

SECRET
OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: Air

DISPATCH No. WSSA-192

TO : Chief, PSW

DATE: 9 December 1947

FROM : []

SUBJECT: General . Letter of Transmittal
Specific . Baltic activities and
organizations in Sweden

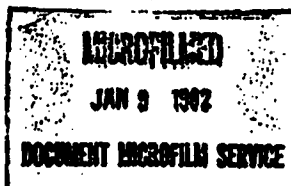
INTEL

1. Attached ~~is~~ the original and ~~two~~ ^{two} copies of a memorandum prepared by Tiberius outlining the Baltic activities and organizations in Sweden. Although as is normal, there is a slight propaganda tinge to the material, it is believed to be completely up to date and factually accurate.
2. This memorandum has been compiled at the request of the Ambassador and a copy was made available to him.
3. It also serves, however, as a valuable study when interpreting the difficulties in conducting Baltic operations in this area without the knowledge of the Swedes. Then too, the close-knit organization of the Balts makes any sizeable operation more susceptible to penetration than would be the case if they were at all segregated. This does not mean that there are no internal groups within the overall structure, but we assume, but cannot prove, that the primary allegiance of each minor group is to the Central Committee, at least as long as their interests are not too divergent.

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SECRET

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DATE 2007

THE BALTS IN SWEDEN

Survey.

Arrival and numbers.

According to official Swedish statistics the special group of Baltic displaced persons in Sweden consists of the following numbers:

		Of those in Stockholm
Estonians	22,405	ab. 7,000
Estonian Swedes	6,500	"
Latvians	3,418	" 500
Lithuanians	<u>465</u>	?
Total	32,786	

Of the above the Estonian Swedes (roughly 6,500) were taken to Sweden between 1941-1944 by the Swedish government, by agreement with the Soviet and, subsequently, the German occupants of the Baltic States. These Estonian Swedes were accorded special legal and economic facilities, have mostly already become Swedish citizens and merged with the Swedish community.

The Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians fled to Sweden by every imaginable kind of watercraft in August and September, 1944, when the Red Army for the second time entered their homelands. The Swedish government, privately, and the Swedish Church, in particular, directly assisted in their escape across the Baltic Sea.

At the same time roughly 250,000 Balts escaped to Germany, where, owing to reasons of geography, the Lithuanian fugitives constitute the overwhelming majority, whilst the Latvians and Estonians, in the said order, constitute the minorities.

The Balts fled not warfare, as sometimes is asserted, but bolshevik rule and terror. A total of at least 150,000 Balts of every social category having been in the short period of the first Soviet occupation of 1940-41 killed, imprisoned and/or deported to Soviet Russia, and the Balts having therefore - in the first couple of months - directly welcomed German occupation,

they knew what to expect from the second Soviet occupation and fled by every possible means.

Vocational classification.

A glance at the vocational classification of the Estonians - the largest group - in Sweden shows that those who had the easiest access to boats, naturally, are most numerously represented, while the group otherwise represents a fair miniature of its land.

Household workers (wives)	approx: 5,500
Farmer-fishermen	" 4,300
Children	" 3,500
Professional fishermen	" 3,000
Farmers and agric. laborers (incl. 55 agronomists)	" 1,200
Economists, businessmen, co'operators	" 1,100
Factory workers	" 800
Seamen	" 700
Civil servants	" 680
Educators (whereof school-teachers 500, clergyman 40)	" 600
Engineers, technicians, skilled workers	550
Public health workers (physicians 108, pharmacutists 50, dentists 40, vet. surgeons 15)	" 470
Students	" 400
Artists, writers, musicians	" 115
University teachers	" 110
Forestry workers (incl. 31 inspectors)	" 110

Source: "The Baltic Refugees", Stockholm, 1946.

A special group.

Among the above a special group is worth mentioning. This is the group of roughly 7,000 Estonians who, during the GERMAN occupation of the Baltic States, succeeded in escaping from Estonia to their near kinsmen - Finland. There roughly 3,000 young men enlisted the Finnish army and navy, where they, by Finnish and Estonian own escaped officers, were trained to become com-

missioned and non-com. officers (Finnish Inf. Regiment 200) in the hope that the history of World War. I would be repeated, i. e. Russia and Germany collapse simultaneously and the independence of Finland, the Baltic States and Poland fully restored. Infantry Regiment 200 in August, 1944, in fact went from Finland over to Estonia, where it covered the proclamation of the national government of Mr. Otto Tief (an Agrarian and lawyer, present whereabouts not known) and the escape of their compatriots to Sweden and Germany. A considerable percentage of these men (and other trained Baltic soldiers) is now, in their civil vocations, in Sweden (and Germany). They are not particularly organized but form, by virtue of their past and training, a group of their own, meet occasionally in small occasional groups, and may be called up at a moment's notice.

Estonians and Latvians in Swedish economic life.

