

# **ETHNICITY**

**Ethnic Identities and National State**

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## ETHNICITY 2014/10

### Ethnic Identities and National State

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**Attila Papp Z.**

## **HIDDEN ETHNIC INEQUALITIES. A POSSIBLE GLOBAL EDUCATIONAL EXPLORATION USING PISA**

The international educational evaluation programme PISA analyses variances of school achievement of different countries. In several PISA reports there are described criteria of successful schools, and the ways which social backgrounds can be overcome. In the PISA framework educational opportunities are distributed equitably if the student's educational success is independent of their own family background. Based on PISA reports one can have a detailed picture about the school integration of migrants and the factors which have an impact on their educational outcomes.

It is important to underline at the same time that based on PISA results there are no detailed analyses of non-migrant or native national minorities. In some countries the results are presented following (regional) tests in the minority language (e.g. Belgium, Spain, Canada), however a comprehensive analysis of native national minorities educational outcomes has yet to be completed.

Using PISA databases one can gain some relevant information about national minorities' school outcomes (in at least 20 countries). By a cross-tabulation of the language spoken at home and of the language of test (state language or minority language) one can distinguish at least three main stu-

dent groups: minority students who learn in their mother tongue (language spoken at home: minority language, language of test: minority language), minority students who learn in state language, and students of the majority ethnic group (who learn in majority language, of course).

Having these student subgroups one can test two basic research questions:

1. do minority students who are educated in their mother tongue or the mainstream language outperform among minority students?

2. do native national minority or majority students outperform one another? These comparisons could help us to interpret the variance in student performance in linguistic or ethnic terms. Moreover if after accounting for socio-economic background these variances still remain, we can assume that there exists hidden, ethnic-linguistics inequalities among students.

**Key words:** educational programme PISA, school integration, migrants, native national minorities, majority ethnic group, ethnic-linguistics inequalities

### **Introduction. A general picture of PISA assessment and its minority aspects**

PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) is an international educational evaluation programme launched by the OECD in 1997. The aim of PISA is to evaluate education systems by measuring the school competencies of 15-year-old students. In the framework of PISA the student assessment is realized in three basic (key) subjects: mathematics, reading and science. The first international assessment was carried out in 2000, and after that time the evaluation is repeated every three years. In 2000 43 countries, in 2003 41 countries, and in 2006 57 countries participated in PISA. To date over 70 countries/economies are involved in PISA.

Evaluating education systems on an international level is not a new approach; however, it is worth mentioning why PISA represents an innovative educational assessment tool. PISA is a novelty because it measures the performance of students in different countries using similar methodologies and in a comparable manner. Countries can be compared under PISA because it basically measures competencies and skills instead of measuring students' lexical knowledge. Thus, it does not examine the specific contents delivered by the individual educational systems but the practical knowledge attained by students. Today, PISA creates the basis for national level educational development projects because it supplies a wide range of information about the education systems of different

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countries (See details: Programme for International Student Assessment 2014). Despite existing critics against the OECD and PISA, this international, large scale level educational assessment remains a basic reference for educational developments in a lot of countries.<sup>1</sup>

During PISA surveys, background questionnaires are also used which enables us to identify different minority groups. In this context, PISA reports mainly focus on various migrant groups but using the more detailed databases we can also gain some information about national minorities.

PISA distinguishes between three types of student immigrant status *i)* *students without an immigrant background*, also referred to as native students (these are students who were born in the country where they were assessed by PISA or who had at least one parent born in the country); *ii)* *second-generation students* (students who were born in the country of assessment but whose parents are foreign-born; and *iii)* *first-generation students* (foreign-born students whose parents are also foreign-born) (PISA 2010, p. 66). Students with an immigrant background thus include students who are first or second- generation immigrants. It is worthy to mention that in PISA-OECD reports schooling of migrant students usually is described in a detailed manner, however the challenges of national minority education are rarely mentioned.<sup>2</sup> This fact is striking because the background questionnaires of PISA more or less facilitate the easy identification of national or linguistic/ethnic minority groups.

