7	0,0	1,5
Dobele	63,7	18,7	5,6	3,6	1,7	4,9	0,0	1,8
Jēkabpils	61,6	27,1	3,6	2,2	2,1	1,6	0,1	1,2
Jelgava	61,1	21,3	8,0	2,6	2,4	3,3	0,1	1,2

Krāslava	45,1	27,4	20,1	1,6	6,0	0,0	0,0	1,4
Kuldīga	84,4	8,0	1,4	2,4	0,6	1,6	0,0	1,4
Liepāja	79,2	9,2	1,6	2,6	0,5	5,9	0,0	1,0
Limbaži	85,4	8,0	1,5	1,8	0,8	0,5	0,3	1,6
Ludza	53,4	38,4	4,3	1,6	0,8	0,3	0,1	1,1
Madona	82,3	12,4	1,7	1,4	0,9	0,4	0,0	0,9
Ogre	70,5	20,1	3,7	2,2	1,5	0,6	0,1	1,1
Preiļi	63,5	29,9	2,0	1,1	1,9	0,4	0,0	1,2
Rēzekne	53,3	41,7	1,6	0,9	1,4	0,3	0,0	0,8
Rīga	58,1	29,4	5,0	3,3	1,7	1,0	0,1	1,4
Saldus	80,7	7,0	1,9	1,7	0,7	7,2	0,0	0,9
Stučka	75,7	16,0	2,8	1,6	1,3	2,9	0,0	1,1
Talsu	89,8	4,9	1,1	1,0	0,7	0,6	0,1	1,8
Tukums	79,0	12,1	2,9	2,8	1,0	1,3	0,0	1,6
Cēsis	81,3	12,8	2,0	1,4	1,1	0,5	0,1	0,8

An indicator of 0.0 in the column "Estonians" means that there is less than 0.1 percent of persons of this nationality living in the city or region.

2. Organised migration

Excerpt from the Latvian SSR State Audit People's Commissariat compiled City of Riga Stalin district apartment fund inspection report

18 January 1945

Statement

...

Results:

...

Basic categories of residents who, according to the ordinance of the city's Housing Authority of 4 November 1944, must be provided with living space in the first instance. Specifically: arrivals from other republics and regions make up 29%, military personnel and families of military personnel 16%, war victims 5%.

...

Latvian SSR State Control People's Commissariat Controller

I. Donskaja

Latvian SSR State Control People's Commissariat Controller

I. Danvalde

LVA, 992. f., 1. apr., 15. l., 3., 6., 13. lp.

City of Riga Council of Workers' Deputies Executive Committee on the allocation of apartments and dormitories to the Riga Maritime Construction Trust

Secret

Riga

Order No. 14-rs

21 June 1945

To the head of the City of Riga Apartment Administration

The City of Riga Executive Committee, in addition to the oral information given to you, recommends:

- 1) Implementation of the USSR State Defence Committee decision on the allocation of 30 apartments to the Riga Maritime Construction Trust for the accommodation of engineering workers and rooms for dormitories for 1000 workers.
- 2) Transfer to the Riga Maritime Construction Trust the farm building on Sverdlova Street No. 19/13 for a garage.

City of Riga Executive Committee Chairman
A. Deglavs

LVA, 1400. f., 1.^a apr., 10. l., 69. lp.

**City of Riga Council of Workers' Deputies Executive Committee Decision
No. 417 “On the allocation of living space to the workers of the factory VEF
who came from Leningrad”**

27 June 1945

**City of Riga Executive Committee
Decision No. 417**

“On the allocation of living space to the workers of the factory VEF who came from
Leningrad”

Based on the Latvian C(b)P CC and Latvian SSR CPC decision No. 462 of 5 June 1945, City of Riga Executive Committee decided to:

Transfer to the factory VEF vacant apartments in the following buildings for rental use to organise dormitories for workers:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) Brīvības gatve No. 4 | up to 300 m ² |
| 2) Brīvības street No. 113 | up to 250 m ² |
| 3) Ludzas street No. 52 | up to 400 m ² |
| 4) Čiekurkalna 1. līnija 12 | up to 200 m ² |
| 5) Pionieru street No. 9 | up to 150 m ² |
| 6) Kr. Barona street 129 | up to 100 m ² |

Instruct the region apartment departments to immediately formalise the transfer of said apartments.

City of Riga Executive Committee Chairman

A. Deglavs

City of Riga Executive Committee Secretary

J. Baumanis

 LVA, 1400. f., 2. apr., 5. l., 309. lp.

City of Riga Kirova District Apartment Distribution Notice on issued orders

17 November 1945

Kirov District Apartment Distribution Department

Notice about issued orders for the period 20.08- 15.11.1945.

1. Demobilised	586
2. Invalids	194
3. Soldiers' families	161
4. Reevacuated from the USSR	685
5. Commissioned from the USSR	438
6. Operating sector of garrison apartments	352
7. Organisations	81
8. Local inhabitants	142
Total	2639

Apartment Distribution Department Head Piltay

LVA, 992. f., 1. apr., 155. l., 16. lp.

Excerpt from the USSR State Defence Committee Decision of permission for the USSR Navy People's Commissariat to import free contract workers and support staff

Secret

[August 1945]

Excerpt from the decision of the USSR State Defence Committee on approval of the Navy People's Commissariat plan for the 4th quarter of 1945

...

Allow the Navy People's Commissariat to import additional contract workers and support staff to

Leningrad	7000 people
Estonian SSR	3000 people
Latvian SSR	3000 people

...

LVA, 270. f., 1.s apr., 139. l., 36. lp.

**Excerpt from the USSR Council of People's Commissars State Planning
Commission representative of the Latvian SSR Plan Implementation
Inspection Department reports on implementation of the fourth five-year
implementation of labour supply for the Latvian SSR**

8 April 1946

...

The need for labour will continue to increase year by year throughout the five-year period. If at the end of 1945, 59 000 workers were employed in the republic's industry, then at the end of the five-year period, despite a significant increase in labour productivity, which the State Plan Commission has set at 36% compared to the pre-war level, up to 150 000 workers will be needed at the end of the five-year period. The entire railway transport staff will increase from 29 000 at the end of 1945 to 39 000 people in 1950. At the same time, water transport staff will increase from 3000 to 9000 people, and the staff of the Latvian Communications Authority from 9000 to 11 000 people.

...

Senior Economist Controller
L. Starodubsky

LVA, 283. f., 1. apr., 34. l., 24.-25. lp.

**City of Riga Militia Administration the Passport Department information
to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers regarding Transport Workers'
Organised Recruitment Union Baltic Office violations of the Passport Law
in labour recruitment**

Secret

Copy No. 1

22 February 1947

Inquiry

on violations of the passport law of the Baltic Office of the Transport Workers' Organised
Recruiting Union when recruiting labour

The Baltic office for organised recruitment of labour for transport, which is located in Riga, Merķeļa Street (office chief Petrenko), must be carried out in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers decision No. 1980/650s of 6 July 1946 on the organised recruitment of labour for railway transport in the Baltics, Leningrad, and Velikiye Luku regions. However, recruitment in Riga is mainly carried out directly from those persons who have come here by chance and who have offered their services to the office.

In 1946, the City of Riga Militia Administration found 150 people who had previously been punished for criminal offenses, who were suspected of desertion from industrial enterprises, and who had not deregistered from their former places of residence among the persons recruited by the said office. Contracts, which are concluded with each recruit individually, are drawn up directly at the office, but the rules of labour-organised recruitment require that contracts be registered with the executive committees of local soviet councils.

Office chief comrade Petrenko, who has a permit to recruit labour for railway transport, recruits workers for other companies. So, for example, in January 1947, Petrenko recruited 13 workers from the number of persons who arrived in Riga and handed them over to the Bolt Factory of the Ministry of Local Industry of the LSSR.

An analogous labour recruitment procedure is the system of operations of the Baltic Office of the Transport Workers' Organised Recruitment Union, as a result of which the city of Riga is polluted with undesirable elements and all kinds of offenders.

City of Riga Militia Administration Passport section
Chief militia lieutenant Colonel Bedin

LVA, 270. f., 1.s apr., 277. l., 1. lp.

**64228th military unit's request to the Latvian SSR Council of ministers to
allow the Military Group to register workers who entered the military unit
from the RSFSR**

Secret

Eks. No. 1

Military base No. 437

No. 0769

29 September 1949

Riga, k/d 64328

To Comrade Sharapov, LSSR Council of Ministers War Group Chief

Military unit 64328 performs the responsible task set by the Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force of the Armed Forces, repairing aviation equipment.

Due to conditions of labour secrecy, the recruitment of labour in the city of Riga and in Latvia is very difficult, and currently production is experiencing serious difficulties caused by the lack of labour.

At the same time, we have the opportunity to recruit 50 contract workers from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and their relatives and provide them with living space if they are allowed to register in the city of Riga.

I am asking for your order to enrol 50 people in the 64328th military unit.

All the mentioned persons will be provided with living space and will be politically checked by the Ministry of State Security.

We received a refusal on our repeated requests to the head of the City of Riga Militia Administration regarding registration.

Please send your decision to the following address in Riga, k/d 64328. Slokas street 52, telephone No. 42-71 un 43-01.

64328th Troop unit Chief
Administrative service Lieutenant colonel
N. Yenisov

**Excerpt from Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics
scientific associate B. Mežgailis' explanatory article on the Latvian SSR
State Plan on the balance of labour resources**

Secret

Copy No. 1

8 June 1963

Explanatory article on the Latvian SSR labour resource balance

...

... In all the post-war years, the Latvian SSR had a spontaneous, mechanical increase in the population, which in the last 10 years is characterised by the following data:

Year	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Mechanical increase in thousands of people	29,8	24,1	21,3	39,1	19,0	4,5	11,6	18,4	15,3	16,5

In the post-war period, the mechanical increase of the population was determined by several factors - a rapid decrease in the number of the population as a result of the German fascist occupation and war, the existence of available production areas and a relatively much higher supply of living space, as well as the high pace of farm development. ...

...

The total need for labour in the national economy of the Latvian SSR will increase by 245 000 people within 20 years. Internal reserves make it possible to increase labour resources by 202 000 people. So, in order to ensure the fulfilment of planned production volumes with the determined increase in labour productivity, a certain mechanical increase in labour resources (43 000) is necessary, but also a mechanical increase in the population.

According to calculations by the Latvian SSR Central Statistics Bureau, the population, taking into account only natural increase, will reach 2 242 000 people in 1980. Taking into account the mechanical growth of labour resources indicated above, the mechanical growth of the population in 20 years will amount to 93 000 people. The total population, in this way, in 1980 can be determined at 2 335 000 people. ...

B. Mežgailis

Excerpt from V.I. Lenin's Riga Production Association "VEF" general director O. Lenov's request to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers State Planning Committee on determining the limit of the number of association employees

Secret

Copy No. 1

No. 2207-s

6 November 1980

V.I. Lenin's Riga production association "VEF"
Latvian SSR Council of Ministers State Planning Committee
to the Chairman
comrade M. Ramāns

...

In our association, in addition to large-scale production of products, there is also experimental production for the production of small series product samples, defence, industrial special equipment, and the execution of special orders in accordance with government decisions.

...

Considering the additional tasks for the production of special equipment for troops and other special orders, the ministry has set a limit for our association – 18 250 people, incl. 700 people in experimental production. In order to successfully implement the basic nomenclature plan, as well as to manufacture special equipment in accordance with individual decisions, please set the labour limit of our association at 18 200 people.

Director General

O. Lenov

**Production association "Alfa" Deputy General Director A. Cibulskis'
request to City of Riga Council of People's Deputies Executive Committee
Complex planning department Head V. Jurenok to register 100 workers in
dormitories**

Secret

No. 74-s

12 January 1984

Production association "Alfa"

To the City of Riga Council of People's Deputies Executive Committee Complex planning
department Head V. Jurenok

The administration of the production association "Alfa" asks to consider the issue of registering 100 people, employees of the main production workshops at 402a Lenin Street and 46 Purvciema Street, in the production association "Alfa" dormitories.

The limit – 9461 people, industrial production personnel – 7810 people. The actual number of employees in the association on 5 January 1984 – 9421 people, industrial production personnel – 7767 people.

According to the sanitary certificate, the number of places in the dormitories is 500. Vacant places on 1 January 1984 - 100. The association's need for workers ... in 1984, taking into account the turnover of personnel, is 310 people.

The need for workers in the above-mentioned professions can be explained by the increase in production volume, which is foreseen in the 1984 state plan for the production of defence equipment products.

Cadre and Regime Affairs Deputy Director General
A. Cibulski

3. Integration of retired USSR military personnel in Latvia and their unwarranted privileges

Excerpt from Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars Chairman V. Lācis' 26 December 1945 telegram sent to USSR Council of People's Commissars Deputy Chairman A. Kosygin regarding the arrival and care of demobilised soldiers in Latvia

Moscow, Kremlin

26 December 1945

Government telegram

Series G

USSR Council of People's Commissars Deputy Chairman
c. A. Kosygin

Until 2 December 1945, the following entered during the entire previous period: 22 974 demobilised of which 13 617 previously lived in the Latvian SSR, 9357 did not live there. 8745 were admitted to Riga of which 5864 had not lived in Riga before....

Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars Chairman
(Lācis)

**Excerpt from City of Riga Council of Workers' Deputies Executive
Committee Chairman A. Deglavs and City of Riga War Commissar
Lieutenant colonel Gostevs' 10 October 1947 report on the placement of
Soviet Army demobilised soldiers in jobs and provision of material
assistance**

SECRET

Copy No. 1

No. 1/01468

10 October 1947

Latvian SSR City of Riga War Commissariat

First part

To the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman

Copy: Latvian SSR War Commissariat

I am reporting on the placement of demobilised soldiers of the Soviet Army in jobs and provision of material assistance by 1 October 1947.

Work on placement of the demobilised in jobs and granting of assistance	Total	Incl.	
		officers	privates and sergeants
1. Total registered demobilised	27 098	7050	20 048
2. Of them:			
a) previously lived in the Latvian SSR	7784	685	7099
b) have never lived in the Latvian SSR	19 314	6365	12 949
3. Number of arrivals:			
a) men	24 241	6473	17 768
b) women	2857	577	2280

...

City of Riga Executive Committee Chairman

Deglavs

City of Riga Military Commissar Lieutenant colonel Gostev

LVA, 270. f., 1.s apr., 304. l., 276. lp.

**City of Riga Council of Workers' Deputies Executive Committee Chairman
A. Deglavs' Order to provide living space for the family of demobilised
soldier Haleyev**

12 February 1947

City of Riga Council of Workers' Deputies Executive Committee

Order No. 37-r

To the Proletariat District Executive Committee Chairman comrade K. Rekke

I recommend that the family of three members of the demobilised member of the Red Army, Haleyev, be provided with living space within five days.

City of Riga Executive Committee Chairman

A. Deglavs

1. LVA, 1400. f., 2. apr., 34. l., 32. lp..

**Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Decision No. 85 "On the allocation of
residential space in 1971 to USSR Armed Forces retired servicemen"**

9 March 1971

Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

Decision No. 85

On the allocation of residential space in 1971 to servicemen retired from the Armed Forces of
the USSR

In accordance with CPSU Central Committee Decision No. 74 of 20 January 1960 and USSR Council of Ministers Decision No. 270 of 5 March 1963, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers decides:

To instruct the executive committees of the councils of workers' deputies of the cities of Riga, Ventspils, Daugavpils, Jelgava, Rēzekne, and Jūrmala and Ogre and Riga regions to provide officers enrolled in the reserve and retired military personnel with living space (regardless of their affiliation of the expense of central capital investments) in 1971 in an area of 6560 m² according to the annex.

Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman

J. Rubenis

Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Affairs Manager

P. Vilks

LVA, 270. f., 3. apr., 4725. l., 245. lp.

Latvian SSR Council of Ministers 9 March 1971 decision

No. 85 annex

9 March 1971

Task

for the allocation of living space to officers enrolled in the reserve and retired in 1971 and military personnel on senior duty

City and region name	Amount of allocated living space in square meters
Riga	4500
Ventspils	450
Daugavpils	600*
Jelgava	500
Rēzekne	200
Jūrmala	100
Ogres region	60
Riga region	150

Total:	6560
--------	------

* incl. 100 m² at the expense of the residential area allocated to the executive committee of the Daugavpils region by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers decision No. 660 of 4 December 1970.

Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Affairs Manager
P. Vilks

LVA, 270. f., 3. apr., 4725. l., 246. lp..

**City of Riga Employment and Apartment Supply for Retired Military
Personnel Commission Meeting minutes No. 207 on the procedure for
allocating apartments to USSR Armed Forces retired military personnel**

Riga

28 February 1975

City of Riga Employment and Provision of Apartments for USSR Armed Forces Retired
Military Personnel Commission meeting Minutes No. 207

1. Approve the list of reserve and retired officers who, after retiring from the Armed Forces of the USSR, are waiting in line to receive apartments in order to receive them in the first instance as active participants of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945.

N.i.o.	Service grade Surname and initials	Family composition	Allocate an apartment
Kirov District Military Commissariat			
1	Major I. Bistrov	3 people	2 rooms
2	Lieutenant Colonel of the Medical Service S. Kashin	2 people	1,5 rooms
3	Lieutenant Colonel of the Medical Service P. Kogan	1 person	1 room
4	Lieutenant Colonel V. Kondratenko	4 people	3 rooms

5	Lieutenant Colonel of the Medical Service S. Nabutovski	3 people	2 rooms
6	Colonel N. Nesterov	5 people	4 rooms
7	Quartermaster Service Major L. Sobolev	1 person	1 room
8	Major D. Spiridonov	4 people	3 rooms
9	Lieutenant Colonel V. Tochilov	4 people	3 rooms
10	Colonel V. Shirin	3 people	2 rooms
11	Lieutenant Colonel M. Kurakin	3 people	2 rooms
12	Lieutenant Colonel D. Rogalski	3 people	2 rooms
Leningrad District Military Commissariat			
1	Technical service major V. Vasin	4 people	3 rooms
2	Majors A. Golubs	7 people	4-5 rooms
3	Colonel I. Granchenko	5 people	4 rooms
4	Family of deceased Colonel N. Molohatjko	2 people	1,5 rooms
5	Captain 3 rd rank N. Skripov	2 people	1,5 rooms
6	Quartermaster Service Lieutenant Colonel A. Belyaev	1 person	1 room
Lenin District War Commissariat			
1	Colonel P. Kursov	3 people	3 rooms
2	Major I. Popov	5 people	4 rooms
3	Captain 3 rd rank N. Sokolov	2 people	1,5 rooms
4	Major F. Ternovski	4 people	3 rooms
Moscow District Military Commissariat			

1	Lieutenant Colonel V. Agapov	5 people	4 rooms
2	Major T. Goncharenko	4 people	3 rooms
3	Lieutenant Colonel B. Dzhuranovich	4 people	3 rooms
4	Captain A. Tkachenko	3 people	2 rooms
5	Lieutenant Colonel D. Yandol	2 people	1,5 rooms
October District Military Commissariat			
1	Lieutenant Colonel A. Bondarev	4 people	3 rooms
2	Captain I. Lazarev	5 people	4 rooms
3	Lieutenant Colonel I. Popov	3 people	2 rooms
Proletarian District Military Commissariat			
1	Lieutenant Colonel of the Justice Service P. Shchetilov	2 people	1,5 rooms
2	Colonel J. Babicki	2 people	2 rooms
3	Captain 1 st rank D. Mkrtichyan	3 people	2 rooms
4	Colonel I. Filatov	4 people	3 rooms
5	Technical service major L. Yalcev	3 people	2 rooms

1. Citizen J. Simchihin's (one) application for registration at 9/11 Talsu street apt. 102, where 1 person is recorded in 2 rooms with an area of 26.2 m², and admission of residential area allocation in the housing allocation register.

Decided: to allow the registration and admission of 1 person in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

2. Citizen L. Krivosheev's application, family - 3 people (him, wife, son), for registration in the private house of his wife's mother at 24 Ceraukstes Street, apt. 1, 3 rooms with an area of 39.0 m², and inclusion in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow the registration and admission of 4 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

3. Citizen B. Amusin's application, family - 4 people (him, wife, two daughters), for registration with his sister at 105 Kalnciema Street, apt. 5, where two people are

recorded in the area of 22.38 m², and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow the registration of 3 people and to admit 4 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

4. The wife of the deceased officer G. Kukin with two children, born in 1959 and 1962, requests to register in the living area of the deceased husband's mother at Kalnciema Street 62, apt. 2a, area 22 m², registered 1 person, and to be included in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow the registration of 3 people and to admit 4 people (she, 2 children and the mother of the deceased husband) in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

5. Citizen V. Vishnakov's application, family – 3 people (him, wife, son in active military service), for registration at a 42 Codes street apt. with an area of 53 m², where 2 people are registered, and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow registration for 2 people and to admit 3 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

6. Citizen K. Zhukov's application, family - 3 people (him, wife and daughter), for registration with his mother-in-law at 4 Grants Street, apt. 6, where 1 person is recorded in 18 m², and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow the registration and admission of 3 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

7. Citizen V. Nizhnih's application (one) for registering with his sister at Rudzutaka Street 68, apt. 37, where 3 people are recorded in the area of 31.88 m², and admission in the register of residential area allocation.

Decided: to allow registration and admission of 3 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officer's fund.

8. Citizen Kuchinsky's application, family - 4 people (him, wife, two sons), for registration in his brother's residential area at Papardes Street 9a, apt. 8, where 2 people are recorded in 18.55 m², and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow the registration and admission of 4 people in the record of the allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

9. Citizen Balayuk's application, retired from the reserve since 1960, registered in the closed garrison in Mangali, family consists of 7 people (him, wife, two sons, fiancée, granddaughter, daughter), occupied living space 47.9 m², admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to admit a family of 7 people to the account of the allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

10. Citizen V. Komkin's application, family - 4 people (him, wife, son, daughter), for registration with his mother-in-law at 268 Moscow Street, apt. 21, 5 people were recorded in 42.7 m², and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow registration and admission in the register of residential space allocation at the expense of reserve officers - 4 people.

11. Citizen M. Yeliseyev's application, 3 people in the family (him, wife, son), for registration with his mother-in-law at Moscow Street 254/7, apt. 22, in a cooperative apartment with an area of 32.60 m², where 3 people are registered, and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow registration for 3 people and to admit 3 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

12. Citizen L. Savenkov's application, there are 2 people in the family (him, wife), for registration in a private house at 11 Viranes Street, apt. 1, where 5 people are recorded in an area of 84.33 m², and admission in the register of residential area allocation.

Decided: to allow the registration and admission of 2 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

13. Citizen A. Tokarev's application, 4 people in the family (him, wife, daughter, son), for registration at Plaužu Street 20, in a private house, where 2 people are registered for 70 m², and inclusion in the register of residential area allocation.

Decided: To allow the registration and admission of 4 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officer's fund.

14. Citizen O. Lavrinovich's application, there are 2 people in the family (him, wife), for registration at 2 Kijevas Street, apt. 33, with an area of 15.33 m², where 4 people are registered, and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow the registration and admission of 2 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officers' fund.

15. Citizen A. Kleinstein's application, family - 3 people (him, wife, daughter), for registration with his mother-in-law at Festivāla Street 1, apt. 105, where 2 people are recorded in an area of 24 m², and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow registration and admission of 3 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officer's fund.

16. Citizen R. Haliulin's application, there are 3 people in the family (him, wife, son), for registration at Vagonu Street 27, apt. 1, where 3 people (son in the army) are recorded in the area of 59.75 m², and admission in the record of allocation of living space.

Decided: to allow registration and admission of 3 people in the record of allocation of living space at the expense of the reserve officer's fund.

Commission Secretary A. Veidemane

LVA, 1400. f., 13. apr., 219. l., 5.-10. lp.

**Pacific Fleet 45th submarine division commander Rear Admiral I.
Gordeev's request to the City of Riga Council of People's Deputies
Executive Committee to provide living space for retired midshipman V.
Abrosimov**

Received No. 161-0

26 June 1985

City of Riga Council of People's Deputies Executive Committee Chairman
of the Latvian SSR, Riga

Midshipman Vyacheslav Abrosimov, who has retired from the Armed Forces of the USSR, is being sent to you for a permanent place of residence.

Midshipman V. Abrosimov was drafted into the Armed Forces of the USSR on 13 September 1956 from the War Commissariat of the city of Bogoroda, Gorky Region. He served in the Navy for 18 calendar years and 7 months, of which 8 years were spent on submarines with special energy equipment.

According to the current order of the USSR Ministry of Defence dated 25 June 1962 No. 0077, paragraph 7, I declare that midshipman V. Abrosimov, according to the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers of 1 June 1962 and the above-mentioned overtime on nuclear submarines, has the right to receive living space no later than three months after arriving at the place of residence.

Please provide midshipman V. Abrosimov with living space at the specified time.

I am also sending an instruction:

Excerpts from order No. 0017 of the USSR Minister of Defence on 25 June 1962 "On improving the material supply of missile troops subunits, parts and units and military personnel of nuclear submarines."

In order to fulfil decision No. 562-230 of the USSR Council of Ministers of 1 June 1962, I order:

...

7. When dismissing senior military personnel who have served more than 15 years, including not less than 5 years on nuclear submarines, commanders of units, troop units, subunits, and ships, shall inform the relevant executive committees of the councils of people's deputies of counties, regions, and districts in closed procedures that the aforementioned military person, in accordance with the decision No. 562-230 of the USSR Council of Ministers of 1 June 1962 have the right to receive a residential area no later than three months after arriving at the place of residence.

USSR Minister of Defence, USSR Marshal R. Malinovski
General Staff Acting Chief
Army General Ivanov
45th Submarine Division of the Pacific Fleet Commander
Rear admiral I. Gordeev

LVA, 1400. f., 13. apr., 1074. l., 8. lp.

**The Riga Council of People's Deputies Executive Committee Public
Education Department Young Technicians Station workers' collective's
proposals for the draft law "On measures to limit migration"**

30 December 1988

To LSSR Council of Ministers Affairs Department

Copies sent to:

1. LCP CC
2. Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium

We believe that the right of the officers and soldiers of the Soviet Army to settle for a permanent life, practically immediately receiving a well-furnished apartment in the Latvian SSR and Riga, cannot be considered fair. Because that contradicts the principles of human equality.

How did an officer or soldier of the Soviet army serve, often a "man in his prime" in a "higher rank"? Should he be given an apartment before all other working people (often with several children) who have been waiting in line for an apartment for 10-20 years and who, according to all the laws of a humane, equal country and entitled to the rights provided by the Constitution.

Why are the members of the army and their family members more valuable than any other honest doers of work needed by society?

Considering the demographic and ecological situation, which is becoming critical in the Latvian SSR and Riga, we believe that any prioritisation of arrivals, retired soldiers and officers, who have never been registered in the territory of the Latvian SSR until now is not permissible.

If they want to live in the territory of LSSR or Riga - welcome, but on equal terms: let them receive apartments according to the officially established order of the queue.

LVA, 270. f., 7. apr., 1644. l., 15.-16. lp.

Collective Declaration of Jāzeps Vītols Latvian State Conservatory on the demilitarisation of Latvia

[February 1989]

Collective declaration of Jāzeps Vītols Latvian State Conservatory

Students and teachers of the Jāzeps Vītols Latvian State Conservatory are worried about the increased efforts of military circles to infiltrate as many retired officers as possible into Latvia. In this regard, we ask the Supreme Council for specific legislative work, as a result of which any advantages in obtaining apartments would be eliminated for those who did not live

in Latvia before starting their service. This is the first step on the way to the complete demobilisation of Latvia, which is demanded and expected by the people of the republic.

In this regard, the Supreme Council should during the session also request a statement from the military region command that the Russian troops withdrawn from Eastern Europe will not be deployed in the territory of Latvia.

...

J. Vītols Latvian State Conservatory Rector,
 Scientific Council Chairman,
 USSR People's Artist
 Professor I. Kokars

Council Scientific Secretary
 Docent I. Lebedeva

LVA, 290. f., 8. apr., 382. l., 85. lp.

**Excerpt from information from Alūksne Region Council of People's
 Deputies Executive Committee to the Latvian SSR State Labor and Social
 Affairs Committee regarding progress on execution of Decision No. 46**

No. 14-001.2/333

5 July 1989

Latvian SSR Alūksne Region Council of People's Deputies Executive Committee to the
 Latvian SSR State Labour and Social Affairs Committee

Information about execution progress of Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the Latvian
 Republic Council of Trade Unions Decision No. 46 of 14.02.1989

...

An outstanding issue is related to the registration and recruitment of retired officers. As is known, after demobilisation, these persons choose their place of residence in which,

according to existing legislation, they must receive living space within three months, but until then they are registered at a new place, at any address, regardless of the size of the living space.

...

Executive Committee Deputy Chairman,
Migration Commission Chairman
M. Lazdekalns

LVA, 270. f., 7. apr., 1720. l., 54.-55. lp.

**Baltic Military District Commander Colonel-General F. Kuzmin's
objections to the Latvian SSR Supreme Council's draft decision on the
suspension of certain decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the
USSR Government on Latvian SSR territory, which were adopted
regarding the facilitation of providing military personnel with living space**

No. 1/9

24 January 1990

Red Flag Baltic Military District troop Commander
To the Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium Chairman
comrade A. Gorbunov

Dear Anatoly Valerianovich!

I carefully read the draft decision of the Supreme Council of the Latvian SSR sent by you on the suspension of some decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government on the territory of the republic regarding relief for military personnel, which was prepared by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Under the conditions of the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces, the decision is anti-human, it will unfairly affect the fate of many officers, ensigns, and their family members, it will aggravate the already tense situation between the citizens of the republic and military personnel.

I believe that such a plan does not correspond to the existing legislative acts and contradicts the Constitution of the USSR.

Due to this, I submit the only proposal for the current draft of the decision: to prevent the discussion of this issue in the LSSR Supreme Council, even more so - the adoption of unconstitutional acts.

Sincerely, Baltic Military District Commander

F. Kuzmin

USSR People's Deputy

LVA, 290. f., 2. apr., 1806. l., 2. lp.

**Republic of Latvia State Statistics Committee Report to the Minister of the
Economy J. Āboltiņš and the Latvian Republic Trade Union Council
regarding the execution of decision No. 46 in the Republic in 1989**

No. 05-12 39

1 August 1990

Republic of Latvia State Statistics Committee

to the Minister of Economy J. Āboltiņš

On the execution of the Council of Ministers and LRAP of
Decision No. 46 of 14 February 1989 in the Republic in 1989

In accordance with paragraph 22 of the decision of the Council of Ministers and LRAP of 14 February 1989 "On measures to stop unjustified mechanical growth of the population and to regulate migration processes", the Republic of Latvia State Statistics Committee reports on the implementation of the said decision in the Republic in 1989.

Statistical data for the year 1989 show that both in the Republic as a whole and also in most of its cities and regions, significant changes in the basic trends of population migration can be observed. The amount of migration, the proportion of individual migration flows, their demographic composition, the intensity of migration, and their determining factors have changed.

There are four different types of migration flows: inter-republic, foreign, special contingent (those conscripted into and demobilised from the Soviet Army and persons deregistered or registered due to detention or release), and intra-republic movement of the population.

In 1989, for the first time in the last 30 years, there was no mechanical increase of the population from other republics of the USSR: the number of people leaving increased by 4300

compared to the number of people entering the Republic of Latvia. For the city of Riga, this negative migration balance amounted to 2300 people.

The flow of migration between the Republic of Latvia and abroad (excluding the USSR) also had a negative balance in 1989: 1116 more people left Latvia than arrived. However, it should be noted that a relatively large number of military personnel and their family members are relocated to Latvia from foreign countries. For this reason, the number of arrivals from abroad in Dobele region exceeds the number of departures by 214, in Riga region by 140, in Alūksne region by 111.

In 1989, the number of young people demobilised from the Soviet army who came to Latvia was 6600 people more than the number of people conscripted into the army, which when totalling all migration flows, gave an increase in migration of the total population by 1200 people. The migration (return to Latvia) of this population category is justified and explained by the demobilisation of students conscripted into the Soviet Army and students of secondary special educational institutions in previous years, based on the relevant decision of the USSR government.