Owing a) to the very liberal policy and initial economic aid rendered by the Swedish government and community to the Baltic refugees, b) to labor shortage in Sweden and c) last but not least, to Baltic own tenacity, the number of Estonian wage-earners in Sweden, according to Swedish statistics, is at present 15,900, or 71 % of the entire number (the rest being professionally non-working housewives, children, etc.). Their combined yearly earnings are estimated to 60 million kronas, in conjunction with the Latvians - to 80 millions, whereof 7,5 - 10 millions goes yearly to the Swedish government in taxes. Baltic social activity, economic solidity and comparative economic strength is further well illustrated by a glance at their national and cultural enterprises in Sweden.

Schools.

The Estonians - the largest group - in Sweden have for elementary education 2 elementary schools (at Stockholm and Helsingborg), 28 supplementary schools in as many towns (1,200 pupils, 71 teachers), and for secondary education an Estonian Evening College and Estonian Correspondence Institute (at Stockholm) with 900 pupils. To their maintenance, excluding fees, the Estonian refugees themselves contributed in the scholar year of 1946/47 kr. 100,821.

Religion.

There are in Sweden 28 Estonian and 17 Latvian Lutheran clergymen, some 10 Orthodox priests and (the Baltic States having always been countries of complete religious freedom) several ministers of the Free Churches. The Balts in Sweden have their own congregations benevolently patronized by the Swedish Church and local Free congregations. In 1947 the Lutheran Churches of Estonia and Latvia now in exile in Sweden and Germany participated in the Lutheran World Assembly held at Lund, Sweden, and the Estonian Baptist Church in exile - in the Baptist World Congress held at Copenhagen, in July-August, 1947.

Literature.

Whereas Soviet-occupied Estonia, besides official Communist propaganda, has produced only 2 novels and 2-3 books of verses, the Estonian refugee authors in Sweden have up to 1947 or in barely 3 years published 120 books on most various subjects with a total edition of 300,000 copies for a reading public of less than 25,000. The corresponding Latvian figures are 30 books with a total of 100,000 copies. To this should be added 6 Estonian, 6 Latvian and 1 Lithuanian (occasional) periodicals with a total circulation of 450,000, and 3 Estonian and 2 Latvian newspapers with a total, until Oct. 1, 1947, of nearly 5 million copies (Source: "The Baltic Review", Stockholm, 1947).

These, in the existing conditions, enormous figures not only represent a great cultural vitality, but also the belief of the Balts in Sweden that it is their national duty to ensure the continuation of their free literary tradition totally suppressed in their occupied homelands.

Art, science, sport.

The Estonians have 2 and the Latvians 1 large choir in Stockholm and numerous ones in other centers. These are conducted by well-known national musicians and composers. In 1947 two large Estonian singing festivals were held, in which altogether 10,000 people took part.

The Estonian actors and actresses have organized a Refugee Theatre producing plays, comic operas and even opera (Fosca). The opera troupe is planning a tour to the large group of Estonian

displaced persons now in Great Britain. The Latvian resources in Sweden being considerably smaller, the Latvian Refugee Theatre has hitherto confined itself to producing plays.

Baltic art being also represented in Sweden by a number of distinguished names, the first Estonian refugee's art exhibition took place in 1945 in Karlstad. In 1946 an Estonian-Latvian Art Exhibition was arranged in one of the largest art galleries of Stockholm, and individual artists, though compelled to earn their livelihood mostly by other means, often arrange single shows of their works in various centers.

According to the Swedish Labor Exchange Commission, Baltic scientists have in barely 3 years already published 117 scientific works. A learned series, "Scholarship in Exile", planned under the auspices of the "Estonian Learned Society in Sweden", is held up only by technical and financial obstacles.

In the field of sport Estonian female gymnasts and male riflemen have particularly distinguished themselves. The Estonian riflemen - holding once twice the Argentine Cup of World Championship in shooting - put up a team for the World Championship held in August, 1947, in Stockholm and were successful in all the branches which were open to them.

Refugee organizations.

The Estonians and Latvians (the Lithuanians no more) have in Sweden each a national Central Committee of their own, elected on a democratic basis by the entire adult membership of the respective group. These Committees are non-political organizations recognized by the Swedish authorities as semi-official representatives of the refugees and working in close contact with the proper Swedish authorities. The Committees, in general, carry out the normal duties of a national consulate and attend, in addition, to the large legal, economic, social and cultural problems of the refugees. Thus, the Estonian Committee (representing the largest Baltic group in Sweden) has spent near 200,000 kronas on social relief among the Estonian refugees in Sweden, and in 1946, during the severe winter in Germany, the said Committee, in collaboration with other Estonian organizations in Sweden, collected in the course of one month food and clothes to the value

of 100,000 kronas to Estonian children in Germany. It should be added that the said Committees have practically no money funds at their disposal and exist only on individual membership fees and voluntary contributions paid by the refugees.