One can define national/linguistic minorities in PISA analyses if one compares among native students the language at home and the language of education (test). This way one can distinguish national minority students who study in their mother-tongue from those who participate in mainstream education (i.e. in the nation-state's language). Based on this methodological opportunity one of the main goals of my article is to map out educational effectiveness of school participation of native minority students.

### Inequalities in Education and Ethnic inequalities

Inequality in education is probably the most widely discussed topic in the sociology of education. The core issues around inequalities in education imply the multilayered relationship between society and education

<sup>1</sup> For example: PISA shock in Germany

<sup>2</sup> In a recently published OECD report about equity in migrant context there is a small text box concerning Language minorities among non-immigrant students (OECD 2013, p. 78).

systems. One of the basic questions here is to what extent can education systems diminish social inequalities and the differences in opportunity between students. Relevant discussions of inequality have focused on educational opportunities and educational choice. The former is related to socio-economic background of the students, i.e. the social (class) position of parents which is usually measured by income, labour force position, highest educational attainment. The latter, the educational choice, could be a means of reproduction of social inequalities because parents, and (strongly related to them) students have different freedom of choice. As a result of these practices some schools tend to be dearer for parents from middle and upper classes, while other segments of the society have no possibility of choice among different educational services. At system level this type of inequality could be grasped on differences between schools. Jackson-Jonsson-Rudolphi has argued that educational inequality separated into performance - and choice-based (primary and secondary) effects provides a fruitful analytical framework (Jackson et al. 2012).

Ethnic inequalities in education can be interpreted in many ways. Firstly, one can analyse the relative educational position of different ethnic groups inside the education system. This is important from a social-integration perspective as differences in school performance and attainment will have an impact on labour-force market, and on social life as a whole. Secondly, ethnic inequalities can be grasped from a minority perspective which is framed by the education system itself. The language of instruction in most cases is taken-for-granted: language minorities in some countries have the right to use mother tongue in education, while in others there is no such possibility. The right to use a minority's mother tongue in education mainly depends on state language policy and ideology. R. Lambert suggested distinguishing between ethno-linguistically homogenous societies, dyadic (or tryadic) countries including two (or three) ethno-linguistic groups, and mosaic societies which contain a large number of ethno-linguistic groups (Lambert 1999). Fishman extended this taxonomy with an ideological dimension, saying that language policy of the state is much more important than the ethno-linguistic composition of country.

**Table 1. Types of countries and language policies (Spolsky 2004, p. 61)**

Type	Attitude	Ideology	Usual activity
I.	One language is associated with the national identity; others are marginalized	Monolingual	Corpus planning (normativism), foreign language acquisition, diffusion
II.	Two or three languages associated with national identity; others are marginalized	Bi- or trilingual	Status planning
III.	No one language is seen as motivated by the national identity	Multilingual, with varying official status for several languages	Corpus and acquisition planning

As I detailed in an article focused on Hungarian minorities in Central Europe, in order to understand minority school choice, one needs to make it clear that besides the labour market considerations typical in any system of education, the schooling of minority ethnic Hungarians has two unique elements: a community and an equity feature (Papp 2013). The *community element* of minority education in the mother tongue<sup>3</sup> means that education in the mother tongue is carried out in an institutional framework that serves the long-term survival of the minority community. The mere existence of education in the mother tongue is the guarantee of community survival, and this fact is accepted by the stakeholders (the majority of minority politicians, experts, parents, and learners) more or less consciously. Seen in this light, minority school choice is of great importance, since where there are not only different institutions, but institutions of different languages in the local educational market, opting for non-mother-tongue educational institution leads to the self-extermination and assimilation of the minority.