In the first half of 1990, the number of inhabitants in the republic decreased by 2600 people as a result of common migration (in the corresponding period of last year by 1600).

In 6 months of this year, 6200 citizens arrived in Latvia from other republics of the USSR; 11 500 thousand exited to them (excluding special contingent).

As a result of special contingent migration, the population has increased by 2600 people (7300 registered, 4500 deregistered).

The number of inhabitants of Riga decreased during half a year as a result of total migration by 3500; 3200 have come from other republics, 5000 have left (excluding special contingent).

More detailed analysis of migration processes in 1989 follows.

Total inter-republic migration (incoming and outgoing migrants, excluding the special quota), compared to 1988, decreased by 15 600 (27.3%). However, if the total number of those who entered (registered) decreased by 42.4%, the number who left decreased by 7.7%. Thus, the decrease in population migration was mainly achieved at the expense of reducing the intensity of entries. This shows that the claims of some public organisations about the alleged increase in the departure of residents from Latvia are unfounded.

The population continued to increase at the expense of citizens of other republics in Riga region by 251 people, in Daugavpils region by 33 people, and in cities: Daugavpils (32), Rēzekne (34), and Jūrmala (26).

Analysis of population migration motives shows that 34% of all working age migrants (not including the special contingent) moved to find a more suitable, skills-based, and often better paid job. Inter-republic migrants indicate work as a reason for migration more often than people who moved within Latvia. However, most (42%) stated "other reasons" as the reason for migration.

The old composition of local councils and their executive committees did not pay enough attention to the control of the implementation of Decision 46 and indicated economic levers. Additional studies of 1989 statistics show that the total payment for registering migrants and their family members in the non-budget accounts of the executive committee of the councils of people's deputies amounted to only 150 000 roubles. Of that, 60 000 was contributed by industrial companies, 30 thousand – agricultural companies and organisations, 45 000 – construction organisations, but 15 000 by science and its staff organisations. The city of Riga received only 20 000 roubles and Daugavpils – 40 000. The remaining 90 000 roubles were paid in rural regions: Bauska – 30 000, Jelgava – 15 000, and Stučka – 45 000. This, of course, was not close to the actual number of migrants for which these claim should have been made.

A more detailed analysis of the motives for registration shows that at least four fifths of migrants were registered based on the exceptions provided for in paragraph 22 of the migration decision. Consequently, the restrictions provided for in Decision 46 did not actually apply to these citizens, and the number of those subject to the decision was significantly reduced. This is also evidenced by the examination of the reasons for registering migrants by the State Statistics Committee at the end of 1989. However, even under these conditions, the actual number of migrants, for whom payment should have been made in 1989, according to the experts' assessment, amounts to at least 1800 people.

There is reason to believe that the registration commissions of several executive committees are currently performing their work carelessly, only formally recording the motives of migration without conducting checks to determine their accuracy. The leaders and members of these commissions were, in many cases, representatives of large manufacturing companies who are not interested in limiting migration (in 1989, such a situation existed in several districts of the city of Riga, Jūrmala).

Violations are committed when registering citizens with reference to the cases specified in paragraph 2 of Decision 46, in which companies and organisations do not have to pay funds to the extra-budgetary accounts of executive committees. In 1989, trade workers, designers, zootechnicians, veterinarians (Executive Committees of Daugavpils and Jūrmala, Proletarian District Executive Committee, Krāslava RIK) were registered as new specialists who are not

trained in the Republic (p. 2.3). As a family reunification, registration is justified at the expense of a possible marriage in the future (executive committees of the Kirov, Leningrad, and Moscow districts of the city of Riga). In this regard, it would be useful to adopt the experience of Estonia, where married family members are registered temporarily, and only after the expiry of a certain period they are registered for permanent residence. Such an arrangement would help prevent possible machinations with registration and apartments as a result of fictitious marriages.

In the decision on stopping the unreasonable mechanical growth of the population, one of the most important tasks for the ministries and departments and the executive committees of the local councils, is the gradual closing of beds and room-type dormitories, their rearrangement into hotels or apartments. On 1 January 1989, 1836 workers' dormitories were listed, as of July 1 – 1717 in which 86 000 people live, including 15 000 people registered in the dormitories after arriving from other republics.

At the end of 1989, 9500 employees who had terminated their employment relationship with the given company and their family members (10.3% of those living in dormitories) lived in worker dormitories. So, for example, in the Lenin district of Riga, in the dormitories of bread factory workers, such persons make up 49% of all residents. The vast majority of citizens who have terminated the employment contract with the given company live in dormitories belonging to the "Latvijas celtnieks" association - 3010 people (12% of the dormitories' residents). In enterprises of the Ministry of Agriculture – 1320 people (9 %).

The State Statistics Committee of Latvia has taken a series of measures to improve control over migration processes. ...

A random check was carried out on the validity of the registration of citizens who entered from other regions of the country in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of 1989 in the Republic's industrial enterprises, construction organisations, kolkhozes and state farms (a total of 98 sites). The check materials were collected and submitted to the Council of Ministers of the Republic on 4 December 1989 (No. 05 4 121).

The State Statistics Committee of Latvia jointly with the Ministry of the Interior, starting on 1 January 1990, introduced an improved record of registration statistics that will allow obtaining additional information about the ownership and the type of the residential area in which the citizen registers, as well as the reasons for his arrival in the given settlement.

In general, we can conclude that the migration policy implemented in Latvia in 1989 and the 1st half of this year made it possible to significantly reduce population migration both in the republic and in most of its populated areas.

Sufficiently high-quality accounting of population migration and effective control of migration decisions can be ensured only by introducing a population register. It should ensure a complex census of the population, covering all the citizens of the republic. ...

Republic of Latvia State Statistics Committee Chairman

(G. Baltiņš)

LVA, 277. f., 17. apr., 445. l., 36.-43. lp.

For more on this topic, see:

Jānis Riekstiņš. *Migrants in Latvia*. Riga, 2004

Jānis Riekstiņš. *The colonial policy of the Soviet Empire and the colonisation of Latvia*. Riga, 2015

Demographic losses caused by occupation forces in Latvia 1939 1990. Collection of articles. Riga, 2023

Pārsla Eglīte, Ilmārs Mežs. *Colonisation of Latvia and causes of changes in ethnic composition*. Articles of the Commission of Latvian Historians. 2002, Volume 7, p. 405, 443.

Pārsla Eglīte. *Formation of population and ethnic composition of Latvia in the 20th century*. Yearbook of the Latvian Occupation Museum. Riga, 2002, p. 94, 110.

Chapter 3

Employee Russification

Excerpt from the CPSU CC Orgoffice Decision "On aid to the Latvian SSR to improve the political, cultural and educational work of the masses"

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On aid to the Latvian SSR to improve the political, cultural and educational work of the masses

- a) To provide assistance in carrying out the political work of the Latvian C(b)P CC party:
 - a) instruct CPSU CC Propaganda Administration and Cadre Administration to send to the Latvian SSR by December 1 on a permanent basis 15 qualified propagandists and newspaper workers;
 - b) instruct the CPSU CC Cadre Administration to send for the disposal of the Latvian C(b)P CC by December 15: first secretaries for the party's district and city committees - 5 people, heads for party's district and city committee units - 30 people, Latvian C(b)P CC instructors - 10 people, city executive committee deputy chairmen – 3 people, county executive committee deputy chairmen – 5 people, party county and city committee accounting sector heads – 15 people;
 - c) instruct CPSU CC Propaganda Administration send a group of propagandists by November 15 to the Propaganda Administration of the Latvian SSR for a period of 2 months.
- b) To instruct the Latvian C(b)P CC together with the Propaganda Department and the Cadre Department to select and send a group of CPSU members to study at the Supreme Party School and the CPSU CC Party Organiser School. ...

CC secretary

**Excerpt from J. Kalnbērziņš' speech at the LC(b)P Central Committee
plenum on 12 September 1946**

“... What is the composition of our party organisation? As of August 1, our party organisation has 18 392 members and candidates, who are united in 1059 original party organisations, 147 party members and candidates, and party members and Komsomol members. 1014 members and candidates are singles who are not united in any party organisations and about 500 members and candidates who do not work anywhere. In the last 5 years, 10 987 party members and candidates have been accepted, which is 62% of our entire organisation.

The forces of our party are very unevenly distributed, as 11 574 are in the party organisations of Riga and other cities of the republic, of which only 2200 party members and candidates are united in 163 township party organisations and 105 in party member and candidate groups.

From the given figures, it can be seen that the forces of our party are deployed very incorrectly, and the Central Committee and its cadres and organisational structures, which have not been sufficiently determined in the deployment of the party's forces, are largely to blame for this, so the majority of party members and candidates, those who have come and the demobilised, have settled in Riga and other cities of our republic.

Considering the national composition, our party organisation does not meet its tasks sufficiently because 60% of the members and candidates of the whole organisation do not know the Latvian language, which is a big obstacle for the growth of the party ranks and mass work, because the majority of our young generation, young workers, farmers and intelligentsia do not know Russian..

LVA, PA-101. f., 9. apr., 9. l., 9., 10. lp.

**Excerpts from State University of Latvia Rector J. Jurgens' 29 July 1950
report to the LC(b)P CC on the "cleaning" of cadres**

29 July 1950

Latvian C(b)P CC

Report

(about Latvian State University cadres)

On 1 January 1949, the State University of Latvia had:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 1) professors and lecturers | - 589 people; |
| 2) assistants | - 198 people; |
| 3) administration staff | - 363 people; |
| 4) students | - 5092 people. |

Dismissed as socially alien and unsuitable for work at the University:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| a) professors and lecturers | - 121 people; |
| b) assistants | - 74 people; |
| c) administration staff | - 56 people; |
| d) students | - 866 people. |

I state with all responsibility that no one at the university was engaged in cadre research. This is evidenced by the fact that the teaching department did not check the work of the professors and lecturers but reacted to the signals of the most advanced students with the thought - not to offend the "old specialist".

In fact, most of the people who expressed their bourgeois-nationalist views turned out to be either very poor specialists or hardened fascists.

By organising systematic control of professors and lecturers and checking people, 235 members of hostile classes, anti-Soviet, and other bourgeois nationalists were discovered, i.e. 23% of the total number of lecturers.

The purge of the university was made more difficult by the fact that the youth were influenced individually in private conversations and consultations. They did not hide their affiliation with various anti-Soviet parties and organisations.

Secondly, this bourgeois fascist plague could not be cleansed in one stroke. It was necessary to find good Soviet specialists, to nominate capable and reliable youth.

It is relatively easy to expel a bourgeois nationalist, but before that, it was necessary to shock and expose his ideological views, thus educating students and those bourgeois specialists who want to work with us.

...

3. Faculty of Philology Latvian language department head and professor, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, and full member of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, a convinced bourgeois nationalist - **J. Endzelīns** openly spoke out against Soviet linguistics.

4. **Štālbergs** – Department of Architecture head, full member of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. Educated students in the spirit of formalism and constructivism. He did not consider it necessary to respond to repeated criticisms in the press and in meetings.

...

From 1944 to 1948, students admitted to the University who were expelled

- 866 people (17 %),

Of them:

- a) those who entered university presenting false documents, concealing a criminal record, etc. - 97 people;
- b) Distinct alien and hostile elements (former policemen, members of armed gangs, active fascists who fought with weapons against Soviet power, sectarians, etc.) - 207 people;
- c) those whose parents were repressed based on RSFSR Criminal Code, par. 58 - 77 people;
- d) poor grades - 222 people;
- e) systematic disciplinary infractions, not attending lectures - 5 people;
- f) transfer to a different educational institution - 37 people;
- g) left on their own, but later revealed that many left university for fear of being exposed in their previous life for anti-Soviet activity or because of their social past - 225 people.

1. LVA, PA-101. f., 13. apr., 73. l., 19.-21. lp.

Promise not to disclose state secrets

Secret

I, the undersigned Veselov Ivan Andrey's son, hereby promise to keep state secrets known to me in connection with my official position, as well as all information related to Latvian C(b)P CC apparatus and its work, not disclose them in any way and not share them with anyone while working in the Latvian C(b)P CC or when retired.

I am aware that I am responsible for the disclosure of state secrets in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 9 June 1947.

Also, I promise to report all changes in the information presented in my questionnaire and, in particular, about relatives and acquaintances who are related to foreigners or who have gone abroad.

7 August 1950

I. Veselov

LVA, PA-15500. f., 2. apr., 9709. l., 27. lp.

Secret

(From a separate folder)

Latvian CP CC bureau decision

Minutes No. 30 § 7

24 February 1953

On measures to combat the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and anti-Soviet activity among school youth

(c. Čerkovskis, Koralkevicha, Apinis, Samsons, Bēmanis, Kalnbērziņš)

...

The LSSR Ministry of Education and regional public education departments have not released anti-Soviet teachers from work in republic schools until recently, pay little attention to the political education of cadres in schools, often show political short-sightedness and carelessness in the selection of cadres, have not ended the practice in the previous practice, due to defects and political motives, of transferring dismissed teachers to schools in other regions.

Party committees, Komsomol youth, and trade union organisations do not help public education bodies in organising political education and raising the practical qualifications of teachers in the communist upbringing of Komsomol youth.

Many parties and Komsomol youth organisations have forgotten that inattention to educating young people in loyalty to the socialist Motherland and to the cause of the party of Lenin and Stalin in the spirit of internationalism and friendship of peoples is causing serious damage to the country; they have forgotten that success in the communist upbringing of each pupil can only be achieved by the entire collective of teachers, purposeful, differentiated daily work of school Komsomol and pioneer organisations, and close cooperation between school and families.

School Komsomol youth organisations poorly nurture the political activity and political acuity of youth, as a result of which Komsomol members often do not notice and expose bourgeois-nationalist manifestations, and struggle poorly against immoral and hooligan violations of individual pupils.

Republic newspapers, "Cīņa" and "Sovetskaja Latvija", "Skolotāju Avīze" and magazines "Padomju Latvijas Skola", "Padomju Latvijas Sieviete" rarely publish articles about the communist upbringing of children in the family. Reports and discussions on the issues of communist education for parents in schools, companies, institutions, and kolkhozes are rarely and unsystematically organised, as a result of which many parents have lost responsibility for raising their children, believing that raising children is only a matter for the school and the state.

The Latvian CP CC bureau decides:

To draw the attention of the Latvian CP Riga and Jelgava city committees (c. Apiņa, Koralkevicha) and the Talsi district party committee (c. Stanislavska) to the neglected state of political education of school youth and request them to take the necessary measures to improve teaching and educational work in schools.

To instruct the LSSR Ministry of Education regional public education departments to relieve anti-Soviet teachers from work in schools, to pay special attention to improving the political education of teachers, raising their vigilance, to widely spread criticism of deficiencies and self-criticism in the work of teaching and education among teachers. ...

To instruct the LSSR Minister of State Security to conduct a thorough investigation of the facts of all anti-Soviet manifestations in schools, to find out the organisers of anti-Soviet activities and to bring the perpetrators to justice. ...

Latvian CP CC Secretary

J. Kalnbērziņš

LCP CC First Secretary J. Kalnbērziņš' speech at the LCP Central Committee plenum on 22-23 June 1953

“Comrades! This Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum has been convened due to the decision of the Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee regarding major shortcomings and mistakes in political work and in the construction of economy and culture in our republic.

On June 12 of this year, the Soviet Union Communist Party Central Committee Presidium considered the issues of the Latvian SSR and made the following decision:

1. Instruct the LCP CC and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to fundamentally change the situation in the republic, to end the distortions of Soviet national policy, to eliminate the hostile nationalist underground, to carry out a specific fight against Soviet violations of law, administration, and lawlessness in relation to the population.
2. Consider the main task of the organisation of the Latvian party in the near future to prepare, educate and widely nominate Latvian cadres for leading party, Soviet, and economic work. Abolish the practice of appointing the second secretaries of the district committees of the party, as well as the deputy chairmen of the executive committees of workers' deputies from non-Latvian national cadres. As a rule, Latvian employees should be appointed as directors of state farms, MTS (machine and tractor stations), and industrial companies. Due to this, the released employees of the nomenclature, who do not know the Latvian language, should be recalled for use by the CPSU Central Committee.
3. Abolish record keeping in all party, state, and public organisations of the Latvian SSR, which are not in the Latvian language. The meeting of the Council of Ministers, the Latvian CP CC bureau, as well as the meeting of the city and district committees of the party and the executive committee of workers' deputies should be held in the Latvian language.
4. Instruct the Latvian CP CC and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to eliminate deficiencies and errors in the construction of kolkhozes, to achieve the organisational and economic strengthening of kolkhozes and the improvement of the material well-being of agriculture.

5. Instruct the Latvian CP CC to intensify political and mass explanatory work among the population, especially among the youth and intelligentsia, in all ways, doing it in their native language. To ensure the active participation of the mass of the population in the implementation of measures of the Soviet government, which are aimed at the construction of the economy and culture.
6. Recommend to the Latvian CP CC and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to discuss this decision in the plenum session of the Central Committee and within a month to develop and submit for approval to the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers specific proposals for improving the state of affairs in the republic and improving the work of party and Soviet bodies in Latvia.”

The CPSU Central Committee also noted "that the deficiencies revealed in the CPSU CC decision of 26 May 1953 regarding the Lithuanian SSR fully apply to the Latvian SSR as well."

Allow me to read to you the decision of the CPSU CC on the Lithuanian SSR (reads).

Comrades! The decision of the Presidium of the CPSU CC that I read about our republic and the Lithuanian SSR is of great importance to the Latvian Party organisation and requires a radical change of all work. We are required to end the distortion of national politics, to eliminate the hostile nationalist underground, to eliminate the gangs in our territory, to carry out a firm fight against violations of Soviet legality, and administration and lawlessness against the inhabitants of the Latvian SSR.

We must subject to sharp criticism and self-criticism the mistakes made and the distortions of Party policies, develop and implement effective measures to correct the mistakes, and prevent them from being made in the future. Without this, it is impossible to achieve the further, even greater work of strengthening the party's relations with the masses, the strengthening of Soviet power in Latvia, and the significant improvement in the construction of communism.

Almost 9 years have passed since the Great Patriotic War. During these years, the organisation of our republic's party has grown significantly, the organs of Soviet power have become stronger, the moral and political unity of the Latvian people has strengthened, and industry and agriculture have developed significantly. Collectivisation has been successfully completed, the kolkhoz will be strengthened in economic and organisational terms.

These successes of the Latvian people have been achieved under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee in the friendly family of the Soviet peoples with the help of the great Russian people. The political, economic, and cultural success of the Latvian SSR opened up

new opportunities for the further prosperity of the republic, allowing the Latvian people to contribute even more to the common cause of communist construction.

After the end of the war and the liberation of Latvia from the occupation, the organisation of the republic's party was very small, there was a noticeable lack of personnel.

At our request, the CPSU Central Committee provided the republic with a lot of help with experienced cadres. Some of the cadres arrived after demobilisation from the Soviet Army.

With the help of all these members, the organisation of our republic's party was significantly strengthened, party, Soviet and economic work improved, new local cadres grew.

These comrades, with their selfless work, passing on their experience in socialist construction, helped us to restore and strengthen our Soviet republic in a relatively short time. ...

At the same time, there are major shortcomings and errors in the work of the republic's party and Soviet institutions, the work of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the LSSR Council of Ministers, which are correctly revealed by the CPSU Central Committee Presidium decision of June 12.

The Soviet Union's Communist Party Central Committee Presidium quite rightly reveals the gross political mistakes we made and the distortions of Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

Despite the repeated instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, we allowed distortions of Soviet national policy in practice, ignored the selection, training, and nomination of national cadres, neglected political work in the masses, violated Soviet legality, allowed naked administration and lawlessness towards the population.

All this causes alienation of the Latvian population from the party and Soviet institutions, creates an unfavourable situation in the republic.

The bourgeois-nationalist underground organisations that carry out anti-Soviet propaganda and kill Soviet people have not yet been liquidated in the republic. According to incomplete information, 13 bandit groups, 133 individual bandits, and 77 illegals are still operating in the territory of the republic. In the post-war period, bourgeois-nationalist gangs have killed 1660 Soviet activists.

During the last school year, underground organisations were discovered in several secondary schools in Rēzekne, Riga, Talsi and other schools, which carried out active anti-Soviet work and prepared terrorist acts.

It must be admitted that recently, the Latvian CP CC and the republic's Council of Ministers, parties and Soviet organs left the liquidation of the hostile nationalist underground

to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which widely used repressive measures. From 1945 to 1953, 119 000 people were repressed in the republic. Of these, the bodies of the former VDM have arrested 26 500 people, 2321 people have been killed as bandits, and 43 702 have been deported as kulaks and bandit supporters beyond the borders of the republic. Militia and prosecution bodies have arrested 46 350 people.

Despite widespread repressions, the nationalist underground continues to operate. Cases of murder have existed until recently.

So, for example, in May of this year, Smiltene region communications worker Jansons was killed, in June there was an attack on kolkhoz "Plēsums" chairman Molodenkov in Jelgava region, and the chairman of a kolkhoz was killed in Tukums region. In addition, it should be noted that the nationalist underground receives the support of the population.

Distortions of Leninist-Stalinist national policy, violations of Soviet legality, administration and lawlessness towards the population hindered the complete elimination of the nationalist underground. In the fight against the hostile underground, the Latvian population and Latvian cadres were weakly involved, which is politically completely wrong because it creates anti-Russian sentiment in the people. Latvians made up 15% of IM's leading employees, but only four people, or 7%, were Latvians out of 56 heads of district and city units of IM. So, the fight against the nationalist underground was mainly carried out by employees who were not Latvians, who did not know the Latvian language, did not know daily routines and local conditions. Due to this, they could not maintain the necessary contacts with the population, which are necessary to carry out explanatory work.

Rough administration methods, violations of Soviet legality, and lawlessness became widespread in the republic.

Instead of doing serious work in exposing the underground and foreign intelligence services, the IeM organs often took the path of repression against citizens who had connections with the bourgeois power and the German occupiers in the past, even though they honestly work in kolkhozes and enterprises.

In 1952, 18 113 citizen property descriptions were made for state tax debts, in the first quarter of 1953, 8650 property descriptions were made. More than 10 000 cases have been transferred to the court.

There are also such distortions in the work of the procurement authorities. In 1952, a description of property was carried out in 27 538 kolkhozes for violations of the deadline for the delivery of meat and milk. In 1952, district commissioners of the Ministry of Procurement received 22 413 complaints, and more than half of the complaints were discharged.

Gross violations of Soviet laws, administration, and lawlessness in harvesting of agricultural products were committed in Zilupe region last year. Here, the former secretary of the district committee of the party c. Lazurko usurped the rights of judicial bodies, summoned the kolkhoz farmers and, for untimely threshing and failure to hand over grain, personally sent the kolkhoz farmers to be arrested, accompanied by the militia.

Prosecutor's offices and judicial bodies also allow unjustified arrests and prosecution of citizens.

The large number of administrative measures, without adequate explanation, cause mass complaints within the population and certain dissatisfaction with the work of the local organs of the Soviet power, which carry out these measures.

This dissatisfaction with the administration leads to alienation of the population from Soviet rule and is a fertile environment for hostile elements to operate.

The Latvian CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers do not take into account the political significance of this dissatisfaction in their practical activities, do not take effective measures to eliminate, strengthening political work and unacceptable administration.

The Latvian CP CC and the Council of Ministers seriously violate the principles of national political councils in the matter of training and nomination of cadres. Extremely few Latvians are nominated for leading work in party, Soviet, and economic bodies.

Many party, Soviet and economic leaders, referring to false vigilance, often express a general mistrust of local cadres and, pointing to their lack of experience, nominate mainly non-local cadres for leadership positions.

The Latvian CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers accepted such a situation. This was a gross mistake, as a result of which, despite the fact that many years have passed after the liberation of Latvia from the German occupation, the party organisation was unable to provide the republic and local bodies with cadres of Latvian nationality.

The situation was created in which the majority of cadres working in many party, Soviet, economic, and other bodies do not know the Latvian language, are not familiar with local conditions, life, culture, traditions of the local population. All this led to the fact that the connections of the party and Soviet organs with the broad masses of the Latvian population became weaker, therefore, their influence on the masses became weaker, especially agriculture.

There are few Latvians among the leading party, Soviet, and other workers.

Thus, for example, Latvians make up 42% of the responsible employees in the Latvian CP CC apparatus and 31% among the secretaries of the party's region and city party committees.

Very few Latvians are nominated as members of region party committees. The 36 party members and candidates for the composition of the Zilupe region committee nominated in April, only 2 are Latvians. Out of 36 party members and candidates, there are only 9 Latvians in the Rēzekne region committee of the party.

The situation with the national composition of party cadres is particularly unsatisfactory in the City of Riga party organisation. There are no Latvians among the leaders of the City of Riga party committee, two Latvians are among the 31 instructors of the city committee. There are no Latvians in the City of Riga party district committees and among the leaders of trade unions and Komsomol youth organisations, and there is only one Latvian among the leaders of the propaganda and agitation departments of the region party committees, library leaders of the district party committees and propagandists. Only 17% of the secretaries of the primary organisations of the City of Riga party are Latvians.

The weak promotion of Latvians in the lower and middle stages of the work of the party, Soviets, trade unions, and Komsomol in the City of Riga leads to the fact that the local national cadres grow extremely slowly. In the last two years, the number of Latvians in the nomenclature staff of the City of Riga Party Committee decreased by 5%.

In some factories, for example, the director of "Rigips" and his deputy, the party secretary and his deputy, the chairman of the factory committee and his deputy do not know the Latvian language. There are also few Latvians in middle administration of many factories.

On May 19, the Latvian CP CC bureau specifically discussed the issue of the work of the City of Riga party committee and instructed it to change its attitude towards the nomination of local cadres. However, until now, the city committee does not adopt effective measures to improve the situation. The number of Latvians among the employees of the city party committee and district committees has hardly increased.

During the last month and a half, the 62 primary organisations of the party in the City of Riga held reporting election meetings, but only 18 Latvians were elected as secretaries in these meetings.

City of Riga party committee bureau and secretaries c. Apinis, Sokolovs, Berklavs do not take any measures to prevent the fact that there are few party members in the Riga party organisation.

There is an obviously unsatisfactory situation with Latvian cadres in several other city and district party committees.

There is only one Latvian among the secretaries, section leaders, and instructors in the Ludza Region Party Committee.

Jelgava city party committee secretary c. Korolkevičs accepted the fact that there is no Latvian among the heads of parts of the city committee, and there is only one Latvian among the instructors. Out of 56 primary organisations of the party, only 18 secretaries of the primary organisations of the party are Latvians.

The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers pays little attention to the nomination of local cadres to the composition of Soviet bodies. Latvians make up 44% of the deputy chairmen and responsible employees of the LSSR Council of Ministers, 41 of the 74 ministers and their deputies are Latvians, 59% of the chairmen, deputy chairmen, and department heads of the executive committees are Latvians.

Few local cadres are developed by trade unions and Komsomol Youth. Latvians are 16.5% among the chairmen and responsible employees of the republic committees of the trade union, 39% among the LCYS CC apparatus employees, and 65.5% among the secretaries and responsible employees of the city and district committees of the Komsomol.

The national composition of economic staff is particularly unsatisfactory. We are not interested in their national composition, but Latvians make up only 22.5% of factory directors and chief engineers, 45% of state farm directors, and 39% of MTS political department heads.

It should be noted that there are few Latgalian among the leading cadres in Latgale regions. Regarding these regions, a completely erroneous and harmful opinion has formed - as if everyone here understands Russian and therefore only the personnel who have arrived can work. The nomination of local cadres is very weak in the eastern districts of the republic. The Latvian CP CC has now planned for measures to return some cadres who used to work in the districts of Latgale to leadership work in Latgale, who know the local conditions and customs, but who have left.

The national composition of employees is especially important in those organisations that deal with local residents on a daily basis, who purchase agricultural products, collect taxes, and are familiar with trade. Only 21 people are Latvian out of 56 procurement officers, 32 out of 72 heads of city and district finance departments are Latvian, 235 out of 306 tax inspectors are Latvian, 27 out of 58 district consumer union chairmen are Latvian, 105 out of 158 rural consumer association chairmen are Latvian. ...

Following the decision of the CPSU Central Committee on Ukraine and Lithuania, the Latvian CP CC adopted several measures on the nomination of local cadres to responsible work.

Latvians now make up 98% of IM's leading employees, and 61 Latvians are now among the heads of 63 city and district parts of IM.

Currently, out of 8 department heads of the Latvian CP CC, 6 are Latvians, 8 out of 15 deputy heads of departments are Latvians, and only three out of 18 ministers do not speak the Latvian language. ...

The Latvian CP CC believes that these measures are only the beginning of correcting the mistakes and distortions, and all measures will be taken to implement the decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia. ...

In the Republic party organisation, Latvians make up 29.2%, including 20.4% in Riga, 28% in Jelgava. ...

According to the decision of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee, the immediate task of the Latvian party organisation is the preparation, education, and promotion of Latvian cadres in leading party, Soviet, and economic work. Abolish the practice of appointing employees who are not from Latvian national cadres as second secretaries of party district committees and deputy chairmen of executive committees of workers' deputies.

The directors of state farms, MTS, and industrial companies should, as a rule, appoint employees - Latvians. ...

When nominating cadres, we need to be guided by how they work and how they are feeling now, under Soviet power. Do not be guided only by how they behaved in bourgeois Latvia, in which orchestra they played, in which sports organisations they were members, or if all their relatives have some sins. This is one of our main mistakes which hinders the promotion of local cadres in management work. ...

LVA, PA-101. f., 16. apr., 10. l., 5., 6., 7., 8., 9., 10., 11., 12. lp.

Excerpt from the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's plenum secret decision of 22-23 June 1953 "On shortcomings in political work, management of economic and cultural construction in the republic"

...

The Latvian CP CC plenum decides:

1. To ensure full implementation of the 12 June 1953 decision of the CC Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union - on the Latvian SSR - and to be steadfastly guided by the requirements of this decision.
2. The Plenum obliges the Latvian CP CC bureau and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to radically improve the situation in the republic, to prevent exaggerations

of the Soviet national policy, to vigorously fight against violations of Soviet legality, administration, and lawlessness in relation to the population. In the near future, eliminate the bourgeois-nationalist underground in the republic, take the necessary measures to improve the political situation in the republic. When applying the necessary punishments in relation to the real enemies of the Soviet power, distortions that cause the justified indignation of broad sections of the population should not be allowed.

3. To consider it the main task of the Latvian Communist Party in the near future to prepare, educate, and widely promote cadres of Latvian nationality in leading party, Soviet, and economic work. End the practice of nominating non-national cadres as second secretaries of party district committees, as well as deputy chairmen of executive committees of workers' deputies' councils. As a rule, Latvian employees are appointed as directors of Soviet farms, MTS, and industrial companies.
4. To reorganise the records in all party, state, and public organisations in the Latvian SSR. The Council of Ministers meetings, Latvian CP CC bureau meetings and plenums, as well as city and district party committees and executive committee of councils of workers' deputies meetings should be held in Latvian. ...

LVA, PA-101. f., 16. apr., 1.^a l., 19. lp.

However, it turned out that the loud words of J. Kalnbērziņš and other participants of this plenum about the mistakes made and the commitment to stop the colonisation and Russification of Latvia were just empty, hypocritical talk. In the struggle for power among the Kremlin functionaries, which began after the death of J. Stalin in March 1953, the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, L. Beria, on whose initiative several important decisions were made regarding significant changes in the "Leninist-Stalinist national policy", lost. On 26 June 1953, he was arrested. Soon after on 2 July 1953, a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was convened in Moscow, which heard and discussed the report of the CPSU Central Committee "on L. Beria's anti-party and anti-state activities" read by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, G. Malenkov. On 23 December 1953, L. Beria was shot as ordered by the Supreme Court of the USSR.

The 7 July 1953 decision of the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee "On Beria's criminal and anti-state activities" was also discussed by the LCP CC plenum on 13 July 1953.

**Excerpt from J. Kalnbērziņš' speech at the LCP CC plenum on 13 July
1953**

...

Beria tried, with various malicious methods, to undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR - the foundations of the multinational socialist state and the condition for the success of all fraternal Soviet republics, to sow discord between the peoples of the USSR, to activate bourgeois-nationalist elements in the united republics.