The Estonian Committee (Skråddargränd 2, Stockholm, tel. 11-59-78), is headed by Timotheus Grünthal, a former judge of the Estonian High Court of Justice, elected to his present post precisely on account of his non-political character, and the Estonian Committee (Västmannagatan 13, Stockholm, tel. 11-92-83) - by Janis Breikš, (pronounced Breiksh). Owing to the comparatively small number of the Lithuanians in Sweden, their Central Committee has by the by dissolved, the necessary consular work being carried out by M. Gylis, ex-Lithuanian Minister at Stockholm, and humanitarian work mainly by Dr. Petruskas, working at the Karolinska Institutet at Stockholm.

As for the other Estonian refugee organizations in Sweden, the following are worth mentioning:

1. The Baltic Humanitarian Association, Garvargatan 11, Sthlm.
2. The Estonian National Fund, Garvargatan 11, Sthlm.
3. Local Estonian Societies (over 30, in diff. centers).
4. The Estonian YMCA (with 27 local divisions embracing 1200 boys and girls).
5. Estonian Boy-Scouts and Girl-Guides (700 boys, 400 girls; a delegation of theirs attended the World Jamboree held in France in the summer of 1947).
6. The Estonian Scientific Society, Stockholm.
7. The Estonian Students' Association, Stockholm.
8. The Estonian Seamen's Association, Stockholm.
9. The Estonian Medical Association, Stockholm.
10. The Association of Estonian Academic Women, and various organizations of lawyers, economists, agronomists, writers, artists, musicians and others.

The Baltic Humanitarian Association (BHA).

Of the aforesaid organizations the BHA and the Estonian National Fund are worth special mentioning. The BHA is a common organization of all the three Baltic nationalities, whose leading cultural, religious and educational personalities are represented on its Committee. It concentrates especially on the analysis of the social and legal status of the refugees and on relief work, maintains intercourse with numerous international organizations and publishes the "Baltic Review", whose editorial staff consists of a group of well-known names belonging to the older generation and which actually is edited by three younger ardent Balts: Arvo Horn (for Estonia), Kasma Gring (for Latvia) and Juozas Janonis (for Lithuania).

(c. Stockholm via: dated 9 Decem. 1947)

The Estonian National Fund (ENF).

This is a country-wide semi-political organization so far as its aim is to publish and spread reliable information on the Republic of Estonia (and the Baltic States in general). Mr. August Raj, former Speaker of the Est. Parliament, President of the Republic and last Est. Minister to Moscow, is its chairman and its Executive Committee consists of Estonians belonging to every kind of national groups and circles. Its income from 15.5 - 15.10. 1947 was but kr. 13,940.38 (of this kr. 7,000.- from concerts given in Sweden by the Estonian cellist Ludvig Juhl, Professor of Music at the Univ. of Boston, USA, and near kr. 2,000.- from Estonians outside Sweden), but with this comparative small income a great deal of work has been done. Its most valuable publication is the "Newsletter from Behind the Iron Curtain. Reports on Communist Activities in Eastern Europe" edited (unofficially) by Aleksander Falg, former Head of the Press Section of the Est. Min. for For. Affairs and Counselor to the former Est. Legation at Paris. The ENF also is financially responsible for the publication of "Ecclesia Militans" ("The Fighting Church"), a serious religious bulletin valued in the USA and Britain. A list of the other publications of the ENF is found in an appendix to the present.

Politics.

The political aim of the Balts in Sweden is not assimilation, but restoration of the political independence and sovereignty of their own countries (limited in the future in that respect so far as is imperative for the maintenance of universal peace in a free and democratic world). Working, severally and jointly, for the said basic purpose, the Balts among themselves are agreed that their independence can be restored only through another major war. In an internal evolution in Russia towards greater freedom and democracy they have no belief whatsoever. Yet it would be unfair to conclude that they are either "fascists" or "war-mongers". They simply are convinced that owing to the obvious imperialism of the Communist doctrine in general and historical Russian "Messianism" in particular, World War III will be unavoidable quite apart from the question whether they - the Balts - want it or not. They hold that post-war developments have in every important point confirmed their forecasts concerning Russian and Communist aspirations, and that a division of the world and Europe in general and of Germany in particular into two even territorially divided camps ("two Germanies") will never last. They generally think that a) only the great weakness, and not strength, of Russia, b) the atomic bomb, and c) American firmness have been the main factors of post-war "peace". They are, however, of the opinion that time is working not for the western Democracies, but for Soviet Russia.

In this situation the Baltic refugees just try to point out the dangers of Communism and Russia, and to see that the question of their countries will not disappear, either openly or by tacit agreement, from the order of the day.

Internal politics.

In order really to understand Baltic mentality, including Baltic refugee mentality, two rather peculiar things should in most cases be considered.

