COURAGE

Cultural Opposition: Understanding the Cultural Heritage of Dissent in the Former Socialist Countries

Country Reports

The Baltic Countries

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Introduction

Even though 28 years have passed since the collapse of the USSR, the Soviet legacy continues to be a topic of heated debate in Baltic society. The international conferences organised in Estonia show that research into the late Soviet period,[1] not forgetting the complicated but already rather widely studied Stalinist period, is becoming more prevalent.

In the other two Baltic republics, memories and discussions about the Soviet period are expressed to an even greater extent. It seems as if the younger generation has grown up, and is again asking questions about the Soviet regime's crimes and unfinished problems regarding de-Sovietisation. The Latvian Scientific Commission for the Study of KGB Materials, which was founded in the summer of 2014, stepped up its activities in 2017 and 2018.[2] Experts from the Commission were granted the right to take photographs of files in Latvian archives for free; other archive visitors only received this right in the spring of 2018. In Lithuania, the KGB was legally recognised as a criminal organisation in 1998,[3] and only the avoidance of applying the principle of collective responsibility limits the legal persecution of former KGB staff and their secret collaborators. Material about people, including well-known cultural workers, who collaborated with the KGB is being publicised in Lithuania. The lack of accurate information, and, it appears, misleading and later denied accusations of having collaborated with the KGB, arouse even more arguments in the public.[4] In 2018, a resolution was passed by the Lithuanian parliament (Seimas) identifying the former Communist Party of Lithuania (CPL) as a criminal organisation.[5] Nonetheless, the draft law initiated by Laurynas Kasčiūnas and Audronis Ažubalis, parliamentarians and members of the Conservative Party, on the criminalisation of the CPL did not even receive support from their own Conservative Party leaders. The fact that 2018 was declared the Year of Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas, the Lithuanian partisan leader of the armed resistance against the regime, who was

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1 E.g., in November 2018, at the University of Tartu in Estonia, an international conference 'From Destalinisation to the Global Sixties: The Baltic Union Republics in the 1950s–1960s' will be held.
2 For more details about the Commission, see:
//lv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvijas_PSR_VDK_zin%C4%81tnisk%C4%81s_izp%C4%93tes_komisija
3 See the Lithuanian law of 30 June 1998 'On the assessment of the USSR State Security Committee (NKVD, NKGB, MGB, KGB) and the current activities of cadre personnel of this organisation'.
4 http://alkas.lt/2018/05/21/liustracijos-komisija-nei-s-sondeckis-nei-d-banionis-su-kgb-nebendradarbiavo/
5 http://www.lrs.lt/sip/portal.show?p_r=25318&p_k=1&p_t=174811

sentenced to death in 1956, shows that history is still a focus of attention. After the discovery in June 2018 of his remains, which had been buried by Soviet Chekists, plans were made for a ceremonial burial, while associated events related to Vanagas arouse interest in society and provoke discussions about the Soviet past. It would appear that this interest in our historic but not so distant past is very favourable as far as research on the cultural opposition in the Soviet period in the Baltics is concerned. Nonetheless, as we will learn later on, the situation is not as simple or as unambiguous at it seems at first glance, meaning that a broader definition of the cultural opposition and memories of the phenomenon are worth our attention.

1. The legislative framework for preserving documents from the Soviet past

When the Baltic countries restored their independence in 1990, it was not long before the laws regulating state archives were changed. Even before then, activists in the national revival movements started to raise the issue of removing 'white stains' in history. In other words, they started demanding the lustration of archive documents that gave information about the most tragic events in the three countries, primarily the repressions by the Stalinist regime against the peaceful population, and the deportations. It was at this time that the first memoirs by deportees started being published (in Lithuania, extracts from the memoirs of the deportee Dalia Grinkevičiūtė were published in the Writers' Union weekly *Literatūrą ir menas* in May 1988).[6] The Estonian Heritage Society was founded in Estonia in 1987, and collected the life stories of Estonians. (Between 1988 and 1990, around 2,000 manuscripts were collected, recording the characteristics and special features of the repressions, deportations, and socio-economic and cultural life in Soviet Estonia.)[7] For as long as documents kept in Soviet state archives were practically inaccessible to broader society and researchers, activists in the Baltic national revival movements tried other ways of revealing the Soviet history of the three nations. In fact, it is worth noting that institutes of history and literature, which had the first chance to access Soviet documents, belonged at the time to the academy of science structures in all three Soviet republics. It is likely that this

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6 Laurinavičius and Sirutavičius, *Lietuvos istorija. Sąjūdis*, pp. 61-65.
7 Kirss and Hinrikus, *Estonian life stories*, VIII.

spontaneous liberalisation was a result of the circumstance that the staff in these institutes and manuscript departments were themselves activists in the national revival movements.

Nevertheless, the largest body of documentation that reflected the Soviet period in the three nations, as well as the phenomenon of cultural opposition, lay in state archives. Their reorganisation began in around 1990. The process took place in the three countries in several directions: first, the liberalisation of archives; archive documents became accessible to society and researchers. Second, there was a reform of the archive system itself. In Latvia, the Law on Archives was passed in March 1991. From 1993, the management of state archives was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice. (From 2001, the Ministry of Culture started administering archives in Latvia.) When Latvia became a member of the European Union, the archive system and its management were again reorganised. In 2010, a new Archives Law was passed, which came into effect in 2011. According to this law, the former state archive system of Latvia was reorganised within one body, the National Archives of Latvia.[8] Article 20 of the law states that the National Archives of Latvia reports to the minister for culture. Also, that the government appoints the director of the National Archives of Latvia for five years, at the behest of the minister for culture. The law also foresaw the establishment of an advisory institution, the Archives Council (the minister for culture confirms the Council's members).[9]

The reorganisation of the archive system in Lithuania and Estonia took place in a similar way. In Lithuania, the government passed a resolution in April 1990, by which the General Directorate of Lithuanian Archives was established under the government. The liberalisation of the activities of archives began at around the same time, and a new law was passed in 1995 replacing the General Directorate of Lithuanian Archives with the Department of Archives, which also functioned under the Cabinet of Ministers. Procedures for access to archives and restrictions on their

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8 Archives Law, 2010, http://www.arhivi.lv/index.php?&1924 [04 08 2018].
9 Based on a law passed in Latvia, the Archives Council consists of five representatives from the National Archives of Latvia, two representatives from the Archivists' Association of Latvia, one representative from the State Chancellery, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Culture, as well as from the Institute of Latvian History at the University of Latvia and the Latvian Association of Local and Regional Governments.

use were outlined in the Law on Archives in a much clearer, more precise and comprehensive way.[10] A new version of the Law on Archives came into effect in January 2011. It formulated the same administration system as in Latvia. (Archives are under the direct administration of the chief archivist, who is appointed by the government and is accountable to the minister of culture.) The law also foresaw the founding of an expert institution, the Archives Board. The Board's statutes and composition, as in the case of Latvia, had to be confirmed by the minister.[11] That same year, a similar law, the Archives Act (effective from 2012), was passed in Estonia, which regulated the work of the archives system. (In Estonia, the state archivist is appointed by the minister for education and research. The Ministry also has an Archives Board, and its function is to review the main directions in the development of archives, and to make proposals for their further development.) In this way, in 2011–2012, a unified national (state) archives administration system was formed.