At the same time, minority education has another element that is less elaborated on: the so-called *equity element*. This equity dimension implies that the schooling of all the members of the minority is assured. That statement is valid on a "minority-free" social level as well, but in a minority context, it has an increased relevance because the human resources of a minority group are inevitably more limited than those of an entire state or society. Commitment to education in the mother tongue in an inter-ethnic

<sup>3</sup> Our present considerations regard minority education in the mother tongue. The notion of minority education is much broader than that (see: Papp 2012, p. 3-23).

environment goes hand-in-hand with a limited range of educational options, which, from the perspective of the school, puts equity even more into focus. Since a school or class in the minority mother tongue can select students to a much lesser extent than a majority school, greater emphasis has to be laid on the improvement of learners with respect to their own achievements. Generally speaking, a minority school cannot afford to let certain students lag behind in the same way as a minority community cannot allow itself to give up any of its elements and social subgroups.

Shortly, choosing language of instruction is important both from a majority and minority point of view and inevitably carries political meanings (Chakraborty, Ghosh 2013, p. 128-147). From a majority point of view, the question of national unity could be at stake, while from a minority point of view survival of the linguistic, ethnic group could be of crucial importance. The interplay between the supposed majority and minority is relative as there are countries where no linguistic majority group can be found. Moreover, the term 'mother tongue' has also different meanings: it would refer to first learned, most used or to the language of (ethnic) identification (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981).

### Research Questions

The author of this article is aware that understanding the role of education from a supposed minority perspective presupposes a sound knowledge of the country's educational and inter-ethnic relation contexts. Moreover, I am also convinced that terms like 'minority' or 'majority' could not be easily defined because they have different meanings and connotations based on certain political and geographical contexts. However, my aim is to highlight methodological possibilities to use PISA data for analysing different ways of participation of minorities in education. Therefore, assuming a bit of simplification I will try to map out the complexity of minority education by using PISA data.

Given the above mentioned political stake of minority language education there emerge two basic research questions:

1. Is minority mother tongue education more effective or not than the education of minorities in the dominant state language; and
2. is minority mother tongue education more effective than the majority, mainstream education overall?

The first question is referring to the effectiveness of a certain subsystem of the education system, while the second question can lead us to the issue of equity in terms of ethnicity in education. If minority education in the mother tongue permanently underperforms majority language education,

it can be interpreted as a structural feature of the system's inner inequalities. Not only theoretically, but in practice the reverse situation is also true, when the minority mother tongue education seems to be more effective than majority language education. These situations (e.g. in Malaysia or Serbia) can be also interpreted as signs of system inequalities.

### Methodology

To answer these questions I will use the PISA 2012 student database, and some of the PISA derived variables. The database permits intersection of detailed 'language at home'<sup>4</sup> and 'language of the test' variables. By this procedure (see Table 2.) one can distinguish at least three main student groups: minority students who learn in their mother tongue (language spoken at home: minority language, language of test: minority language, type BB), minority students who learn in the dominant state language, type BA), and majority students (who learn in majority language, of course – type AA). Theoretically exists a fourth type of combination concerning majority students involved in a minority language education (type AB).

**Table 2. Identifying linguistic minority and majority educational forms**

	test language A majority	test language B minority language in a country
language at home A (majority)	majority (type AA)	majority students in a minority education (type AB)
language at home B (minority)	minority – in mainstream language education (type BA)	minority students in a mother tongue education (type BB)

In the PISA database, the variable 'international language of home' (1 - *language of the test*; 2 - *other language*) misleads us concerning the national minorities education because (in the case of answer 1) it mixes type AA and type BB. Both forms of education are referring to students who use the test language as language at home,<sup>5</sup> however there is a big difference between them: type AA contains only majority students, while type

<sup>4</sup> Against the 'international language at home' variables which contains only 2 answers, the detailed 'language at home' variables for a lot of countries contains explicit names of locally used languages.

<sup>5</sup> This kind of analytical procedure is used in the one of the last PISA reports (see: OECD 2013, p. 78, Table: II. 3. 5).