1. The introduction of semi-totalitarian dictatorships in the Baltic States "in defence of democracy" - 1926 in Lithuania, 1934 in Estonia and Latvia - split the public in the three count-

ries almost automatically into two large opposing sections: the "democrats", and the "oligue-men". The "democrats" came to embrace mainly the Socialists and the Liberals (the Communists playing until 1939, or the Soviet occupation, in the Baltic States no political rôle whatever), while the "oligue" or ruling circles based themselves mainly on the Agrarians (Old Farmers, or conservative peasants). Konstantin Põts in Estonia and Karlis Uimanis in Latvia were directly the acknowledged leaders of the Farmers' Party. In addition, the "democratic" and oppositionary intellectuals were found to belong mostly to academic societies, while the "oligue" intellectuals belonged mainly to color-wearing academic fraternities or "corporations", existing in the Baltic on the well-known German historical model. The former Baltic academic societies, on the one hand, and corporations, on the other, being among the very first refugee organizations re-created in exile also in Sweden, the above old "academic" difference and split continued also in exile and explain many things that otherwise are difficult to understand.

2. The most-conspicuous immediate result of Soviet intrusion, in the fall of 1939, in the Baltic States was a complete destruction of mutual trust and confidence among people, or of indispensable sentiments carefully created and nurtured in the 20 years of national freedom and independence. It really may be said that in 24 hours a friend ceased to trust a friend, a husband a wife, and vice versa, precisely like in Soviet Russia. The subsequent German occupation of 1941-1944 only made the situation doubly worse. This fact explains the innumerable rumors, suspicions, accusations and denunciations, found and spread among the refugees themselves and too often also to local police and other authorities. They are for the most part exaggerated, misrepresented, or simply groundless, and in many cases deliberately spread by paid or unpaid Soviet agents. (Corresponding Soviet instructions were recently by a chance discovered in a camp in Germany.)

In these circumstances the following internal political structure reached in the last three years by degrees by the Balts in Sweden may be considered quite an achievement.

The Latvians.

Through the Latvians (and their kindmen, the Lithuanians) are said to be even still greater "individualists" than the Estonians (and the Finns, near kinmen to the Estonians), Latvian political organization in exile would seem to have advanced farthest. The foundation to the present Latvian central organization in exile - the Latvian Central Council (LOP) - was laid, like in Estonia and Lithuania, in 1933/44 underground, in the country itself, during the German occupation. The so-called Presidency of the old Latvian democratic Parliament dissolved in 1934 by Ulmanis and General Balodis was made the nucleus of the underground LOP, to which representatives of 4 major political parties were added. Professor Chaksta, a son of the late Latvian President and a brother to Senator (judge) Mintauts Chaksta (in Sweden) was made chairman of the LOP. After the German collapse in the east 4 members of the LOP escaped to Germany and 4 to Sweden. Bishop Joseph Rancans (pron. Rantsans), at present in Germany, is President of the LOP in exile, and simultaneously, as the First Deputy Speaker of the Latvian Parliament, after the death of Dr. Pauls Kalnins, the Speaker, also constitutional keeper of the office of the President of the Republic of Latvia. Thus the Latvians in exile possess a man legally and personally able, if need be, to appear and act as the highest executive officer of independent and democratic Latvia. Bishop Rancans is personally described as a well educated and well trained Catholic priest, and an extremely able and cautious type of a man. The 4 members of the LOP in Germany are Kliva, representing the Old Farmers, Ridnieks - Young Farmers, Kruka - Democrats, and Rastians - Social Democrats. The five in Germany are working in close contact with the four in Sweden, who are: Bruno Kalnins, Chairman of the LOP in Sweden, a son of the late Dr. Pauls Kalnins mentioned before; Mintauts Chaksta (Liberal, described above), a form. Judge of the Latvian High Court of Justice; Oielans, form. Foreign Minister of Latvia; and Salnais, ex-Latvian Minister at Stockholm. These four meet regularly at the home of ex-Minister Salnais. As for Bruno Kalnins, the chairman and leading soul of the LOP in Sweden, he is by his antagonists reproached for having been, af-

ter the first Soviet occupation of independent Latvia, the Chief Political Adviser or "politruk" of the Latvian army; his friends (like Chakste), however, say that he accepted the said post at the direct request of people like General Balodis, the form. C.-in-C. of the Latvian army, and in fulfilment of a direct decision of the Latvian Social Democratic Party, to which Bruno Kalnins belonged and still belongs, and that he resigned his office at once, when Latvian independence was finally destroyed. In every case his abovementioned collaborators not only trust him completely, but also consider that he is at present the ablest and most active man among themselves. The IOP in Sweden is working, as stated, in close contact with the IOP in Germany, on the one hand, and with Karlis Zaring and Dr. Alfreds Bilmanis, the Latvian Ministers in London and Washington, respectively, on the other. "Latvju Ziņas" is their mouthpiece in Sweden and is circulated in about 3,000 copies all over the world. As a curiosity it may be mentioned that a young Latvian agent of the Soviet Embassy at Stockholm, Valdemars Osolin, is said to be a subscriber to the said paper in 4 copies for his employers, of which copies 1 is kept in Stockholm, 1 is being sent to Moscow, 1 to the rulers in Riga, and 1 to a State Library (for secret keeping) at Riga. The other Latvian paper in Sweden, "Latvju Vardas", is said to be of no importance nor influence.