Beria also used these tricks in relation to the Latvian SSR, trying to achieve a situation where Russian comrades were excluded from working in the national republics, aiming to sow national discord between the working people of Russian and Latvian nationality. ...

I think I will express the opinion of our plenum, the organisation of the republic party and the entire Latvian people that the enemies of the party have not succeeded and will never succeed in undermining the great friendship of the Latvian people with the great Russian people.

Excerpt from the LCP CC bureau decision “On the results of the plenum decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia on the results of Beria's anti-party and anti-state activities discussed in the plenums of city and region committees of the Communist Party of Latvia”

Secret

LCP CC bureau meeting

Minutes No. 57

On the results of discussions at Latvian CP CC city and region committee of the CPSU CC plenum decision regarding Beria's anti-party and anti-state activities

21 July 1953

...

Much attention was paid in the plenum to the issue of liquidating Beria's hostile activities in the field of national relations. After the 6th Plenum of the Latvian CP CC, some employees made mistakes in the implementation of the national policy. In several cities and regions, ministries, and departments, hasty compilation of lists began to replace non-Latvian employees. In Rēzekne and Jelgava, there were cases when slogans in Russian were removed. Žilinskis, the head of the political department of the Jelgava branch of the Baltic Railway, admitted gross facts of the expression of bourgeois nationalism, for which the CC bureau expelled him from the party. All this led to the revival and activation of bourgeois nationalists and the inciting of national discord among the working people of the republic and the weakening of economic and political work. Consequently, there were facts when individual communists misunderstood the decisions of the Latvian CP CC 6th plenum regarding the nomination of national cadres and the strengthening of political work in the Latvian language as an expression of bourgeois nationalism. ...

During their speeches, many communists criticised the Latvian CP CC and the Council of Ministers of the Republic for an overly hasty, thoughtless approach to the implementation of the June 12 decision CPSU Central Committee decision on the Latvian SSR, on serious deficiencies in agricultural management, on weak relations with the masses.

The Latvian CP CC bureau decides:

... 3. To instruct the City Party Committees and Region Party Committees to eliminate the consequences of Beria's hostile actions in the field of national relations, to strengthen the friendship of the peoples, to educate the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to explain broadly the policies of the Party and the government on the

national question, to respond to every fact of the manifestation of bourgeois nationalism, and to carry out a determined struggle with the propagators of this idea.

To instruct the propaganda and agitation section of the Latvian CP CC to prepare a series of lectures on the explanation of Soviet national policy. ...

5. To the party, trade unions, and Komsomol youth organ units of the Latvian CP CC to summarise the critical remarks made in the plenums of the party committees on the Latvian CP CC, the Council of Ministers of the Republic and to submit them to the secretariat of the Latvian CP CC for consideration. ...

1. LVA, PA-101. f., 16. apr., 24. l., 68.-72. lp.

**Excerpt from the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee bureau
decision of June 21 and July 4, 1959 "On serious shortcomings and
mistakes in work with cadres and implementation of national policy in the
republic"**

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LATVIA

TOP SECRET

(From the Special Folder)

Decision

Latvian CP CC bureau

Minutes No. 63 § 1

21 June and 4 July 1959

**On serious shortcomings and mistakes in work with cadres and implementation of
national policy in the republic**

(c. Pelše, Bisenieks, Berklavs, Krūmiņš, Migliniks, Plūdonis, Saļejevs, Lācis, Kalnbērziņš)

...

The Latvian Communist Party CC bureau decides:

1. To instruct city party committees and region committees, heads of ministries, departments, and organisations to eliminate the shortcomings indicated in this decision and to be steadfastly guided by Leninist principles in all work selecting, placing and educating cadres, persistently and consistently implementing the Leninist national policy of the party in life and constantly remembering that any

restriction of the rights of any nationality can cause serious damage to building communist in our country. Party organisations must strictly fight against any manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism and their appeasement.

2. To instruct Latvian CP city committees and region committees to completely stop the non-party practice, when individual party, council, and economic leaders choose employees, not according to their practical and political qualities, but according to national affiliation, personal sympathy, and the principle of trust. To ensure a thorough familiarisation of cadres in their practical activities, to more confidently nominate young workers who have demonstrated their organisational abilities and loyalty to the Communist Party for leading positions; pay special attention to strengthening the economically weak kolkhoz and state farms with personnel.

All practical work by party organs with cadres must be subordinated to the successful implementation of the historical decisions of the CPSU XXI Congress, the early implementation of the seven-year plan, and the national economy plan of 1959, both in the republic as a whole, as well as in each district, company, collective farm, and state farm.

3. To consider the most important task of the Latvian CP CC bureau, city party committees, and region committees - to strengthen work in every way to increase the Marxist-Leninist temperament of the leading cadres, their upbringing in the spirit of the ideas of friendship between peoples, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism, strict observance of party and state discipline in the spirit of high party responsibility for the fulfilment of party and government directives, for understanding the general interests of the country. Party organs should provide concrete assistance to party, soviets, economic workers in raising their practical qualifications, studying industrial and agricultural economics.
4. To instruct city party committees, region committees, primary party organisations, republic trade unions, and Komsomol youth organisations to raise the ideological level of all political work among workers, collective farmers, and especially the intelligentsia and school youth, to deeply explain the historical decisions of the CPSU XXI Congress, the CPSU CC June plenum, with specific and convincing examples and facts to show that the success of the republic in the development of industry, agriculture, science, and culture has been achieved by the working people of the Latvian SSR with the help of all the fraternal nations of the Soviet Union. In the press and radio broadcasts, in all mass political work, it is necessary to

persistently expose any hostile propaganda attempts to undermine the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union or to incite nationalistic sentiments among a certain unstable part of the intelligentsia of the republic.

5. To revoke the 6 December 1956 decision of the Latvian CP CC bureau " On Party, Soviet, and economic workers Latvian and Russian language learning " as incorrect. To explain to region party committees, city committees, primary party organisations that the learning of Latvians and Russian languages must be done in accordance with Lenin's instructions and strict voluntary principles, without allowing administration and coercion in any way.
6. To instruct the City of Riga party committee to revoke its decisions regarding Latvian and Russian language learning as erroneous.
7. To ask the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to consider the issue of compliance with the passport regime in Riga and to introduce the necessary procedures in this matter.
8. To instruct the region party committees, city committees, primary party organisations to improve the management of industry, construction, and agriculture, to widely expand socialist competition of the working people for the early implementation of the 1959 plan and the entire seven-year plan, for the fullest use of reserves in industry and agriculture, for further mechanisation of production and automation, on technical progress. When solving all issues, parties, Soviets, economic bodies, ministries, and departments must first take into account the interests of the general government.
9. To instruct the LCP CC Secretariat to carefully analyse the work of newspaper and magazine editorial boards, radio broadcasts and television committees, to strengthen them with experienced, politically prepared employees. Within a month, submit proposals on this issue for consideration in the bureau of the LCP CC.
10. To instruct the LCP CC Secretariat to investigate the operation of radio organisations and determine specific measures to strengthen them with leading cadres and provide them with practical assistance.
11. To convene a Latvian CP CC plenum on 7 July 1959 to discuss the issue "On serious shortcomings and mistakes in the work with cadres and in the implementation of national policy in the republic". In this matter, approve comrade Kalnbērziņš as rapporteur.
12. Due to the fact that c. Berklavs made serious political mistakes in his practical work for a long time, which were repeatedly pointed out to him by the CPSU CC, and due

to the fact that he did not admit his mistakes when discussing this issue in the CC's bureau, it is impossible to consider c. Berklavs' further position in the KP CC bureau.

13. To be recorded in the minutes:

Second Secretary of the LCP CC, c. Krūmiņš, is personally responsible for serious mistakes in the selection and placement of cadres. Comrade Krūmiņš did not always take a principled position and sometimes supported c. Berklavs' erroneous propositions. Members of the LCP CC bureau, c. Lācis and Ozoliņš, were passive and silent when deciding several fundamental issues, but sometimes supported erroneous views and proposals.

Recently, LCP CC first secretary c. Kalnbērziņš, while managing the work of the CC bureau, did not show sufficient rigour, but in some cases allowed liberalism in relation to individual members of the bureau, firstly c. Berklavs, for clearly improper speech and actions.

Consider it expedient to listen in July and August 1959 in the LCP CC bureau to c. Pisan's report on the editorial work of "Cīņa" and c. Pinkša's report on the work of the Republic Council of Trade Unions. Send this decision to all Latvian CP region committees and city committees.

Latvian CP CC secretary

Kalnbērziņš

LVA, PA-101. f., 22. apr., 48.^a l., 20., 25.-27. lp.

**Excerpt from Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary
Kalnbērziņš' report "On serious shortcomings and mistakes in work with
cadres and in the implementation of national policy in the republic" at the
LCP CC VII closed plenum on 7 July 1959**

**On serious shortcomings and mistakes in work with cadres and in the implementation of
national policy in the republic**

...

Recently, a group of employees of the CPSU CC, while studying the issue of the situation in work with cadres, discovered serious shortcomings and errors as well as distortions in the implementation of the Leninist national policy.

The conclusions of this group were discussed in the of the CPSU CC Presidium, which recommended that the LCP CC discuss this issue in the CC bureau and in the plenum. Comrade Muhitdinov, CPSU CC Presidium member and secretary, participated in the work of the LCP CC bureau, discussing the issues expressed in the report. The LCP CC bureau subjected to sharp and principled criticism the serious shortcomings and mistakes that the LCP CC bureau and individual members and candidates of the bureau had committed in their work as a whole.

... The most serious mistake in the work with cadres, violations of the Leninist principles in cadre selection, manifested itself in the fact that some leaders of the party, Soviets, and economic institutions, when nominating leading workers, do not take their business and political qualities as the basis, but first of all their nationality.

The City of Riga party committee decision of 30 November 1956, taken after c. Berkļavs' persistent demands as first secretary of the city party committee, directly indicated that knowledge of Latvian and Russian languages should also be taken into account when hiring cadres in addition to business and political qualities. ...

... In the aforementioned City of Riga party committee decision, the cadres were required to learn Latvian and Russian within 2 years. In accordance with this decision, managers of companies, organisations, and institutions were instructed to reconsider the possibility of employing those persons who have not learned the languages within the mentioned term, thus putting employees of different nationalities in an unequal position, because for the majority of Latvians who live in Riga and other cities of our republic, Russian has been understood for a long time, but those employees who came to Latvia from other republics had to learn another language. In this way, the decision of the City of Riga party committee essentially pushed out cadres who did not know the Latvian language.

In December 1956, instead of correcting the City of Riga Party Committee, the LCP CC took a decision by which the leading cadres were instructed to learn Latvian and Russian in two years.

... City of Riga party committee secretary c. Straujums announced in the negotiations with the district party committee secretaries that if an employee does not know how to explain himself to him in Latvian, then such a person should not be sent to him for discussion, the party's city committee will not approve him.

At the end of last year while on a business trip to Daugavpils, where only 13% Latvians live, Deputy Minister of Culture of the Republic c. Čerkovskis advised the city committee of the party to dismiss a large group of employees of the city's cultural institutions due to the fact that they do not know the Latvian language. ...

It should be noted that in all the mistakes and distortions we made, the most active role was played by LCP CC member c. Berklavs. For a long time, he implemented a nationalist policy in his practical activities, showed increased interest in matters of the placement of leading cadres, intervened in this matter, appointed suitable persons to him in decisive positions, and often imposed the need to replace individual employees in the LCP CC.

... Serious mistakes were made by restricting registration in the City of Riga. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the City of Riga executive committee, with the knowledge of the CC bureau, put all kinds of obstacles in the way of registering the people of Riga under the pretext of strict compliance with the passport regime, especially those who were not of Latvian nationality. Undoubtedly, it is impossible to register everyone who wants to live in Riga because we lack living space, because the issue with apartments is very tense, but we ended up mocking people - children could not register with their parents, husbands with wives, mothers with sons, even though the conditions of the apartment allowed it. All kinds of obstacles were placed for registration of family members of military personnel as well as for various specialists sent to Riga. It might seem that registering is a purely technical issue, but due to incorrect implementation, it became a purely political issue for us and took on a nationalistic tone.

... Such a "restriction" on registration in Riga essentially stopped people from entering Latvia from other regions and counties. ...

There were attempts to divert the party organisation from the correct Leninist path and introduce national isolation and seclusion in the country. So, for example, CC bureau member c. Berklavs, at the joint session of the CC bureau and the Council of Ministers last October, openly spoke against the party's general line when discussing the seven-year plan, which is aimed at the development of heavy industry, and persistently demanded that the republic abandon the expansion of wagon-building and diesel-building factories and increased production output. What motivated this objection? As the main piece of evidence, he put forward the fact that in recent years the population of the republic has increased by 450 000 through arriving workers, but the construction and expansion of factories will require further arrival of workers. In his opinion, attracting residents of other nationalities to Latvia should not be practiced because, as is known, metal is imported into our country. Diesel output, which is

intended for special needs, should not be expanded because in case of war, Riga would suffer first. Expressing his arguments, which refer to not allowing the mechanical growth of the population, c. Berklavs stated that if there are objections to this, he will raise the issue of cadres voting.

... At the same time c. Berklavs spoke about the need to comprehensively develop light and food industry, the production of which must be consumed locally.

Such a wrong orientation did not receive proper evaluation and condemnation from CC bureau members.

... Thus, from all that has been said above, it can be concluded that the distortions of Leninist national policy in our republic appeared mainly in the following manifestations:

1. Realisation of the new principle of personnel selection based on national characteristics invented by individual employees.
2. Administration of Latvian and Russian language learning for cadres and other members.
3. In several cases, the dismissal of persons who do not know the Latvian language.
4. Closure of Russian streams in some higher education institutions and a significant reduction in the number of students of other nationalities in the republic's higher education institutions.
5. Almost complete suspension of registration in Riga of employees and their family members who come from other regions and republics of the country.
6. The persistent attempts of some leading workers to distort the Leninist national policy of our party in the matter of the development of our republic.
7. Efforts of some members to highlight Latvia among other united republics, national isolation, and narrow localism.

...

It should also be said that we were not at the same level in 1953, when, as you know, the enemy of the people, Beria, created a big mess between different cadres, between Russians and Latvians in our republic, as well as between different nationalities in other republics. We and c. Lācis were called to a special meeting, where we were advised to immediately convene a plenum after the decision on Lithuania and consider this issue, as well as to place the cadres in a different way. Then such a plenum session took place, a plenum decision was taken. There are many points wrong with this decision that should have been overturned a long time ago, but we have not yet done so. I believe that in this plenum we should be manly, and this decision,

which was imposed by the enemy of the people, the 1953 plenum decision, should be revoked as wrong.

... Comrades, the issue of serious shortcomings and mistakes in the work with cadres in the implementation of the Leninist national policy was raised by comrade Khrushchev at the CPSU CC June plenum, and it was discussed in the CPSU CC Presidium in the presence of myself, Lācis, Ozoliņš and Krūmiņš. The CPSU CC Presidium subjected us to severe criticism, gave a principled assessment of the mistakes we made in the implementation of the Leninist national policy. We promised to correct the situation, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev and the CC Presidium in general believe that we will be able to correct the situation ourselves.

Here is the decision that was taken at the extended meeting of the CC Presidium:

“To support comrade Muhitdinov’s report on the trip to Latvia. To instruct the LCP CC, taking into account the opinion of the CPSU CC Presidium meeting, to take measures to eliminate shortcomings in its work.”

Such trust obliges us today to sharply and with principle discuss this issue, to reveal in all depth the mistakes and shortcomings we have made, to determine measures for their prevention, and to exterminate the causes of their manifestations forever.

LVA, PA-101. f., 22. apr., 15. l., 6.-25. lp.

**Excerpt from LSSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman E. Berklavs’
speech at the LCP CC plenum on 7-8 July 1959**

...

Only 202 Latvians are directors in 552 enterprises of the national economy council, and only 160 Latvians work as chief engineers in these enterprises, that is, a little more than one quarter.

Of the 36 Ministry of Road Transport heads, there are 11 Latvians; of the 43 Ministry of Public Utilities repair offices heads, there are 18 Latvians. Of the 46 construction authorities and trusts heads and chief engineers, 19 are Latvians, and 2 Latvians are among the 16 company directors and chief engineers.

Of 44 medical institutions in the republic, 18 are Latvians, and among 53 medical institutions in Riga, 19 are Latvians.

A total of 20 057 people work in the Ministry of Trade throughout the republic, 11 186 of them are Latvians; of canteen managers - only 29.6% are Latvians.

And 1334 employees work in the Ministry of Internal Affairs system in Riga, of whom only 361 are Latvians. ...

As you can see, c. Kalnbērziņš, the composition of the first and second secretaries of the party's district committees does not describe everything. ...

LVA, PA-101. f., 22. apr., 15. l., 34. lp.

Excerpt from the LCP CC 7-8 July 1959 VII closed plenum decision “On the serious shortcomings and mistakes in work with cadres and in the practice of national politics in the republic”

...

The LCP CC plenum decides:

...

4. To revoke the Latvian CP CC decision of 6 December 1956 "On Latvian and Russian language learning for leading cadres" as erroneous.

...

11. Since c. Berklavs has made serious political mistakes in his practical work for a long time for which he has been repeatedly reprimanded, and since he did not draw the necessary conclusions from these instructions and behaved in a non-partisan manner and was not open in the Latvian CP CC plenum, to ban c. Berklavs from the Latvian CP CC bureau and the CC and believe that it is impossible to leave him in the position of Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman. Warn c. Berklavs that if he does not change his anti-party views, the question of his party affiliation will be raised.

12. For fluctuations in many important issues, especially those related to the implementation of the party's Leninist national policy, for politically incorrect performance in the Latvian CP CC bureau, exclude c. I. Pinksis from the list of candidates for the Latvian CP CC bureau.

13. For fluctuations in many politically sharp issues, for publication of several ideologically harmful materials in the newspaper "Cīņa", give a warning to c. P. Pizāns, candidate for the Latvian CP CC bureau and editor of the newspaper "Cīņa".

14. Draw c. N. Bisenieks', Latvian CP CC secretary and bureau member, attention to his serious mistakes and failures at work.

15. Require the Latvian CP CC bureau:

a) to clarify and discuss the issue of the work of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics;

b) strengthen the editorial staff of the newspapers "Rīgas Balss" and "Padomju Jaunatne", as well as the magazine "Zvaigzne".

16. To revoke the Latvian CP CC 23 June 1953 plenum decision "On shortcomings in political work and management of economic and cultural construction in the republic" as politically incorrect and imposed by L. Beria, an enemy of the party and the Soviet state.

Protocolar:

17. To ask the bureau of the Latvian CP CC to examine the question of whether it is possible that c. I. Pinksis, P. Dzērve, P. Čerkovskis, E. Mūkins and V. Kalpiņš continue their work due to their nationalist expressions. ...

LVA, PA-101. f., 22. apr., 10.a l., 10., 11., 13., 14. lp.

LCP CC decision on changes in the composition of leading cadres

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee bureau decision

Minutes No. 83 § 23

23 November 1959

...

Regarding c. J. E. Kalnbērziņš, A. J. Pelše, K. M. Ozoliņš, V. T. Lācis un J. V. Peivis.

1. Satisfy c. Jānis Eduards' son Kalnbērziņš' request for his release from the duties as first secretary of Latvian CP CC due to his transfer to another job.

Recommend c. Arvīds Jānis' son Pelše for the position of Latvian CP CC secretary, releasing him from the duties of Latvian CP CC bureau secretary.

Submit for consideration at the Latvian CP CC plenum.

2. Approve c. Jānis Eduards' son Kalnbērziņš as Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium Chairman, releasing from this duty c. Kārlis Mārtiņš' son Ozoliņš.

3. Approve Kārlis Mārtiņš' son Ozoliņš as the Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium First Deputy Chairman.

4. Approve c. Vilis Tenis' son Lācis' request for release from the duties of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman due to his health.

- Approve Jānis Voldemārs' son Peivi as Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman, releasing him from the duties of president of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences.
5. Submit the question of J.E. Kalnbērziņš, K.M. Ozoliņš, V.T. Lācis and J.V. Peivi for consideration by the session of the Supreme Council of the Latvian SSR.
 6. Request the CPSU CC:
 - a) confirm this decision.
 - b) determine the position of Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium Deputy Chairman.
 7. Recommend to the Latvian CP CC plenum to elect c. J. V. Peivi as a member of the Latvian CP CC bureau.

Latvian CP CC secretary

Krūmiņš

LVA, PA-101. f., 22. apr., 48.^a l., 50. lp.

See also:

Jānis Riekstiņš. *Latvians nacionālkomunistu cīņa pret Latvijas kolonizāciju un rusifikāciju. Nevardarbīgā pretošanās: Latvijas neatkarības atgūšanas ceļš. 1945.-1991.* [The Struggle of Latvian National Communists against the Colonisation and Russification of Latvia. Non-violent resistance: the path to regaining Latvia's independence. 1945-1991]. Riga, 2008, p. 162-224.

**Excerpt from Latvian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary
Arvīds Pelše's LCP CC Report to the LCP XVII Congress 16 February
1960**

Report to the Latvian Communist Party XVII Congress

...

As you know, the Latvian CP CC VII plenum last July discussed the issue "On serious shortcomings and mistakes in the work with cadres and in the implementation of national policy in the republic". The plenum revealed in depth the mistakes made, distortions in the work with the cadres, subjected these mistakes to severe criticism, and gave them a principled party assessment.

The essence of these mistakes and distortions was that some leading employees of the republic, and first of all the former republic Council of Ministers deputy chairman Berklavs, implemented an openly nationalist line in matters of selecting and deploying cadres and allowed gross distortions in the implementation of national policy.

This could have happened because the Latvian CP CC bureau did not exhibit the necessary principles in solving many important issues. Knowing about the numerous manifestations of bourgeois nationalism in the republic, the Latvian CP CC bureau did not react to them and did not exhibit countermeasures to those who carried them out. Despite the CPSU CC report (early 1958), in which the attention of the Latvian CP CC was directed to serious facts of manifestation of bourgeois nationalism in the republic, incl. among the intelligentsia, and critical remarks about c. Berklavs, Ozoliņš, and Pizāns, the Latvian CP CC bureau did not draw the necessary conclusions and did not give proper assessment of the situation. Moreover, bureau members c. Berklavs, Ozoliņš and Pizāns put the question in such a way that the CPSU CC report allegedly harms the interests of the republic, hinders the consolidation of our power, and accused the authors of the report for bias and ignorance of our conditions and specificities. The Latvian CP CC bureau, fearing offending anyone and damaging relations and "complicating" the situation, essentially hid this CPSU CC report from Latvian CP CC members, from the main asset of the republic's party.

Of course, the members of the bureau knew that Berklavs had been implementing blatantly nationalist policy in his practical activities for a long time, however, the Latvian CP CC bureau did not give a timely political assessment of his anti-party activities.

Individual members of the bureau took the wrong position on these issues, directly or indirectly supporting Berklavs' actions.

At the Latvian Communist Party CC meeting, while discussing this issue, individual members and candidates of the bureau were given the following assessment:

“Latvian CP CC second secretary c. Krūmiņš is personally responsible for serious errors in the selection and placement of cadres. Comrade Krūmiņš did not always take a principled position and sometimes supported Berklavs' erroneous proposals. When discussing this issue in the Latvian CP CC bureau, he did not express his opinion on the most fundamental issues, including his opinion on Berklavs' anti-party behaviour.

Latvian CP CC secretary comrade Bisenieks behaved unprincipledly when deciding many controversial issues, often actively supporting Berklavs' wrong actions.

Latvian CP CC bureau member comrade Ozoliņš behaved passively when deciding several principled issues, remained silent, but sometimes supported erroneous views and proposals.

Latvian CP CC bureau member candidates c. Pinkšis and Pizāns vacillated and often took the wrong position on many issues, especially those related to the implementation of the party's national policy.

Straujums, first secretary of the City of Riga party committee, did not act like a candidate for bureau membership. He is responsible for distortions of Leninist national policy committed by the City of Riga party organisation and violations of the principle of selecting and deploying party cadres."

This is how the Latvian CP CC bureau assessed the behaviour of individual bureau members and candidates. This assessment was fully supported by the Latvian CP CC VII Plenum.

The Latvian CP CC plenum session decision was perceived by all republic party organisations as completely correct and timely, it received the support of all republic communists.

When discussing the results of the CC VII plenum in the primary organisations of the party and in meetings of active regions and cities of the party, many primary organisations of the party, as well as of some region parties, actively adopted decisions in which they asked the Latvian CP CC to consider the expulsion of Berklavs from the party, and hold responsible several other leading workers, including c. Pinkšis, Pizāns, Bisenieks, Krūmiņš, Straujums, and others who implemented nationalist policies or vacillated on many political issues.

After the VII Plenum, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, city committees and region committees of the party did important work to fulfil the decisions taken by the VII Plenum. On the basis of this decision, Berklavs was removed from the position of LSSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman, and later the CC bureau examined the issue of Berklavs behaviour, who after the plenum not only did not admit his mistakes and did not change his anti-party views, but continued to behave in a non-party way as before. Stubbornly refusing to see any of his political mistakes, Berklavs still continues the fight for his anti-party line. For this purpose, some nationalists were organised to speak in his defence. He began to appeal to dubious, non-partisan individuals. So, for example, Berklavs connected with the non-partisan Kins, received him several times in his summer home, talked with him about his views, and then wrote down these views and gave them to Kins; in addition, some information is secret and cannot be disclosed.

Kins, in turn, connected with political adventurer Baumanis. Using Berklavs' materials and advice, they wrote letters to the editors of "Pravda" and "Cīņa" newspapers in which they defended Berklavs, expressed anti-Soviet fictions about the activity of the Latvian CP CC, slandered the Soviet apparatus and the people of our country as well as communists and Soviet state employees. Kins also sent these letters to some regions of the republic.

The nature of K. J. Baumanis and A. J. Kins can be seen from the following.

During the German fascist occupation of the Latvian SSR, Baumanis served in the German army, but later in February 1945, he was recruited as an agent of the German intelligence service and fulfilled its tasks to find Soviet partisans. In 1950, Baumanis was arrested and sentenced to 10 years in prison; he was released from prison after an amnesty in 1955.

A. J. Kins, being thoroughly imbued with bourgeois-nationalist sentiments, together with Baumanis, invented all sorts of lies about the reality of the Soviets. And Berklavs called these people his comrades and friends in letters addressed to them.

The Latvian CP CC took a decision in which it is considered impossible for Berklavs to be in the ranks of the CPSU in the future and raised the issue of Berklavs' expulsion from the party in the CPSU CC Party Control Commission as he is not listed in the party register.

Based on the decision of the VII Plenum that showed vacillation on many issues, especially those related to the implementation of national policy in the republic, chairman of the Republic Council of Trade Unions of Latvia c. Pinksis is removed from his position.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee did serious work to strengthen the management of the editorial offices of the newspapers "Rīgas Balss", "Padomju Jaunatne", "Cīņa" and the magazine "Zvaigzne". For repeated political mistakes in the pages of these editions, c. Pizāns, Darbiņš, Kaugurs, and Blums are removed from their positions.

Also released from their positions are c. Čerkovskis (Deputy Minister of Culture) and Mūkins (Latvian SSR State Planning Commission Deputy Chairman) who made gross political mistakes of a nationalist nature.

In accordance with the decision of the VII Plenum, the Latvian KP CC inspected the work of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics.

It turned out that the director of this institute c. Dzērve, who had already expressed right-wing opportunistic, narrowly local ideas and proposals regarding the development of the national economy of the republic, systematically made right-wing opportunistic mistakes in his work. This appeared most clearly in the "Development perspectives of the national economy of the Latvian SSR" research programme, which was compiled by c. Dzērve, as well as in the

service report to the Latvian KP CC "On the issue of labour resources in Latvian SSR agriculture", submitted by Institute of Economics Deputy Director c. Treijs.

The "programme" distorted the Marxist-Leninist principles and methodology of socialist planning; right-wing opportunistic and nationalist tendencies and directions against the development of heavy industry in the republic appeared. This "document" focused on the one-sided and nationally limited development of the republic's economy. The "programme" essentially ignored the CPSU XXI Congress' decisions on the means and methods of creating the material and technical base of communism – solving the main economic task of the USSR. It is necessary to tell the delegates of the congress that this programme was prepared without the knowledge of the Party CC and the Council of Ministers of the republic.

It is not difficult to see that the implementation of such incorrect positions, as outlined in the "Research Programme", would cause great harm to the development of the national economy of the USSR in general, would disorganise the economy of the Republic of Latvia, and disrupt the long-established relations of the national economy of the republic with other regions of the USSR, as well as the expanded socialist internal proportions of the farm dictated by the objective laws of reproduction in the republic itself.

In the service report, which was submitted to the LCP CC, it was unjustifiably claimed that there are no free labour resources in Latvian agriculture that could be used for the development of other sectors of the national economy, and it was shown that it is impossible to move labour from kolkhozes to industry in the future.

In this, c. Dzērve tried to create a "theoretical" basis for the right-wing opportunistic and nationalist positions of several leading workers of the republic, which were condemned by the VII plenum of the Latvian CP CC.

As a result of the serious mistakes of a right-wing opportunistic and nationalist nature, the Latvian CP CC bureau released c. Dzērve from the position of director of the Institute of Economics and warned him that if he makes political mistakes of a similar nature, the issue of his party affiliation will be decided.

The Latvian CP CC inspected the work of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Culture. The inspection revealed that the ministry and its head c. Kalpiņš has allowed serious shortcomings and political mistakes of a nationalistic nature in recent years.

Because of the political mistakes of a nationalistic nature and mistakes in the management of the practical activities of the republic's cultural institutions, the Latvian CP CC bureau gave c. Kalpiņš a stern reprimand with an entry in the record and warned him that if he does not actively fight against the tendencies of national isolation in the activity of art

institutions and does not correct serious deficiencies in the work of the ministry, then he will be removed from his position and his party affiliation will be questioned.

It is necessary to say that not all of our cadres have drawn the correct conclusions from the Latvian CP CC VII plenum decision. Due to a lack of political maturity, which was shown already after the plenum, the party CC bureau was forced to fire the CC's propaganda and agitation department deputy head c. Valters.

The above-mentioned facts show that after the VII Plenum, the Latvian CP CC consistently corrects the shortcomings and mistakes that were made when nominating individual employees, getting rid of those who cannot cope with the assigned task, who do not justify the trust given by party organisations.

Undoubtedly, uncovering and eradicating major shortcomings and mistakes in work with cadres and in implementation of national policy will contribute to the strengthening of the organisation of the republic's party and the successful resolution of the tasks that have been set. The organisation of our party became even more cohesive, increasing its combat capabilities.

However, it would be a mistake to think that we do not have more shortcomings in our work with cadres, in the international education of workers.

The organisations of the republic's party must significantly improve the international education of workers. ...

Chapter 4

Suppression of the Latvian language.

Dictatorship of the Russian language

Excerpts from Latvian SSR Education People's Deputy Commissar P. Valeskalns' August 1940 report at the LCP regional and district committee secretaries meeting on the reorganisation of school work

[1940 August]

...

The teaching of religion has been dropped from the school curriculum.

In all school levels, starting with the 3rd grade of elementary school, compulsory Russian language and the teaching of Stalin's constitution has been introduced. There were various proposals for the introduction of the Russian language in schools. One was that Russian should be taught only from the 5th grade. Some teachers pointed out that teaching foreign languages earlier is not pedagogically sound. (Shout from the members: "That must have been Lieknis!") Now it has been decided that in Latvia, as well as in all other Soviet republics – Ukraine, Georgia, and elsewhere – the Russian language will be a compulsory subject from the 3rd grade. The study of Stalin's constitution in the Soviet Union is a subject of study in the 7th grade. The All-Union Constitution, supplemented by the Latvian Constitution, will be taught in the Latvian school curriculum. ...

Abrene [gymnasium] and Daugavpils II gymnasium were transformed into secondary schools with Russian as the language of instruction because the majority of students in these schools are of Russian nationality. Likewise, several schools of Latvians and mixed nationalities (also with Latvian as the language of instruction) have been converted into schools with Russian as the language of instruction. This raises a question that needs to be discussed. I have requested instructions from Moscow in this matter, but have not yet received a reply. The question is: whether to require mandatory Latvian language teaching in schools of other nationalities as well. This question is still not clear to me. (Cries: "No need!")