The procedures for using documents kept in archives were discussed thoroughly in the newly passed laws in all three states. The laws stipulate that access to archival records preserved in the National Archives is unrestricted, except in cases where access to documents is restricted by law. The same kind of general provision is outlined in all three laws. Nonetheless, there are some formal differences in the regulations regarding access to documents. The Estonian Archives Act states: 'Access to archival records preserved in the National Archives is unrestricted, unless restrictions established by the Public Information Act, the Personal Data Protection Act, the State Secrets and Classified Information of Foreign States Act, or another act, extend thereto.'[12] The Lithuanian version outlines that the right of access to documents in the National Documents Collection can be restricted only by laws and in a few other cases. (Seven cases are indicated in the law where access to documents is restricted, e.g., for reasons of national security, defence, international relations, public safety, privacy, etc.)[13] The law also discusses documents that reflect the activities of various

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10 Law of the Republic of Lithuania on Archives, 05 12 1995, https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.23066?jfwid=q8i88m52x [04 08 2018]
11 Law of the Republic of Lithuania on Documents and Archives, 18 06 2010, https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.376352 [04 08 2018]
12 Archives Act, 2011, https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/ee/504032016002/consolide/current [05 08 2018]
13 Lithuanian Law on Documents and Archives. Consolidated edition, 2017, https://www.e-tar.lt/portal/lt/legalAct/TAR.1FEF229DA7C6/azGpUSPzkH [05 08 2017]

Soviet repressive structures, the Communist Party, and also 'resistance to the Soviet and German occupying regimes'. This 'special section of the National Documents Collection', as it is stated in the law, is also accessible, except in cases where documents contain information about individuals who have admitted to secret collaboration with the USSR's special services and have been registered as having confessed; and also in cases where an individual who suffered at the hands of the special services has expressed the desire that information concerning him or her be restricted.

There are more differences which regulate access to Soviet documents. For example, the Archives Law in Latvia notes that accessibility may be restricted to documents which contain 'sensitive personal data or information regarding the private life of a person [...] if the use of personal data or information contained therein can significantly affect the private life of that person'. In these cases, the restrictions may apply for as long as 30 years after the person's death. If it is not possible to determine the date of the person's death, then accessibility is restricted for a period of 110 years. And if the dates of birth or death of the person cannot be determined, then access can be restricted for 75 years from the creation of the document. The situation is a little different in Lithuania and Estonia. In Lithuania, the periods of restricted access for documents that contain personal data are shorter: 30, 100 and 70 years respectively. The most liberal conditions exist in Estonia, as closure periods there have been abolished since 2011, and documents that contain personal data are accessible for research purposes to everyone, under the same conditions, after the death of the subject of the data. Also, some Soviet security structure documents that contain personal data are freely accessible. Access to documents may be restricted only in cases where it is the will of the subject who suffered at the hands of the Soviet repressive structures. In summary, it can be said that, regardless of the differences in and features of accessibility to information in the three states, the majority of documents describing the Soviet period that are held in state archives are freely accessible to society and researchers, even though more than 20 collections have restricted access (see below). The same applies to documents which reflect the phenomenon of cultural opposition.

2. Institutions

After the restoration of independence, specialised research institutions started being established whose main goal was to examine the nature of the repressions applied by the Soviet regime. These institutions researched the scale of the postwar repressions, the activities of Soviet repressive structures, and also the phenomenon of the armed resistance and the partisan war. In time, the field of research of these institutions widened: researchers started to become more interested in forms of unarmed resistance to the Soviet regime. At present in Estonia, the main institution carrying out this kind of research is the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory. The Institute was founded in 2008. It terms of its structure, the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory is similar to its predecessor, the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity (also known as the Max Jakobson Commission), which was established by decree by President Lennart Meri in 1998. The Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity investigated the crimes against humanity committed in Estonia during the German and Soviet occupations. The field of research of the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory is wider. The Institute not only examines the crimes carried out as part of Soviet repressions, but also devotes a lot of attention to analysing violations of human rights. It also collects documentary material in which this kind of repression applied by the regime was expressed. The aim of the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory is to determine the nature and scale of human rights violations in Soviet Estonia. Some changes to the Institute's structure were introduced: in 2017, the Institute merged with the Unitas Foundation into a new organisation. The newly created institution continues to conduct academic research, analyse repressions by the regime, and the political-economic-ideological features of how these repressions worked, and also actively engages in educational activities.[14] The new organisation has kept the title the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory.

In Lithuania, the main institution researching the crimes of the Nazi and Soviet regimes is the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania. The Centre is a state

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14 The Unitas Foundation (formerly the Foundation for the Investigation of Communist Crimes) was established in 2008 by M. Laar, M. Niinepuu and D. von Stauffenberg. The Foundation focused on: education and raising awareness, training teachers and young people; developing informative and teaching methods and material concerning human rights; organising study programmes about history and human rights for young people; organising conferences and public discussions.

institution, whose main fields of activity are: the study of genocide and war crimes in Lithuania, the study of the armed and unarmed resistance to the occupying regimes, and the initiation of the legal evaluation of the activities of the organisers and implementers of genocide. The Centre also actively participates in organising various events and memorial celebrations to honour activists in the partisan movement and the victims of Soviet repressions. The idea to establish a state institution to examine resistance activities, primarily the armed resistance, and the repressive nature of the Soviet regime, arose in Lithuania soon after the declaration of independence. In 1992, the parliament adopted a special law, and established the the State Residents Genocide Centre of Lithuania. In 1993, the Centre underwent reorganisation and became the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania. The activities, tasks, functions, legal status, structure and work procedure of the Centre are described in a special law which was adopted in 1997. The Research Centre consists of three divisions: the Genocide and Resistance Research Department, the Memorial Department and the Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights (from 1992 to 2018, the Museum of Genocide Victims), and the Special Investigations Unit. The institution is managed by a director-general, who is proposed by the prime minister and appointed and dismissed by the Seimas. The Centre is accountable to the Seimas and the government for its activities. It publishes the academic journal *Genocidas ir rezistencija* (Genocide and Resistance), which features articles by Lithuanian and foreign researchers.[15] In 2011, the centre was assigned a new function, the publication of KGB documents. To this end, a special website was created.[16]

In Latvia, the Centre for the Documentation of the Consequences of Totalitarianism was established in 1992. The Centre not only preserved the documentation of the former KGB, but also had the right to publish scientific research papers based on the material at its disposal. It cooperated with the Latvian Commision of Historians (established in 1998). In 1995, the Centre for the Documentation of the Consequences of Totalitarianism moved from the Ministry of Justice to the Constitutional Protection Bureau (the Latvian domestic intelligence

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[15] Official page of the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, http://genocid.lt/centras/en/298/c/
[16] See: www.kgbveikla.lt

service.) This institutional reform had a negative impact on its research work. In the end, in 2008, its historical research activities practically ceased.[17] The Centre's archive was partially transferred to the State Archive, and its main task is to provide lustration-related information. (Publications prepared by the Centre for the Documentation of the Consequences of Totalitarianism and the Latvian Commission of Historians are freely available to the public on the website of the Latvian National Library.)[18]

There are more research institutions in the Baltic States that are not only limited to researching the partisan war and Soviet repressions against the peaceful population. The activities of Soviet political structures, such as the Communist Party, are also studied, as are the Party's economic and cultural policies, the dynamics of relations between the Soviet 'centre' and the republics, the consequences of the policies of the 'centre' on the socio-ethnic structure in the republics, etc. In Latvia, this kind of research is conducted by the Institute of Latvian History at the University of Latvia. After the declaration of independence, the Institute functioned as an independent, academic, state-funded institution; however, from 2006, it became one of the university's branches. The Institute's main directions in research include (among others) the 20th-century history of Latvia, which covers not only the interwar period, but also the history of the Soviet period. In Estonia, the Institute of History and Archaeology at the University of Tartu is known for its Soviet-period research. The Institute was established in 2007 on the basis of the Department of History, as part of structural reforms at the University of Tartu. Researchers from two of the Institute's departments, the Department of Estonian History and the Department of Contemporary History, conduct political and social research into the Soviet regime. In Lithuania, much like in Latvia and Estonia, research into the Soviet period is conducted at Vilnius University, in the Department of Contemporary History.[19] Several of the department's researchers