BB contains only students being part of a linguistic minority group possessing a minority education subsystem in their mother tongue. Therefore this international variable could be used very often in the case of education systems where there is only one language of provision. In this case, by using this variable one could distinguish between majority students involved in mainstream language education and (native or migrant) minority students who have no possibility to use their mother tongue as the language of education. This perspective is likely to be applied in the case of migrants; however it is also used in a lot of nation-states, where there exist native minorities and only one official language which is at the same time the only language of instruction.

This international language at home variable however could be useful for my research purposes related to linguistic minority groups if it is applied to a database divided by language at home detailed variables. In these cases one can calculate competencies at each home used language level, therefore it offers a possibility to compare the mother tongue education at linguistic minority and majority levels.

**Table 3. Language at home**

Language at home	International language at home (dummy variable)	Observation
language A (majority)	language at home is different from language of the test (0)	majority students who learn in a minority language
	language at home is the same with language of the test (1)	majority students who learn in their mother tongue which is the state (mainstream) language
language B (minority)	language at home is different from language of the test (0)	minority students who learn in majority (state) language
	language at home is the same with language of the test (1)	minority students who learn in their mother tongue

To answer the research questions I will calculate some descriptive statistics and I will also use several indexes. Firstly I will use the economic, social and cultural status index (ECSC), in order to give a picture about the relationships between language use, school competencies and family background. Secondly I will calculate the index of curvilinearity (equity index) counted for each subgroup defined by the language of the test. In this way one can have an idea about the level of equity inside of certain education subsystems framed by test language. It is important to note that "PISA defines equity in education as providing all students, regardless of

gender, family background or socio-economic status, with similar opportunities to benefit from education. For example, the stronger the impact of a student's socio-economic status on his or her performance, the less equitable the school system. Equity, defined in this way, does not imply that everyone should have the same results, nor does it imply teaching the same material or providing the same resources to all students." (OECD 2013 p. 27). The index of curvilinearity (i.e. the *linearity* of the gradient line in a regression model where ESCS and its square are dependent variables) measures "the extent to which the performance difference associated with an advantaged background remains constant across levels of socio-economic background. (...) A positive value indicates that the socio-economic gradient becomes steeper for more advantaged socio-economic students. In other words, as socio-economic background increases, there is an increase in the extent to which inequalities in socio-economic background translate into performance differences. A negative value indicates the flattening off of the gradient at higher levels of socio-economic background: as socio-economic background becomes more advantaged, there is a decline in the extent to which inequalities in socio-economic background translate into performance differences." (OECD 2010, p. 57)

Finally I will create a new index which will reveal the effect of education of minority students in one's mother tongue. This index (MTE) is the unstandardized coefficient of a regression model which tries to explain educational performance by using the student's background (ESCS) and the international test language variables as independent variables. Mother tongue effect (MTE) will be measured by B coefficient of the dummy variable of home language (*1 - language spoken at home is the same as language of the test; 0 - if language spoken at home is not the same as language of the test*). Therefore a positive value of this index (MTE) in the case of native, minority students indicates that education in the mother tongue is better than the education of minority students in mainstream (i.e. the country's majority or state language) education. A negative value of MTE, of course, reports that education in other languages than the mother tongue is much more effective than education in the language which is used at home. In other words MTE expresses how many score-points will be added (or lost) if a minority student learns in his or her mother tongue (and not in a country's or region's mainstream, or official language). It's worthwhile to mention that MTE could be calculated for majority students as well; however, its interpretation could be valid only if in the above defined type AB education form involved sufficiently enough students. Also I should emphasise that in order to avoid the effect

of students' family background MTE is calculated after accounting for the socio-economic background.

$$PV = C + B_1 * ESCS + B_2 * ILH + \varepsilon$$

*PV - Plausible values of school competence*

*C - constant*

*ESCS - index of economic, social, and cultural status*

*ILH - international language at home; a dummy variable with categories:*

0 - if language spoken at home is not the same as language of the test

1 - language spoken at home is the same as language of the test;

*B<sub>2</sub> - unstandardised coefficient, index of mother tongue effect (MTE)*

*ε - residual*

## Data and results

In order to have a proper estimation I will use the 80 replicates weights of PISA's 2012 database. SPSS macros for these procedures are generated by using IEA Data Analyser. Calculating standard errors by using replicate weights enables us with high confidence to determine whether a difference on a score-points mean of certain subgroups is significant or not. For the purpose of this article I use only the 2012 student database; however in a detailed analysis for former PISA surveys would be important to apply further the methodology presented here.