In Riga and Latgale, schools are organised with Belarusian as the language of instruction. Non-national schools with a very small number of students - for example, Estonian

schools with 20-30 students - will not be able to continue in the future. It is planned to leave only those schools of other nationalities where the number of students is sufficient. ...

LVA, PA-101. f., 2. apr., 7. l., 16., 17. lp.

Submission by LSSR Council of People's Commissars Chairman A. Kirhenšteins to the LSSR Supreme Council Presidium on the use of languages

To the LSSR Council of People's Commissars

16 September 1940

Noting that according to Article 25 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, decisions taken by the Latvian SSR Supreme Council must be announced in Latvian and Russian, the Supreme Council Presidium asks the Council of People's Commissars to instruct individual commissariats to present draft laws and decrees in both languages, instead of only in Latvian, as it was practiced until now, and which burdens the Supreme Council Presidium Secretariat with translation work and unnecessarily delays the announcement of laws and decrees.

In addition, the Supreme Council Presidium requests that the drafts to be submitted include a review by the People's Commissariat Justice Codification Department for both Latvian and Russian texts.

LVA, 270. f., 1. apr., 7. l., 81. lp.

Financial Commissariat Budget and Credit Department head V. Bastjānis' 15 October 1940 telegramme to authorities requesting documents be sent in Russian

“Due to preparation of the draft budget for 1941, we ask you urgently, today by 14:00, to send the People's Commissariat of Finance, in Russian, an overview of funds and capital at your institution's disposal.”

1. LVA, 327. f., 1. apr., 660. l., 6. lp.

**LSSR Council of People's Commissars Secretary V. Yemelyanov's 10
January 1941 instruction to the People's Commissariat of Finance on use of
the Russian language**

“... In the future, all submissions and attachments must be translated into Russian because financial matters will be handled by member Bastins (from Moscow), who does not speak Latvian.”

LVA, 327. f., 1. apr., 660. l., 27. lp.

**Jēkabpils County War Commissar 2nd rank Intendant Krasnov's 7
December 1940 statement to the County Executive Committee**

“Please conduct all correspondence in service matters with the Jēkabpils County Military Commissariat in Russian.”

LVA, 1287. f., 1. apr., 59. l., 98. lp.

**Latvian C(b)P Central Committee bureau 7 December 1944 decision "On
learning the Russian language by the Latvian SSR party, Soviets,
Komsomol, trade unions, and intelligentsia**

Latvian C(b)P Central Committee bureau

7 December 1944

Decision

**On learning the Russian language by the Latvian SSR party, Soviets, Komsomol, trade
unions, and intelligentsia**

1. To introduce party, Soviet, Komsomol, trade union cadres, and intelligentsia more deeply to the practice of building socialism, to the history of the great Russian people, its culture and literature, as well as to further strengthen fraternal cooperation with the Russian people and all the peoples of the Soviet Union - the

Latvian C(b)P Central Committee considers it necessary to widely organise work so that the party's active members and intelligentsia learn Russian.

2. Require the Latvian C(b)P district committees, city committees, and region committees, the Trade Union Central Council, and the LCYS CC to carry out extensive explanatory work on the extremely important importance of learning Russian.
3. Entrust the organisation of Russian language learning to city trade unions with the responsibility of city trade union councils and in rural areas to the departments of public education, which must organise this work together with the Latvian LCYS district and city committees.
4. Recommend to the Trade Union Central Council (comrade Putniņš) and the People's Commissariat of Education (comrade Strazdiņš), no later than 1 January 1945, to organise Russian language courses in company clubs, district and township community centres, as well as in secondary schools without interrupting processes; organise lessons 2-3 times a week for 3 hours.
5. Instruct the People's Commissariat of Education to draw up and send study plans and programmes of Russian language groups and courses by January 1 and to prepare a Russian language textbook for publication within a month, but to the State Publishing and Printing Enterprises Administration, to publish it in separate editions by 15 January 1945, by February 1 - in a book. ...

7. Instruct Latvian C(b)P district committees, city committees, region committees, and primary party organisations who are learning Russian to provide control and daily assistance.

Latvian C(b)P CC secretary

J. Kalnbērziņš

Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars 16 May 1945 decision “About teaching the Russian language to those citizens who do not know Russian and are undergoing military training”

Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars

16 May 1945

Decision No. 466

About teaching the Russian language to those citizens who do not know Russian and are undergoing military training

The Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars decides:

1. To increase the combat readiness of Red Army reserves for citizens who are undergoing military training and who do not know Russian, establish a mandatory Russian language learning programme in the amount of 90 hours. Russian language learning to start everywhere on 1 June 1945.
2. Determine that the census of citizens involved in the compulsory learning of the Russian language, as well as their involvement in the learning of the Russian language in the field of general military training, is carried out by the war commissariats.
3. To instruct the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Education, executive committees of districts and cities:
 - a) to organise a network of schools at the military commissariat points of General Military Training for persons who need to be taught the Russian language;
 - b) in the network of schools of the People's Commissariat of Education, without interrupting the main activity, to organise the teaching of the Russian language for citizens in the countryside who have already completed military training;
Latvian SSR district war commissariats to provide comprehensive support to public education bodies;
 - c) equip the above-mentioned schools with the most qualified and experienced teachers and provide them with programmes and methodological instructions.

4. To instruct the Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars State Publishing and Printing Enterprises Department within 15 days to reissue the short Russian-language textbook General military training for combatants who do not know Russian in a circulation of 15 000 copies and to provide schools with stationery and send them to places after as instructed by the LSSR People's Commissar of Education.
5. In accordance with the appendix, to instruct the Latvian SSR People's Commissariat of Finance to provide in the local budgets for 1945 expenses for learning the Russian language for citizens undergoing military training, - 554 000 roubles.

Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars Chairman

V. Lācis

Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars Case manager

O. Stanke

LVA, 270. f., 2. apr., 50. l., 219., 219.^a lp.

**Excerpt from LSSR Defence, Aviation, and Chemical Industry Promotion
Society Central Council Chairman Eduards Kusins' speech at the LC(b)P
CC 13 June 1945 plenum**

... Kusins (the association led by him at that time also dealt with demining the territory of Latvia - J.R.):

... I must point out that the lack of Latvian literature is a major cause of accidents in demining operations. So, for example, such a responsible brochure as the demining instruction is published in Moscow in Russian, there is no way we can get it translated. Our attempts since November to have it translated have so far been unsuccessful. Our asset is Soviet youth deminers, the majority of whom do not speak Russian, and therefore the demining technique is difficult to explain to them. Instructors, Russian officers, who teach by demonstrating practically or by mimicry, cannot explain in Latvian. The guiding instructions and brochures are also in Russian, and young people cannot learn all the specifics of demining techniques when they go out into the field. Ignorant of many of the details of demining discipline, they are unaware of the dangers to which they are exposed through negligent conduct. For example, take

our institutions. Not all institutions send directives are in Latvian where it is necessary. They are sent in Russian to strictly Latvian townships. ...

LVA, PA-101. f., 7. apr., 5. l., 59., 60. lp.

**Latvian Communist (Bolshevik) Party Central Committee Bureau 7, 8
December 1944 decision “On Latvian SSR institutions, organisations, and
company employees who do not speak Latvian, learning Latvian”**

**About Latvian SSR institutions, organisations, and company employees who do not
speak Latvian, learning Latvian**

...

Present: § 14. About Latvian SSR institutions, organisations, and company employees who do not speak Latvian, learning Latvian.

Decided: § 14.

1. Taking into account that the lack of knowledge of the Latvian language by the employees of institutions, organisations, and companies is a serious obstacle in daily contact with the masses, knowing their needs and requests, the Latvian C(b)P Central Committee instructs the heads of institutions, organisations, and companies to organise for leading employees and employees who do not know the Latvian language, Latvian language learning.

At the same time, the Latvian C(b)P CC bureau believes that the most important duty of every party and Soviet worker is to learn the history of the Latvian SSR and the works of Latvian literature and art.

2. Establish the following procedure for learning the Latvian language:
 - a) no later than 1 January 1945, in large companies, people's commissariats, district institutions - district executive committees to organise Latvian language courses, as well as groups;
 - b) hold classes 2 times a week for 2 hours in the morning and in the evening, depending on working conditions.
3. To instruct the People's Commissariat of Education to prepare and send to localities lesson plans and programmes for Latvian language courses and groups by 1 January 1945, and to prepare a textbook for teaching the Latvian language by February 1, and to issue a textbook to the State Publishing House by March 1 for mass circulation.
4. To instruct the managers of companies, institutions and organisations to provide the necessary funds in the budgets to cover the expenses related to teaching the Latvian language to the employees of these companies, organisations, and institutions.

5. To instruct Latvian C(b)P county committees, region committees, and primary party organisations to provide control and daily assistance to those learning the Latvian language.

LVA, PA-101. f., 3. apr., 13. l., 64. lp.

**The Latvian Communist (Bolshevik) Party Central Committee bureau 31
July 1945 decision “On facts of ignoring national characteristics in the
work of some Soviet institutions and organisations”**

SECRET

Latvian C(b)P CC bureau decision
Minutes No. 122, § 5

**On facts of ignoring national characteristics in the work of some Soviet institutions and
organisations**

The Latvian C(b)P CC has information that shows that some county executive committees and other county organisations and institutions correspond with townships and village councils where Latvians and Latvian residents live and request them to submit reports, news, information, etc. only in Russian, regardless of the fact that a large part of the local population and employees speak Russian poorly or not at all.

On the other hand, there are facts that some republic, city, county, and township authorities write answers to workers' letters and complaints, various types of notices, inscriptions denoting organisation, institution, etc. names only in the Latvian language, not taking into account that a significant part of the population does not know the Latvian language or does not know it well.

The Latvian C(b)P CC bureau decides:

1. To condemn as politically incorrect the practice that has allowed the above-mentioned and similar facts of ignoring national characteristics in record-keeping in official correspondence of local council institutions and other sectors with citizens.
2. To recommend the Party's county committees and city committees and region committees, city, county, and region executive committees to check the existence of similar facts and immediately eliminate them.

3. Establish that:
 - a. the record-keeping of council bodies and institutions in township and village councils with Latvians and Latgalian residents must be done in Latvian and Latgalian;
 - b. written responses to workers' submissions and complaints to republic people's commissariats and institutions, all institutions and organisations of city, county, region, and village councils must be given in the language in which the workers have written their submissions and complaints;
 - c. various types of announcements, inscriptions on houses that denote the names of streets, companies, institutions and within them the names of sections, workshops, sectors – the surnames of leading employees must be written in Latvian or Latgalian depending on the national composition of the township, village council, district, and in Russian.
4. Recommend that the party's county committees, city committees, and region committees present this decision to all secretaries of party organisations, party organisers, heads of institutions, organisations, and enterprises.

Latvian C(b)P CC secretary

J. Kalnbērziņš

LVA, PA-101. d., 7. apr., 26. l., p. 239, 240. lp.

LCP CC bureau decision “On the implementation of the 31 July 1945 decision of the Latvian C(b)P CC bureau of the party's district committees, city committees, and region committees “On the fact of ignoring national characteristics in the work of some Soviet institutions and organisations””

2-3 November 1945

The Latvian C(b)P CC bureau points out that many county committees, city committees, region committees, and heads of people's commissariats and administrations have not given due political importance to the decision of the Latvian C(b)P CC bureau "On the fact of ignoring national characteristics by some Soviet institutions and in the work of organisations" and have limited themselves to introducing a narrow circle of leading employees and have not taken the

necessary measures to reveal and prevent the facts of ignoring national characteristics in the work of Soviet institutions, economic and public organisations. What's more, the heads of individual county committees and region committees, people's commissariats, and administrations do not even consider it necessary to introduce the above-mentioned decision to the responsible employees of their apparatus and the secretaries of the party's primary organisations.

At the same time, an inspection carried out by the Latvian C(b)P CC has established that the facts of gross disregard of the national characteristics of the local population continue to exist in Soviet institutions and companies. So, for example, Gaigalava Township executive committee sends out all its decisions in Russian only because the employee who draws up the minutes does not know the Latvian language well, but the village council executive committee chairmen do not know or have a poor command of Russian. The LSSR Health Protection People's Commissariat sends out instructions and orders to subordinate institutions only in Russian, despite repeated oral and written complaints about such an abnormal situation. In the enterprises of the city of Riga (Vagonbūves, Superphosphate factory, etc.), where more than 90% of workers and employees are Latvians and a large part do not speak the Russian language, orders, announcements, wall newspapers, etc. are written only in Russian.

The Latvian C(b)P CC decides:

1. To explain to all party county committees, city committees, and region committees, people's commissariats, republic administration heads and heads of organisations that ignoring national characteristics in the work of Soviets and other institutions is a serious shortcoming of enormous importance, and that the heads of party committees and institutions, who do not observe national characteristics in their work and do not fight against this practice, in essence, pour water into the mill of the enemies of the people - the bourgeois nationalists.
2. To request the Party's county committees, city committees, and region committees, people's commissariats and heads of republic administrations and organisations to adopt strict measures to prevent the facts of ignoring national characteristics in the work of institutions and enterprises, to submit to the Latvian C(b)P CC reports by 15 December 1945 on the implementation of the Latvian C(b)P CC decision of 31 July 1945.
3. To instruct the Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars (V. Lācis) to issue, in accordance with the Latvian C(b)P CC decision of 31 July 1945, a decision of the Council of People's Commissars on the order of record keeping in institutions and

enterprises, taking into account national characteristics, by sending it to all institutions and organisations and publishing it in the press.

4. To recommend to the Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars Cultural and Educational Institutions Committee (V. Āboltiņš) to organise a three-month translator course no later than 15 December 1945.
5. To instruct the heads of people's commissariats and departments to select and send suitable candidates for translator courses, who will be sent back to the institutions after completing the courses.
6. To demand from the party's county committees, city committees, and region committees, from the heads of institutions and companies to strictly implement the Latvian C(b)P CC bureau decision of 8 December 1944 on teaching the Latvian and Russian languages to leading employees and workers who do not know the Latvian language, and teaching the Russian language to party activists and intelligentsia who do not know Russian.

To instruct the party's county committees, city committees, and region committees, the People's Commissariat of Education and the Latvian SSR Trade Union Central Council to inform the Latvian C(b)P CC every month about the progress of Latvian and Russian language learning.

7. Take under advisement the Latvian C(b)P CC propaganda and agitation department statement that this November, the second part of the Latvian language textbook, chrestomathy, and Latvian language self-study book will be published.

LVA, PA-101. f., 7. apr., 18. l., 5., 6. lp.

Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars decision on work procedures

Secret, No. 1040

Riga, 4 November 1945

On work procedures in Latvian SSR institutions, companies, and organisations

The Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars notes that, despite repeated instructions, many people's commissariats, central institutions and organisations, executive committees of counties, cities, and townships grossly ignore the national characteristics of the local population in their work. So, for example, in many Riga companies (Vagonbūves,

Superphosphate factory), where more than 90% of all workers and employees are Latvians, a significant part of whom do not know Russian, orders, announcements, wall newspapers, etc. are written only in Russian. The authorised representative of the people's commissariat of sourcing and "Labības sāgāde" send employees who know only Russian (Cēsis district) to the state delivery points in places where the population is only Latvian. On many signboards in Riga, Russian names are written in Latvian letters.

Many county and township executive committees hold meetings, send decisions and answers to village executive committee requests in Russian, although many village executive committee chairmen do not know Russian well. ...

The Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars decides:

1. To impose on the Latvian SSR people's commissars, heads of administrations, heads of economic and public organisations, chairmen of the executive committees of counties, cities, townships and villages, the duty to check and clarify the facts when the institutions and organisations subordinate to them are allowed to grossly ignore national characteristics and to take the steps indicated for correcting and preventing violations.
2. To instruct the Latvian SSR people's commissars, heads of administrations, heads of central institutions and organisations to conduct work and correspondence with subordinate and local executive committees in Latvian and Russian. The work of council bodies and institutions in townships and village councils, where the inhabitants are Latvians or Latgalians, must be conducted in the relevant Latvian or Latgalian language. Different types of advertisements, inscriptions on buildings, which denote the names of streets, companies and institutions, but inside their names (departments, workshops, sectors, surnames of leading employees, etc.) must be written in Latvian or Latgalian, depending on the national composition of the township or village council, and in Russian.
3. To impose on all heads of institutions and organisations, chairmen of executive committees of counties, cities, and townships the obligation to receive visitors and to give answers to citizens' complaints and applications in the native language of visitors and complainants (Latvian, Russian).
4. To impose an obligation on heads of institutions and organisations and chairmen of executive committees, when staffing the institutions and organisations, especially in the periphery, to take into account the need to provide services to visitors in their

native language, especially for mass service, trade, medical, cultural and household services, etc. in institutions.

5. To impose on the heads of all institutions and the chairmen of the executive committees of the counties the duty to strengthen and systematically check the work and to ask the employees of the state apparatus to learn Latvian and Russian.
6. To impose on all people's commissars and heads of central institutions and organisations the obligation to fulfil without reservation Latvian SSR decision No. 511 of 25 May 1945 on submission of draft decisions to the Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars in Latvian and Russian (collection of decisions of the Latvian SSR 1945: 247).
7. To impose on the executive committees of counties and cities the obligation in places where there is a significant number of Russian citizens to designate the names of streets, institutions, and organisations in Latvian and Russian.
8. The Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars warns all leaders of republic institutions and organisations and chairmen of local executive committees that the facts of ignoring national characteristics will be considered political, as working hand in hand with the enemies of the people - bourgeois nationalists - and also demands from the leaders of republic institutions and organisations and the chairmen of the local executive committees to take certain steps to prevent the facts of gross ignoring of the national characteristics of the local population of the Latvian SSR.
9. To oblige the Main Literature Administration (V. Jaunzems) to comply with rules when issuing permits that printing of forms, posters, flyers, and other documents in printing houses can be printed in Latvian and Russian.
10. The Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars imposes on the People's commissars, heads of administrations, and chairmen of executive committees the duty to discuss this decision at the meetings of the boards of people's commissariats, administrations, and executive committees and to implement it.

LVA, 270. f., 1. apr., 115. l., 153., 154. lp.

**Excerpt from J. Kalnbērziņš' speech at the 2nd City of Riga party
conference on 8-9 December 1945**

... In our Riga party organisation, I would say, there is a harmful habit, which has been condemned by the Central Committee several times. An opinion has emerged that party meetings should be held only in Russian, even when all present speak Latvian. This is motivated by the fact that our party workers seem to be used to expressing their thoughts more easily in Russian and that all documents (minutes, etc.) must be sent to the highest party bodies in Russian. ... But according to the decision of the Central Committee, all employees who do not know the Latvian language are obliged to learn it in order to more successfully implement their work with the masses.

**City of Riga Council of Workers' Deputies Executive Committee Decision
of 4 July 1946 “On inscriptions on signs and advertisements in the City of
Riga”**

SECRET

City of Riga Council of Workers' Deputies

Executive Committee

Decision No. 559-s

On inscriptions on signs and advertisements in the City of Riga

4 July 1946

The executive committee of the city of Riga points out that many state institutions, companies, and organisations distort the Latvian language on signs and inscriptions in public places or only use the initials of the institutions on the signs.

In many places, the inscriptions are only in Russian. Abbreviations of the names of institutions and companies adopted in Russian are written in Latvian, which makes it difficult for those who do not speak Russian to understand the names of institutions and causes many mistakes and misunderstandings.

In order to prevent such occurrences and in accordance with the decision of the Latvian SSR Council of People's Commissars No. 1040 dated 4 November 1945, the City of Riga executive committee decided:

1. Determine that all inscriptions in public places within the administrative boundaries of the city of Riga must be in Latvian.
2. Wherever there is a need, along with Latvian inscriptions, there must be inscriptions in Russian, but definitely in the following places:
 - a. all signs of public institutions and companies;
 - b. city signs for means of communication, stops, railway passenger and freight stations.
3. All inscriptions in Latvian and Russian must be: 1) sufficiently complete and understandable, 2) grammatically correct, 3) accurately translated in accordance with the Latvian SSR CPC 19 December 1945 decision No. 1167 and Latvian SSR CPC 5 June 1946 decision No. 480 “On Latvian language terminology and spelling”.

4. It is strictly forbidden to use the abbreviations of institutions adopted in Russian in the Latvian language. Abbreviations accepted in general use in the united republics are allowed in the Russian language.
5. All inscriptions in public places must be:
 - a. easy to understand;
 - b. artistically designed or printed (in block letters);
 - c. with the same text content in Latvian and Russian and with letters of the same size, which are located together or next to each other on the sign;
 - d. Latvian and Russian text is inserted in the same sign in the following way:
 - e. Latvian text must always be first, Russian text second.
 - f. If both texts are placed next to each other, Latvian text must be on the left.
6. To instruct all state institutions, companies, organisations, associations, owners of private workshops and shops located within the administrative boundaries of the city to remove signs and inscriptions in public places that do not comply with points 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this decision no later than by 25 July 1946 and replace them with appropriate new signs.
7. To entrust control over the implementation of this decision to the Chief Architect's Office of the city of Riga (comrade Tīlmanis), the Main Militia Office of the city of Riga (comrade Kisels), and the Public Works Department (comrade Zharkov).
8. Ask the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers to approve the decision and publish it in the press.

City of Riga Executive Committee Chairman

[A.] Deglavs

City of Riga Executive Committee Secretary

Kurpnieks

LVA, 1400. f., 1.^a apr., 11. l., 118., 119. lp.

Excerpt from LC(b)P Central Committee 29-30 May 1947

XVII plenum transcript

Secret

Latvian C(b)P Central Committee XVII plenum transcript

29-30 May 1947

Two issues were discussed in the said plenum:

1. On the results of spring sowing in the republic and preparation for harvesting.
Reporter A. Nikonov.
2. About work with cadres. Reporter F. Titov.

Some discussion material for Question 2 is published here.

...

Meeting leader: The floor is given to E. Kusins, Latvian C(b)P CC member.

Kusins. Comrade Titov's report shows that the situation with the national cadres in the periphery is not yet favourable.....

Taking into account the low number of members of the Latvian party organisation who came out of the underground ... the CPSU CC sent a large number of communists with a lot of practical experience in party and Soviet work to Latvia for permanent work. It can be said that the best of the best from the nations of the Soviet Union were selected, and they were mostly Russian cadres. It seemed that with the existence of such help for communist re-education, the mastering of the apparatus of the state soviets should have gone ahead with seven-mile steps, but the matter is moving forward more slowly than is necessary. All the accumulated Soviet work and party experience of those sent members does not get to the Latvian working people with full dedication. Despite the directives of CPSU CC and the repeated decisions of the Latvian C(b)P CC, they still do not learn the Latvian language, but if they do not learn, then they cannot provide real help in re-educating the population, they cannot involve the working people in the spirit of re-educating for socialist consciousness. But without this tool you will not get far and you will not understand bourgeois nationalism. Karl Marx, who never intended to be in Russia, nevertheless wanted to understand the Russian community and serfdom, and in order to learn the primary sources, decided to learn Russian - and learned it; we have his Russian outlines.

Comrade Stalin, a Georgian by nationality, forced himself to learn Russian in his youth when publishing the newspaper "Brdzola" and learned it brilliantly. Also, our members who have been sent to Latvia seriously and for a long time, maybe even for the rest of their lives, have to learn the Latvian language. Do they really think that they can sit quietly while national cadres grow, but it will take 5-6 years, no less, but Latvians can learn the language even within a year. When they withdrew from Latvia, a huge number of Latvians did not know Russian at all, but during the evacuation, they learned not only Russian, but also the Bashkir language.

Why? Everyday circumstances forced it. But they don't try here, even prominent senior employees who have to learn the language, despite the CC's decision, don't learn the language. They have even provided themselves with Russian secretaries, so that they are isolated in their environment and the sounds of Latvian do not enter. Looking at it, Latvian members also do not learn Russian, even those who have to learn it according to the CC decision. Comrade Vanags [Minister of Agriculture] and Tabaks [Minister of Finance] used to struggle with Russian, but they were not shy to speak and now they have learned Russian.....

The Latvian language is easy and cultural, it has rich literature, it is easier than the English language, but at the same time there are members who do not study Latvian, but study English.

From the audience: To go to England.

Kusins: This contradicts the directive to learn English, because in England they will not have to work so soon, but in Latvia it is necessary to work.

Let's talk openly. After the CC's decision on this issue, such statements by workers were visible - what the hell is Latvia for me, why should I learn the Latvian language, I was sent to the CPSU CC, etc. After that, he looked around, fell in love, went deeper, and now he has to learn, since he has been sent here. Rented a cottage for 5 years. He could have learned within a year (laughter). But then you can proceed further. The member does not consider himself a temporary, but a permanent (employee) and intends to work seriously and for a long time.

After a long absence, I arrived from Moscow. I familiarised myself with the course. I came, took a look, and thought that really, if the CC directive is implemented, there will be a preponderance of Latvians here. Nothing like that. The same Russian comrades are boiling in their own juices, digesting what they learned in Moscow. Everyone accumulates in such a way that there is no return.

Here, comrades, in 1918, when Soviet power was just beginning to strengthen, there was a huge mass of Latvian workers, Bolsheviki, who did not know Russian. But the members worked, followed the party directive, and learned Russian. Now, here in Latvia, following the same example, Russian comrades have been sent deep into Latvian counties and there, despite the party's instructions, they know nothing more than "bread" and "good", nothing more. So they work with another person, with the help of translators. You have to know the land, the customs and learn the language.

Kalnberziņš: It follows from his speech that employees who do not know the Latvian language arrived, separated themselves from the people, according to him, they are boiling in their own juices, but they do not give way to such honest people who know both Russian and

Latvian. ... I don't know how far it can go. I believe that in the situation in which we live, when local nationalists still influence the part of our people, the intelligentsia, the backward layers of workers and farmers, E. Kusun's speech is very harmful, it should be strongly condemned, and it should be recorded in the decision that such a speech by a candidate for a member of the CC is condemned.

LVA, PA-101. f., 10. apr., 7. l., 163., 164., 165., 166., 181/ lp.

E. Kusun's speech was strongly condemned by LK(b)P CC second secretary I. Lebedevs, LK(b)P CC ideological secretary A. Peļše, LSSR State Planning Committee chairman F. Deglavs, as well as several other speakers. Branding his speech as an "anti-party, bourgeois-nationalist speech", he was unanimously excluded from the plenum.

**LSSR Minister of Education K. Strazdiņš directive on not teaching the
Latvian language in Russian schools**

Latvian SSR Ministry of Education

Order No. 96

12 August 1950

To allow that children of the military personnel of the Soviet Army in primary, seven-year and secondary schools, as well as in workers' and rural youth schools and correspondence secondary schools of the Latvian SSR with Russian language instruction are not required to take Latvian language lessons.

In schools for workers and rural youth with Russian language instruction, in correspondence high schools with Russian departments, Latvian language learning should also be considered optional for persons who are in active military service.

Latvian SSR Minister of Education

K. Strazdiņš

LVA, 700. f., 4. apr., 28. l., 140. lp.

Excerpt from the LCP CC decision “On the implementation of the Latvian CP CC 30 October 1951 decision “On the state of Russian and Latvian language teaching in republic schools””

14 April 1953

... The Latvian CP CC bureau considers that the Ministry of Education of the LSSR and the party committees are unsatisfactory in fulfilling the 30 October 1951 decision "On the situation in the teaching of Russian and Latvian in schools of the republic". Public education bodies, individual party committees still do not appreciate the extreme importance of teaching the Russian language - the language of Lenin and Stalin - in the general development of the culture of the Latvian people....

The main cause of all these serious shortcomings in the teaching of Russian and Latvian is the lack of qualified literature teachers, unsatisfactory work in the preparation of teachers, raising their practical qualifications and ideological-theoretical level. Of 1553 Russian language teachers working in schools of the republic, only 320 people have higher education, while 425 people work with secondary pedagogical or general education. Out of 1311 teachers of the Latvian language, more than 400 people do not have relevant education. ...

The Latvian CP CC bureau decides:

1. To instruct the LSSR Ministry of Education (b. Samsons) to eliminate the shortcomings indicated in this decision in the teaching of Russian and Latvian languages in the schools of the republic and to ensure unconditional implementation of the Latvian CP CC bureau decision of 30 October 1951 "On the situation in the teaching of Russian and Latvian languages in schools of the republic".

To raise the scientific level of Russian and Latvian language teaching in schools of the republic. To improve the control of public education departments and school leaders of the teaching of languages in schools and to ensure pupils' fluency and deep knowledge of Russian and Latvian. By July 1, provide all schools of the republic with a regulation on a unified orthographic regime and ensure control of its implementation.

In order to raise the work qualifications of literature teachers, in the summer of 1953, in all regional teacher training institutes, organise training courses for 350 people. To organise Russian language teacher training courses for 75 people at the LSSR Ministry of Education. To engage the best students who graduated from the tenth grade of the republic's schools in 1953....

2. To instruct the LSSR Ministry of Education and the Printing Industry, Publishing and Book Trade Administration (c. Putniņš) to ensure the timely publication of Russian and Latvian language textbooks for the 1st and 4th grades, as provided for in the publishing house's 1953 plan, and their delivery to schools by the beginning of the school year. To finish writing the manuscript of the textbook on the history of Latvian literature by June 1 and for Latvian history by 15 December 1953.
3. To ask the USSR Ministry of Culture (c. Ponomarenko P.K.) to allow the increase in enrolment in the philology faculties of teacher and pedagogical institutes in the 1953-1954 school year to 375 people.
4. To instruct the district, city, and region party committees to vigorously improve the quality of Russian and Latvian language teaching in republic schools. Special attention should be paid to the teaching of the great Russian language, as the most important means of raising the culture of the Latvian people. Systematically discuss the issues of language teaching in the party's district, city, and region committee offices. To improve the work of political education of teachers.

LVA, PA-101. f., 16. apr., 21. l., 35., 36. lp.

In April 1952, the territory of Latvia was divided into three districts - Riga, Liepāja, and Daugavpils. In April 1953, this division was revoked.

**Excerpt from Latvian Communist Party City of Riga Committee Secretary
E. Berklavs' speech at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee
plenum on 22-23 June 1953**

... The situation is that about half of Riga's population is Latvian. In the last five months, the City of Riga committee's and the city's eight party district committees' rapporteurs have read a total of 8148 reports in companies and institutions; only 2410 of them were in Latvian.

The situation is even worse in the Lenin district where out of 508 papers read, only 118 were read in Latvian. About 600 Latvians work at the "Zasulauka manufaktūra" complex, but all political mass work is conducted only in Russian. Similar is the situation in "Sarkanā tekstilniece", "Sarkanais rīts", in the spare parts mechanical factory, and elsewhere.

In May the situation in the city has worsened, of 1010 papers read, only 243 were read in Latvian. The same is true of lectures, which was already discussed by c. Kalnbērziņš. About 20 000 agitators work in Riga of which only 8000 work in Latvian.

What the real situation is, how incorrectly we have worked, can be seen even more clearly when looking at individual factories and companies.

Here are two examples. I will not take the factories where the situation is the worst, but I will show two of our biggest factories, "VEF" factory and Riga Wagon Factory.

Of all employees of VEF, Latvians are 49.8%, but of 879 papers and lectures read this year, only 203 or less than one fourth were read in Latvian. There are 73 political groups in the factory of which only 30 are in Latvian. Agitator seminars, all instructional meetings, almost all general meetings of workers, either at the entire factory level or in separate workshops, all meetings with the director and chief engineer, all party, trade union, and Komsomol meetings are held only in Russian; all Directorate orders and reports are also written only in Russian. With the existence of such work, of course, it is not surprising that Latvians make up only one fifth of VEF's 510-strong party organisation. In the Riga Wagon Factory, of 214 communists, Latvians are only 28 or 13%. The Riga Wagon Factory party organisation has not accepted a single Latvian worker or engineering employee in its ranks since October 1952. ...

LVA, PA-101. f., 16. apr., 9. l., 299. lp.

Excerpts from LCP Daugavpils City Committee secretary E. Mūkins' speech – on the Russification of the eastern regions of Latvia – LCP CC 22-23 June 1953 plenum

...