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[17] Pettai and Pettai, *Transitional and Retrospective Justice*, p. 83.
[18] See: http://gramatas.lndb.lv#collectionitems;id=281

19 Research that analyses the activities of various informal groups in the late Soviet period is also conducted by groups of researchers from the Vilnius University Institute of International Relations and Political Science. In Latvia, the Social Memory Research Centre, a unit of the faculty of Social Science of the University of Latvia, examines social memory and identity issues, the politics of memory, and history. Its research covers the Soviet period too.

specialise in the socio-political history of Soviet Lithuania, and examine the situation of the Catholic Church in the Soviet period, and various non-violent forms of resistance to the Soviet regime. Unlike Estonia and Latvia, there is another institution in Lithuania that studies Soviet history, the Department of 20th-Century History at the Lithuanian Institute of History. The Institute is a state-funded research institution, and the country's main historical research centre, concentrating largely on the history of Lithuania and its historic neighbours. The Department of 20th-Century History was set up in 2001, after the departments of the History of the Republic of Lithuania and Contemporary History were reformed. A group of scholars at the department conducts research into the social, political and cultural history of the Soviet period.

The establishment of research (science) councils in the three Baltic States (the Research Council in Lithuania, the Council of Science in Latvia, and the Science Foundation in Estonia were established in 1991) created conditions for researchers and groups of researchers to initiate various research projects in the Soviet period field. This also helped them to become better acquainted with each other's work, and also to initiate new tasks. What is also important is that the framework of Soviet-period research was widened, raising new topics and issues. One such platform gathering Baltic researchers and generating new research was the Vilnius Symposium on Late Soviet and Post-Soviet Issues, initiated by the Lithuanian Institute of History. Several research conferences were organised, involving researchers from the Baltic States and other countries.

Bearing in mind the different affiliations of research institutions that study the Soviet period (some are university departments, while others are state institutions), their administration and accountability also differ. The activities of institutes which are university departments are regulated by university statutes and the statutes of the research institutions themselves, which define the nature of their activities, goals and objectives. Ministries of education and science often regulate the activities of university history departments which have institutes working within their structure (as is the case in Latvia and Lithuania, and in Estonia the Ministry of Education and Research). The Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania has a special status. As was already mentioned, the Centre's activities are regulated by a special law passed by the Seimas. The founder of the Lithuanian Institute of History is the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, while the

supervisory functions of the Institute's activities are carried out by the Ministry of Education and Science. The Institute is accountable to the ministry for the research programmes it implements.

3. Support mechanism

National archives and research institutions in the Baltic States which research the Soviet period receive funding from their respective state budgets. (In 2017, the state allocated a little over eight million euros to Lithuanian archives.)[20] In all three countries, humanities and social science research is funded through the research (science) councils (the Research Council in Lithuania, the Council of Science in Latvia, and the Science Foundation in Estonia). Research (science) councils were established in the Baltic States soon after the reinstatement of independence.[21] The councils fulfil the role of expert institution for government institutions. The councils advise the government and/or parliament on research and researchers' training issues, implement programme-based competitive funding of research, administer the most important research development programmes, evaluate research performance, and represent research in various European institutions and other international organisations.

4. Historiographical trends

Soon after the restoration of state independence, we saw the publication of the first works by historians, in which most attention was given to the armed resistance and Soviet repressions of peaceful citizens.[22] Research of this nature

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20 The Office of the Chief Archivist of Lithuania, financial report for 2017, http://www.archyvai.lt/lt/veikla/finansines_ataskaitos.html (at present, the Lithuanian State Archives System consists of the Office of the Chief Archivist of Lithuania and nine state archives, of which four are regional archives with branches).
21 The Estonian Research Council Foundation was established by the Republic of Estonia on 1 March 2012 by merging the Estonian Science Foundation with the Research Cooperation Centre of the Archimedes Foundation, with the Ministry of Education and Research (MER) exercising the rights of founder.
22 Truska, *Lietuva 1938–1953,* 125–176; Strods, *Latvijas nacionalo partizanu karš.* In 1999, a joint paper by three Baltic historians was published which was devoted mostly to the partisan war: *The Anti-Soviet Resistance*

became even more popular in the Baltic States, practically simultaneously, in 1998, with the establishment of state-international historians' commissions, to examine crimes committed by the Nazis and the Soviets.[23] (Major compilations of documents were also published that reflected the activities of the Soviet repressive structures.)[24] Even though the research supported by international historians' commissions was primarily aimed at analysing Soviet repressions and the partisan war, works gradually started to appear that discussed non-violent forms of resistance as well.[25] Later on, studies and monographs were written that analysed various movements and groups among the intelligentsia who struggled in the name of believers' rights. These topics were traditionally of greater interest to Lithuanian historians (primarily, the conditions under which the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church of Lithuania* was published); however, scientists from the other Baltic States also engaged in writing such papers.[26] This new research, unlike that conducted by emigre authors, was based on the rich archival material that became accessible to researchers after the archives of the KGB and the Communist Party were opened.

At the beginning of 2000, Baltic historians published major collective monographs about the Soviet period, which discussed various political, economic and socio-cultural aspects characteristic of that time. They analysed the partisan war, and also various forms of unarmed resistance: not just the political dissident movement (the activities of the Helsinki Group) or movements for believers' rights, but also various forms of 'civil opposition' (also called 'passive'), such as the folk

in the Baltic States, ed. Arvydas Anušauskas, Vilnius: Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, 1999.

23 The International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania, see https://www.komisija.lt/en/tyrimai/; Estonian International Commission against Humanity, see http://www.historycommission.ee/; The Commission of the Historians of Latvia, see https://www.president.lv/en/activities/commissions-and-councils/commission-of-historians. All these commissions were established by state presidential decree.

24 Tininis, *Komunistinio režimo nusikaltimai Lietuvoje 1944–1953*.

25 See, for instance, research conducted by Latvian historians: Bleiere, 'Resistance of Farmers to the Soviet Policies in Latvia (1945–1953)', pp. 509–553; Rimšāns, 'Manifestations of Youth Resistance against the Communist Regime in the Latvian SSR (1965–1985)', pp. 116–132.

26 Streikus, *Sovietų valdžios antibažnytinė politika Lietuvoje.* See also works by Latvian and Estonian historians: Altnurme, 'Soviet Religious Policy towards the Lutheran Church in Estonia (1944–1949)', pp. 269–277; Zikmane, 'Relations between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia and the State', pp. 287–298.

movement, various non-conformist youth movements (hippies), and illegal rock festivals.[27] These studies did not discuss questions like the process of the politicisation of these various forms of 'civil opposition', or explain what determined the regime's approach and policies, such as why the relatively tolerant approach towards the folk movement was replaced by a more repressive one. At around the same time, several comparative history syntheses of the Baltic States were also published. We should add that in these studies, the Soviet period usually made up only one part of a fragmented historical account. This explains why they contained practically no new insights or assessments of the non-violent resistance (cultural opposition).[28]

The accessibility of archival data that was previously out of reach to researchers, the emergence of new directions in research, such as, for example, cultural memory studies, and the application of new methodological approaches (e.g., social network analysis), had an influence on Soviet research in the Baltic countries. Several research topics can be distinguished to which historians have given special attention and continue to do so. Latvian historians have studied rather intensively the phenomenon of Latvian national communism in the 1950s, interpreting it as a kind of goal towards independence in relation to Moscow in the way it took political and economic decisions, and developed the national culture. These attempts were repressed by Moscow, which had an impact on the subsequent political and national-cultural development of Latvia.[29] There were studies which discussed more than just the cultural policy of the Soviet regime and the attempts by various government institutions to control creative processes, such as censorship; they also analysed the aspirations of separate intellectuals or groups of them to preserve creative autonomy, to resist pressure, and/or overcome the