Because language at home is not an explicit stratum in PISA surveys a question could arise around the validity of the data. In this regard I apply PISA methodology assessing different types of migrant students. According to this, PISA reports, and therefore my analysis, include estimates based on at least 30 students from five different schools (OECD 2012, p. 54).

Targeting national minority students' school achievement in a linguistic based, comparative way inputs at least two conditions: 1. the whole analysis will concentrate only on native students; 2. it would take into account only countries with at least two test languages. Therefore in the framework of this analysis national minority students are students without an immigrant background, and who have the possibility to learn either in their mother tongue or in the country's majority (official) language(s).

If one compares the number of languages spoken at home and number of languages of the test in PISA it could be easily observed that education all

over the world is a product of (nation)state policies which imply a certain selectivity. In the PISA 2012 database, for example, there are indicated 103 different languages, and another 62 languages are also coded as being 'other language' for a certain country. So in this international education survey there are 165 'mother languages' categories<sup>6</sup> relative (against) to 48 test languages. In simplifying, one can say that only a small part of the languages spoken at home have the opportunity to function as a medium of instruction across PISA countries.

According to the PISA 2012 student database in 25 countries there is more than one language of instruction (test language). The majority of these countries are from Europe (18 countries – including Kazakhstan), the others are from Asia (Hong Kong – China, Macao – China, Malaysia), from the Middle East (Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Israel), and from the Americas (Canada). European countries include states from Central and South-Eastern Europe (Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro), Baltic states (Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia), and Western European countries mostly characterized with a certain regional linguistic-administrative structure (Belgium, Luxemburg, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Finland). Canada also has regional, language-based traditions. Asian and Arab countries with more than one language of testing are mostly post-colonial states, where English as a medium of instruction still plays an important role in education (Hong-Kong, Macao-China, Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar). Israel also has a multilingual education system as it is possible to learn in either Hebrew and Arabic, as well. (see Annexes Table A1, A2. for descriptive statistics. Due to methodological considerations some countries will not appear in analysis below.)

In Figs. 1 and 2. there are mathematics competencies broken down by country and language of the test. Red bars indicate students' performance in the majority languages (for all tests taken in the official language). In the case of Belgium, Switzerland, Luxemburg, and Canada there is more than one official language. In some countries (Estonia, Finland, Great Britain, Lithuania, Montenegro, Slovakia, Israel, Hong-Kong) competencies produced in the official (majority) language of the state are higher than in minority languages. In countries like Spain, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, the United Arab Emirates, Malaysia, Macao-China, competencies produced in the minority language(s) are higher than those recorded in the official (majority) language.

<sup>6</sup> Of course there are many more languages spoken at home as PISA variable codification system certainly unites different languages under the same category.

Figure 1. Mathematics competencies broken down by country and language of the test (Europe)