A particularly intolerable situation arose in many districts of Latgale, which were wrongly considered to be Russian districts. In many of these districts there were either no or very few natives in positions of responsibility; local employees left for Riga. Due to this, political work among the population in the districts of Latgale was and is at a low level. The biggest mistake should be considered the fact that in most kolkhozes, the chairmen are not local people, but migrants who do not speak the language of the local people. This is one of the reasons for the backwardness of many kolkhozes in Latgale.

...

It cannot be said that critical voices against the distortions of national politics have not been raised in the republic. Such voices were there, but we did not listen to them. On the contrary, such speeches were received very unfavourably, they were qualified as an expression of bourgeois nationalism.

I will give an example. In one of the Latvian CP CC plenums, it was, it seems in 1948, comrade Ozoliņš, the editor of "Cīņa" at that time, who pointed out that the party's Aizpute and [City of Riga] Lenin district committee was doing wrong by organising all agitation and propaganda in Russian. He expressed the idea that Soviet and party workers should know the local language, and those who do not know the language should learn it. But this correct thought did not find support, it was condemned.

LVA, PA-101. f., 16. apr., 9. l., 141., 142. lp.

**Excerpts from LCP CC Propaganda and Agitation Unit head J. Avotiņš’
speech – on ignoring the Latvian language – LCP CC 22-23 June 1953
plenum**

... When correctly selecting cadres according to their political and business characteristics, we often ignore the national or linguistic moment in the selection of cadres, as if by eliminating classes, national characteristics were also eliminated. Therefore, in our practical work, it turned out that it makes no difference whether there is a person at the head of the institution who knows the language of the local population or not. If we also take into account the fact that we were afraid that we would be called nationalists if we placed Latvians in all leading positions, then it will be clear why there were so many members in leading positions who do not know the Latvian language, the customs of the Latvian people, and their way of life. The same explains why in almost all of our institutions, the work was conducted not in Latvian, but in Russian.

In this same hall, however, it was reprimanded (albeit by comrade Kalnbērziņš) that it is necessary to stop talking about the fact that our political work among the working people of Latvians should be done in the Latvian language, that this is not done in many Riga companies and kolkhozes. Comrade Kalnbērziņš was also undoubtedly afraid that some politically immature communist would call him a nationalist if he supported such speeches. But the propagandists drew the conclusion from this that in the future there is no need to talk about the

language issue in propaganda anymore, that it is necessary to be satisfied with the situation as it is. Now it can be seen that such a position was wrong.

... The neglect of the Latvian language was so great that in the last session of the City of Riga Council of Workers' Deputies, even a Latvian who knows his mother tongue well made speeches in Russian. ... Even c. Straujums did not read the decision of the session in Latvian, although he knows it well.

Lately, solemn meetings were also not held in Latvian, although our esteemed members Jānis Ostrovs, Kārlis Ozoliņš, Arvīds Pelše gave presentations.

....

Excerpt from the LCP CC 22-23 June 1953 plenum decision “On major shortcomings and mistakes in political work, management of economic and cultural construction in the Latvian SSR”

“Abolish the administration of records in non-Latvian language in all Latvian SSR party, state, and public organisations. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, CC bureau, and Latvian Communist Party plenum meetings, as well as meetings of the party's city and region committees and the executive committee of workers' deputies should be held in Latvian.”

LVA, PA-101. f., 16. apr., 9. l., 46. lp.

In answer to the question: "How to hold meetings and plenums if not all secretaries speak Latvian?", J. Kalnbērziņš explained:

"There is only one way out - replace secretaries who do not know the Latvian language. All meetings and procedures must be conducted in Latvian. But the members who stay to work and do not know the Latvian language must learn the Latvian language, no matter how difficult it is, but it must be overcome and the Latvian language must be learned.”

LVA, PA-101. f., 16. apr., 9. l., 199. lp.

**Latvian SSR Council of Ministers State Security Committee Deputy
Chairman J. Ziediņš’ top-secret special report to Council of Ministers
Chairman V. Lācis on the results of the investigation into the case of the
Zosēni school pupils’ letter**

29 September 1954

Received on 12 April 1954, an anonymous letter addressed to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman c. V. Lācis, postmarked "Priednieki", with the following content:

"Welcome!

Greetings to Vilis Lācis from the Zosēni seven-year school Komsomol youth.

Submission

We ask you to answer the following question: why are all educational aids and cards in the LSSR only in Russian? Why have the exams in the Latvian language for Russians been eliminated, they do not need to be taken, but the [exam] in Russian has to be taken by Latvians?

We are not at all clear about this, especially since the Constitution explains that all citizens have equal rights.

So the rights are not equal. Even in Latvia, Russians are the ruling nation. We would also like maps and visual aids to be in the native language.

We are waiting for an answer."

This anonymous letter in April 1954 from LSSR Council of Ministers was forwarded to the LSSR MP State Security Committee.

The anonymous letter was written in Latvian, in quick, sloppy handwriting, however, the address on the envelope was written in well-developed handwriting.

During the investigation, it was established that the author of the anonymous letter is:

Kovaļenoka Eleonora Antons' daughter, born in 1939 in Malta district, [no party affiliation], Latvian, with 7th grade education, not working anywhere, living in LSSR Zosna, region.

During the interrogation, Kovaļenoka confessed to be the author of the anonymous letter and testified about the reasons that prompted her to write the anonymous letter:

"... before the exams at school, I began to reread the USSR Constitution and having learned it, I began to think about what great rights it gives and what obligations it imposes on all citizens, regardless of their nationality. But, remembering the fact that in our school's Latvian group, all maps and globes are in Russian, except for one map in Latvian for the whole school, ... all this seemed to me not the kind of equality that is written about in the USSR Constitution, but some kind of inequality, so I decided to write to the LSSR Council of Ministers ..."

Regarding the envelope, Kovaļenoka testified that she also wrote the address on the envelope herself, but Kovaļenoka could not explain which other person wrote on the envelope.

Further investigation revealed that the author of the envelope is:

Suhocka Aleksandra Jāzeps' daughter, born in 1926 in Malta region Bērziņš village, 7th grade education, CPSU member, works as the head of the postal communications department "Priednieki" in the LSSR Malta region.

During the interrogation, Suhocka A.J. confirmed that she really wrote the envelope to the LSSR Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

In this matter, Suhocka A. J. testified:

“...While sorting the letters to be sent, I found a letter with ugly writing, folded in a triangle, without a stamp and addressed to the Chairman of the LSSR Council of Ministers. In order to put the given letter in proper form, I decided to spread this letter out, and having determined by the handwriting that the letter was written by a student, I did not read it further. After putting the letter in a standard envelope, I stuck a stamp on it, wrote with my own hand the name of the addressee, i.e. Latv. Chairman of the Council of Ministers c. Lācis, name and sent the given letter to the addressee...”

We had a serious explanatory discussion with the author of the anonymous letter, Kovaļenoka E.A.

Latvian SSR Council of Ministers State Security Committee

Deputy Chairman

Ziediņš

LVA, 270. f., 1.s apr., 952. l., 45.-47. lp.

**Latvian Communist Party City of Riga Committee Organisation
Department Head A. Temnov's 29 November 1956 notice on a cadre who
serves the broader population, learning Russian and Latvian**

Secret

Latvian CP City of Riga committee office

NOTICE

on a cadre who serves the broader population, learning Russian and Latvian

The city party region committees, the primary organisations of the party, have done some work in selecting those cadres who serve broad sections of the population. In several companies and institutions, these personnel are completely managed by Latvians and Russians, which gives them the opportunity to culturally serve wide sections of the population in a language they understand.

So, for example, at the main post office in Riga, the absolute majority of service personnel speak Russian and Latvian.

An analogous situation exists in the Communal Bank, the Tram and Trolleybus Trust, labour savings banks, and several other city organisations.

However, the overall situation with the selection and deployment of personnel who serve broad sections of the population still remains unsatisfactory.

In many organisations, employees who are directly related to serving the population do not know two languages (Latvian and Russian), and therefore they do not have the opportunity to properly respond to the demands of employees.

So, for example, in the Riga Bread Trade Trust, of 350 employees, 60 people do not speak the Latvian language which causes legitimate complaints from the Latvian population. Of 60 store managers, 20 understand only Russian. Latvian language learning is not organised here.

In the Latvian republic office "Gastronom", of 360 people who work directly at the counter, 160 people do not speak Latvian. Work is currently starting here to prepare for teaching the Latvian language.

In the Republic Clinical Hospital, of 136 doctors - 41 barely understand Latvian, of 288 people of the average medical staff - 135 people barely understand Russian.

In Health Centre No. 4, of 280 employees, only 120 people speak two languages: Russian and Latvian.

Latvian language training is not satisfactorily organised in the 2nd Canteen and cafe trust, despite the fact that 20% of the employees do not know the Latvian language at all. Of 24 directors of canteens and cafes, only 6 people know Latvian and Russian.

There are major shortcomings in Latvian language training in the City of Riga Executive Committee.

So, for example, in the city planning section, of 21 workers, including 5 leading employees, 4 people do not know the Latvian language (deputy chairman, comrade Pchelincev, 3 section heads).

In local industry administration, 6 people do not understand the Latvian language, including the administration head comrade Putāns, the chief engineer comrade Kacmans, the heads of production and planning parts comrades Dmitriyev and Fuks, the work engineer, and others.

Of 21 district industrial plant and factory directors, 14 people speak Latvian; of 20 chief engineers – 8 people.

A bad situation exists with the requests by the population in their native language to militia bodies. The ignorance of the Latvian language of the vast majority of officers reflects on the results of operative or official work.

In some police departments, almost all operatives do not speak Latvian. So, for example, in the 5th militia department, of the entire operational staff, only one operational employee (investigator Lukjanskis) speaks Latvian; the officers of the department, the head of the department and his deputies, the majority of the officers of the stations do not know the Latvian language at all.

Department heads receive visitors, with few exceptions, only in Russian. Consideration of complaints received from citizens of Latvian nationality and responses to them are provided only in Russian, even in cases where the employee who examines such a complaint is fully fluent in the Latvian language (Militia Divisions 5, 10, 11).

Administrative minutes and some other violators' documents are also drawn up in Russian.

In the 10th police department, of 56 operatives and militia members, the majority (36 people) speak Latvian, but conversations, reports, meetings, and other political work are conducted here in Russian only.

The Moscow district executive committee does not pay the necessary attention to the selection and placement of cadres from the point of view of mastering two languages (Russian and Latvian) and Latvian language training of cadres serving broad sections of the population. In the nomenclature of the district executive committee, there are 14 school directors of whom 9 people do not speak Latvian; 9 people do not speak Latvian of 10 heads of kindergartens, therefore all child-rearing work is carried out only in Russian.

The situation is not better with the composition of party organisations either. Due to insufficient work with cadres of the local nationality, the majority of party organisation members are predominantly Russian.

So, for example, in the organisation of the Riga party telegraph, only one of 27 people is Latvian. In the City of Riga 1st Industrial goods trade trust, of 49 communist party members, only 5 are Latvian.

A small percentage of Latvian communists are in the republic hospital, the 2nd canteen and cafe trust, the public works administration, and elsewhere.

A big disadvantage is also the fact that in several collectives, which serve wide sections of the population, political work is mainly carried out in Russian.

So, for example, despite the fact that over 50% of employees of Latvian nationality work in the local industry administration, all work is done only in Russian, including production meetings.

In the Riga Telegraph collective, 25% of employees are of Latvian nationality, but here, as a rule, they consider it necessary to conduct reports and discussions only in Russian. In 1956, only 3 negotiations were held - and all in Russian. The wall newspaper is published in Russian. Such a situation shows that there are still major deficiencies in the selection, deployment, and training of cadres serving large sections of the population.

In many organisations, Russians who do not speak the Latvian language are in leading positions, which causes certain difficulties in communicating with the local population.

So, for example, in Riga Telegraph: the head of the Telegraph, the secretaries of the party and Komsomol youth organisations, the chairman of the local committee, the chief engineer, the heads of 4 units - all are Russians who do not know the Latvian language.

In the 1st State Clinical Hospital, there are only 70 local nationals among 210 senior staff.

In several organisations, they do not pay attention due to the consideration of employee complaints and submissions. Answers to complaints are mainly written in Russian.

For example, in the 1st Clinical hospital, answers to complaints and submissions are provided only in Russian because the manager and his deputy in medical matters do not speak Latvian. Doctors and mid-level medical staff provide answers to Latvian patients' claims in Russian as the majority of employees do not know the Latvian language.

Due to lack of knowledge of the Latvian language, it is not rare when the needs of buyers are not met in several trade organisations.

So, for example, in the shop on Mārupes street 10, the seller of ready-made clothes could not satisfy the buyer's request in Latvian, and a complaint was received about her that "it is not worth talking to the sellers, because some of them do not understand the Latvian language".

There are two complaints about the failure to satisfy the customer's request in the native language at the Central Department Store. One of the proposals, which the buyers have written in the review book, is to put an inscription on the counter: in what language should the seller be addressed, so as not to waste time waiting in line. Another proposal recommends reorganising all service in the store in Latvian.

All these shortcomings are a consequence of the fact that among the cadres who serve wide sections of the population, Latvian language training is hardly organised and the importance of serving the population in a language they understand is not appreciated. Several

senior employees do not learn the Latvian language themselves and do not ask their subordinates to learn it.

As a shortcoming, it should be noted that due to the weak work of collective education, nationalistic sentiments appear in several cases.

So, for example, in the city's 4th Food trade trust, there are cases when individual sellers who are fluent in Russian refuse to speak to buyers in Russian.

A big drawback is that Soviet trade technical school and culinary training schools do not pay the necessary attention to Russian and Latvian language training, as a result of which there are frequent cases when the graduates of these schools do not fully master two languages, and it is difficult for them to work in trade teams.

Party region committees and primary Party organisations of many enterprises and institutions do not pay required attention to the training of Latvian and Russian languages for staff who serve broad sections of the population.

Latvian Communist Party
 City of Riga Committee
 Organisational department head
 /A. Temnovs/

29 XI – 1956

LVA, PA-101. f., 14. apr., 12. l., 132.-137. lp.

**Latvian Communist Party City of Riga Committee bureau 30 November
 1956 decision “On Latvian and Russian language learning for staff serving
 broad sections of the population”**

Secret

30 November 1956

**On Latvian and Russian language learning for staff serving broad sections of the
 population**

(c. Berklavs, Temnov)

Guided by the CPSU 20th Congress decisions on the need to continue to observe the national characteristics of all nations and peoples of the USSR in the most careful way in their practical work, the leaders of the party's region committees, the primary organisation of the party, and several companies and institutions that serve wide sections of the population have done some positive work in this direction. They have begun to pay more attention to the selection and deployment of cadres, taking into account their Latvian and Russian language skills, which significantly improves service to the population in a language they understand.

At the same time, the party's city committee bureau notes that the general condition of the selection and deployment of cadres who serve broad sections of the population is still unsatisfactory. In a number of trade organisations, utility companies, medical institutions, militia bodies, and elsewhere, a large number of employees, who are connected to the vast masses of workers on a daily basis, speak only one language (Latvian or Russian), which causes inconvenience to the population and causes legitimate complaints. However, party region committee heads, the primary organisation of the party, the above-mentioned institutions, and companies have not taken the necessary measures to organise the cadres who serve broad sections of the population for Latvians and Russian language learning.

The Latvian Communist Party City of Riga Committee bureau decides:

1. To condemn the existing underestimation of the importance of serving broad sections of the population in a language they understand and the unsatisfactory organisation of Latvian and Russian language learning for those cadres who work with broad masses of working people on a daily basis.
2. To instruct party organisation secretaries, trade union organisation committee chairmen, managers of companies and institutions that serve broad sections of the population, and first of all trade organisations, utility companies, tram and trolley bus trusts, bus fleets, housing authorities, medical institutions, militia bodies (managers), starting from 1 January 1957, to organise the learning of Latvian and Russian languages so that they can learn these languages within two years.

For those persons who avoid training or who have not learned the languages within two years, the question of the possibility of using them in work related to the service of a wide strata of the population should be reconsidered.

Advise the managers of the above-mentioned companies and institutions to take into account Latvian and Russian language skills in addition to business and political qualities when hiring cadres.

Advise the managers of the above-mentioned companies and institutions, the chairmen of the committees of trade union organisations, to find the funds necessary to organise Latvian and Russian language learning.

3. To instruct the public education department head, comrade Gībietis, and the Party city committee school department head, comrade Lomonosov, to provide support to the heads of companies and institutions, first of all, to those who serve broad sections of the population, in organising Latvian and Russian language training and selecting instructors.

4. To instruct Party region committees, party primary organisations, trade union organisation committees chairpersons, and heads of companies and institutions among the employees of companies and institutions that serve broad sections of the population to carry out explanatory work on the need to learn Latvian and Russian.

5. To recommend that Party region committees provide assistance to party organisation secretaries and heads of companies and institutions in organising Latvian and Russian language training and ensure control over the implementation of this measure.

6. All units of the Party's city committee should be assigned control over the implementation of this decision.

LVA, PA-101. f., 14. apr., 8. l., 83.-84. lp.

**Latvian Communist Party Central Committee bureau 6 December 1956
decision “On Party, Soviet, and economic workers learning Latvian and
Russian”**

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee bureau decision

6 December 1956

On Party, Soviet, and economic workers learning Latvian and Russian

The Latvian CP CC bureau notes that the directives of the XX party congress and the repeated instructions of the CPSU CC on the need to strictly observe the Leninist principles of national policy, including taking into account national characteristics when working with the masses, are poorly implemented by many republic party organisations, councils, and economic bodies.

In many industrial enterprises of Riga, Liepāja, Jelgava, Ventspils, Daugavpils, and Rēzekne as well as kolkhozes, state farms, and MTS [machine and tractor stations] in some rural, especially eastern districts, almost all political, cultural and educational events are held only in Russian. Regardless of the national composition of the workforce, orders from company directors and heads of institutions and all kinds of announcements are also written only in Russian.

In almost all cities of the republic, especially in Rēzekne and Daugavpils, there are facts that the names of some streets and institution, company, shop, cultural and educational institution signs are written only in Russian.

Several republic ministries, such as the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Trade, some parts of the party, councils, and trade unions, which have daily contact with broad layers of the working people, ignore the Latvian language in their work.

In the Republic's Ministry of Light Industry, Domestic and Fuel Industry, Dairy and Meat Industry, Construction and Building Materials Industry, Ministry of Textile Industry, the best manufacturers' experience exchange literature as well as technical instructional and technical literature is published only in Russian.

The Republic's House of Science and Technology Propaganda House has not published any informational or technical leaflets in the Latvian language.

The Ministry of Local and Fuel Industry, as well as some all-Union subordinated companies which sell part of their production in the republic, print operating and servicing instructions for this or other equipment and machines only in Russian.

All these and similar displays of disrespectful treatment of the Latvian language cause dissatisfaction on the part of Latvian workers and give bourgeois nationalists a reason to incite national quarrels between Latvians and Russians.

However, party city committees and region committees and city and district councils of workers' deputies executive committees do not take the necessary measures to eliminate the mentioned shortcomings. They put up with the fact that many party, council, and trade union workers, leading employees of organisations, companies, state farms, MTS and institutions, who have been working for several years do not know the Latvian language and do not learn it.

At the same time, the CP CC bureau notes that parties, councils, trade unions, and Komsomol youth organisations have also neglected the task of organising Russian language training for local national cadres and the working people of the republic.

The Latvian CP CC bureau and Party city committees and district committees have consigned to oblivion the decisions made earlier in these matters and have not organised the control of their execution.

The Latvian CP CC bureau decides:

1. To condemn the gross violations of the Leninist principles of national policy mentioned in the decision as politically harmful as those that pour water into the mill of elements hostile to us, who contribute to fuelling national quarrels between Latvians and Russians.

To request the city committees, district committees, executive committees of the councils of workers' deputies, heads of ministries and companies, organisations, institutions, state farms, and MTS to urgently take measures to eliminate the mentioned shortcomings.

2. To instruct Party city committees and region committees, heads of institutional organisations, enterprises, state farms and MTS to organise Latvian and Russian language learning for those party, Soviet and economic workers who do not speak one of these languages.

No later than by 1 January 1957, Latvian and Russian language training courses should be organised in ministries and large enterprises as needed. Organise groups in institutions, organisations, companies, MTS, state farms.

Instruct the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education (c. Samsons) to prepare and send to the locations a study plan and programme for Latvian and Russian language training courses and groups by 1 January 1957.

Demand from party, council, trade union, Komsomol, and economic workers who do not know Latvian and Russian to learn the language of conversation in 2 years.

Instruct the LSSR Ministry of Culture (c. Ostrov) to organise Latvian language learning on the radio.

Instruct the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education (c. Samsons) and the LSSR Ministry of Culture (c. Ostrov) in the near future to prepare and publish textbooks for adult Latvian and Russian language training, dictionaries - conversational dictionaries in Latvian-Russian and Russian-Latvian.

Draw the attention of the party, councils, trade unions, and economic organisations to the fact that, when selecting and nominating cadres, one of the most important political and professional qualities should be considered knowledge of the Latvian and Russian languages.

3. In order to strengthen the unity and fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR, introduce party, council, trade union, Komsomol, and economic workers more deeply to the literature, art, traditions and everyday life of the Russian and Latvian people and consider it the most important duty of these workers to get to know the best examples of Russian and Latvian literature and art and the history of these nations.
4. To instruct the party's city committees, region committees, and primary organisations to stop ignoring the Latvian language while carrying out political, cultural and educational work among Latvians.

To strengthen groups of lecturers, agitator collectives with such people who are not only able to carry out political work among the population, but also master the Latvian language, and in addition, in Latgale, the Latgalian dialect. To organise the collective work of artistic self-activity in such a way that they can perform both in Latvian and in Russian, where there is such a need.

When organising demonstrable agitation, make sure that slogans, posters, plaques, indicators of socialist competition are in Latvian as well as in Russian where there are Latvian and Russian workers and collective farmers. Newsletters, leaflets, wall newspapers are also published in two languages.

5. To instruct party, council, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organisations, when holding meetings and discussions, as a rule, to organise the translation of reports, reports, speeches, decisions, and resolutions into both languages - Latvian and Russian.
6. To instruct the Republic ministries of industry and the House of Science and Technology propaganda to issue literature for the exchange of work experience of production innovators, technical instructional, and technical literature in Latvian and Russian.
7. To instruct the Party's city committees, region committees, and city and district executive committees to take measures so that the employees of transport, militia, trade organisations, communal and household service companies, cultural and educational institutions, and medical workers who meet with broad sections of

working people on a daily basis, definitely master two languages - Latvian and Russian.

Demand from the managers of the mentioned organisations, companies, and institutions to create appropriate conditions for employees to learn Latvian and Russian.

8. Recommend to the Latvian SSR Ministry of Culture (c. Ostrovs):
 - a) to find the necessary means to publish district newspapers in Malta, Dagda, Zilupe, Krāslava regions in two languages - Latvian and Russian.
In the near future, submit relevant proposals on this issue to the Latvian CP CC;
 - b) to request that the USSR Ministry of Culture reorganise one Riga radio station for broadcasting completely in the Latvian language. In order to improve Latvian music and song transmissions, restore the Main Radio Information Administration choir, which was liquidated in 1953.
 - c) To ensure that the programmes of away concerts and those of other brigades, which are sent from Riga as well as from other cities to the regions, include Latvian- and Russian-language performances.
9. Considering that in Daugavpils and Daugavpils region the region city newspaper is published only in Russian, but that there is a large percentage of Latvian residents in the city and region, and that the city also houses a Pedagogical Institute, to request the CPSU CC to allow publication of another region city newspaper in Latvian in Daugavpils and Daugavpils district .

**LSSR Ministry of Agriculture Cadre Department prepared list of directors
and key specialists who do not speak Latvian**

List of directors and key specialists who do not speak Latvian

Name	Surname, name, father's name	Position	Knows how to speak Latvian
Bēne	Melnik G. I.	director	no
	Novak D. A.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Gorohov Mihails J.	head engineer	- // -
	Shestakov V. J.	head accountant	- // -
Īslīce	-	director (vacancy)	-
	Vladimirskiy V. N.	head zootechnician	no
	Novikov V. N.	head agronomist	- // -
	Novikova A. D.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Glazdin B. M.	head engineer	- // -
Mežotne	Stabnikov P. S.	director	no
	Švarcbeins J. B.	head accountant	- // -
Rundāle	Starikov J. B.	director	no
	Perishkina M. N.	head zootechnician	- // -
	Zjabrev S. A.	head agronomist	- // -
	Anisimova A. G.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Laboda S. A.	head engineer	- // -
Uzvara	Kuznecov M. R.	director	no
	Kuznecov V. D.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Tolstenko J. P.	head engineer	- // -
	Mihailov I. S.	head accountant	- // -

Glūda	Stulova Nina Gr.	head zootechnician	no
	Kozlov S. N.	head agronomist	- // -
	Antohin N. F.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Ivanov D. A.	head accountant	- // -
Dobele	Provotorov J. F.	director	no
	Fomenko G. V.	head zootechnician	- // -
	Molchanov I. A.	head agronomist	- // -
	Belayev F. P.	head engineer	- // -
	Grachev I. I.	head accountant	- // -
Ābeļi	Yakovleva G. A.	head zootechnician	no
	Kochanov J. V.	head agronomist	- // -
	Cvetkova V. N.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Kuravin I. K.	head accountant	- // -
Istra	Petrovski I. N.	director	no
	Lukyanov A. N.	head agronomist	- // -
	Mikhailov P. N.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Lazarev V. A.	head engineer	- // -
	Rukša N. I.	head accountant	- // -
Komunārs	Petrov V. F.	director	no
	Muratov A. V.	head zootechnician	- // -
	Ņeshchadin A. V.	head agronomist	- // -
	Sinicin L. M.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Sovbo T. S.	head engineer	- // -
Kaunata	Yakovlev N. I.	director	no
	Kravchenko I. I.	head veterinarian	- // -
	Gedercev V. A.	head engineer	- // -

	Aksenov N. D.	head accountant	- // -
Saliena	Chaban G. S.	director	no
	Davidov J. A.	head agronomist	- // -
Jugla	Zhukov M. N.	director	no
	Svechkova	head zootechnician	- // -
	Shemonajeva J. J.	head veterinarian	- // -
Austrumi	Bondur G. F.	head zootechnician	no
	Alekseyev N. A.	head engineer	- // -
	Bogdanov Z. N.	head accountant	- // -
	-	head veterinarian (vacancy)	- // -
Gauja	Makarovs I. M.	director	no
	Udaltsov V. A.	head zootechnician	- // -
	Polovoy P. F.	head engineer	- // -
	Vavilov P. I.	head accountant	- // -
Daugava	Ñefedov N. M.	director	no
	Chaiko G. A.	head zootechnician	- // -
	Yakovlev V. M.	head agronomist	- // -
	Bogdanov V. D.	head engineer	- // -
	Kuznecov P. J.	head accountant	- // -

Cadre Department Deputy Director

J. Ķīsis

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**Excerpt from the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers 6 May 1959 decision
“On the situation of cadres in Latvian SSR Ministry of Communications
and work improvement measures”**

Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

Decision No. 261

6 May 1956

**On the situation of cadres in Latvian SSR Ministry of Communications and work
improvement measures**

...

Despite the fact that about 90 percent of the workers in the Latvian SSR Ministry of Communications system are Latvians and they, according to their duties, have to serve many layers of the population, a significant part of the managers and engineering employees do not know the Latvian language and do not show the proper desire and perseverance in learning it, which creates difficulties in their work with service to collectives and the population.

In the Latvian SSR Ministry of Communications, a significant number of managers and engineering employees do not know the Latvian language. Of 226 workers at Riga Telegraph, 144 employees do not speak Latvian, including Telegraph chief comrade Samarin, chief engineer comrade Mikutel, cadre instructor comrade Gobanovska, and 95 telegraph operators.

A similar situation exists in many other Riga communication companies.

Latvian is not spoken by many heads of district and communications offices (Valmiera – comrade Kalugin, Balvi – comrade Sorokin, Jelgava – comrade Shatayev, Riga – comrade Starchikov, etc.), but out of eight heads of line engineering units, only three speak Latvian.

There are 241 Latvians of 261 working in the Valmiera line engineering unit, while the head of the unit, comrade Guryanov, engineer comrade Pakulsh, and several other leading junction workers do not know the Latvian language. A similar situation exists in the Valmiera region communications office.

Latvian language learning takes place formally; groups are organised, but the classes are held irregularly and with very low participant attendance. Moreover, a significant number of employees are not involved in learning the Latvian language at all (telegraph – 39 people, Riga telephone network – 25 people, Riga post office – 15 people). Such a state has a negative impact on production work and collective education.

...

In order to eliminate the mentioned shortcomings in the work with cadres in the Latvian SSR Ministry of Communications, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers decides:

1. To consider the Latvian SSR Ministry of Communications' most important task to be the provision of knowledge of Latvian and Russian languages to highly qualified specialists of communications institutions with higher and secondary technical education as well as to management staff and public service personnel.

...

LVA, 270. f., 3. apr., 20. l., 27., 28., 29. lp.

Excerpt from the LSSR Supreme Council Presidium 4 June 1959 decision on neglecting the Latvian language

Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium decision about negligent presentation of official documents, names of institutions and companies, advertisements, and goods in Latvian

Riga, 4 June 1959

The Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium states that government institutions and companies often irresponsibly and carelessly prepare decisions and other documents in the Latvian language, which hinders the correct understanding and implementation of these decisions and documents in life

Considering the above, the Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium instructs:

- 1) All institutions, companies, and organisations in the republic prepare lists of documents and advertising, company, and product names in correct Latvian language, meeting the cultural requirements of the people.
- 2) Militia authorities should gradually exchange incorrectly and sloppily prepared passports and other documents issued by these authorities with documents in correct language and carefully written.
- 3) The Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature shall closely connect with state, public, and economic organisations existing in the

republic and vigorously influence the practical use of the language in the direction indicated in this decision.

Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium Chairman

K. Ozoliņš

Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium Secretary

/K. Gailis/

LVA, 290. f., 1. apr., 5267. l., 8. lp.

Excerpt from CPSU CC Commission head Lebedev's report "On the results of the CPSU CC Commission check" at the Latvian Communist Party Central Commission bureau meeting on 20 June 1959

Comrade Lebedeva (PSKP CC Commission) report transcript, Latvian CP CC bureau 20 June 1959

On CPSU CC Commission check results

Comrade Lebedev

For the sake of the cause, it is necessary that those cadres who work in the national republic learn and know the national language, no decisions are needed for this. However, the Latvian Party CC and the City of Riga Party Committee stood for a categorical demand on the issue of the road as mandatory, but this means forcing people to learn the language, forgetting V.I. Lenin's clear and definite instructions on this issue.

All Latvian local organisations perceived the CC and City of Riga party committee decisions as a direct directive to replace non-national cadres in the party and council bodies, and the ministries and departments began to forcefully implement these directives, which caused confusion and indignation among many employees.

The Latvian Party CC and City of Riga Party Committee decisions on language learning, to a certain extent, undermined the nationalist elements and caused losses in the strengthening of friendship between nations.

The further history of this case is that after the Latvian CP CC decision on language learning, a new explanation of this issue began, and this time a statement from the CC propaganda and agitation department was sent to city party committees and region committees, which generally underlined that many leading employees have not yet learned the Latvian language and that it seems to cause the dissatisfaction of part of the population.

In the local party organisations, the said statement was received quite clearly. The Latvian Party CC line on the replacement of non-national cadres followed.

In the last two or three years, issues of a national nature, as members of the bureau know, were raised too strongly in many party conferences and plenums, especially in Riga.

However, those communists who raised this issue from party positions were not listened to, their signals were not responded to.

The Latvian Party CC bureau could not help but see the increase in unhealthy sentiments and the improper behaviour of certain leading employees.

The need to replace leading cadres with people who know Latvian and Russian is discussed in several Latvian CP CC decisions, City of Riga party committee and some district party committee decisions, orders of many ministries and departments, and in repeated speeches of some Latvian CP CC members.