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27 Anušauskas, *Lietuva 1940–1990*, pp. 516–533; Bleiere et al., *Latvija navstrechu 100-letiju strany*.
28 Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States*. Plakans, *Concise History of the Baltic States*.
29 Bleiere, 'Latvijas Komunistiskās partijas etniskais sastāvs un nacionālkomunisma problēma 1944–1965 gadā', pp. 148–161; Butulis, 'A Few Expressions of National Communism in Magazine Zvaigzne (1956–1959)', pp. 696-708. About national communism in Lithuanian, see: Grybkauskas, *Sovietinė nomenklatūra ir pramonė Lietuvoje*, pp. 111–138; Sirutavičius, 'National Bolshevism or National Communism: Features of Sovietization in Lithuania', pp. 3–28.

established ideological canon.[30] Researchers are becoming increasingly interested in the nonconformist position of artists, and how they experimented with various art forms. On the other hand, this experimentation was a way of trying to highlight the importance of national traditions.[31] These trends were expressed in Soviet culture in the Baltic States to different degrees, but they became more pronounced in the 1960s–1980s.

Currently, two research trends are gaining popularity among Baltic scholars. The first critically reflects the model of Soviet modernisation in the Baltic republics. Researchers interpret modernisation/sovietisation from the perspective of post-colonial studies. They discuss not only the establishement of structures of Soviet colonial power, but also the continuity between Soviet and tsarist rule, and the legacy of Soviet colonialism in the post-Soviet Baltics. Scholars are interested in Soviet norms and rules which were imposed on Baltic societies, and gave birth to new social and cultural identies.[32] The second is cultural memory studies. The 'cultural and communicative memory' idea suggested by two German researchers, Jan and Aleida Assmann, has allowed researchers to take a deeper look at the phenomenon of the Soviet and post-Soviet cultural memory. The first studies appeared at the beginning of the 2000s. They tried to identify similarities and differences characteristic of post-Soviet Baltic societies.[33] Later on, the cultural memory research field was extended. It is believed that the culture of Soviet remembrance (postwar repressions and deportations) is one of the main elements for identity building in Baltic societies.[34] The experience of Soviet occupation is usually used as 'a filter through which meaning is attributed to the entire twentieth

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30 *Urtāns*, 'Soviet Censorship in Latvia until 1990', pp. 50-76; Švedas, *Matricos nelaisvėje*; Ivanauskas, *Įrėminta tapatybė: Lietuvos rašytojai tautų draugystės imperijoje*; Satkauskytė, *Tarp estetikos ir politikos. Lietuvių literatūra sovietmečiu*.
31 Naripea, *Estonian Cinescopes: Spaces, Places and Sites in Soviet Estonian Cinema*; Matulytė, *Fotografijos raiškos ir sklaidos Lietuvoje sovietizavimas*.
32 Annus, 'The Problem of Soviet Colonialism in the Baltics', pp. 21-45; Annus, 'Layers of Colonial Rule in the Baltics: Nation-Building, the Soviet Rule', pp. 359-384; Annus, *Soviet Postcolonial Studies*.
33 Mihkelev and Kalnačs, *We Have Something in Common: the Baltic Memory*.
34 Zelče and Kaprāns, *Pēdējais karš: Atmiņa un traumas komunikācija*; Kaprāns et al., *Padomju deportāciju pieminēšana Latvijā*; Zake, 'The Exempt Nation. Memory of Collaboration in Contemporary Latvia', pp. 59-80.

century in a sense transforming other, less dramatic periods into commentaries on the occupation experience'.[35] The 'traumatic memories' of national minority groups in Baltic societies are also being intensively researched, in an attempt to explain the interaction of the cultural-historical memory between the titular nations (Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians) and the national minorities; scientists are analysing how the understanding of the Soviet period has changed in the post-Soviet memory culture; memory regimes and memory politics are being discussed.[36]

Another theoretical paradigm which has also been popularised in recent years, and thus significantly extended cultural opposition research, is social network analysis. In seeking to explain the emergence of social movements in the Baltic republics under the conditions of *perestroika*, researchers have studied networks of various informal cultural circles, popular and professional groups.[37] In this way, the object of research has not only become politicised groups of opposition, such as defenders of the rights of the Catholic Church, or illegal (*samizdat*) publishers, but also various ethno-cultural movements that were tolerated by the government, clubs representing youth subculture and informal intellectual-artist communities, heritage protectors, and so on. According to researchers, as far back as in the late Soviet period, this formed the conditions for social mobilisation, an outcome of which was the independence movements in the three Baltic States.

5. Analysis of the collections in the COURAGE registry

The cultural opposition collections in the Baltic States can be divided into two types. The first is material regarding cultural activists and opposition figures.

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35 Joesalu and Koresaar, 'Continuity or Discontinuity: On the Dynamics of Remembering "Mature Socialism" in Estonian Post-Soviet Remembrance Culture', pp. 177–203.
 36 For a comprehensive and comparative analysis of memory regimes in the Baltic States, see: **Pettai,** *Memory and Pluralism in the Baltic States.* **Also**, **for** a **comparative analysis**, **see:** Pettai, 'Debating Baltic memory regimes', pp. 165–178; Davoliutė and Balkelis, *Trauma, Identity and Exile in Deportation Memoirs.* About the cultural memory in the urban space, see: Nikžentaitis, *Atminties daugiasluosniškumas: miestas, valstybė, regionas.*
37 Ramonaitė and Kavaliauskaitė, *Sąjūdžio ištakų beiškant*; Ramonaitė, *Nematoma sovietmečio visuomenė.*

The second group is material from the government's ideological or repressive institutions about the activities of the cultural opposition. Both types are important in terms of our heritage, as one supplements the other. Government institution documents are often evidence of the regime's persecution of a specific opposition figure. It could be that material about the cultural activists themselves can be found in private collections, while information about government institutions would be in state archives, library and museum storage facilities. Nonetheless, from the very beginning of the national revival, we have observed the transfer of private collections to state archives and museum storage facilities. This may be an indicator of the state memorialisation of the historical memory. This phenomenon is logical, and quite understandable, as it is quite difficult for private individuals to organise, assemble and establish private institutions that can handle the material entrusted to them, and to organise its publication. Only a handful of private organisations can be mentioned which carry out the management and protection of cultural opposition collections. These are: the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia (Latvijas Okupācijas muzejs), which opened thanks to funding from the Latvian diaspora, the Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights in Lithuania, which was initiated by the Lithuanian Union of Political Prisoners and Deportees, and the collection belonging to the Lithuanian Catholic Church, assembled by the Catholic priest and monk Fr Stanislovas.

In all three Baltic countries, cultural opposition collections owned by state institutions prevail. These organisations keep the collections and organise their publication. An important point to note here is that the collections were privately collected, and later handed over to state archives or library manuscript departments by the cultural opposition figures themselves or their heirs. We see a trend whereby private collections become public. During this transfer process, the collections are handled with the assistance of their former owners. Among these, we can mention the collections of Romualdas Ozolas, Vaclovas Aliulis, Meilė Lukšienė, Rimantas Jasas, Rimantas Vėbra and others that were already in some kind of order. Sergei Soldatov's wife gave his papers to the National Library of Estonia in 2006. Thus, we can see a clear process whereby private individuals

approach an archive, museum or manuscript department, often through personal connections or recommendations, and give material to a state institution for safekeeping. This ensures that the material, and the memory of the activities of the cultural opposition, will be protected, and that historians and students will be able to access and study it. On the other hand, this alone does not guarantee that the collections will rapidly be made available to the wider public.