The Estonians.

In spite of the fact that the Estonians constitute the most numerous and already therefore the "leading" group of the Baltic refugees in Sweden, they do not seem to have obtained the same kind of comparatively centralized political organization as the Latvians. In 1943 and 1944, or the last years of the German occupation of the Baltic, an underground National Council consisting of representatives of all the major parties was created also in Estonia, under the direction of Professor Juri Uluots, the last constitutional Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia, and therefore, President Konstantin Põts having been in 1940 deported to Soviet Russia, the constitutional holder also of the President's office. Before the final collapse of the Germans in the Baltic, Acting President Uluots, as stated before, appointed

a national government of Otto Tief and escaped himself, by agreement, to Sweden, Otto Tief and several members of his Cabinet being evidently caught in Estonia and President Uluots being himself mortally ill (liver cancer), Uluots was requested by his Estonian countrymen in Sweden to appoint for all eventualities formally a new Cabinet headed preferably by Bishop Johan Kõpp, the most respected head of the Estonian Lutheran Church, then as now also in Sweden, but Uluots died at a hospital before succeeding to make any appointment. In these circumstances the Estonians hold that August Rei, the Speaker of the Estonian Constituent Assembly of 1919-20, a former President of the Republic and the last Estonian Minister at Moscow, as the oldest member of the constitutional Cabinet of Otto Tief - in which Rei was the Foreign Minister - should, if and when the case arises, be considered the constitutional keeper of the office of the President of the Republic of Estonia (like Bishop Rancāns in the case of Latvia).

[Cont. of mission]

[As for August Rei, himself, his aim for years in Sweden has been to create on the spot a democratic front of all Estonian refugees in Sweden with the single purpose of defending the rights of their country in the field of international policies. It may be said that after numerous failures, a nucleus to such an organization was indirectly laid by the foundation of the Estonian National Fund (which was an idea of the younger generation working mainly in the Baltic Humanitarian Association). Of this fund Rei was one of the three chairmen, now the single chairman. Finally, his endeavors, assisted mainly by Aleksander Yama, ex-Estonian Minister at Helsinki, led, in the fall of 1947, to the establishment of a comparatively close contact between all the numerous and small Estonian political groups in Sweden, a contact or preliminary form of organization called among the Estonians themselves "The Roof". The avowed aim of "The Roof" is to work firstly and foremostly for the restoration of Estonian freedom and independence, burying at least for the time being all past or present differences of opinion, and leaving these to the more or less distant future. Mr. Rei is the recognized leader of the "Roof", its durability and efficiency, however, remain to be seen.]

Parallely with the above a democratic federation of all the academic "societies" and "corporations" existing in Sweden and mentioned before is being negotiated.

"Esti Teatais" ("The Estonian Herald") is the leading Estonian paper in Sweden, edited by Oskar Mind, a former editor of the largest independent, i.e. non-party Estonian bourgeois paper "Päevaleht" ("Daily News"). "Välis-Eesti" ("Foreign Estonia") is the second Estonian paper of importance in Sweden, edited by Kiir Sak. The real difference between the two papers is that while the first mainly is the mouthpiece of former academic "societies", the second is the mouthpiece of former color-wearing and perhaps somewhat more conservative "corporations". There really exists no other difference between the two papers than personal and group competition.

In addition to the preceding it is perhaps much more important to mention that the former officials of the Estonian Foreign Service now in Sweden have for the last two years regularly been meeting to discuss the international situation and to consider, what steps perhaps should be taken on behalf of the Baltic States. This is a decidedly non-party group and consists of the following persons: August Rai, presented before; Hans Rebane, a former Foreign Minister, ex-Minister at Riga and Helsinki, and ex-Md.-in-Chief to the aforesaid Estonian home paper "Päevaleht"; Bishop Jaan Lattik, also a form. Foreign Minister and ex-Minister at Kaunas, Lithuania; Heinrich Larfai, ex-Minister at Stockholm; Dr.jur. Nikolai Kaskik, form. Professor of International Law at the University of Tartu, a Rockefeller stipendiate and the last Assistant Foreign Minister of Estonia; Aleksander Varna, mag.jur., ex-Minister at Helsinki; Aleksander Pello, editor of the "Newsletters from Behind the Iron Curtain", also introduced before; Elmar Kirotar, ex-Head of the Administration and Legal Dept. of the Est.Min.for Foreign Affairs; and Aksel Linkhorst, ex-attaché of the Est.Legation at Stockholm; and, as an "outsider", Johannes Klemant, form. a Counselor at the Est.Ministry of Justice, and Min.of Justice of the aforesaid Cabinet of Otto Tief. Professor Nikolai Kaskik would be the leading soul of this group, which is maintaining personal contacts with August Jorma, Est.Minister at London, and Johannes Kaiy, Est. Consul-General at New York City.