Such a constant demand for mandatory language learning and the demand to replace non-native staff naturally created insecurity and nervousness at work for a significant part of the staff. In October 1958, at the Latvian Party CC plenum, when discussing the issue of work with cadres, the need to replace non-national cadres was underlined again.

Pursuant to this instruction, the Riga Moscow District Party Committee bureau, on 24 May 1959 when making a decision on the selection, training and placement of cadres in railway transport, recommended to the head of the railway and company managers in cases where engineers, technicians, and workers are dismissed from work, to put specialists of local nationality in these positions, as a rule. It is very characteristic that such a decision was taken, despite the fact that 41.8% Latvians and 58.6% non-nationals work in the leading positions of the railway. In other words, there was no need to pose the question that way.

On 19 September 1958, the City of Riga Party committee, considering the issue of work with cadres in the city's health protection department, requested doctors and nurses to learn Latvian and Russian within a year in 1959.

The Republic Ministry of Health Protection 23 September 1958 decision suggested that the heads of medical institutions review the staff within a month and take measures to replace them according to national characteristics.

It is absolutely incomprehensible what has caused such nervousness, what are the extreme measures. Apparently, it follows from the common line pursued by individual leading workers of the republic.

It is known that the party's line on the nomination of national cadres is clear to us all. Our Communist Party shows constant concern and regards this as the most important task. And, of course, it cannot be considered normal that there are no Latvians in the leading positions of some Riga companies. But at the same time, it must always be remembered that the principle of selecting and deploying cadres was and remains the Leninist principle of selecting cadres according to business and political qualities.

Due to the lack of national staff in certain work sectors and at the same time not wanting to hire qualified staff of other nationalities who live in Latvia, some managers allow that some positions in several places remain vacant for a long time.

Instead of improving the heads of ministries and departments, local party organs, the Latvian Communist Party CC also emphasise the special importance and urgency of measures to replace cadres of other nationalities.

In the Latvian CP CC Secretariat decision of 31 March 1959 "On the progress of the implementation of the Latvian CP CC IV Plenum decision by the party's city of Liepāja committee" it is indicated that among the leading cadres of the city, as well as in many companies and construction organisations, there are few cadres who know the language and local conditions. Guided by this Latvian CP CC Secretariat decision, the party's Liepāja city committee began to review the composition of leading cadres. As a result, in May 1959, the CPSU CC received Liepāja Agricultural machinery factory cadres department head c. Kuzmin's letter in which he asks to explain the correctness of the actions of such a city party committee. In other words, he was warned that he would be released.

Sensing a lack of responsibility, I would say, some responsible employees acted in the same way during the theoretical conference in Riga, as our team has found out during its stay in Riga. Region Party Committee Secretary c. Martinsons announced in the end: there is a CC bureau decision on language learning, where a two-year deadline is given, and we have to fulfil it. But he said that so far we haven't gone about implementing that decision and so far we haven't broken anyone's ribs or skinned anyone.

Sometimes it comes down to insults and unacceptable outbursts. In October 1958, in the Liepāja City party plenum, it was announced that: Himalayan bears walk our streets ... (reads this speech).

Why representatives of other nationalities have earned such insults is not understandable.

As shown by reading the materials of the meeting, the question in the decision of the bureau about replacement with Latvians personnel was particularly actively raised by c. Berklavs, Bisenieks, Krumiņš and Straujums. They were also pointed out by those comrades with whom we managed to meet and talk.

It should be noted that in recent years, as a result of such a change, a certain number of cadres decreased rapidly, the number of employees of other nationalities among region party committee secretaries and district executive committee chairmen decreased compared to 1954, the number of employees of this category decreased by 70%. Of course, some of the released employees may have had certain shortcomings, and the question now, of course, is not to reinstate them. It is about a trend that exists in the selection of cadres that is damaging to our common cause.

One of the manifestations of national relations for some of Latvia's leading employees is the reduction and closure of the Russian stream in several higher education institutions and a significant reduction in the number of students of other nationalities in the republic's secondary special education institutions. Last year, the flow of Russians in the medical department of the Riga Medical Institute was eliminated and the number of Russian groups at P. Stučka Latvian State University, the Polytechnic Institute, and some other higher education institutions was reduced. This practice led to the fact that now Riga universities have completely closed access to young people from other Soviet republics. Last year, applications from 500 young people who came from Gorky, Pskov, and other regions of the Union were returned due to lack of knowledge of the Latvian language. In fact, access to the republic's higher education institutions is closed to those young people who live in Latvia and who do not know the Latvian language.

Due to this, the CPSU CC receives many complaints from people living in Latvia

Latvian SSR law bypasses issues of language learning in schools, and this is apparently not occasional.

It is known that in the CPSU CC and the Union Council of Ministers theses statement, the issues of language learning at school are clearly presented in accordance with Leninist principles. All republics have passed a law according to these theses. Comrade Berklavs' report states that three languages must be taught in Latvian schools: Latvian, Russian and one of the foreign languages. This contradicts paragraph 19 of the CPSU CC theses, but these theses have been supported by the CPSU CC and the CPSU CC plenum.

Latvian SSR law, with a full line of notes, includes a proposal on the free supply of textbooks to students of eight-year schools in Latvia. Why should the republic of Latvia be placed in such a privileged position compared to other republics?

Recently, it has become more and more difficult for people of other nationalities to get a job in Riga. This is evidenced by the many complaints and letters received by the CPSU CC, the Latvian CP CC, and other organisations.

Comrades, the situation that has arisen in the republic as a result of what I have reported is causing alarm and concern among many communists in the republic. This is discussed in many letters that continue to be received by the CPSU CC.

It should be noted that the Latvian CC bureau had certain facts and information about the manifestations and shortcomings of bourgeois nationalism in the management of economic and cultural construction. But it must be said that the CC bureau did not have a proper reaction. The CC bureau did not show sufficient principles in solving the main issues. It must be said that certain members of this CC bureau themselves apparently support wrong positions in national and other issues and deviate from their positions in practical work and, not by chance, do not correct those members who have gone too far.

Here it would be appropriate to remind that the CPSU CC has repeatedly drawn the Latvian CP CC's attention to serious mistakes in the education of working people in the spirit of friendship between peoples and proletarian internationalism and pointed out that certain members of the CC bureau take wrong positions on this issue. Those Latvian CP CC secretaries with whom discussion took place in the CPSU CC promised to eliminate these shortcomings, but no significant measures were taken. ...

Eduards Berklavs. *Zināt un neaizmirst* [To Know and Not Forget]. - Riga, 1998, p. 240., 250., 251., 252.

Excerpt from the LCP CC VII 1959 closed plenum decision “On serious shortcomings and errors in work with cadres and the practice of national politics in the republic”

8 July 1959

... The most serious violations of Leninist principles in the selection of cadres are manifested in the fact that recently some leaders of the party, Soviets, and economic bodies, when nominating and placing employees, do not take into account their business and political

qualities, but first of all their nationality. Individual city and region party committees, ministries, and departments, motivating the nomination of cadres who know both Latvian and Russian, followed a certain line to replace those cadres who are not Latvian by nationality. In addition, the multi-ethnic composition of the population of the Latvian SSR was often ignored.

In the republic, Lenin's instructions - that workers should not be forced to learn a language, that strict voluntarism should be observed - were grossly violated. Thus, in November 1956, the City of Riga Party committee, after the then first secretary of the City party committee c. Berklavs' persistent demands, took the decision that Latvian and Russian must be learned in two years. According to this decision, after two years, managers of companies, organisations, and institutions had to consider the issue of the future possibility of employing persons who do not know the Latvian language. This created an unequal situation for employees of different nationalities because most Latvians living in Riga have known Russian for a long time, but employees who came to Latvia from other republics had to learn a second language again. The purpose of the decision of the City of Riga Party committee was to force out cadres of other nationalities, under the pretext that they do not know the Latvian language. All this created nervousness and insecurity among a significant number of employees.

The Latvian CP CC bureau did not rebuke the mistakes of the City of Riga Party committee. Moreover, in December 1956, it also made the wrong decision that the leading cadres should learn both Latvian and Russian within two years.

The aforementioned decisions of the City of Riga Committee bureau and the Latvian CP CC bureau were considered by some local party organisations of the republic as a definite directive to replace cadres who are not Latvian by nationality. As a result in recent years, without sufficient reason, but in several cases also to the detriment of the work, a significant group of experienced workers was released from their positions in the party, Soviets, and economic bodies.

The restriction of the rights of persons who are not Latvians by nationality was also manifested in the closing or reduction of courses with the Russian language of instruction in several republic higher education institutions. Therefore, graduates of Russian secondary schools in Latvia and other republics were essentially deprived of the opportunity to continue their education in Latvian universities.

The striving for national independence by specific leading employees of the republic was also manifested in the decision of issues related to the reorganisation of schools.

In the republic, a decision was made to provide eight-year school pupils with free textbooks, which would essentially create a privileged position for them compared to students of other United republics. Contrary to the general national law requiring eleven years in secondary school, some of the responsible officers of the republic insisted on twelve years.

The non-party principle used in the practice of selecting specific cadres by nationality of the republic, the requirement to consider the issue of releasing from work those who do not know the Latvian language, the closing of the Russian stream in several higher educational institutions, and an almost complete ban on registering employees and their family members who have entered from other regions of the country in Riga was aimed at prohibiting persons from other republics from entering the republic and expelling non-Latvian citizens from Latvia.

The Latvian CP CC plenum notes that the CC bureau and party organisations have not paid the necessary attention to the education of leading cadres, intelligentsia, and all working people in the spirit of the ideas of fraternal friendship of peoples, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism and have not necessarily fought against individual manifestations of bourgeois nationalism.

In the republic, there were cases when individual leading workers tried to divert the party organisation from the correct Leninist path, to divert it into national limitation and seclusion. So, for example, Latvian CP CC bureau member, Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman c. Berklavs, when discussing the seven-year plan draft, openly opposed the party's general line on the development of heavy industry, persistently demanding to abandon the expansion of wagon and diesel factories in the Latvian SSR and to increase capital investments in the light and food industry, the production of which is consumed mainly in the republic. On one of the main motives against the development of heavy industry, c. Berklavs pointed out that the construction of new companies and the expansion of existing companies would require the importation of labour from other republics, and thus the number of people of other nationalities would increase in Latvia. Similar views were expressed by Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics director c. P. Dzērve. These right-wing opportunistic proposals are essentially nothing more than the pursuit of national isolation and seclusion. Their adoption would harm the common interests of the state as well as the interests of the Latvian people as it would disrupt Latvia's economic relations with other republics of our land and hinder the development of the Latvian SSR's production forces.

The Latvian CP CC bureau and some city and region party committees paid little attention to the selection and education of cadres in the press, radio, creative unions, and other ideological institutions. The editorial offices of some newspapers and magazines as well as

some creative unions are contaminated with dubious people who are alien to the proletarian ideology. Due to weak management and control of the party organs, several materials with politically incorrect wording were published in such newspapers and magazines such as "Cīņa", "Rīgas Balss", "Podomju Jaunatne", "Zvaigzne", "Liesma" in which Latvians were put in opposition to other nationalities. Specific ideologically relevant materials (stories by Grigulis, Laganovskis, Skujiņš, Berklavs, Kalpiņš, and other articles), which were printed in republic newspapers, were then published abroad in foreign bourgeois and Latvian bourgeois émigré press.

The Latvian CP CC bureau, city party and region committees in their practical work in the Marxist-Leninist education of the cadres and in raising the communist consciousness of the working people ignore the fact that during the long years of the rule of the Ulmanis clique and during the fascist occupation, they tried to corrupt the citizens of Latvia with bourgeois nationalism propaganda. They also pay little attention to the fact that currently the imperialists and their servants - Latvian bourgeois émigrés - are trying to sow hatred and mistrust among the Soviet people, especially Latvians and Russians, with furious slander against the Soviet system in many anti-Soviet radio broadcasts, letters, and nationalist literature that they send to the people of the republic. Newspapers and magazines, lectures, and reports do not pay the necessary attention to the propaganda of ideas of friendship between peoples; Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism and the outstanding role of the Russian people in the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution and in the liberation of Latvia from the fascist yoke in the Great Patriotic War is not sufficiently shown. It is rarely noted that the success of the working people of the Latvian SSR in the economic and cultural development of the republic was achieved with the fraternal help of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, and first of all the Russian people.

The weak ideological and political work with the intelligentsia has been the reason for the spread of nationalist views and statements in the creative unions. Unhealthy sentiments and nationalist expressions can also be observed among students and school pupils in some universities and schools.

In many enterprises, kolkhozes, and soviet farms, political work has not been satisfactorily completed. This also explains the abnormal situation in which the number of members in a large part of the primary organisations of the party has not been replenished with the best workers, kolkhoz farmers, and representatives of the intelligentsia for a long time - especially from among Latvians. Little is done to ensure that the best young Latvians join Lenin's Komsomol Youth.

All these serious shortcomings and political mistakes arose first of all because the Latvian CP CC bureau was not principled enough in deciding many important issues, did not react sharply to the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, and did not make decisive countermeasures to the specific perpetrators of these manifestations. So, for example, knowing that in his practical work, c. Berklavs has for a long time implemented an openly nationalist policy in the selection and placement of cadres and forced learning of Latvian and Russian; in the development of the national economy of the republic, the Latvian CP CC bureau did not give his anti-party actions a political evaluation and did not put an end to this harmful action.

The Latvian CP CC bureau was tolerant towards major failures and mistakes of CC secretary c. Bisenieks actions. He behaved unprincipledly in deciding many important issues, often actively supported Berklavs' wrongdoing, and, overestimating the success achieved in agriculture, did not take the necessary measures to eliminate serious deficiencies in the work of kolkhozes and soviet farms. Comrade Bisenieks is complicit in the intermittent supply of milk and meat to the residents of Riga.

The Latvian CP CC bureau did not reprimand the CC bureau member candidates c. Pinks and Pizāns in time, who in many issues, especially in the implementation of the party's national policy, were hesitant and often took the wrong position.

The Latvian CP CC plenum decides:

1. Acknowledge as correct the Latvian CP CC bureau decision of June 21 of this year, which correctly revealed serious shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Latvian CP CC bureau, members of the adjacent bureau and bureau member candidates, cadre placement and education, violations of party principles in cadre placements, and distortion of the Leninist national policy.
2. Impose an obligation on the Latvian CP CC bureau, city and region party committees, and heads of ministries, departments, and organisations to eliminate the shortcomings and errors noted in this decision and to unswervingly adhere to Leninist principles in all cadre placement and training, to persistently and consistently implement the party's Leninist national policy, always remember that the restriction of the rights of any nationality, whatever this restriction may be, can seriously hinder the integration and mobilisation of workers of all nationalities in the implementation of the tasks of building communism in our country. Party organisations must vigorously fight against any attempts to distort the Leninist principles of selecting and nominating cadres, against all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and Great Russian chauvinism, as well as vigorously eradicate tolerant behaviour towards them.

3. Impose an obligation on the Latvian CP CC bureau and city and region party committees to categorically end such non-party behaviour when individual party, Soviet, and economic leaders select employees, not according to their work and political qualities, but according to nationality, personal likes, and subservience. Ensure careful evaluation of cadres in the process of their practical activity; it is safer to nominate young workers who have demonstrated their organisational abilities and loyalty to the Communist Party to leading positions, taking into account the Party's instructions on the correct attitudes and proportions of old and new cadres.

All the practical work of the party organs with cadres must be subordinated to the successful implementation of the historical decisions of the CPSU XXI Congress, the June CPSU CC plenum, and the 1959 national economy plan in the entire republic, as well as in every region, company, kolkhoz, and Soviet farm.

4. Revoke the Latvian CP CC bureau 6 December 1956 decision "On Latvian and Russian language learning for leading cadres" as incorrect. Explain to the party's region and city committees, as well as to the primary organisations of the party that the teaching of Latvian and Russian languages should be organised in accordance with Lenin's instructions on the basis of strict voluntariness, under no circumstances allowing administration and coercion.

The Latvian CP CC plenum expresses its firm belief that the party organisation will eliminate the serious shortcomings and errors in the selection, placement, and training of cadres, as well as the distortions in the implementation of the Leninist national policy, which were allowed in the republic, in the shortest possible time.

The Plenary assures the CPSU Central Committee that the Latvian party organisation will go in the vanguard of the workers to realise the brightest dream of mankind - the establishment of communism in our land.

Latvian CP CC secretary

J. Kalnbērziņš

Minutes of the discussion on 11 January 1974 with LSSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman V. Krūmiņš regarding the transfer of USSR Armed Forces specialist preparation groups for training in Russian

SECRET

Discussions

Minutes of the discussion with V. Krūmiņš, Deputy Chairman of the LSSR Council of Ministers, regarding the transfer of USSR Armed Forces specialist preparation groups for training in Russian

Minutes

11 January 1974

Present: c. V. M. Krūmiņš, I. J. Čaša, A. K. Veiss, J. J. Brodelis, J. J. Ruško,
M. P. Kuhmalainen

Agenda

1. On the transfer of USSR Armed Forces specialist preparation groups for training in Russian.

Presentation: Latv. SSR War Commissar Major General I.J. Chasha's information on tasks for training specialists for the USSR Armed Forces in accordance with USSR Defence Minister's 1973.30.7 order No. D-035 un Latv. PSR DOSAAF CC (c. A. K. Veiss), Latv. SSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Vocational Technical Education (c. J. J. Brodelis), Latv. SSR Council of Ministers (c. M. P. Kuhmalainen), Latv. SSR Ministry of Agriculture (c. J. J. Ruško) proposition.

Decided:

1. Starting with the 1973/1974 academic year, stream II of the specialist training plan, replace lessons in Latvian with Russian: Latvian SSR DOSAAF CC (c. A. K. Veiss) in Liepāja automotoclub 2 groups (60 people); Latv. SSR Council of Ministers Vocational Technical Education State Committee – 32, city Vocational Technical School in Ogre - 1 group (30 people).
2. In the 1974/1975 academic year, transfer USSR Armed Forces preparatory training to the Russian language:
 - a) DOSAAF learning organisations:

- Liepāja automotoclub	-	6 groups (180 people),
- Talsi automotoclub	-	5 groups (150 people),

- Jēkabpils automotoclub - 2 groups (60 people),
 - Valmiera automotoclub - 6 groups (180 people).
- b) Professional technical education schools:
- agricultural technical secondary school No. 8 – 2 groups (60 people),
 - city professional technical school No. 32 – 1 group (30 people).
- c) Latv. SSR Ministry of Agriculture technical schools:
- Višķi sovkhos technical school - 2 groups (60 people),
 - Malnava sovkhos technical school - 1 group (30 people).
3. In 1975./1976 transfer training courses for USSR Armed Forces specialists to the Russian language:
- a) DOSAAF learning organisations:
- Valmiera automotoclub - 5 groups (150 people),
 - Talsi automotoclub - 5 groups (150 people).
- b) Professional technical schools:
- agricultural technical secondary school No. 1 – 2 groups (60 people),
 - agricultural technical secondary school No. 4 – 2 groups (60 people),
 - agricultural technical secondary school No. 7 – 2 groups (60 people),
 - agricultural technical secondary school No. 11 – 2 groups (60 people).
- c) Latv. SSR Ministry of Agriculture technical schools:
- Višķi sovkhos technical school - 4 groups (120 people),
 - Malnava sovkhos technical school - 2 groups (60 people).
4. The issue of further transfer of training courses for USSR Armed Forces specialists in Russian to be considered in January-February 1976.

Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman

V. Krūmiņš

LVA, 270. f., 1.s apr., 2223. l., 13., 14. lp .

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and Latvian SSR Council of Ministers 19 July 1983 decision “On additional measures to improve Russian language learning in Latvian SSR general education schools and other educational institutions”

Not to be published in the press

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee
and Latvian SSR Council of Ministers

Decision No. 421

19 July 1983

**On additional measures to improve Russian language learning in Latvian SSR general
education schools and other educational institutions**

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers Decision No. 473 of 26 May 1983 "On additional measures to improve the learning of the Russian language in comprehensive schools and other educational institutions of the united republics" states that as a result of persistent implementation of the Leninist national policy, great economic and social progress has been achieved in all the united and autonomous republics, autonomous regions, and regions of our country. Internationalisation of all aspects of public life and mutual enrichment and prosperity of national cultures is taking place. The development of the native language and literature of all nations and nationalities of the USSR, including those that previously did not have their own writing, has gained a wide field of work for comprehensive and equal development. All citizens have the right to study in their native language and in the languages of other peoples of the USSR.

In today's conditions, when the national economy has become a single economic complex, a new historical community has emerged - the Soviet people and the importance of the Russian language, which the Soviet people have voluntarily adopted as a means of international communication, is growing.

Fluency in the Russian language, along with the native language, becomes the objective requirement and need of every citizen; it serves to bring all nations and nationalities closer together, strengthen the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, attract them to the spiritual values of their own land and world culture, the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and to strengthen the state's defence capabilities.

However, in several cases, secondary educational institution graduates, especially in rural areas, have a poor command of Russian, which is why they experience difficulty in international personal contact, production, and socio-political activities, as well as in military service.

One of the reasons for this state of affairs is the unsatisfactory supply of Russian language teachers in general education schools and other educational institutions where teaching is not conducted in Russian. Some teachers, especially in the early grades, do not have sufficient training in the Russian language and teaching methodology. The existing norms for raising the qualifications of teaching staff to the required level do not solve this problem. Educational institutions lack quality textbooks, methodological tools, dictionaries, and fiction in Russian for this subject. Mass media are poorly used in Russian language learning. All public education bodies do not pay the necessary attention to improving the quality of Russian language teaching.

The above-mentioned shortcomings in the teaching of the Russian language in general education schools and other educational institutions are also found in the Latvian SSR.

In accordance with CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers Decision No. 473 of 26 May 1983, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee of and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers decide:

- 1 The Latvian Communist Party region and city committees, region and city executive committees (cities administered by the republic), Councils of People's Deputies, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Vocational Technical Education, and other Latvian SSR ministries and departments under the authority of higher and secondary special educational institutions are to take additional measures to increase the effectiveness of Russian language teaching in educational institutions with Latvian as the language of instruction, taking into account that along with the mother tongue, knowledge of the Russian language is important for increasing the work and socio-political activity of Soviet people, successfully fulfilling the condition of the constitutional duty of honour - service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces. Achieve fluency in the Russian language so that it becomes the norm and the duty of every young person who graduates from secondary educational institutions.
- 2 The Latvian SSR State Planning Committee, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Finance are to prepare and take concrete measures to expand and improve quality of teacher training for the teaching of Russian language and literature in Latvian SSR pedagogical educational institutions and Pēteris Stučka Latvian State University. Provide for the preparation of Russian language

and literature teachers in the draft plans until 1990 in order to fully meet the need for them in all educational institutions of the republic.

- 3 Take under advisement that with the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers Decision no. 473 of 26 May 26 1983 to increase the quality of preparation of all staff of teachers of the Russian language specialty in pedagogical higher and secondary special educational institutions in which studies are not conducted in Russian, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, the USSR Ministry of Education, and united republics' Council of Ministers are assigned:
 - 3.1 to submit changes to the study plans of the relevant educational institutions, increasing time for teaching the Russian language, allowing for this purpose to use the time intended for the learning of disciplines (optional) and methodical preparation, and in necessary cases - part of the time intended for learning foreign languages;
 - 3.2 in pedagogical institutes, to organise the training of elementary school teachers, mother tongue as well as foreign language teachers with the additional specialty "Russian language and literature in national schools" for schools where lessons are not conducted in Russian;
 - 3.3 after the creation of these conditions, to assign graduation exams in Russian in pedagogical schools and institutes as well as in university pedagogical specialties;
 - 3.4 to grant graduates of rural comprehensive schools who have expressed a desire to obtain the Russian language teacher's specialty without professional experience the right to enrol in preparatory courses at pedagogical institutes and universities;
 - 3.5 to determine procedures of referral and facilitated admission for eight-year and secondary school graduates of pedagogical educational institutions with the recommendations of pedagogical councils and public education institutions;
 - 3.6 to practice the sending of teachers for upgrading of qualifications to teacher training institutes and higher educational institutions of the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Belorussian SSR, as well as to approve, after coordination with the USSR Ministry of Finance, the conditions of the said teacher's business trips.
- 4 To the Latvian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education and the Ministry of Education:
 - 4.1 to organise one-year evening courses for persons who have expressed a desire to improve their knowledge of the Russian language on the basis of Pēteris Stučka

Latvian State University and Vilis Lācis Liepāja State Pedagogical Institute one-year evening courses.

Considering that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers Decision No. 473 of 26 May 1983, the USSR Ministry of Education is instructed, after coordination with the USSR Ministry of Finance, to develop regulations on these courses and determine their funding sources;

4.2 to organise the upgrading of the qualifications of elementary school teachers and Russian language teachers in two-month courses in the republic's educational institutions with Latvian as the language of instruction at the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education Republic Institute for the Advancement of the Qualifications of Teachers from 1983, at the Pēteris Stučka State University of Latvia from 1984, and at the Daugavpils Pedagogical Institute from 1985. Determine the periodicity of repeated training courses for the mentioned specialists - once every three years. The Latvian SSR Ministry of Finance shall provide for the necessary allocations for this purpose.

- 5 The Latvian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education is to ensure the training of Russian language and literature teachers from among the native population of the Latvian SSR in the pedagogical institutes and universities of the Latvian SSR in 1984-1990 by sending 10 people for non-competition admission and 20 people for a 1-year internship every year.
- 6 The Latvian SSR Ministry of Education:
 - 6.1 In 1984, to open a Department of Russian Language and Literature at the Republic Teacher Training Institute, applying to the employees of this department salary regulations which are provided for in the USSR Council of Ministers Decision No. 660 of 5 June 1957;
 - 6.2 From 1984-1990, to provide Russian language learning for children in the older groups in preschool institution and general education preparatory classes.
- 7 The Latvian SSR State Construction Committee, by order of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education in 1983-1984, ensure the preparation of technical documentation for the construction of a 30 000 m² teaching building and a 20 000 m² dormitory for students of the Republic Teacher Qualification Institute.
- 8 To the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Vocational

Technical Education, and other Latvian SSR ministries and departments under whose authority are higher and secondary special educational institutions:

- 8.1 to provide measures to introduce effective methods of teaching the Russian language in all types of educational institutions, paying special attention to work to inculcate in students the ability to freely manage the spoken Russian language, to consider the need to increase the time of learning the Russian language;
- 8.2 when studying Russian and literature in general education schools and other secondary educational institutions with Latvian as the language of instruction, to allow the division of the number of students – over 25 people – into two subgroups in all classes and groups;
- 8.3 to make wider use of the experience of several united republics on the creation of general education schools and classes with in-depth learning of the Russian language, to create secondary educational institutions with teaching languages in the mother tongue and Russian, and to introduce Russian language learning for groups of technical schools with Latvian as the teaching language;
- 8.4 7.4 to expand the scientific research on learning the Russian language as a means of international communication, its research connections with the Latvian language, the preparation of Russian language scientific research staff from among persons of the main nationalities of the Latvian SSR. ...

9 ... To the Latvian Communist Party region and city committees, the Latvian SSR War Commissariat, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education, the Latvian LCYS Central Committee, the Latvian SSR DOSAAF Central Committee:

- strengthen military-patriotic upbringing of youth, preparation of young people for service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces;
- implement measures in the professional education of youth in order to more widely involve young people of Latvian nationality to study in military educational institutions.

Take under advisement the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers Decision of 26 May 1983 "On additions to improve the learning of the Russian language in comprehensive schools and other educational institutions of the united republics":

- allowed, if necessary, to increase the preparation of recruits to 6 months in the courses organised in accordance with USSR Council of Ministers Order No. 2684 of 15 December 1978;

- instructed the USSR Ministry of Defence to consider non-competition for admission of young people of the basic nationalities of the united republics to military educational institutions;
- supported the experience of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Georgian SSR on the preparation of youth of local nationalities in special boarding schools with in-depth learning of the Russian language and enhanced military and physical training of students so that they could enter military educational institutions.

Allowed the councils of ministers of the united republics to organise such boarding schools. It was determined that all costs for their maintenance are covered by the state.

Instructed the USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Ministry, after coordination with the USSR Ministry of Finance, to prepare and approve the regulations on the mentioned boarding schools, the standard status of these boarding schools, taking into account that the number of students of the groups to be educated in the classes should not exceed 30 people; expenses for meals, clothing, and furniture will be made in accordance with the norms established for Suvorov schools; director and deputy director position salaries in teaching and upbringing work (including military leaders) is set at 10 percent and the salary of teachers and educators at 15 percent higher than the respective salaries and rates which are set for the mentioned employees in general-type boarding schools.

After the USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Ministry of Defence have approved the regulations on special boarding schools with in-depth learning of the Russian language and enhanced military and physical training of students, instruct the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education and the Latvian SSR Military Commissariat to submit proposals within three months to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers on organisation of such schools in the republic.

10 To the Latvian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, to the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education, to the Latvian SSR State Committee for Vocational Technical Education, and other ministries and departments under whose authority are higher and secondary special educational institutions. The Latvian SSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade to approve the preparation and publication of a set of teaching aids, illustrated teaching aids, methodical literature, dictionaries, conversational dictionaries, as well as Russian fiction for 1984-1990 for pupils, students, and teachers of educational institutions with Latvian

as the language of instruction in order to fully provide for the needs of the mentioned educational institutions.

Take under advisement CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers decision No. 473 of 26 May 1983 that the magazine "Русский язык в национальнй школе" [The Russian language in the national school] has been transformed into the magazine "Русский язык и литература в средних учебных публикациях с нерусским языком обочника" [Russian language and literature in secondary educational institutions where teaching does not take place in Russian], and its category was raised from IV to II and the frequency of publication increased from 6 to 12 issues per year; the experience of several united republics on publishing pioneer newspapers in both the native and Russian languages was supported.

11 Latvian SSR State Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee to organise educational and socio-political broadcast cycles on Russia for pupils and students as well as special broadcasts for those studying Russian.

12 To the Latvian SSR Ministry of Education, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, other Latvian SSR ministries and departments under the authority of higher and secondary special educational institutions, in 1983-1985 to provide all educational institutions in which teaching takes place in the Latvian language, the arrangement of Russian language and literature classrooms, their provision with apparatus and other technical means; to take measures so that these resources are effectively used in the educational process.

The Latvian SSR State Planning Committee and the Latvian SSR Ministry of Finance shall provide for the allocation of necessary resources for these purposes in the draft plans and budgets of the Latvian SSR.

Take under advisement that by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers Decision of 26 May 1983, the USSR State Construction Committee was instructed to provide, after coordination with the USSR Ministry of Education, division of Russian language and literature classes in elementary, eight-year, and secondary general education schools and professional technical educational institutions into subgroups.

13 Take under advisement that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers Decision No. 473 of 26 May 1983:

- 13.1 ensured the granting of scholarships to students who study the specialty "Russian language and literature in the national school" at pedagogical institutes and universities, as determined by CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers decision No. 375 of 18 October 1971 for students of legal institutes (Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the Latvian SSR Council of ministers Decision No. 598 of 30 November 1971);
- 13.2 from 1984, wages were increased by 15 percent for teachers of preparatory and 1st and 3rd grades who conduct classes in Russian, 4th and 11th grade Russian language and literature teachers in general education and boarding schools, in professional and secondary special educational institutions of all types and names in which lessons are not conducted in Russian, which are located in rural or urban-type villages for teachers of Russian language and literature. ...

Latvian Communist Party
Central Committee Secretary

A. Voss

Latvian SSR
Council of Ministers Chairman

J. Rubenis

LVA, 270. f., 1.s apr., 2432. l., 72., 73., 74., 75., 76., 77., 78., 79., 80., 81., 82. lp.

**LSSR Supreme Council Presidium Protocol section Senior Reporter
A. Leiškalne's report "On negligent drafting of official documents in
Latvian"**

Report

On negligent drafting of official documents in Latvian

(1959)

Upon examination of how official documents are drawn up in the militia, registry offices, courts, region executive committees, factories and institutions, we see that some documents are drawn up carelessly, incorrectly, and in unclear handwriting.