Of the private collections (not including collections where parts are already in state archives and parts are in private hands, but are planned to be transferred to archives), we can mention the Strazdelis University collection kept by V. Andriukaitis. There are plans to present it to the Lithuanian State Central Archives once it has been put in order as well. Some of Andriukaitis' documents (unrelated to the activities of the underground university) have already been transferred to state archives.

State archives are the main body keeping cultural opposition collections. This centralised management system has basically been inherited from the Soviet period. Unlike private individuals, archives that have professional staff, the means and space can accept even large-scale collections. Some collections have over 15,000 files, such as the Completed Investigative Files of the Soviet Estonian KGB. The Incomplete Investigative Files of the Soviet Estonian KGB, kept in the same archive, contains over 13,000 files. The collection of Documents of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party has over 11,000 documents.

State museums, libraries and research institutions have fewer collections about the cultural opposition.

Of the 70 Baltic country collections, ten are private and four are mixed: some material is in private hands, while some is in state archives, museums or libraries. All the rest, a total of 56 collections, are kept and used by state organisations. Archives and museums dominate among the latter: they have 26 and 22 collections respectively. Fewer collections can be found in libraries (six), and universities and research institutions (seven).

According to country. In Estonia, of the 15 collections, 11 are used by state institutions. Of them, three are in archives, one is in a library, and seven are in museums. One institution that has a larger number of collections is the National Archives of Estonia.

Of the 13 collections in Latvia, ten belong to state institutions, and three belong to private institutions. Of the state collections, two belong to the archives system, seven to museums, and one to a library. All three private collections are kept at the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia.

In Lithuania, out of the 42 collections, four are private. As many as 21 collections belong to the archives system, four belong to the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, six belong to institutes and Vilnius University, and seven belong to museums.

Thus, the ratio between private and state collections in all three Baltic States is quite similar: they do not even constitute a tenth.

Of the 70 collections, the material in 24 of them covers the Brezhnev (or stagnation) period (up to the Gorbachev period), which began in 1965 and lasted for 20 years. Two collections are from the Khrushchev period, five span the rule of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, i.e., from the middle of the 1950s to the middle of the 1980s. Three collections (one from Estonia and two from Latvia) span the period when Gorbachev was in power from 1985 to 1990. The Stalinist period is covered by 13 collections (of them, one covers the Stalin and Khrushchev periods). The other 23 collections cover the whole Soviet period.

The storage, use and dissemination of most of the collections is financed by the state. Their maintenance and management are funded from the annual budgets of institutions. European funds or funds from other competition tenders or project financing are used less often. The logic and reasons behind the transfer of private documents to state archives and libraries is obvious: personal archives are handed over to state archives in the expectation that these documents will be managed, described and used, all funded by the state. The case of Latvia is probably an

exception, as some of its collections also belong to the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia. Even though state institutions have part of their budget set aside for this purpose, some still apply for special funding. For example, when seeing to the management, compilation and restoration of partisan documents, the Lithuanian Special Archives applied for additional funds to the Lithuanian Council for Culture, and in several years have been successful. However, this kind of practice is not very widespread.

All the collections are essentially organised and kept by professional specialists. Volunteers are not used for these activities. The most important role of private, usually former, owners, who have transferred their material is important during the transfer of the actual material, and when cooperating with archivists during the description process. Nonetheless, there are too few library and archive staff, meaning that when some material is accepted from a private person, it is only described and catalogued some time later. As a result, a significant number of collections in even the larger archives and libraries only have preliminary file lists, while the collections are not completely described or inventorised.

Even in cases where descriptions do exist, they are usually in paper format: there are no digital versions. There used to be a search option through the collections in the Lithuanian Central State Archives, and it was possible to download a scanned inventory. This was, in effect, a digital copy of the paper format inventory. However, for some unknown reason, this opportunity was revoked in 2018.

Of the 70 Baltic State collections, only seven have online inventories. Of these, four collections are from Estonia, and three are from Lithuania. None of the private collections have been digitalised or have online inventories.

A rather large number of collections are inaccessible to researchers or society. Out of the 70 collections, as many as 24 are inaccessible. These are collections that have not been fully compiled or put in order in archives, libraries

and museums, or which, because of certain restrictions, such as the personal data contained in the material, are accessible only with the individual's permission.

The date when a collection was established is only a partial indicator allowing researchers to trace certain memory policy trends, or important moments in politics that were important in the expression of cultural opposition in the Soviet period, or in today's remembrance of the cultural opposition. This should not be considered strange, as there are only a small number of private collections that were ultimately established in response to a clear personal or institutional resolution to actually create and establish a collection. Quite conversely, the beginning of collections dates from specific events, or the moment in time of the first document. Archives and museums, most of which are state institutions, essentially carry out the regular, planned collection of material based on the field of activity they have been instructed to by the government. Even though there are political and administrative proposals to search for and collect cultural opposition artefacts and documents, these proposals are doomed to remain unrealised due to a lack of funds. For example, the Strategy of the Lithuanian Art Museum outlines plans to acquire and collect works of art that could not be exhibited during the Soviet period; however, the limited material resources have not yet allowed for the implementation of this idea.[38] Even larger archives, with considerably larger budgets, do not initiate projects or measures through which relevant material which today is scattered in private hands might be collected. These archives usually satisfy themselves with the storage of existing material, its archival management, and dissemination.

Nonetheless, there are examples, albeit not many, where the decision to begin a collection was the direct outcome of political circumstances, or a decision by a private individual influenced by these circumstances. For example, quite early on, in 1988, collections of documents relating to the dissident Vytautas Skuodis, and the former political prisoner and regional history researcher Gediminas Ilgūnas,

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[38] See the concept of the National Gallery of Art, 10 September 2002, http://old.ldm.lt/Parodos/Muziejusirpadaliniai/Nacionalines_galerijoskoncepcija.htm [2018 11 06]; interview with Lolita Jablonskienė (see the Lithuanian National Art Gallery collection).

started being kept at the LSSR State archives (today the Lithuanian Central State Archives and Lithuanian Archives of Literature and Art). Their compilation began even before the national revival. This was evidence of the increasing liberalisation of the Soviet regime during Gorbachev's reform period. Later, during the national revival period (1988–1990), more collections were established, concerning other cultural activists who were political prisoners or victims of Stalinist repressions. These included the collection of Antanas Miškinis, who wrote poetry while imprisoned in Siberian labour camps, and the unexpected discovery of material about the partisan fighter Bronius Krivickas, who died in the resistance struggle in 1952. Secondly, there are a number of collections that have material documenting the first processes of the national revival movements in the Baltic States under Gorbachev's rule. Of these, we can mention the collection on Latvian protests against the Daugavpils power plant. The emergence of an institution important to our historical memory, the Lithuanian Genocide and Resistance Research Centre, should be mentioned separately. Even though it is a state institution today, its origins go back to an initiative by the cultural opposition towards the end of the Gorbachev period, when it was decided to collect and systematise material about people who had suffered at the hands of the Soviet regime. Today, this institution is active in forming memory policy, and carries out the digitisation of documents of Soviet repressive organs (see the KGB documents online collection).

Nonetheless, a majority are so-called 'trophy' collections. These are the archives of former partisan organisations or security organs, which were accepted by the government after the reinstatement of independence. The fourth group consists of exclusive collections that provide probably the best illustration of state policy on historical memory. They reflect the government's steps in reacting to international policy, especially amid the tense relations with neighbouring Russia. Some time ago, this brought the theme of the partisan resistance into an ideological conflict with indoctrinators from Russia, and the attempts by the latter to relate the anti-Soviet armed partisan resistance to accusations of collaboration with the Nazis, the murder of civilians, and similar condemnations. For them, the founding of the

partisan collections and the special attention given to archives is a testimony to state policy.