Lithuania.

As for the Lithuanians, it would seem that owing to their comparatively small numbers in Sweden, they have left the policies of their country, on the one hand, to the large group of Lithuanian refugees in Germany, and to Lithuanian Americans in the USA, on the other. Of their leading personalities in Sweden ex-Minister Gylis (consular work) and Dr. Petrauskas (humanitarian relief and assistance) have been mentioned in the preceding. The best, from many points of view, Lithuanian in Sweden, the writer Ignas Scheining, the author of two popular anti-Soviet books in Sweden, has become a Swedish citizen and is said to refrain, for some reason or another, lately from active politics. In addition, it is said that the Lithuanian home underground movement has in Sweden a young representative of its own.

Mutual contacts.

In conclusion, a few words should perhaps be said on mutual contacts between the three Baltic nationalities in Sweden. Kalning-Sai-Scheining seem to maintain comparatively close contact between themselves; Samuel Salnais-Leretsi-Gylis, on the other hand, seem to maintain the same kind of contact among the ex-Ministers. And in the Baltic Humanitarian Association rather close contact and co-operation is being maintained among the "younger generation". As for the contact with the Poles in exile, considered by the Balts as important as contact between themselves, this, owing to the circumstances (the absence of a large number of Poles from Sweden), is being left mainly to be taken care of in the U.S.

Excerpts from BALTS in SWEDEN

Estonians - 22405 (appr. 7,000 in Stockholm)
 Est. Swedes 6500
 Latvians - ~~2122~~ 3418 (appr. 500 in Stockholm)
 Lithuanians 463
 Total - 32,786

WSSA-192
9 Dec 47

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In Sweden - 28 Estonian Lutheran clergymen
 17 Latvian "

10 Orthodox priests and several ministers of
 "Free churches".

x ref. - 201-12472
 24 Estonian choirs
 1 Latvian

Refugee Organizations

Central committees democratically elected, carry out, in general normal duties of a consulate and attend, in general, to the large legal, economic, social and cultural problems of refugees. (See also *Germany*).



200-12472

The Estonian Committee (Skråddergränd, Stockholm, tel. 11-59-78), is headed by Timotheus Grünthal, a former judge of the Estonian High Court of Justice, non-political.

The Latvian Committee (Vastmannagatan 13, Stockholm, tel. 11-92-83) by Janis Breikā.

Owing to the comparatively small number of the Lithuanians in Sweden, their Central Committee has by the by dissolved, the necessary consular work being carried out by M. Gylys, ex-Lithuanian Minister in Stockholm, and humanitarian work mainly by (Dr) Petrauskas, working at the Karolinska Institutet at Stockholm.

As for the other Estonian refugee organizations in Sweden, the following are worth mentioning:

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BHA is a common organization of all the three Baltic nationalities, whose leading cultural, religious and educational personalities are represented on its committee. It concentrates especially on the analysis of the social and legal status of the refugees and on relief work, maintains intercourse with numerous international organizations and publishes the "Baltic Review", whose editorial staff consists of a group of well-known names belonging to the older generation and which actually is edited by three younger ardent Belts: Arvo Korm (for Estonia), Rasma Grins (for Latvia) and Juozas Lingis (for Lithuania).

~~200-1-2-2-57~~

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Politics

Premise of their activity: Baltic states will probably be liberated only by World War III. Purpose of their present activities to keep Baltic question alive.

To understand Baltic mentality, inc. Baltic refugee mentality, two rather peculiar things should in most cases be considered.

1. The introduction of semi-totalitarian dictatorships in the Baltic States "in defence of democracy" - 1926 in Lithuania, 1934 in Estonia and Latvia - split the public in the three countries almost automatically into two large opposing sections: the "democrats" and the "clique-men". The "democrats" came to embrace mainly the socialists and the liberals (the Communists playing until 1939, or the Soviet occupation, in the Baltic States no political role whatever), while the "clique" or ruling circles based themselves mainly on the Agrarians (Old Farmers, or conservative peasants). Konstantin Päts in Estonia and Karlis Ulmanis in Latvia were directly the acknowledged leaders of the Farmers' Party. In addition, the "democratic" and oppositionary intellectuals were found to belong mostly to academic societies, while the "clique" intellectuals belonged mainly to color wearing academic fraternities or "corporations", existing in the Baltic on the well-known German historical model. The former Baltic academic societies, on the one hand, and corporations, on the other, being among the very first refugee orgs re-created in exile also in Sweden, the above old "academic" difference and split continued also in exile and explain many things that otherwise are difficult to understand.