Militia departments generally issue citizens' passports well, the entries are legible and clear. However, there are gross errors and ambiguities in passports issued to some citizens. So,

for example, the City of Riga 1st Militia department issued a passport to citizen Stepanov in which the Latvian text does not match the Russian (the Latvian text says that the passport is issued for 5 years, the Russian - indefinite. The Russian text is correct). In addition, citizen Stepanov is registered at Pēteris Stučka Street 23/25 4, but his family, who lives with citizen Stepanov in the same apartment, is registered at Blaumaņa Street 5 a 4. (The house inhabited by the Stepanov family is located at the corner of Pēteris Stučka and Blaumaņa streets, and the housing authority has issued certificates with different addresses.)

In the passport issued on 22 March 1954 by the City of Riga 3rd Militia department to citizen Kalnietis, there is no clear entry on the basis of which documents the passport was issued: "Apl. Izd. 2. III 54. g. No. 36 MD SD PKA IM LSSR."

Citizen Boris Plotke is recorded in the Latvian text as being the daughter of Ilya.

Militia departments sometimes put an obscure stamp and illegibly write the name of the street. Such a passport has been issued by the City of Riga Jūrmala region police department.

In parents' passports, children are usually written in only one language - Latvian or Russian, although the passports provide for corresponding entries in both languages.

Militia departments have difficulties with the spelling of surnames, which leads to misunderstandings and dissatisfaction of passport holders. In order to settle this issue, the Council of Ministers will soon issue new rules on the spelling of names and surnames.

In notes on registration, Riga militia units sometimes translate Latvian street names into Russian, for example Dzirnava, Strēlnieku street, etc.

City of Riga registry office issues correctly entered birth and marriage certificates. A deficiency is that most birth certificates are written in sloppy, ugly handwriting; some certificates show fathers' names, some don't. Birth certificate forms provide for the entry of the nationality of the parents, but there is no entry of the nationality of the child. In the former Red Army district registry office, Latvian children were issued birth certificates in Russian.

In the transcripts of court judgments and decisions written in Latvian, there are many spelling mistakes, mismatched word endings, and sloppiness, which often lead to misunderstandings. For example, in its verdict on Burkēvica (criminal case No. 1 67), the Smiltene District People's Court on 31 August 1956 wrote that "... guilt has been proven by experimental protocols". The Kirov 5th district people's court verdict of 20, 23 April 1954 on Berkulis, Vitkovskis, and Vojevod (criminal case No. 1 23) writes: "Berkulis Verners Pēteris s., convicted by the Riga Line Transport Court...", further an incomprehensible phrase because of error: "On 23 January 23 1954 Vojevod, walking tap kl. 19 20 with defendant Vittkovski...".

Many errors of sloppiness: “izrāva no rākām”, “universālviekalā”, “atsevieķā”, “novākas”. The sentence was very carelessly formulated: "... sentenced 1) Voivode Adolfs Antons s., born 10 July 10 1936 to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1947. Decree of June 4 "On Strengthening the Protection of Personal Property of Citizens" p. 2. of the basis of part 2, applying Article 51 of the Criminal Code, to punish with...", and: "to punish with imprisonment in a correctional labour colony" (corrective labour in a colony), further - "the prescribed measure of punishment shall be counted conditionally, with a probationary period of 2 (two) years" (test period).

In a 4 June 1947 judgment, the name of the decree was incorrectly entered: "On strengthening the protection of citizens' property", omitting the word "personal".

Kirov District People's Court wrote in Necmanis' Case No. 1 249 in March 1958: "... but when the police officer wanted to go to court, detain...", "... when he was detained by the police officer on January 24 stole from and tried to take out of the territory of the complex...".

An inexplicable judgment was written by the Alūksne District People's Court on 4 April 1957 in Hmelinski case No. 1 56. For example, "... slaughtered the mutton stolen from Morele...", "the defendant stole good sheep things from Alma Bārda...", further: "With all the frames, because it was testified in the previous investigation of the defendant's son Egons and Bārda Alma, looking for traces of the theft, when the sheep was reported stolen, about 300 m. from the place of residence of the defendant, found some frozen bees near the hazels." The whole judgement is written in a similar way.

Errors of this type abound in judgment transcripts. Surnames are usually not declined, women's surnames are written in the masculine gender, transcripts are often written on onionskin with narrow spaces, unclearly, and with many careless corrections. The many spelling errors and illogical expressions degrade the culture of judicial work. If transcripts of judgments consisting of several pages are issued, then only in rare cases are these pages stitched together and stamped. Often, judgment transcripts are certified with a court registry seal, although a coat of arms seal is required.

There are also some shortcomings in the work of the region executive committees in formulating decisions. Decisions, such as court judgments, contain many spelling errors, inconsistent words, for example, in Kuldīga district executive committee decision No. 164 of 15 October 1958, the following ambiguous point is recorded: "4. To instruct all managers of institutions, companies and organisations, traffic safety control, to park vehicles for night trips for the car inspector according to the schedule drawn up by him."

In the same No. 165 decision it is written: "Serious deadlines for resolving complaints and submissions are allowed in the district hospital" and - "... strictly follow the Instruction on ... Article 15."

This same district's executive committee decision No. 169, dated 15 October 1958, reads: "Tilling the soil. a)... b) when ploughing the soil in the fall, loosening for growing crops, as well as when ploughing the fallow to deepen the arable row" and decision No. 172 – "1. To determine administrative responsibility for violation of public order because (if) there is no criminal liability for it".

In the last example, one small mistake changes the entire meaning of the sentence.

This type of error is also repeated in the decisions of other region executive committees.

The decisions of the executive committees of Krustpils and Kuldīga regions on permission to register marriages of minors do not mention the exact age of these citizens.

The Kuldīga region executive committee, when approving decisions of general meetings of residents on the eviction of persons living parasitically, writes that these persons are deported to the "deportation place", moreover, in decision No. 134 of 6 August 1958 about the evictable Stuci, it is written: "... for citizen STCA... to be deported from the city of Kuldīga."

There is similar carelessness in the decisions taken in region council sessions. Thus, for example, the Pļaviņa region council decision of 28 August 1958 states: "...sanitary processing of the sick" and in the decision of 30 January 1958: "In developing, organising, and improving the shortcomings of the work of the village councils, almost no help has been provided by region executive committee chapters."

Region and village executive committees, when issuing various extracts, sometimes write on onionskin, unclearly, do not confirm the correctness of the notice with a stamp, do not write down the position of the signatory.

Educational institutions issue well-designed documents. However, some errors and inaccuracies also occur; for example, the form of the diplomas issued to LU philologists has an unclear disclaimer for "qualification"; this name is transferred to another place, written by hand: "granted philologist's qualification and title of secondary school Latvian language and literature teacher." Such unclear disclaimers can cause misunderstandings - notary offices do not have the right to issue transcripts, so correct forms should be printed in a printing office.

LLA writes the following designation of qualification: "learned agronomist", which is not completely understandable.

Riga 2nd medical school writes the surnames of women in the masculine gender, for example "issued to cit. Gērmanis Dzintra Augusts d.", as well as the qualification: "paramedic-laboratory assistant".

There are many inaccuracies in documents issued by medical institutions. References about treatment in hospitals are written sloppily, in poor handwriting, the diagnosis is often illegible, one reference is written in several hands, or is signed by the doctor and affixed with a triangular stamp, although the signature and seal of the chief doctor or at least the department doctor is required. Statements are sometimes not signed at all. Also, Doctors' Consultative Commission statements are also drawn up incorrectly. Usually, in the lower right corner, there are two letters "KK", which are not understandable to everyone, and one signature, and a triangular stamp, although the signatures and coat-of-arms stamp of all three members of the commission are required. The statement forms issued at the tuberculosis dispensary are written in Latvian, but the inscription is usually in Russian.

Employment books are very badly designed. For women, when changing the surname, the old one is usually crossed out and the new one is written in, or the new surname is added, and the correction is not confirmed with a signature and stamp. Sometimes the entries are so obscure that it is impossible to read, written in different hands and different coloured inks. For example, Jēkabpils procurement office issued citizen Kļaviņa an employment book in which the maiden name is illegible, the second name is written in a different handwriting with a different colour ink, and her profession, again, in a different hand; in Russian it is written that Kļaviņa is a merchandise manager, in Latvian she is an economist. Records of hiring are in the Russian language section in Russian, and records of layoffs are in the Latvian section in Latvian. ... The vast majority of employment books are written in Russian.

Protocol section Senior reporter

A. Leiškalne

LVA, 290. f., 1. apr., 5267. l., 18., 19., 20., 21., 22., 23., 24., 25. lp.

**Excerpts from LCP CC First Secretary A. Voss' 29-30 June 1982 statement
on expanding learning of Russian at the conference "Development of
national relations under the conditions of mature socialism"**

...

In our republic, the majority of work collectives are multinational collectives, and the composition of pupils of general education schools, vocational technical secondary schools, and universities is also usually multinational. Millions of people change their place of residence every year, often crossing the borders of united and autonomous republics. And everywhere a common human problem arises. But in the conditions of our multinational country, knowledge of the Russian language undoubtedly helps to greatly expand these contacts.

...

The effort to learn Russian is very great everywhere, it manifests itself more and more widely. Therefore, party organisations and Soviet organs must constantly take care to create all the conditions that would allow satisfying this desire, which is created in our country by the objective logic of building communism.

Cīņa. 29 June 1982

Engineer Pēteris Brenčuks' letter of support for Latvian language status

Language status

One cannot ignore the language that has historically been formed and served the Latvian people as a means of communication, self-expression, and folk songs, but now, within one generation – for shame, the time has come to decide – whether there will be a Latvian language or not, and who will decide - the same ones because of whom we have come so far that we have to decide - to be the Latvian language with the same functions as the Russian language, with which it is not even related, or to be a territorial language, or the state or official language of the republic.

It should be clear to everyone that if there is a Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia, then there can be no other decision and thought than to recognise that the Latvian language is the official state language of the Latvian SSR. If this is not the case, then there is no free autonomy for the Latvian SSR in the union, but it is some kind of territory where everyone does what and how they want, migrates, also speaks - it is territorial anarchy.

Much as paths and sidewalks in the park or in the Jūrmala dunes discipline pedestrians, language must also discipline people. In the Latvian SSR, only the Latvian language can be such.

I remember very well that before the Great Patriotic War in Daugavpils, probably then as now, there were more non-nationals than Latvians in the city, but everyone tried and spoke Latvian, signs in and outside shops were in Latvian - now bilingual signs are rare, but saleswomen in stores consider it an insult if they are addressed in Latvian.

Now, when you enter Latvia by train from Moscow, you cannot tell where you have arrived if you do not know the Latvian language - there are no signs in Latvian.

In Daugavpils, Latvians meet and hear the Latvian language only at Latvian events, Latvian theatre guest performances, or concerts. And how can it be different when there are eight foreigners for every Latvian in the city. How to form new Latvian families?

Even if historians manage to "prove" that Latvia was not occupied in 1940, then another solution about the Latvian language, if it is not approved as the official language of the country, will confirm it. Bilingualism is not officially allowed. At home and at school, everyone should learn and speak as they wish. Migration in Latvia has reached occupation levels. Also in this sense, the recognition of the Latvian language as an official state language can introduce its own corrective measures.

My proposal is to recognise the Latvian language in the Latvian SSR as the official state language.

Pēteris Brenčuks

Engineer

9 September 1988

228400 Daugavpils

Gaismas street 20-78

Works at Daugavpils HES

LVA, 290. f., 11.a apr., 29. l., 43. lp.

**Alda, Jānis and Silvija Sproģis' letter of support for the status of the
Latvian language**

Good day!

Our father and mother, as well as all previous generations, were Latvians. In our passports, opposite the "nationality" box, Latvian is also written.

When we were in the eight-year school, we were literally memorising spelling rules with our classmates in our mother tongue lessons. Later, at the vocational school, we even learned how to fill out various forms correctly. Now the school years are behind us, we have entered real life, and the question suddenly arises: why did we have to learn all this?

Well, I go to the store to shop. I kindly address the seller, ask her for what I want. The answer - eyes full of wonder and the question "что?". Then I reproach her and say that it would be time to master the Latvian language, but in response I receive incomprehensible hissing, rude service, and once even a "compliment" - Nazi. This has nothing to do with nationalism.

The same scene unfolds in the doctor's office, communications department, and household service companies.

And it is no secret that we are often forced to meet with police officers. It happens that you are so frightened that you even forget your mother tongue, but a kind old man tells you to sit down and write the application, of course, in Russian, because otherwise he would not understand anything.

But we studied at a Latvian school, live in Latvia, and speak (often only in the family) Latvian. We have a son who is growing up. I would really like him to have fewer unpleasant incidents related to this issue in his life. The Latvian SSR Supreme Council Presidium decision on the status of the Latvian language has already been adopted. However, we strongly request that the Latvian language be introduced in record keeping as well!

Ilūkste

2 October 1988

Regards

Sproģis: Aldis, Jānis, Silvija

LVA, 290. f., 11.a apr., 29. l., 82., 83. lp.

**Excerpt from the Latvian SSR State Statistics Committee Population
Statistics Bureau report on the national composition of the population of
Latvia according to 1989 All-Union Census data**

[15 June 1990]

**On the national composition of the population of Latvia
(according to 1989 All-Union Census data)**

...

To date, the share of the population who know the Latvian language is very small among Ukrainians and Tatars as well as Russians and Belarusians, as evidenced by the following data:

(percentage)

	1979		1989	
	know Latvian	know Russian	know Latvian	know Russian
All inhabitants	62,9	76,8	62,4	81,6
Latvians	98,9	60,5	98,7	68,3
Russians	20,1	99,8	22,3	99,8
Belarussians	14,7	93,3	18,0	94,5
Ukrainians	7,3	95,5	9,8	93,2
Poles	35,6	88,1	37,6	87,9
Lithuanians	57,6	46,9	64,0	47,9
Hebrews	23,7	94,8	29,0	92,4
Gypsies	58,9	34,6	62,5	33,4
Tatars	5,3	96,8	7,2	96,5
Germans	30,7	86,3	28,8	89,1
Estonians	54,1	57,9	53,9	64,3
Other nationalities	8,7	94,3	10,1	87,6

In general, in the republic between the censuses, the share of Russian-speaking people increased, while the share of Latvian-speaking people remained at the same level. The percentage of the population who, in addition to their mother tongue, know another language of the peoples of the USSR increased from 48% to 52% in 10 years. It is necessary to point out that the high percentage of bilingualism in Latvia can be explained by the fact that 10% of the population named a language other than their own nationality's as their mother tongue, while

2.3% of the population indicated the language of their own nationality as the second. This is confirmed by the following 1989 census data (in percent):

	Percentage of population who know two national languages of the USSR	Percentage of population who named a language other than their nationality's as their mother tongue
All inhabitants	52	10
Latvians	68	3
Russians	24	2
Ukrainians	69	51
Belarussians	57	68
Lithuanians	86	36
Estonians	82	50
Tatars	65	53
Hebrews	55	77
Gypsies	85	15
Germans	54	66
Poles	61	73
Other nationalities	66	55

LVA, 277. f., 17. apr., 445. l., 8., 9. lp.

For more see:

Jānis Riekstiņš. *Par Latviešu valodu. Pret rusifikāciju* [On the Latvian language. Against Russification]. Riga, 2012.

Jānis Riekstiņš. *Valodas politika Latvijā 20. gs. vidū (1944-1959) // Latviešu valoda 15 neatkarības gados* [Language policy in Latvia in the mid-20th century (1944 1959) // Latvian language in 15 years of independence. Riga, 2007, p. 17-36.

Jānis Riekstiņš. *Latvijas sovetizācija un Latvians valodas politiskā diskriminācija (1940-1953.) // Valoda un vara* [Sovietisation of Latvia and political discrimination of the Latvian language (1940-1953) // Language and power]. Riga, 2022, p. 11-22.

Kas valda valodu, valda prātu. Latvians valoda okupācijas apstākļos [Who rules language, rules the mind. Latvian language under occupation]. 14 April 2007 language conference material. Riga, 2007.

Migrācijas ietekme uz valodas vidi Latvijā [The impact of migration on the language environment in Latvia]. Riga, 2009.

Chapter 5

The danger of Great Russian chauvinism in Latvia

Chauvinism (fr. chauvinisme – named after Nicolas Chauvin, a Napoleonic veteran noted for his extreme patriotism) – ignoring and grossly suppressing the interests of other peoples and nations in the name of the interests of one's country, empire, extreme nationalism.

Chauvinist – supporter of chauvinism.

Foreign language dictionary. Riga, 1999

J. Stalin on the dangers of Great Russian chauvinism

Initially, when talking about the different directions in the Bolshevik Party, J. Stalin considered Great Russian chauvinism to be the greatest danger. In the CPSU Central Committee political report to the XVI Congress on 27 June 1930, he stated:

The picture of the struggle against the directions in the party will not be complete if we do not touch on the directions that the party has in the field of the national question. I mean here, firstly, the direction towards Great Russian chauvinism and, secondly, the direction towards local nationalism.

What is essentially the trend toward Great Russian chauvinism in our current circumstances?

Basically, the direction towards Great Russian chauvinism is an effort to ignore the national distinctions of language, culture, living conditions; efforts to prepare the liquidation of national republics and regions; efforts to undermine the legal principle of national equality and slander the party policy in the nationalisation of the apparatus, nationalisation of the press, schools, and other state and public organisations.

The supporters of this direction base this on the fact that with the victory of socialism, the nations should merge together and their languages should become a single, common language, so the time has come to eliminate national differences and give up politics - to support the development of the national culture of previously oppressed peoples.

Such is the situation towards the direction of Great Russian chauvinism.

It is not difficult to understand that this direction reflects the efforts of the fading classes of the formerly ruling Great Russian nation to regain their lost privileges.

It follows that the danger of Great Russian chauvinism is the main danger in the party in the field of the national question.

But soon after Stalin's instructions, the "dangers of Great Russian chauvinism" were forgotten. Instead, slogans about the "excellent role" of the Russian people as "the first among other nations" began to be preached. No struggle against Great Russian chauvinism was carried out. The main focus was on combating "nationalists". However, existing Great Russian chauvinism could not be completely ignored either.

**Excerpt from A. Pelše's report "On work with the intelligentsia" at the
LCP CC 9-10 October 1957 plenum**

...

Among the unhealthy phenomena that are present in the republic, it is especially necessary to note all kinds of manifestations of nationalism among the intelligentsia and youth. In order not to repeat myself, today I will not talk about the forms of nationalistic manifestations and individual outbursts of hostile elements, a lot has already been said and written about all this. I wonder if serious claims can be made that the struggle against bourgeois nationalism is not being waged in the republic. However, there are several circumstances that make this fight difficult and we need to talk about it. It seems to me that we do not always heed the necessary importance and pay attention to some issues of the implementation of the Leninist national policy. So, for example, we do not appreciate the importance of the equality of the Latvian and the Russian language, we limited the rights of the Latvian language in places and thereby gave bourgeois nationalists a reason to stir up national quarrels, shout about Russification, about Great Russian chauvinism, etc. The CC is trying to fix this, something has already been done in this regard, but much remains to be done.

In this regard, the question of chauvinism has to be touched upon. In the Soviet Union, as a result of the Leninist national policy and the victory of socialism, chauvinism has been completely averted – the soil for reactionary policy, persecution, and oppression of others. All this has gone into the distant past.

However, I wonder if it would be correct to claim that the remnants of this reactionary ideology have completely and finally disappeared in people's consciousness. In life, it doesn't happen like that. We destroyed capitalism and built socialism a long time ago, but the struggle with the remnants of capitalism is still in people's minds and will be on the agenda for a long time. Chauvinism is a part of bourgeois ideology, and we keep encountering its remnants in people's consciousness as a negative phenomenon that makes it difficult to educate workers on

internationalism. These vestiges must be overcome like other manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

LVA, PA-101. f., 20. apr., 5. l., 17. lp.

Excerpts from LCP CC bureau members opinions of 4 March, discussing the CPSU CC Secretariat's 8 January 1958 Decision that was adopted in connection with the report prepared by CPSU CC staff "On shortcomings in the ideological and political education of the creative intelligentsia of the Latvian SSR"

V. Lācis – LSSR Chairman of the Council of Ministers:

... A national question. This is, of course, a difficult question. And we would be happy if we didn't have that problem today. This is not a problem that poses a huge danger to us, but it is still irritating and annoying. But if you look at how this issue is treated in the report, you can see a certain one-sidedness in the sense that local bourgeois nationalism is highlighted, but very little is said about Great Russian chauvinism.

Can we deny that there is Great Russian chauvinism in our republic? I think we can't. It is not a mass phenomenon, it cannot be a mass phenomenon. A few unwise, unscrupulous people can spoil so much that afterwards the republic has to work a lot to convince the public that it is just an episode.

And one more thought about this issue - about the national issue. It is often the case that if a representative of a small nation expresses some thoughts, some sentiments, it is assessed as bourgeois nationalism, but if the same thought is expressed by a representative of a large nation, it is called patriotism. Patriotism is the same for all nations, both large and small. And nationalist expressions are also the same, both for a large and for a small nation. Every nation has the right to be proud of its achievements, its culture, and if you do not respect or love your nation, then you cannot be worthy of your nation.

Second. They ask why it is necessary to fight bourgeois nationalism more than Great Russian chauvinism. Because bourgeois nationalism is a great danger, it has a nurturing environment, but Great Russian chauvinism does not. That is correct. However, one should not forget that Great Russian chauvinism is no less dangerous and that it is also fertile ground for bourgeois nationalism. Every mistake, every transgression, every misstep is inflated a hundred

times more than it's worth. And we are forced to put out the fire. There must be principled clarity and rigor in this matter. Do not emphasise, do not inflate these things, and when evaluating the phenomena, you should carefully consider everything.

N. Saleyev – newspaper “Sovetskaja Latvija” editor:

.. It is clear to everyone that Russians, Latvians, and other peoples live in a united fraternal family. For the peoples, the question that communism should be built within the USSR has long been decided. But in a certain part of the intelligentsia there are still fluctuations, there are manifestations of nationalism. We are doing wrong not to give strong countermeasures to both the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

Ivan Veselov – LCP CC head of the agitation and propaganda department:

... Further on the national issue. The report rightly points out that we need to address this issue. At the Kirov district party conference. The conference touched on this question, comrade Lācis from the publishing house spoke there. However - ineptly and rudely. He reproached the audience that there are more Russians than Latvians here. Of course, such an expression is incorrect. I then spoke on this matter. I believe that I performed correctly. A woman spoke after me (I have forgotten her last name) and said that comrade Veselov raised the issue of learning the Russian and Latvian languages, so Russians would learn the Latvian language, but there are not enough such books. The wrong attitude towards this matter was immediately felt. Next fact. A meeting of the communications staff was called. Outrageous facts emerged. A Russian member works as the head of the Cēsis communications office; he has been working there for 10 years and still does not know how to communicate with people in Latvian. I spoke at this republic discussion and raised this issue sharply. No one objected to it, but a friend comes up to me during the break and says:

Why should I learn Latvian? Today I live in Latvia, but tomorrow I will (maybe) be in Kazakhstan. Should I learn all these languages then?

I said that they have been living in Latvia for a long time and if they cannot communicate with the people in their native language, then it is simply uncultured. These are, of course, manifestations of Great Russian chauvinism. The report omits similar facts.

Aleksandrs Gorbatovs – Baltic Military District troop commander:

... Regarding nationalism and chauvinism. I think that no one can deny that - both exist, but in different degrees. And we have to respond to that.

LCP CC Administrative body Section Head A. Drozdov's explanation of Utkina's anonymous complaints

To the Latvian CP Central Committee secretary comrade J. E. Kalnbērziņš

Two anonymous complaints were sent from the USSR Ministry of Defence and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chancellery to the Latvian CP Central Committee which contained accusations of bourgeois nationalism, support of foreigners, and oppression of honest communists from several leading employees of the Jēkabpils and Krustpils regions, including from the region party committees first secretaries c. Grāvītis and Sarguna, as well as charges against a whole row of leading employees who used to work in Jēkabpils district and the mentioned regions - c. Vitt, Kleins, Vallis, Ryabinin, and others.

As is known, similar complaints were also received by organisations from CPSU member Utkina several times in the past. These complaints were investigated and not confirmed.

Upon examination, it was established that these anonymous letters, which were clearly defamatory in nature, were also written by c. Utkina. Due to this, c. Utkina was summoned to a Latvian CP Central Committee meeting, where she was presented with these anonymous letters. In the conversation with c. Utkina, party commission member c. Buluševs and Latvian CP CC instructor c. Vasilyev attended with me.

Comrade Utkina did not deny her authorship, but she could not coherently explain the insults expressed in her complaints against leading employees. In addition, she believes that she was and is being restricted there all the time, although she does not present any concrete facts.

Comrade Utkina also refused to give a written explanation.

I believe that both complaints are defamatory from start to finish. Since Utkina has not drawn any conclusions after serious warnings from the Latvian CP CC and continues to write her false complaints, the question of her party responsibility must be raised.

I am attaching the complaint and expert opinion.*

Latvian CP CC Administrative body
Section head A. Drozdov

24 March 1956

LVA, PA-101. f., 19. apr., 111. l., 9. lp.

* Not published.

LCP CC secretary J. Kalnbērziņš' explanation of E. Berklavs' accusation of nationalism

To the CPSU CC United republics party organs section Deputy head comrade P. Pigalev

The anonymous letter sent by you (No. 211617) in which the party's City of Riga Committee secretary c. Berklavs was accused of nationalism was examined by the Latvian CP CC Secretariat on 18. IX.

The Latvian CP CC Secretariat believes that the insults raised in the anonymous letter, that "the activation of certain nationalist groups is the result of the nationalist policy implemented by the secretary of the city party committee, Berklavs", are not based on anything and are a fabrication. The City of Riga party committee and its secretary c. Berklavs implements not a nationalist, but a party policy. The City party committees and also c. Berklavs' work have had some flaws and errors in the past. The Latvian CP CC corrected them, but this does not give grounds against c. Berklavs to face serious political charges. The CPSU CC was informed in time about the hoisting of the bourgeois flag of Latvia on the mast of the former radio station on the night of May 15. Binding this fact to c. Berklavs' actions, as the author of the anonymous letter does, is libelous.

A certain revival of the bourgeois-nationalist underground at the end of last year and at the beginning of this year was the result of the influence of events in Hungary. However, the activity of the nationalist underground did not and does not find support among the working people.

Latvian CP CC Secretary J. Kalnbērziņš

19 September 1957

**Answer to the anonymous letter received from the CPSU CC on 19 July
1958**

4 September 1958

**CPSU Central Committee
united republics Agricultural division to
comrade F. S. Krestyanikov regarding 15 July 1958 No. 1-254694**

Inspection has established that the facts mentioned in the anonymous statement about Minister of Agriculture c. Nikonov's persecution of Russians is not true.

In the last year, after the merger of the Ministry of Agriculture with the former Ministry of State Farms, more than 20 directors of state farms were dismissed from their jobs, and they were dismissed not on the basis of questionnaire results or national characteristics, but for poor farm management and serious personal shortcomings. In all cases, the issue of dismissal from work was considered and decided by the ministerial board with the consent of the region party committee and after coordination with the Latvian CP CC.

Those released from office are not only Russians, but also Latvians

The directors of state farms were dismissed from their jobs due to drinking, state farm production destruction, large losses, lack of agricultural education, and other completely justified reasons. ...

As for reports on c. Nikonov's alleged attacks against Russians, they are slander.

Latvian CP CC Secretary N. Bisenieks

LCP CC secretary J. Kalnbērziņš' explanation regarding retired colonel I. Stepanov's complaint

Soviet Union Communist Party

Central committee

26 September 1959

In the letter sent to the CPSU CC, its author mentions the fact that in some Latvian SSR ministries and departments, several leading personnel have been unjustifiably dismissed from their jobs, supposedly only because they are not Latvians.

The examination of the letter has revealed that it is anonymous and the mentioned facts are distorted.

In July 1958, Deputy head of the medical department of the main resort and sanatorium administration c. Sarukhanov was dismissed from his post by order of the Republic's Ministry of Health Protection for violations of the sanatorium's road sign sale procedures. He was offered the job of chief doctor of the sanatorium, but c. Sarukhanov refused this job and asked to be released from his job at his own request. Considering c. Sarukhanov's old age (69 years old), his request was respected, and he was released at his own request and receives a pension of 1200 roubles per month.

Deputy head for construction matters of the same administration c. Bashev has been released from work due to the liquidation of this position and has been appointed as the deputy head of the Latvian sanitary equipment assembly department.

The main resort and sanatorium administration chief bookkeeper c. Mavrushin has been released from work at his own request. In 1957, the City of Riga Stalin district committee organised a work inspection of the Latvian office of the Commercial Sea Transport Trust. The commission established by the district committee found serious deficiencies in the office's work. During discussion of the results of the examination on 18 July 1957 of the Stalin District Party Committee bureau, the head of the bureau c. Popov was dismissed from his post and given a stern reprimand for not providing leadership to the bureau.

Unjustified dismissal of senior staff in the Ministry of Trade has not been found.

Comrade Podrenkin was released from duties as the Latvian SSR Deputy Minister of Textile Industry in the LCP CC bureau decision of 1 February 1957 due to the reorganisation of the ministry and his transfer to another job.

Comrade N. A. Ponomaryov was released from his job as Head of the National Economic Council light industry department by the Latvian CP CC bureau decision of 15 February 1958 for not taking measures to fight against thread thieves in the subordinated enterprises. ...

Comrade N.N. Kokurin was released from his duties as Deputy head of the light industry administration at his personal request due to his transfer to the Ivanov People's Economy Council.

Comrade Ampleyev was released from his duties as Head of the light industry cotton and silk industry department for his irresponsible attitude towards the maintenance of raw materials and illegal distribution of silk fabrics from state enterprises to industrial co-operative associations, resulting in favourable conditions for thieves to steal from the state.

Currently, c. Ampleyev works as an engineer in the same administration unit of the National Economy Council.

Comrade A.P. Kobelev was released from his job as Director of the complex "Bolševička" due to illness and retirement.

On 21 March 1958, comrade A. J. Balode was appointed acting director of the "Rīgas audums" complex, but on 2 September 1958, she was dismissed from this job due to the revealed abuses at the "Kurzemes manufaktūra" complex where she previously worked as a director. Now she works at the complex "Rīgas audums" as a workshop manager.

On 1 August 1958, comrade A. S. Alehin was released from his duties as chief bookkeeper of the complex "Rīgas manufaktūra" due to his retirement.

Comrade M. J. Tuisov was released from his duties as chief bookkeeper of the complex "Zasulauka manufaktūra" for not ensuring the necessary control over material assets inventory and his systematic drinking.

On October 25, 1958, comrade I.P. Nikitin was released from his duties as chief bookkeeper of the combine "Bolševička" for not showing a shortage of fabrics (141 000 roubles) in bookkeeping records He also did not control the use of material assets and allowed violations of financial discipline.

Comrade A. I. Kuvshinov worked as the chief bookkeeper of the Latvian National Economic Council light industry administration. Released from this position on 23 September 1958 for unsatisfactory control organisation and failure to complete bookkeeping records in light industrial enterprises. Now he works as the chief bookkeeper in the Riga Agricultural machinery factory.

Comrade A. M. Drozdov graduated from the Leningrad Institute of Finance and Economics in July 1958 and was sent to the Latvian SSR Ministry of Communal Economy. Due to c. Drozdov disability, it was decided not to send him to a rural district, but he was sent to the City of Riga Executive Committee where he has been working as a senior economist since 1958. True, when appointing him, the City of Riga Executive Committee Chairman c. Baumanis said in conversation that it would be good if an employee knew the Latvian language because the other three employees of this department do not know the Latvian language. Claims about the privileges of Latvians when receiving apartments and summer houses are fabricated.

Ligo holiday is celebrated on June 24, it is not a day off. In some years, the day off was moved from Sunday to June 24.

Preparation for the song festival takes place outside working hours but in the regions, the song festival itself takes place on days off. Besides, the song festival is not organised every year.

Questions about shortcomings and mistakes in work with cadres and in the implementation of national policy in the republic were discussed at the Latvian CP CC plenum at the beginning of July 1959. The facts mentioned in the anonymous letter and similar facts were examined during the preparation of the Latvian CP CC VII Plenum. The Latvian CP CC plenum adopted a decision aimed at eliminating shortcomings and errors in the work with cadres and in the implementation of national policy in the republic.