Nevertheless, besides these four important historical circumstances, there are still quite a number of collections whose establishment and management depends a lot on initiatives by private individuals. These are usually collections where material about a cultural opposition figure was transferred to an archive following their death. They are expressions of the will of the heirs to memorialise these figures, more than a reflection of the cultural opposition as a phenomenon. As a result, these kinds of collections require a certain degree of refinement, the separation of material relevant to the theme of cultural opposition from other 'routine', less significant material, and the deeper study of these selected documents.

Finally, there are a number of ad hoc collections initiated during the course of the project. They show that the papers of private individuals contain quite a lot of material that could prove to be relevant in preserving the memory of the cultural opposition.

The description of these collections during the course of this project has revealed that personal papers, usually in disorder and not inventorised, contain volumes of interesting material on cultural opposition. As an example, we can mention the cooperation between Vilnius University history students' research society and historians from Estonia's University of Tartu, and their organisation Noor-Tartu (Young-Tartu) (see the Young-Tartu and Students Science Society of Vilnius University collections), which, due to the historical topics that were raised and the social and personal links between active students, attracted the attention of both research administrators at the time and Soviet security. During the project, the researcher was given letters and other interesting material, based on which a new cultural oppostion collection was compiled in the Manuscript Department of the Lithuanian Institute of History. This example proves that cooperation between archives, museums and researchers is very important for the preservation of the legacy of the cultural opposition, and it is important to today's society to

understand its significance. On the other hand, this also indicates the willingness of institutions to participate in memory politics. The Lithuanian Special Archives and the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre could be mentioned here. In the case of the latter, the collection eventuated at the initiative of its director, and was a unique innovation for its time: as former KGB secret informers were less than willing to admit to having collaborated with Soviet security organs, and with the lack of archival material that could serve as legal evidence of collaboration, KGB documents started being published on the internet, revealing not only material from agents, but also the persecution of cultural figures by the KGB.

Both the political circumstances and biographical information about the founders of the collection proved to be important. The Fr Stanislovas collection started in 1966 when he was 'deported', to serve as a priest in a far-off parish (see the Fr Stanislovas collection). His activities and collections of religious and national objects, and sermons, turned into a significant point of attraction.

The collections are mostly read by students and historians.

Most of the collections are in large, state archives, which is why issues surrounding their management and expansion are usually resolved in a routine way, just like many of the other collections kept in these archives. Some of the smaller archives have an established procedure whereby an experienced staff member is allocated to a specific collection. This method is justified when working with collections received from personal papers, as specially delegated rather than constantly rotating staff members can maintain closer links with the former owner of the collection, or a family member or close acquaintance, who takes a deeper interest in the former activities of the member of the cultural opposition, and who is keen to acquire more material for the archive or museum. This kind of individualised work by collection owners is especially effective in institutions that compete against other establishments for new material. Take, for example, the Maironis Literature Museum in Kaunas (Lithuania), which competes against the Lithuanian Institute of Literature and Folklore for the archival legacy and manuscripts of this famous writer. The professional staff are interested in the cultural heritage, and so they can exploit their personal connections or acquaintances to enhance collections. In this way, a collection has its own patron or

guardian who looks after it. Thus, the staff member Daina Rutka from the Museum of the River Daugava (Latvia) looks after three cultural opposition collections in the museum about the protest campaigns launched against the building of the Pļaviņas Hydroelectric Station in 1958–1959, and the Daugavpils Hydroelectric Station in 1986–1987, and about the first Daugava River Festival in 1979. Most of the archives in the Baltic States belong to larger state structures, such as the Office of the Chief Archivist in Lithuania. The shared experience of repressions applied by the socialist regime encouraged inter-institutional cooperation between the three countries. This has led the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania to become a member of an association of related East and Central European organisations.

Having reviewed the situation regarding collections in the Baltic States, we can see that they receive insufficient attention from both politicians and society. There is a real threat that documents, letters, photographs and material artefacts, as well as other documents testifying to the memory of the cultural opposition scattered across several private collections, will not be found by researchers, and may remain outside the field of vision of museums and archivists. At a project seminar held in Riga on 2 July 2018, in which historians, politicians and museum representatives participated, recommendations were made to government institutions and foundations asking them to initiate special invitations whereby private individuals could submit applications and present individual collections, whose acquisition could at least be partially funded within the framework of this kind of programme. There is no doubt that such invitations alone will attract the attention of the owners of these kinds of documents, and are likely to encourage them to manage, collect and inform society of their existence. A recommendation made in another seminar was to create a database, a kind of register, allowing information to be concentrated in one system. We believe that our project could serve as a kind of basis or foundation for this type of register.

It is important to evaluate the personal contributions of patrons of art, archivists and historians. Examples where personal efforts have allowed objects, paintings and documents to reach museums, and thus become widely available to the public, show that work done in this direction should be more effective, encouraging public initiatives. The Paul Kondas painting collection and the Kurts Fridrihsons collection are good examples of state

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institutions and private initiatives joining together to preserve and show the importance to society of the opposition in the visual arts. While the paintings by the Estonian amateur artist Paul Kondas and the Latvian Kurts Fridrihsons were not accessible to wider audiences during Soviet times, Rein Joost, the former director of the Museum of Viljandi (Estonia), and the writer Gundega Repše (Latvia), initiated the acquisition or donation of works from private collections to state museums, making them available to society. We believe that various state and institutional awards or prizes could serve as an encouragement for historians, museum staff, archivists and members of other professions to be bolder in defining and clarifying relevant collections, and to ensure their survival and accessibility to a wider public.

Such collections are directly related to attention by researchers and society. There are a number of collections where scientists conducting their own research have contributed to the discovery and management of material, which eventually goes into a collection. That is why it is critical to initiate research projects and themes covering the late Soviet period (1953–1988). It was precisely in this period that the cultural opposition was most extensively expressed. Unfortunately, there is insufficient research on this period. If in Lithuania, and to an extent in Latvia, there are historians, and literature and culture researchers, actively involved in studying this theme, then in Estonia, late Soviet-period research is practically non-existent. The project participants from the Baltic States meeting on 27–29 August 2018 stated that, at present, there are no government, university or other institutional programmes involved in research into expression by the cultural opposition; nor are there any dissertations being prepared on this theme.

Conclusions

We could say that not enough attention is being given today to the preservation of the legacy of the cultural opposition and the understanding of its significance in society in the Baltic States. This is partly because of the historical memory policies in these states, which stress Soviet repressions, such as the murders and deportations conducted by USSR secret security organs, and the armed partisan struggle against this Soviet policy, or the open anti-Soviet dissident

movement. For this reason, the more sophisticated cultural opposition that operated in a grey area, in terms of negotiating with the government on interpretations of the cultural heritage, language and history, is harder to notice, while the documentation of its activities has practically been left to private initiatives. State archive and museum systems are oriented towards documents with special collection status, such as the protection of documents in Lithuania that belonged to the Communist Party, Soviet security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the search for and archiving of anti-Soviet armed resistance sources, which national legislation has delegated to the Lithuanian Special Archives.

Secondly, the dominant historical discourse is focused on the Soviet government's terror, and the resistance towards the regime by armed groups. This narrative overshadows the activities of the cultural opposition. This kind of approach by government institutions, and the still-prevailing totalitarianism approach, in the Baltic States devalues the cultural opposition, and raises questions about its importance. This can be said especially about the attempts to put activists into three categories: those who collaborated, those who adapted, and those who fought against the system. This kind of categorisation does not allow for an adequate understanding of the period, as life simply does not fit into three boxes or categories; it was more varied. In addition, it would be misleading to take a person's whole life, and attribute just one model of behaviour, for life is undeniably varied: at different times, one could have made mistakes, opposed, or lived with the system.