2. The most conspicuous immediate result of Soviet intrusion, in the fall of 1939, in the Baltic States was a complete destruction of mutual trust and confidence among people, or of indispensable

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sentiments carefully created and nourished in the 20 years of national freedom and independence. It really may be said that in 24 hours a friend ceased to trust a friend, a husband a wife, and vice-versa, precisely like in SU. The subsequent German occupation of 1941-1944 only made the situation doubly worse. This fact explains the innumerable rumors, suspicions, accusations and denunciations, found and spread among the refugees themselves and too often also to local police and other authorities. They are for the most part exaggerated, misrepresented, or simply groundless, and in many cases spread by paid or unpaid Soviet agents. (Corresponding Soviet instructions were recently by a chance discovered in a camp in Germany).

In those circumstances the following internal political structure reached in the last 3 years by the Belts in Sweden may be considered quite an achievement.

The Latvians

Though the Latvians (and their kinsmen, the Lithuanians) are said to be even still greater "individualists" than the Estonians (and the Finns, near kinsmen to the Estonians), Latvian political organization in exile would seem to have advanced farthest. The foundation to the present Latvian central organization in exile - the Latvian Central Council (LCC) - was laid, like in Estonia and Lithuania, in 1943-44 underground, in the country itself, during the German occupation. The so-called Presidency of the old Latvian democratic Parliament dissolved in 1934 by Ulmanis and General Balodis, was made the nucleus of the underground LCC, to which representatives of 4 major political parties were added. Professor Chakste, a son of the late Latvian President and a brother to Senator (Judge) Minbauts, Chakste (in Sweden), was made chairman of the LCC. After the German collapse in the east 4 members of the LCC escaped to Germany and 4 to Sweden. Bishop Joseph Rancans (pron. Rantsans), at present in Germany, is President of the LCC in exile, and simultaneously, as the First Deputy Speaker of the Latvian Parliament, after the death of (Dr.) Pauls Kalnins, the Speaker, also constitutional keeper of the office of the President of the Republic of Latvia. Thus the Latvians in exile possess a man legally and personally able, if need be, to appear and act as the highest executive officer of independent and democratic Latvia. Bishop Rancans is personally described as a well-educated and well-trained Catholic priest, and an extremely able and cautious type of man. The 4 members of the LCC in Germany are Kliver, representing the Old Farmers, Blodnieks, Young Farmers, Krucka, Democrats, and Bastjans, Social-Democrats. The five in Germany are working in close contact with the four in Sweden, who are Bruno Kalnins, Chairman of the LCC in Sweden, a son of the late Dr. Pauls Kalnins, mentioned before; Minbauts Chakste (Liberal, described above), a former Judge of the Latvian High Court of Justice; Cielens, former foreign Minister of Latvia; and Salnais, ex-Latvian Minister at Stockholm. These four meet regularly at the home of ex-Minister Salnais. As for Bruno Kalnins, the chairman and leading soul of the LCC in Sweden, he is by his antagonists reproached for having been, after the first Soviet occupation, the Chief Political Adviser or "politruk" of the Latvian Army; his friends (like Chakste), however, say that he accepted the said post at the direct

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request of people like General Balodis, the former C in C of the Latvian Army, and in fulfillment of a direct decision of the Latvian Social-Democratic Party, to which Bruno Kalnins belonged and still belongs, and that he resigned his office at once, when Latvian independence was finally destroyed. In every case his above-mentioned collaborators not only trust him completely, but also consider that he is at present the ablest and most active man among them. The LCP in Sweden is working, as stated, in close contact with the LCP in Germany, on the one hand, and with Karlis Zerins and Dr. Alfreds Bilmanis, the Latvian Ministers in London and Washington respectfully, on the other.

"Latvju Zinas" is their mouthpiece in Sweden and is circulated in about 3,000 copies all over the world. As a curiosity it may be mentioned that a young Latvian agent of the Soviet Embassy at Stockholm, Valdemars Soslin, is said to be a subscriber to the said paper in 4 copies for his employers, of which copies 1 is kept in Stockholm, 1 is being sent to Moscow, 1 to the rulers in Riga, and 1 to a State Library (for secret keeping) at Riga. The other Latvian paper in Sweden, "Latvju Varde", is said to be of no importance nor influence.

The Estonians

In 1943-44, or the last years of the German occupation of the Baltic, an underground National Council consisting of representatives of all the major parties was created also in Estonia, under the direction of (Prof) Juri Uluots, the last constitutional Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia, and therefore, President Konstantin Päts having been in 1940 deported to Soviet Russia, the constitutional holder also of the President's office, before the final collapse of the Germans in the Baltic, Acting Prps. Uluots, as stated above, appointed a national government of Otto Tief, and escaped himself, by agreement, to Sweden. Otto Tief and several members of his cabinet being evidently caught in Estonia and President Uluots being mortally ill (liver cancer), Uluots was requested by his Estonian countrymen in Sweden to appoint for all eventualities formally a new Cabinet headed preferably by (Bishop) Johann Köpp, the most respected head of the Estonian Lutheran Church, then as now also in Sweden, but Uluots died at a hospital before succeeding to make any appointments. In these circumstances the Estonians hold that August Rei, the Speaker of the Estonian Constitutional Assembly of 1919-1920, a former President of the Republic and the last Estonian Minister at Moscow, as the oldest member of the constitutional Cabinet of Otto Tief - in which Rei was the Foreign Minister - should, if and when the case arises, be considered the constitutional keeper of the office of the President of the Republic of Estonia (like Bishop Rancens in the case of Latvia).