Now Latvian CP CC city and region party committees are organising events that will ensure the implementation of the decision of the Latvian CP CC VII Plenum.

Latvian CP CC Secretary J. Kalnbērziņš

Voiceh Kārkliņš' report on manifestations of Great Russian chauvinism

To PSKP CC secretary comrade A.I.Kirichenko

Copy: Latvian CP CC Secretary

comrade J.E.Kalnbērziņš

From party member, party member card No.07380285,

Voiceh Stanislav's son Kārkliņš, lives in Riga,

Lāčplēša street 27, apt. 4, telephone no. 20404

In June of this year, during CPSU CC First Secretary and USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikita Sergejevich Khrushchev's stay, a large group of "people offended by fate", mainly Russians in a rally starting from the airport to the Culture and Recreation Park, tried to convey their grievances to Nikita Sergejevich Khrushchev.

At that time, it was not clear to me what these people were complaining about and what they were trying to achieve, but on July 12, I understood what the matter was really about from the active performance of individual members of the city party. Instead of healthy criticism of the party, semi-chauvinistic sentiments and hatred towards the Latvian nationality began to appear. ...

To confirm what I noted, I will mention some sad facts from what I heard at the party event and how certain party members started to present their thoughts after the city party event in July when discussing the national question in Latvia.

In the active part of the city party, individual loudmouths spoke up to the point that they started reprimanding the Latvian CP CC Secretary, comrade Pelše, for using the words "Latvian nation" in his report when celebrating the achievements of the Latvian people. Say, what kind of Latvian nation is there, it should not be "Latvian nation" but "Soviet nation". When I was working as the director of the Riga Textile, fabric and footwear trade trust, in 1958 I conducted an audit of documents at the "Baltijas modes ateljē" sewing factory that is under the trust where Vera Ivan' daughter Shlyakhtova worked as the factory director at that time. The auditor of the trading company V. P. Bogolepov discovered a lot of damaged orders in the factory warehouse, which customers had refused. Without remorse, Shlyakhtova drew up documents for the defective articles, approved them, and put them in storage. As a result, the workers were left without wages, but she added a statement to the monthly balance sheet that there were no

defective goods in the factory warehouse and, deceiving the trading company and the state, she received a progressive bonus every month. The State Audit Bureau intervened in this case, Shlyakhtova was charged for falsification, she was fired. But there were people active in the city party who proved that Shlyakhtova was removed from her job due to national characteristics, and tried to present her as a "martyr of the torture chamber of Latvians" in front of the party.

In July of this year, the City of Riga party organisations discussed the national question that had surfaced in the party. A party meeting was also held at the Household services complex, which serves the City of Riga Kirova district. There, in her chauvinistic speech, party member Anna Evdokiya's daughter Krasovska, disregarding the CPSU CC instructions and opinion, demanded that the Latvian CP CC secretaries be removed from their jobs and expelled from the party.

Krasovska, former director of the factory "Merino" and Riga model house, was removed from her job in both cases with a great racket for abuse of official position and embezzlement of state funds, which was repeatedly written about by Latvian SSR newspapers.

Maybe you think she has realised her mistakes? No! She tells everyone that she is not allowed to take leading positions because of her nationality.

I ask you to request the Household services complex party meeting minutes for the month of July and draw relevant conclusions.

It seems to me that among the complainers who besieged Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, if you look carefully, you will find quite a few people like Krasovska - Shlyakhtova and others like her, who, when expressing their grievances, forget their personal affairs, but knowing that the most sensitive point is the national issue; they also raise it to great heights, create a base to insult the national feelings of the Latvian people, slander the leaders of the Latvian CP CC party, and dream of hiding behind this noise to climb into the command post of the republic.

If it seems to offend the national identity of the Latvian SSR, then it would be appropriate to make a comparison with other fraternal republics, with Estonia, Lithuania, Armenia and Georgia, and to ask the complainants what percentage of Russians occupy commanding positions in this republic, but at the same time the members of Russian nationality in commanding positions in Latvia is 65%. They are also Georgians, Armenians, Hebrews, Tatars, and representatives of all other nationalities of the Soviet Union. Where then does this national policy appear?

There should be a modicum of modesty when it comes to the national question. ... Nowhere else in other republics did members of the Russian nationality live and still live as well as in the Latvian SSR, which also explains their great aspiration to come to the Latvian SSR. Analyse how many Latvians are in commanding positions - you can count them on your fingers.

The vast majority of Latvians, whether they live badly or well, speak Russian and give a comprehensive answer to any question, which you will not hear in Tallinn, Yerevan, or Tbilisi.

Individual mistakes are made by small and big people, Latvians, Russians, and all nationalities, but it is not necessary to create a national issue out of prejudice, because the Latvian people listen carefully to this.

No one asks who those people are who in the Soviet Union in the 15 years after the war are floating from one place to another, cannot find a place for themselves, wander from republic to republic, poison the atmosphere around them, look for hot spots to commit national insult, and play the heroes.

Every honest Soviet person has long since found his place and works for his homeland, but the cranes continue to fly, chasing after the big rouble. ...

V. Kārklīņš

3 September 1959

LVA, PA-101. f., 20. apr., 112. l., 169., 170., 171., 172. lp.

Excerpt from the Design institute "Latgiprom" party meeting's decision on current social and political events

14 December 1988

The Party meeting decides:

... 5. To ask the Latvian CP CC Presidium and the LSSR Supreme Council Presidium to examine the question of the suitability of the LSSR State Radio and Television Committee Chairman communist J. Leja for the position he occupies as he poorly orients himself in the current difficult situation in the republic, which is manifested in the tendentious nature of the mass media he leads, selecting materials that promote and fuel the international separation of the peoples of the republic.

6. Condemn the editorial staff of the television programme "Labvakar" for systematic and one-sided propaganda of extremist ideas and sentiments.

7. The Institute's communists consider the activities of the informal organisation "Helsinki 86" and the Latvian National Independence Movement as unconstitutional, do not contribute to the consolidation of the republic's forces, and create isolation in international relations.
8. The Institute's communists support the state, social, and political activities of comrade A. Rubiks and his speech at the city party's XII conference.
9. The Institute's communists consider it necessary to establish a law in the LSSR on two state languages - Latvian and Russian.
10. Due to the deterioration of international relations in the republic, contact the Latvian CP CC with a proposal to convene an extraordinary congress (plenum) of the Latvian Communist Party.

LVA, 290. f., 140. l., 51. lp.

27 April 1990 protest by the 73623 Military unit work collective council against Latvia's secession from the USSR

Letter accepted at the meeting of the council of the k/d 73623 work collective
27 April 1990

The separatist forces under the leadership of the Latvian People's Front have spread active propaganda among the population of Latvia for the establishment of an independent republic outside the USSR Union. Taking advantage of the crisis situation and the fall of authority, they have put forward ultimate demands for withdrawal from the Soviet Union. Not wanting to hold a referendum and thereby listening to the opinion of all Latvian citizens, representatives of the Latvian People's Front, who have won a majority in the newly elected LSSR Supreme Council, nurture the idea of deciding on withdrawal from the USSR in their session.

The workers, employees, and military construction workers collective of Military unit 73623 categorically opposes the raising of the issue on the secession of Latvia from the USSR at the LSSR Supreme Council session.

We do not want to put ourselves and our families in danger, to become second-class citizens in our own country. The example of Lithuania shows where the irresponsible

adventurers are leading the republic, who are trying to satisfy their excessive ambitions at any cost.

We are in favour of strengthening the national sovereignty of the Latvian SSR in the renewed Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics.

K/d 73623 Work collective council Chairman Marchenko

LVA, 290. f., 386. l., 90. lp.

**Excerpt from G. Borodin, N. Filipova, V. Zaharchuk, V. Matvijenko,
J. Kuharenko and N. Pospelova's letter to USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Chairman M. Gorbachev on the draft law "On Languages"**

(February 1989)

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman M. S. Gorbachev

Copy (for reference): LSSR Supreme Council Presidium

We categorically protest against the adoption of the Law "On Languages" in the Latvian SSR in the way that it has been submitted in draft form for public consultation.

Shame on its compilers. The conscious, elementary legal illiteracy that runs like a red thread through the entire project of the "Law" causes indignation and indescribable astonishment. Obviously, it will not be a surprise that it will be said (we think so and we are sure) that its authors are members of the Latvian People's Front Council.

It is clear to even an ignorant person: the draft was prepared by either the most reactionary members of the so-called People's Front Council have, or they have actively influenced its drafting. It cannot be otherwise.

Therefore, we announce: such a project will not go through. The overwhelming majority of the Russian-speaking population of Latvia will not accept it; we completely and definitively support Interfront, which declared: Latvia, where no less than 50% of non-nationals live, must have two state languages - Latvian and Russian.

... With this protest, we decided not to go to Riga, but to Moscow, i.e., we think it will make more sense then. ...

**G. V. Borodin, N. K. Filipova, V. Zaharchuk,
V. Matvijenko, J. P. Kuharenko and N. Pospelova**

LVA, 290. f., 8. apr., 209. l., 101., 102. lp.

* Interfront (International Front of the Working People of the Latvian SSR) was officially established on 7-8 January 1989 as a public organisation of workers in support of reconstruction, but in reality it functioned as a satellite organisation of the conservative wing of the LCP, which fought for the preservation of the privileged position of the Russian-speaking population and against the restoration of Latvia's independence outside the USSR. Interfront was led by USSR Armed Forces officers, retired military personnel, and representatives of the Russian technical intelligentsia. Interfront took a position of confrontation with the Latvian People's Front.

Appendices

1. pielikums

Excerpts from the Letter of 17 Latvian communists

(1971)

Dear members!

We, 17 Latvian communists, turn to you. We are writing to you because we see no other way to influence actions and events that are causing grave harm to the communist movement, Marxism-Leninism, us, and to other small nations.

Several communists have spoken about the issues we are writing about in local party organisations, but the result was only repression.

Forced assimilation programme

What are the main directions of this programme, how is it implemented?

First - the main task is to **move as many Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians from Russia, Belorussia, and Ukraine as possible and settle them in Latvia (and the other Baltic republics) for permanent residence.**

How was the first task – the main task - solved? The CPSU CC did not trust the communist party central committees of the national republics:

1. A "CPSU CC Orgburo for Latvia" was established in the Latvian CP CC (as well as in Central Committees of other union republics). This bureau was charged with controlling and directing the work of the Latvian CP CC and all policy in the republic. Shatalin was appointed chairman of the "Orgburo". He was followed by Riazanov.
2. From Moscow they sent Ivan Lebedev to assume the post of second secretary of the Latvian CP CC, and Fyodor Titov to assume the post of secretary for cadres. These positions have been preserved to this day, they are saved for Russians who are sent here. At the present time the second secretary of the Latvian CP CC is the Russian Belukha. He was sent here from Leningrad.
3. The Orgburo and these Muscovite "Obercommunists" have shaped and continue to shape cadre policy in the republic so as to have entering Russians occupying all key posts, and first of all the positions of heads of cadre sections of all Party, government, and economic institutions. These people secured preferential

registration requirements in the cities for the newcomers, and they placed them in choice occupations.

4. In order to further the mass influx of Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians in the republic, they began to create various All-Union, interrepublic, and zonal organs in Latvia. Against the dictates of economic rationality, they began to construct large industrial enterprises and to expand existing ones. Construction workers were recruited outside the republic and brought in, raw materials were transported from the Urals or the Donbas (i.e. across distances of 3000 - 4000 kilometres), specialists and workers were likewise brought in, but the output was shipped out of the republic. For such purposes a diesel plant, an autoelectrical instruments factory, a hydrometric instruments factory, and a turbine plant were built in Riga. In Daugavpils they built a large synthetic fiber factory. Its construction and production workers were brought in, and for them a sizeable town with almost no Latvians sprang up. In Ogre they built a large textile complex and many others. Literally in every district town large enterprises have been or are being constructed. Construction workers, specialists, and production workers are brought in, but output is shipped to all parts of the Soviet Union.

Although Latvia had enough electric power stations to supply the republic with electricity and in Russia there are many large rivers, they brought in construction workers and built the "Plavinas" hydroelectric power station on the river Daugava. A whole new town - Stučka - was built for them, and a new district was created in the republic.

5. In spite of the fact that in each post-war year, forest cutting has exceeded the area of newly planted trees, the forests were barbarously destroyed, leading to large areas turning into swampland and the import of raw materials for the local furniture industry. In recent years, woodcutters have been (and are being) brought into Latvia from Russia, Belorussia, and the Transcarpathian districts of the Ukraine; the destruction of forests continues, and the incoming woodcutters settle down permanently in the republic.

The result of such policies is that each year about 20 000-25 000 persons register to settle in the city of Riga alone. The total number of Riga's inhabitants has increased 2.5 times, but only 45% of them were Latvians in 1959, and 40% in 1970. In Latvia there were 62 % Latvians in 1959, and 57% Latvians in 1970.

The fate of the former Karelian union republic clearly indicates where this policy is leading. It no longer exists. It was liquidated because the native inhabitants formed less than half of its total population. Karelia now is a part of the Russian Federative Republic. The same fate awaits the Kazakh union republic and Latvia.

6. Flooding of the local population with masses of Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians is exemplified by the stationing of large military and border garrisons in Latvia and the construction of tens of large sanatoriums, vacation establishments, and tourist bases of All-Union significance. The Riga seashore has already been converted into an All-Union resort, almost no local inhabitants remain there.

Such a policy has continued for the entire post-war period in Latvia, and has intensified during the last decade. Now the republic already has a number of large enterprises where there are almost no Latvians among the workers, engineering-technical personnel, and directors ("REZ", the diesel factory, the hydrometric instruments factory, and many others); there are also those where most of the workers are Latvians, but none of the executives understands Latvian (the Popov radio factory, the railroad car plant, the autoelectrical instruments factory, "Rigas audums", etc.)

There are entire institutions where there are very few Latvians. The apparatus of the Ministry of Interior in Riga, for example, has 1500 employees, but only about 300 of them are Latvians. There are very few Latvians among construction workers. About 65 % of the doctors working in municipal health institutions do not speak Latvian and because of this, often make crude mistakes in diagnosing illnesses and prescribing treatment.

All this calls forth justified indignation in the local population.

Gradual Russification

Solution of the first main task - increasing the numbers of non-Latvians in the Republic - simultaneously creates conditions for solution of the second main task: The progressive russification of all life in Latvia, and the assimilation of Latvians.

To achieve this goal, the following has been and is being done:

1. Demands by the newcomers to increase Russian-language radio and television broadcasts in the republic are being satisfied. At the present time, one radio programme and one television programme is broadcast entirely in Russian, and the other programme is mixed. Thus about two-thirds of the radio and television broadcasts in the republic are in Russian. The former head of the Riga television station, Elinskis, did not agree to carry out the newcomer's demands. He was removed from his post.
2. Union newspapers, magazines, and books are all received in Latvia, but about half of the periodicals published in Latvia are in Russian anyway. Works by Latvian writers and school textbooks in Latvian cannot be published, because there is a lack of paper, but books written by Russian authors and school textbooks in Russian are published.
3. In all republic, city, and district organisations, in most local organisations, and in all enterprises, business is conducted in Russian.
4. Except in such collectives as editorial boards of Latvian newspapers and magazines, Latvian theatres and educational institutions, and partly kolkhozes, all meetings are also conducted in Russian. There are many collectives where Latvians have an absolute majority. Nevertheless, if there is a single Russian in the collective, he will demand that the meeting be conducted in Russian, and his demand will be satisfied. If this is not done, then the collective is accused of nationalism.
5. So-called unified schools, kindergartens, and children's homes have been established in cities and in the countryside. In practice, this means that the kindergartens, orphanages, and schools with Russian as the language of instruction have remained as before, but that in all establishments and schools where the language of instruction is Latvian, Russian groups and classes have been created. Subsequently here too, all business (such as pedagogical councils, teacher-student meetings, and Pioneer gatherings) is conducted in Russian. Excepting some country districts in Kurzeme, Zemgale, and Vidzeme, there are very few Latvian schools left.
6. In all middle special and higher educational institutions there are streams in Russian as the language of instruction.

7. In newspapers, radio, television, magazines, books - everywhere - day in and day out there is loud preaching about friendship with the Russians, and much publicity is devoted to cases of Latvian youths marrying Russian women, and Latvian girls marrying Russian men.
8. National brand names have been completely erased in the production of articles of mass consumption. Formerly Latvia, like any other state, had its own national dishes and its own brands of candy, chocolates, and cigarettes. Now only Union brands remain - "Belechka'., "Lastochka", "Kara-Kum", "Kazbek", "Belomor-Kanal", etc. In public cafeterias, cafes, and restaurants food is prepared only according to Union (i.e., Russian) recipes. National dishes rarely appear.
9. The Latvian nation has its remarkable "Ligo" festival, which has been freely celebrated for centuries, including the years of the German fascist occupation. Until last year, the "Ligo" festival was categorically forbidden; this year, although there is no official prohibition, it has not been declared a holiday.
10. There are two approaches to literary heritage. The works of L.Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Gogol, Pushkin, Lermontov, etc., are published again and again. However, of the Latvian writers of the pre-Soviet period, only Rainis, Paegle, and Veidenbaums are fully recognised, and Aspazija, Blaumanis, and some others are recognised in part.
11. Riga has six administrative districts, but not a single one of them bears a local name. They are called Lenin, Kirov, Moscow, Leningrad, October, and Proletarian.
12. In Riga there are streets with the following names: Lenin, Kirov, Sverdlov, Pushkin, Lermontov, Gorki; there is even a street named after the czarist governor Suvorov. However, such street names as the boulevard named after Aspazija, the foremost Latvian poetess, and the street named after Kr. Valdemars, the selfless enlightener of the Latvian people, have been struck out.
13. In Riga there is a memorial home for Lenin, and also one for Czar Peter I, the conqueror of Baltic lands.
14. The important role played by the Latvian Rifle regiments at the time of the October revolution is well known. In the most critical moments Lenin trusted them to guard the Kremlin and his own person. During World War II, two Latvian divisions and a special aviation regiment heroically fought in the ranks of the Red Army. Now, however, Latvian units have been disbanded, and Latvian youths are deliberately forbidden to serve even in these Russian units which are stationed on Latvian soil;

instead they are dispersed all over the Soviet Union, as far away from Latvia as possible.

15. The repertoires of Latvian professional or amateur theatres, ensembles, orchestras, and choruses are not confirmed unless they include Russian plays or songs. However, there are almost no Latvian plays or songs in the repertoires of Russian collectives.

National communist opposition

We could continue listing such facts and events, all of which testify to one and the same: All that is national is being eradicated. Forced assimilation is being implemented. There is no equality between nations, cultures, and traditions.

It may of course be asked: Why do Latvian Communists and the Latvian people remain silent?

They were not silent. There were attempts to oppose such policies.

For example, E. Berklavs (former First Secretary of the City of Riga Party committee, subsequently deputy Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman, and member of the Latvian CP CC Bureau) always consistently opposed these harmful activities. Until a certain point, he was supported by a number of other members of the Latvian CP CC Bureau and the republic government. However, when a majority of the members of the Latvian CP CC Bureau began to support his views, the former first secretary of the CPSU CC comrade Khrushchev personally arrived in Latvia; he also sent Mukhitdinev, then a secretary of the CPSU CC. As a result, Berklavs was removed from his post as Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, expelled from the Latvian CP CC Bureau and the CC, and deported from the republic. For supporting this position, for opposing Great Russian chauvinism and the distortion of the policy of Marxism-Leninism, the following persons were removed from their posts:

- K. Ozoliņš, Latvian Supreme Soviet presidium chairman and Latvian CP CC Bureau member
- A. Pinksis, republic Council of Trade Unions chairman and Latvian CP CC Bureau candidate member
- Straujums, City of Riga Party committee First secretary (after Berklavs) and Latvian CP CC Bureau member
- Pizāns, newspaper "Cīņa" chief editor (Latvian CP CC central organ) and Latvian CP CC Bureau candidate member

- E. Mūkins, Republic Planning committee Deputy chairman
- V. Kreituss, City of Riga Executive Committee First Deputy chairman
- Bisenieks, Latvian CP CC Secretary and Bureau member
- V. Krumiņš, Latvian CP CC Second secretary
- P. Dzērve, Economics Research Institute Director
- V. Kalpiņš, Minister of Culture, Latvian CP CC member
- P. Čerkovskis, Deputy Minister of Culture
- Prombergs, Deputy Minister of Health
- A. Nikonovs, Minister of Agriculture
- Vallis, Deputy Minister of Agriculture
- Darbiņš, City of Riga newspaper Chief editor
- Ruskulis, Latvian Komsomol CC First secretary
- Valters, Latvian Komsomol CC Second secretary
- Brencis, "Padomju Jaunatne" Chief editor, Latvian Komsomol CC newspaper and central organ
- Zandmanis, Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Cadre section Head
- J. Kacens, Latvian CP CC Administrative Organs section Head
- E. Liberts, Minister of Automobile Transport and Highways
- P. Plēsums, Latvian CP CC Party Central Commission Chairman
- Ē. Erenštreite, Council of Ministers Senior adviser
- J. Gibietis, City of Riga Executive Committee Popular education section Head and Latvian CP City of Riga committee member
- M. Vernere and Duskina, secondary school directors
- and many, many others.

Now only foreigners, and such Latvians who have spent all their lives in Russia and come to Latvia only after World War II, are in leading positions. Most of them either do not speak Latvian at all or speak it very badly. This is illustrated by the following facts.

At the present time, the following are working as secretaries of the Latvian CP CC: CC first secretary Voss - Latvian from Russia, usually does not speak Latvian in public; CC second secretary Belukh - Russian from Russia, does not understand Latvian; CC secretary for propaganda Drīzulis - Latvian from Russia; secretary for agriculture Verro - Estonian from Russia, does not understand Latvian; CC secretary for industry Petersons - Latvian from Russia, speaks Latvian very badly.

The leadership of the Council of Ministers: Chairman J. Rubenis - Latvian from Russia, speaks Latvian very badly; deputy chairman Bondaletov - Russian from Russia, does not understand Latvian. The chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet - V. Rubens, Latvian from Russia, speaks Latvian very badly, usually does not speak it in public.

For leading work they usually select unprincipled people, people without any views or opinions of their own - toadies, careerists, and bootlickers. Principled people, who have their own views and do not hide them, find their paths blocked.

Such, then, are the conditions in Latvia, in such a situation are the local inhabitants in their own republics, in their native land. As concerns Lithuanians, Estonians, Jews, Germans, Poles, and other minorities (except Russians), who have lived in Latvian territory previously and live there now, their national characteristics are not respected at all. Until 1940, i.e., until the establishment of Soviet power, they had their own elementary and secondary schools in Latvia where they were taught in their native language. In their native language they published newspapers, magazines, and books; they had their own clubs, theatres, choirs, and other cultural-educational institutions. Now, despite the well-known principles of Marxism-Leninism on these questions, despite the declarations of USSR leaders that in the Soviet Union the national question has been solved, and that all nations and nationalities here have complete freedom and equality, nothing like this exists. In all republics, the Russians have everything, the titular nations of their own republics still have something but the rest have nothing.

And the 3.5 million Jews who live in the USSR have a single newspaper and a single magazine in their native language, which are published in their autonomous region. The opportunity to have their own theatre, club, or any sort of cultural-educational institution has been denied them, even in cities where there are tens of thousands of them.

Appeal to foreign communists

Esteemed comrades! In this letter we briefly described the actual situation existing in the Soviet Union in only one aspect, that of the national question. But the teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the rights and freedoms common to all mankind, the freedom of speech, the Leninist style of work, and other fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are also being grossly violated.

Why are we writing you about this? Why do we write only now? What do we ask from you, and what do we propose?

As we said at the beginning of this letter, we are Communists of long standing. When we worked underground, were cast in prisons, and did forced labour in bourgeois Latvia, we

knew the substance of the socialist state, and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism only in theory. We had unquestioning faith in all the ideals of these teachings. When we first saw the socialist state (which was the only one in the entire world), we immediately saw that real life differed from theory. But we fervently believed that its mistakes were transitional, that one had to struggle with them, and that they could be overcome. At first we did not realise the depth of these mistakes.

Only gradually and over time in practical work did we come to realise that everything which is officially spoken and written here is nothing but a sham, the tendentious twisting of facts, and lies; that all Party conferences, meetings, and congresses are only spectacles which have been carefully prepared in advance. They are called solely in order to create the illusion of intra-Party democracy, and they have to echo what has been said "above" - in the final analysis, what has been said by the first citizen of the country (singly and personally). Any attempt to object to this opinion is judged as an attempt to oppose the Party and Leninism. Such brave souls are not only removed from all posts, but they are also deprived of liberty, thrown into prisons and camps in inhuman conditions, deported, and sometimes they even disappear forever without a trace.

It will be understood that in such conditions there can be no discussion either in Party conferences and plenums or in sessions of Councils of Peoples' Deputies. Thus is the created illusion of unity.

We believe that you have heard all this before and that you know some things. However, using only official sources and spending only brief periods in the Soviet Union, you can scarcely imagine everything that is happening here. That is why we are writing you; we want to acquaint you with the facts.

We understand that no Communist Party has the right to interfere in the affairs of other Parties. But, in order to jointly achieve this, it is necessary to rein in the violator of this principle. You know the facts. And besides, it is precisely from our successes, failures, and mistakes that people of the world judge Communists and socialism in general. The actions of the Soviet Union help or hinder your work too.

This is why we believe that you should know the truth about us, and that you will find it necessary to influence the leaders of the USSR. We know that this is not easy - they are not in the habit of listening to others, they act from positions of strength and respect only strength. But the influence of your Party in the world Communist movement is great, and your views cannot be ignored. We will not attempt to say in advance in what ways you could influence the

leaders of the USSR. However, we believe that it is not possible to preserve the prestige of Marxism-Leninism by keeping silent about the violation of its fundamental principles here.

If the leaders of the CPSU do not agree to immediately cease the above-mentioned and similar activities, then they should be ruthlessly unmasked and boycotted. The present policies of the CPSU leaders are fateful for the entire world Communist movement.

With Communist greetings
Latvian communists

Eduards Berklavs. *Zināt un neaizmirst*. Riga. 1998, p. 322.-334

In 1968, the former leader of the Latvian National Communists, Eduards Berklavs, returned to Latvia from exile in Vladimir and started working at the Riga Electric Machinery Factory. He did not want and could not accept the situation in Latvia. New, like-minded people were found, who decided to involve those communist parties that, now and again, dared to oppose the despotic national policy of the CPSU in the fight against the oppression of the peoples of the Soviet Union. As members of the communist party, they decided to appeal to the most influential communist parties, to show the true - imperialist - face of the CPSU with concrete facts.

In addition to Berklavs, the Latvian communists' letter was signed by Emma Ērenštreite, Jānis Kacens, Jānis Galdiņš, Arnold Zandmanis, Valentīna Borka, Jānis Gustsons, Ella Ankupa, Pēteris Sadovskis, Elvīra Zēberga, Rasmus Siliņa, Pāvels Pizāns, Zālamans Jofe, Fricis Jānis Sadovskis, Pēteris Plēsums, Olga Vāvere, and others - a total of 17 people. Most of them were LCP veterans.

In the summer of 1971, the letter was secretly delivered to the USA and then to Sweden. In Stockholm, the head of the Foreign Committee of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party (LSDSP) Bruno Kalniņš and historian Uldis Ģermanis prepared it for publication in the LSDSP Foreign Committee monthly "Freedom" (published in the January 1972 issue). At the same time, the letter was broadcast by Svoboda radio, from which it was picked up by many foreign broadcast stations.

The resonance of the letter was enormous. It was introduced to readers and listeners by major newspapers and radio stations in many countries. The letter by 17 Latvian communists was included in the official collection of documents of the US Congress Congressional Record.

In order to expose the colonisation and Russification of Latvia, it was widely used by Latvian exile organisations.

Historian Jānis Amols rightly concludes about the resonance of this letter:

The unprecedented wide attention that the mass media paid to the Letter of 17 Latvian Communists, as well as the resonance that the publication of this document caused both in the West and in the "socialist camp", allows us to consider this letter as one of the most significant and successful anti-Soviet protest actions of Latvians in the post-war occupation period. It is possible that the Letter of 17 Latvian Communists is the most significant and successful episode of Latvian Latvians' struggle against Russification during the Soviet occupation after the "purges" of 1959 until the "singing revolution" in the late 1980s and early 1990s. ... it was an excellent example of joint and successful cooperation between Latvia and Latvians in exile in the fight against the occupying power. The logistics of the authors and distributors of the letter, in order to achieve its widest possible popularisation in the West, must be evaluated as excellent."

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1. Jānis Amols. Izcils nacionālās pretestības paraugs. *Okupācijas varu nodarītie postījumi Latvijā 1940.-1990. Rakstu krājums* [Damage Caused by the Occupation Forces in Latvia 1940-1990. Collection of articles]. Stockholm-Toronto, 2000.

2. pielikums

Excerpts from the last words of Latvian freedom fighter Gunārs Astra at the Latvian SSR Supreme Court on 15 December 1983

15 December 1983

...

It hurts me and I feel humiliated that I have to find that my native language has to recede into reserves - in the Open Air Museum, on the stages of some theatres, in some mass media - and there, too, it is slowly and convincingly being pushed back by the great Russian tongue.

It hurts me and I feel humiliated when I have to state that the oppressive majority of Russians born and raised in Latvia do not learn and do not want to learn the Latvian language, that for a Russian secondary school graduate, Latvian is an object of scorn and ridicule, and no examiner asks a Russian student to learn this language, but for a Latvian student, the Russian language is absolutely mandatory.

...

I feel deeply insulted and humiliated when I have to experience an arrogant, chauvinistic attitude towards my language in a public place - in a shop, in an institution, in transport, on the

street in the territory of Latvia at every step - at best, I have to hear: “Čevo, čevo? Po russki!”*, in the worst case, the person looks through me as if I were a windowpane, and then I can admire the back of his head.

...

I believe this time will fade away like an evil nightmare. It gives me strength to stand here and breathe. Our nation has suffered much and has therefore learned and will endure this dark time as well.

...

* “What, what? In Russian!”

² *Neatkarības atgūšana: Atmosdas laiks dokumentos* [Regaining independence: The National Awakening in documents]. Riga, 1996, p. 7., 8., 12.

3. pielikums

Excerpts from the Declaration on the occupation of Latvia adopted by the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia on 22 August 1996

The highest representative body of the Latvian people, the Saeima, addresses the world's countries and international organisations with this declaration to remind them of the tragic fate of our people and country in the 20th century.

The Republic of Latvia was proclaimed on 18 November 1918, and on 22 September 1921, it became a member of the League of Nations. The development of Latvia as an independent state was interrupted by the non-aggression pact concluded on 23 August 1939 between two totalitarian superpowers - National Socialist Germany and Communist USSR. ...

Violating the basic principles of international law as well as the agreements concluded between Latvia and the USSR, the USSR occupied Latvia on 17 June 1940 with military force and illegally included (annexed) it into the USSR. Consequently, the Soviet political regime and legal system was introduced in Latvia.

In the summer of 1941, the territory of Latvia was occupied by National Socialist Germany, which established its own regime. ...

As the Second World War drew to a close, the USSR reoccupied Latvia. ...

Throughout the occupation, the USSR purposefully carried out genocide against the people of Latvia, thereby violating the 9 December 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The occupation regime destroyed innocent people, repeatedly carried out mass deportations of the population and other repressions, cruelly punished those who stood up for the restoration of Latvia's independence in an armed or other way, illegally expropriated Latvian citizens' property without compensation, and suppressed expressions of free thought. The leadership of the USSR purposefully poured hundreds of thousands of migrants into Latvia and with their help tried to destroy the identity of the Latvian people. As a result of this policy, the share of Latvians as the titular nation decreased from 77 percent to 52 percent. ...

Even before the collapse of the USSR, a broad popular movement began in Latvia for the restoration of the country's independence in a peaceful and democratic way. In the 1990 elections, this movement managed to obtain a majority in the highest representative institution - the Supreme Council. ...

Thanks to the will of the Latvian people and the support of the democratic forces of the world, the country's independence was restored on 21 August 1991. ...

Saeima speaker *I. Kreituse*