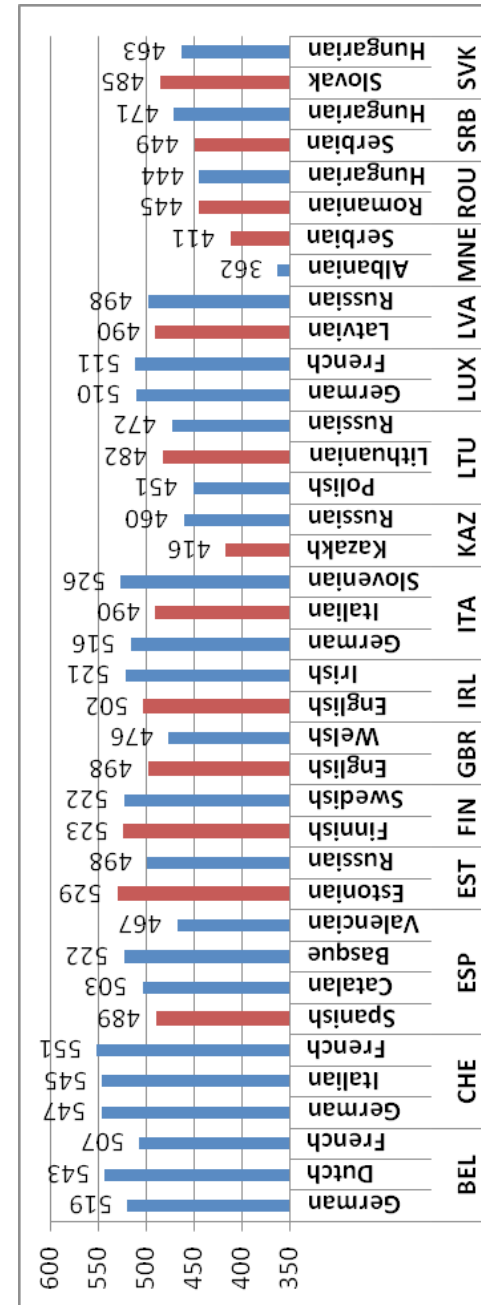
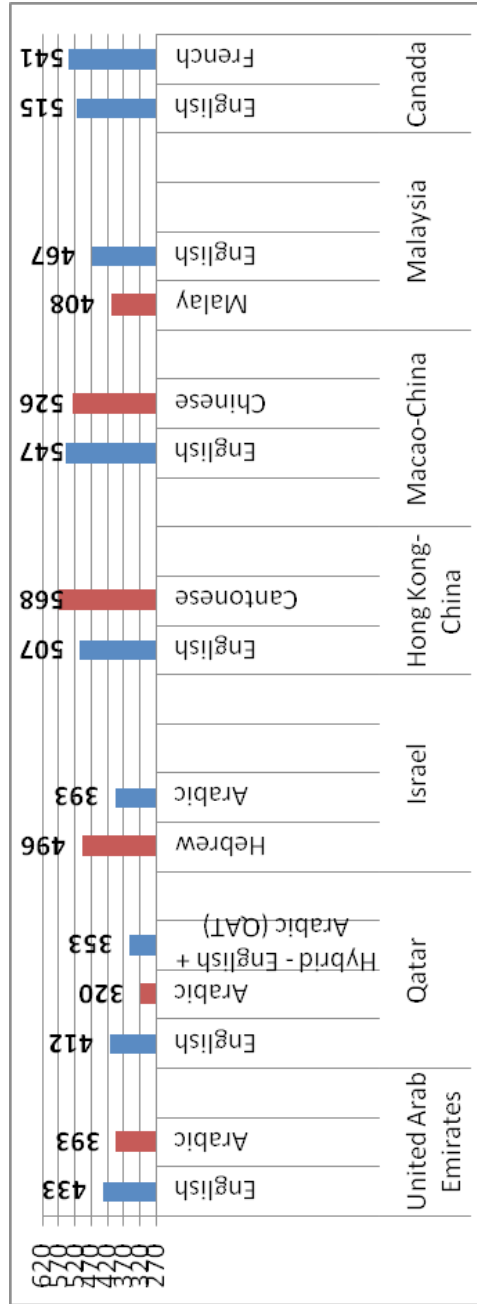




Figure 2. Mathematics competencies broken down by country and language of the test (Asia and Canada)



In almost all countries with at least two test languages, differences on mean scores based on language of the test are significant. Exceptions in this regard are Switzerland, Finland, Luxemburg, Romania, Serbia and Slovakia. In Lithuania there are no significant differences between Latvian and Russian language schools, however the smaller Polish language school system presents a significantly lower competency mean on mathematics compared with the mainstream Lithuanian language schools.