As for August Rei himself, his aim for years in Sweden has been to create on the spot a democratic front of all Estonian refugees in Sweden with the single purpose of defending the rights of their country in the field of international policies. It may be said that after numerous failures a nucleus to such an

organization was indirectly laid by the foundation of the Estonian National Fund (which was an idea of the younger generation working mainly in the Baltic Humanitarian Association). Of this fund Rei was one of the three chairmen, now the single chairman. Finally, his endeavors, assisted mainly by Aleksander Varma, ex-Estonian Minister at Helsinki, led, in the fall of 1947, to the establishment of a comparatively close contact between all the numerous and small Estonian political groups in Sweden, a contact or preliminary form of organization called among the Estonians themselves "The Roof". The avowed aim of the "Roof" is to work firstly and foremostly for the restoration of Estonian freedom and independence, burying at least for the time being all past or present differences of opinion, and leaving these to the more or less distant future. Mr. Rei is the recognized leader of the "Roof"; its durability and efficiency, however, remain to be seen. In parallel with the above a democratic federation of all the academic "societies" and "corporations" existing in Sweden and mentioned before is being negotiated.

"Eesti Teataja" ("The Estonian Herald") is the leading Estonian paper in Sweden, edited by Oskar Känd, a former editor of the largest independent, i. e., non-party Estonian bourgeois paper "Päevaleht" ("Daily News"). "Välis-Eesti" ("Foreign Estonia") is the second Estonian paper of importance in Sweden, edited by Edgar Taks. The real difference between the two papers is that while the first mainly is the mouthpiece of former academic "societies", the second is the mouthpiece of former color-wearing and perhaps somewhat more conservative "corporations". There really exists no other difference between the two papers than personal and group competition.

It is important to mention that the former officials of the Estonian foreign Service now in Sweden have for the last two years regularly been meeting to discuss the international situation and to consider what steps perhaps should be taken on behalf of the Baltic States. This is a decidedly non-party group and consists of the following persons: August Rei, presented above; Hans Rebane, a former Foreign Minister, ex-Minister at Riga and Helsinki and ex-Editor-in-Chief of the aforesaid Estonian home paper "Päevaleht"; Bishop Jaan Tattik, also a former Foreign Minister and ex-Minister at Kaunas, Lithuania; Heinrich Laretely, ex-Minister at Stockholm; Dr. jur. Nikolai Kessik, form Prof. of International Law at the U. of Tartu, a Rockefeller stipendiate and the last Ass't Foreign Minister of Estonia; Aleksander Varma, mag. jur., ex-Minister at Helsinki; Aleksander Pello, editor of the "Newsletter from Behind the Iron Curtain"; Einar Kirotar, ex-head of the Administration and Legal Dept. of the Est. Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and Aksel Linkharak, ex-attache of the Est. Legation at Stockholm; and, as an "outsider", Johannes Klossant, form. a Counsellor at the Est. Ministry of Justice and Min. of Justice of the aforesaid Cabinet of Otto Kief. Prof. Nikolai Kessik would be the leading soul of this group, which is maintaining personal contacts with August Torma, Est. minister in London, and Johannes Kaiv, Est. Consul-general in NYC.

Lithuania

As for the Lithuanians, it would seem that owing to their com-

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May 24, 46.

Non Am. Embassy Stockholm.

Re: Registration of Baltic refugees in Sweden as Soviet Russian citizens

- widespread sympathy for Balts in Sweden frequently reflected in Swedish Press. In Conn. 30th Ann. independence of Est., Lat., Lith, papers devoted considerable space.

- On Apr. 5, Stockholm Tidningen, which has apparently approached itself chief custodian of the interests of the Baltic refugees in Sweden, reported about 15000 refugees had secretly been entered in the parish & State registers as "Soviet Russian citizens"; that this registration was in conformity with instructions issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Otto Udden explained (he Foreign Minister) that Balts in Sweden before Sept 7, 1946 are regarded as stateless, those who had left the S.U. later were to be regarded as Soviet citizens; this registration has no influence whatsoever on the rights of anyones which the refugees enjoy.

According to Stock-Tidningen on Apr 27, 31,000

Baltic refugees in Sweden. (?)

During Autumn of 1946 the then Soviet Govt has negotiated incorporation of Baltic states into the S.U. over →
200,000 (over)

Paper friendly to: Bert:

Stockholms Tidningen, liberal

Hagens Nyheter, liberal
aftonbladet, liberal.

Bilbores Handels- och Sjöfartstidning, liberal.

Aftontidningen, Socialdemocratic

ny dag, Communist