Attempts at classifying a person's behaviour during the Soviet period based on a stereotype creates a one-sided view. This classification merely inhibits the initiatives by former activists, as they become disoriented and lose track of how to assess their own former activities. The lack of a clear struggle against the Soviet regime, or not having documentary evidence supporting that struggle, forces former cultural opposition figures to be resigned, to avoid possible accusations by remaining reserved, or to avoid being attacked for engaging in self-promotion.

Given this situation, the owners of collections are left to pursue their own initiatives.

Recommendations: opportunities and challenges

Most state archives in the country administer and store documents already existing in their lists of collections, without looking for new documents. This is why it should be the concern of private individuals, cultural opposition figures and their heirs, to see to the survival of their collections, ensuring their accessibility to researchers and the public. The description of these collections during the course of this project has shown that collections of personal papers, which are usually in disorder and not inventorised, contain volumes of interesting material on cultural opposition.

There is no doubt that the theme of active, armed resistance is more convenient to government institutions and schools searching for clear examples of heroism. However, the process of civil maturity can only take place if questions encouraging critical thinking are asked, and if answers to difficult questions are looked for, inspiring a combination of knowledge from various fields and disciplines. There is a lot of scope for interdisciplinary initiatives. Even in lessons in school, it raises more complicated questions on ethics, collaboration and reconciliation.

The theme of cultural opposition can offer discussion topics, where determinism under conditions of a lack of political freedom, a person's creative imperative and heroism, wilful decision-making and choices, and the survival instinct versus a comfortable life, can be raised. As no research similar to this project is being conducted in the Baltic States, which might combine archive documents and interviews with their authors or close circles, expert opinions on the emergence of collections and their future development, and the role of the state and influential political, social and cultural figures in constructing the historical

memory, we suggest continuing the activities conducted in the course of this project in finding and describing new collections.

Summary

Not enough attention is being given today to the preservation of the legacy of the anti-Soviet cultural opposition, and the understanding of its significance in society in the Baltic States. This is partly because of the historical memory policies in these states, which accentuate Soviet repressions, such as the armed partisan struggle against Soviet policy, and the murders and deportations conducted by USSR secret security organs, or the open anti-Soviet dissident movement. For this reason, the more sophisticated cultural opposition that operated in a grey area, in terms of negotiating with the government on interpretations of the cultural heritage, language and history, is harder to notice, while the documentation of its activities has practically been left to private initiatives. State archive and museum systems are oriented towards documents with special collection status, such as the protection of documents in Lithuania that belonged to the Communist Party, Soviet security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as the search for and archiving of anti-Soviet armed resistance sources, which national legislation has delegated to the Lithuanian Special Archives. Other state archives in the country administer and store documents already existing in their lists of collections, without looking for new documents. That is why it should be the concern of private individuals, cultural opposition figures and their heirs, to see to the survival of their collections, ensuring accessibility for researchers and the public. The description of these collections during the course of this project has shown that collections of personal papers, which are usually in disorder and not inventorised, contain volumes of interesting material on the cultural opposition.

Secondly, the dominant historical discourse is focused on the Soviet government's terror, and the resistance towards the regime by armed groups. This narrative overshadows the activities of the cultural opposition. This approach by government institutions, and the still-prevailing totalitarian approach in the Baltic States, devalues the cultural opposition, and raises questions as to its importance.

This can be said especially about the attempts to put activists in three categories: those who collaborated, those who adapted, and those who fought against the system. This kind of categorisation does not allow for an adequate understanding of the period, as life simply does not fit into three boxes or categories; it was rather more varied. In addition, it would be misleading to take a person's whole life and attribute just one model of behaviour, as life is undeniably varied: at different times, one could have made mistakes, opposed, or lived with the system.

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1. List of collections

1. Action of Light collection
2. **Aldona Liobytė collection**
3. Antanas Miškinis collection
4. Antanas Sniečkus collection
5. Augustinas Janulaitis collection
6. Auseklis periodical collection
7. Balys Sruoga collection
8. **Broņislava Martuževa collection**
9. Bronius Krivickas collection
10. **Catholic Press in Soviet Lithuania collection**
11. Circle of History collection
12. Collection of documents of the Central Commitee of the Latvian Communist Party
13. **Completed investigative files of the Soviet Estonian KGB**
14. **Elza Rudenāja's and Vladislavs Urtāns' collection on the preservation of the local cultural legacy**
15. Estonian Student Building Brigade collection at the National Archives of Estonia
16. **Fr Stanislovas collection**
17. **Files of political prisoners in Latvia (1940-1986)**
18. **First River Daugava Festival in 1979**
19. Gediminas Ilgūnas collection
20. Glavlit (Lithuania) collection
21. **Hardijs Lediņš collection**
22. **Heldur Viires' art collection**
23. Ignas Jonynas collection
24. Incomplete investigative files of the Soviet Estonian KGB
25. Indrek Hirv's art collection
26. Invisible society of Soviet-era Lithuania

27. Jonas Jurašas collection

28. Juhan Aare collection

29. Justas Paleckis collection

30. Karl Laantee collection at the Estonian Cultural History Archive

31. Kazys Boruta collection

32. KGB documents online collection

33. Knuts Skujenieks collection

34. Kurts Fridrihsons collection

35. Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee collection 1944-1953

36. Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee collection 1953-1962

37. Lithuanian National Gallery of Art

38. Lithuanian partisans collection in the Lithuanian Special Archive

39. Manuscript magazines in the Estonian Cultural History Archive

40. Meilutė Lukšienė collection

41. Mērija Grīnberga Jr collection

42. Modris Tenisons' mime troupe collection

43. Paul Kondas' painting collection

44. Protest campaign against the construction of the Daugavpils HPP in 1986-1987

45. Protest letters against the construction of the Pļaviņas HPP in 1958

46. Research Archives of the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation

47. Rimantas Jasas collection

48. Rimantas Vėbra collection

49. Romas Kalanta collection

50. Romualdas Ozolas and the opposition by Lithuanian philosophers

51. Saulė Kisarauskienė collection

52. Second Directorate of the Soviet Lithuanian KGB

53. Sergei Soldatov collection

54. Sirje Kiin private archive

55. Soviet Lithuanian amateur film collection

56. Stasys Matulaitis collection

57. Strazdelis Underground University

58. Students Science Society of Vilnius University

59. Union of Artists (Soviet Lithuania) collection

60. Union of Writers (Soviet Lithuania) collection

61. Vaclovas Aliulis collection

62. Vanda Zaborskaitė collection

63. Various documents from Lithuanian KGB departments

64. Veljo Tormis' manuscript collection at the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum

65. Viktoras Petkus collection

66. Vilnius University Party Committee collection (1945-1986)

67. Vincas Kisarauskas collection

68. Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas collection

69. Vytautas Skuodis collection

70. Young-Tartu private collection

71. Kart Lantee's personal papers at Tartu University Library

2. List of owners and institutions

Owner/institution	Collection
Department of Lithuanian Communist Party documents, a branch of the Lithuanian Special Archives	Antanas Sniečkus collection Justas Paleckis collection Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee collection (1953-1962) Stasys Matulaitis collection Vilnius University Party Committee collection (1945-1986)
Estonian Cultural History Archive	Karl Laantee collection at the Estonian Cultural History Archive Manuscript magazines at the Estonian Cultural History Archive
Estonian History Museum	Juhan Aare collection
Estonian Literary Museum	Sirje Kiin private archive
Estonian Theatre and Music Museum	Veljo Tormis' manuscript collection at the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum
Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania	Catholic Press in Soviet Lithuania collection KGB documents online collection
Indrek Hirv	Indrek Hirv's art collection
Institute of International Relations and Political Science of Vilnius University	Invisible society in Soviet-era Lithuania

Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore	Balys Sruoga collection

Kazys Boruta collection

Vanda Zaborskaitė collection

Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas collection |
| Latvian State Archive of the Latvian National Archives | Collection of documents of the Central Commitee of the Latvian Communist Party

Files of political prisoners in Latvia (1940-1986) |
| Museum of Literature and Music, Latvia | Broņislava Martuževa collection |
| Lithuanian Archives of Literature and Art | Gediminas Ilgūnas collection

Jonas Jurašas collection

Vincas Kisarauskas collection

Modris Tenisons' mime troupe collection

Saulė Kisarauskienė collection

Union of Artists (Soviet Lithuania) collection

Union of Writers (Soviet Lithuania) collection |
| Lithuanian Central State Archives | Glavlit (Lithuania) collection

Romualdas Ozolas and the opposition by Lithuanian philosophers

Soviet Lithuanian amateur film collection

Vaclovas Aliulis collection

Vytautas Skuodis collection |
| Lithuanian Institute of History | Bronius Krivickas collection

Romas Kalanta collection

Students Science Society of Vilnius University |

Lithuanian Special Archives	Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee collection (1944-1953)
	Lithuanian partisans collection in the Lithuanian Special Archives
	Second Directorate of the Soviet Lithuanian KGB
	Various documents from Lithuanian KGB departments
Madona Local History and Art Museum	Elza Rudenāja's and Vladislavs Urtāns' collection on the preservation of the local cultural legacy
Maironis Literature Museum, Kaunas	Aldona Liobytė collection
	Antanas Miškinis collection
Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation	Mērija Grīnberga Jr collection
	Research Archives of the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation
Museum of the River Daugava	First River Daugava Festival in 1979
	Protest campaign against the construction of the Daugavpils HPP in 1986-1987
	Protest letters against the construction of the Pļaviņas HPP in 1958
National Archives of Estonia	Circle of History collection
	Estonian Students Building Brigade collection at the National Archives of Estonia
	Completed investigative files of the Soviet Estonian KGB
	Incomplete investigative files of the Soviet Estonian KGB
National Gallery of Art	Lithuanian National Gallery of Art

National Library of Estonia	Sergei Soldatov collection
National Library of Latvia	Knuts Skujenieks collection
Kondas Centre of Naive Art	Paul Kondas' painting collection
Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art	Hardijs Lediņš collection
Museum of the 1863 Uprising	Fr Stanislovas collection
Museum of the Occupation of Latvia	Action of Light collection Kurts Fridrihsons collection Auseklis periodical collection
Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences	Augustinas Janulaitis collection Ignas Jonynas collection Meilutė Lukšienė collection Rimantas Vėbra collection Rimantas Jasas collection
Venclova House-Museum	Viktoras Petkus collection
Heldur Viires	Heldur Viires' art collection
Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis	Strazdelis Underground University

3. List of personal names

1. Aare, Juhan
2. Agurkis, Vaidas
3. Aliulis, Vaclovas
4. Andriukaitis, Vytenis Povilas
5. Anušauskas, Arvydas
6. Asmer, Vilve
7. Astahovska, Ieva
8. Bambals, Ainārs
9. Barysas-Baras, Artūras
10. Boiko, Juris
11. Boruta, Kazys
12. Borutaitė-Makariūnienė, Eglė
13. Burauskaitė, Teresė Birutė
14. Čekavičiūtė, Nijolė
15. Dimbelytė-Mchichou, Jolita
16. Dobrovolskis, Algirdas Mykolas
17. Doroņina-Lasmane, Lidija
18. Egliena, Anna
19. Eller, Kalle Istvan
20. Elza, Rudenāja
21. Fridrihsons, Kurts
22. Gaigalas, Vidmantas
23. Gailis, Zigmārs
24. Gailiša, Anita
25. Galvanauskienė, Alina
26. Gasiliūnas, Virginijus
27. Gečiauskas, Geistys
28. Grīnberga, Mērija
29. Grünberg-Soldatova, Ludmilla

30. Grybkauskas, Saulius

31. Gubanovas, Nikolajus

32. Hirv, Helgi

33. Hirv, Indrek

34. Ilarienė, Inga

35. Ilgūnas, Stanislovas Gediminas

36. Ilmet, Peep

37. Isotamm, Jaan

38. Ivanauskas, Vilius

39. Īvāns, Dainis

40. Jablonskienė, Lolita

41. Janaitis, Gunārs

42. Jankauskas, Algimantas

43. Janulaitis, Augustinas

44. Jasas, Rimantas

45. Jonynas, Ignas

46. Juozėnaitė, Justina

47. Jurašas, Jonas

48. Kalm, Mart

49. Kärner, Kaja

50. Katilius, Algimantas

51. Kiin, Sirje

52. Kisarauskas, Vincas

53. Kisarauskienė, Saulė

54. Kits, Elmar

55. Kļaviņš, Paulis

56. Klivis, Edgaras

57. Kokneviča, Taiga

58. Kondas, Paul

59. Koppel, Taavi

60. Krivickas, Bronius

61. Kuliešienė, Erika

62. Kuljus, Ene

63. Kuusik, Külli

64. Kuzmickas, Vincas

65. Laantee, Karl

66. Laar, Mart

67. Lankutis, Jonas

68. Lapin, Leonhard

69. Lasmane, Daina

70. Lediņš, Hardijs

71. Liivik, Olev

72. Liobytė, Aldona

73. Lubytė, Elona

74. Lukas, Tõnis

75. Lukšaitė, Ingė

76. Lukšienė, Meilė

77. Markauskienė, Virginija

78. Martuževa, Broņislava

79. Maslauskienė, Nijolė

80. Matulaitis, Stasys

81. Merkys, Vytautas

82. Mintaurs, Mārtiņš

83. Mykolaitis-Putinas, Vincas

84. Ohakas, Valdur

85. Ohmann, Valdur

86. Ozolas, Romualdas

87. Paleckis, Justas

88. Pavel, Louis

89. Petkevičiūtė-Labanauskienė, Danutė

90. Petkus, Viktoras

91. Pliopa, Adas

92. Ramonaitė, Ainė

93. Rasa Sperskienė

94. Remeika, Kęstutis

95. Roode, Henn

96. Rutka, Daina

97. Saarts, Lembit

98. Samulionis, Algis

99. Simanavičius, Mindaugas

100.   Šīrants, Rūdolfs

101.   Skujenieks, Knuts

102.   Sniečkus, Antanas

103.   Soldatov, Sergei

104.   Sooster, Ülo

105.   Sruoga, Balys

106.   Stonytė, Virgilija

107.   Strautniece, Vaira

108.   Streikus, Arūnas

109.   Tamkevičius, Sigitas

110.   Tammela, Mari-Leen

111.   Tark, Triin

112.   Tenisons, Modris

113.   Tormis, Veljo

114.   Türna, Tõnis

115.   Umbrasas, Vytautas

116.   Unt, Jaan

117.   Unt, Kersti

118.   Urtāns, Juris

119.   Vagrienė, Birutė

120. Vahkal, Anniki

121. Vahtre, Lauri

122. Valk, Heiki

123. Vallikivi, Mari

124. Vanaga, Lilita

125. Viires, Heldur

126. Vint, Toomas

127. Vladislavs, Urtāns

128. Zaborskaitė, Vanda

129. Žeikare, Māra

130. Žemaitytė, Rūta

131. Zepa, Līvija

132. Zigmārs Gailis

133. Žilys, Saulius

134. Žižys, Dalius

135. Žukovskis, Ivars