Differences on mean score can be explained by differences in students' family backgrounds. Among the countries selected for presentation in this analysis the biggest effect of student background could be identified (see Table A3) in the case of Hungarian language minority schools in Slovakia and Serbia (41 and 28 percent, respectively, on school competencies can be explained by ESCS), and in the case of English language schools in Hong Kong (27 percent). At the same time one can observe that in English language schools from Macao-China, in Arabic language schools from Qatar, and in Basque and Valencian language schools in Spain the effect of family background is almost non-existent (1-3 percent).

In order to filter out this family background effect I have calculated school performances by accounting for students' index of economic, social, and cultural status (ESCS). Significant differences on mean score still remain in almost all countries. In Finland, a country where there were no significant differences, after adjusting for ESCS differences between test languages have become significant. In Ireland and Macao-China one can observe the inverse phenomenon, namely that the crude differences have disappeared after taking into account the role of family background. In summary, one can state that in countries where there exists more than one language of instruction there is a chance to have different school competencies based on these languages.

As I have detailed above, using the ESCS index, and its square, make it possible to assess the level of equity of a school system. Therefore in selected countries I have calculated the index of curvilinearity for each test language (see Annexes, Table A3). Only in a few countries is this index significant, and it is possible to observe that only in two countries does it have a negative value: in the case of Italian language schools in Italy and in official (Slovak) language schools of Slovakia. One can see significant positive values in the case of Russian language schools in Estonia, Arabic in Israel, Chinese in Macao, English in Malaysia, Serbian in Montenegro, Hungarian in Serbia, Italian in Slovenia, and Finnish in Finland. It is interesting that the majority of positive indexes of curvilinearity (i.e. non equitable education) stem from minority education, and one could identify significantly

equitable education services only for dominant language school systems (in Slovakia and Italy). And it is also observable that where majority language education is significantly non-equitable (the index has a positive value) the mean of mathematics performance is quite high (Finland, Macao-China). One can also assume that education in minority languages tends to be more selective than majority language schools; however, this feature does not correlate positively with minority language school competencies. All these characteristics indicate that equity and school performance are not necessary mutually presupposed.

To this point I have compared performances only on a test languages basis. However, as I described earlier (see Tables 2 and 3) one could identify different forms of minority related education as it is not necessary that each pupil learn in their mother tongue (or language spoken at home). Here the crucial question from the minority point of view is: Is education in mother tongue much more effective or not than education in the majority language? In a few countries (such as the United Arab Emirates, Finland, Spain, Israel, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Qatar) this question is relevant for the majority perspective as well, because there are enough majority students involved in (one of the) minority language schools for it to have a significant bearing on this group (students in the AB group that is). Also there are some countries where it is difficult, or only in regional terms, to define minority and majority students (e.g. Luxemburg, Canada).

According to data from *Table A4* one can observe that in Arab countries, speakers of non-Arabic languages (mainly English speakers) involved in Arab language schools significantly usually underperform not only by the country average but also underperform compared to majority students whose education is in the English (minority) language. In two Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia) there are no significant differences between majority (Type AA) and minority (Type BB) mother tongue education, indeed in Estonia there seems to be a significant structural difference between Estonian majority and Russian minority education – in favour of the majority students. The same situation can be seen in Israel where majority students in majority language schools outperform Arabic language schools. Moreover, here students who use English language at home and are involved in Hebrew language schools outperform every other kind of students. In Central and South-Eastern Europe minority students usually underperform or

have no significantly higher mean scores than majority (in majority language) students. In this region it is striking that Albanian language students have significantly lower competencies than their peers in majority language schools. Also it is an important signal that Romani speaking students in Slovakia have very low school competencies.<sup>7</sup> In Central Europe one can also observe that minority students participating in majority language education is usually associated with low school performance (e.g. Hungarian minority in Romanian language schools).

In Western Europe the picture is also very complex, there is no universal trend regarding minority education. Despite my analysis focusing on native students, in Belgium, for example, it is striking that (non-first- and second-generation) students speaking in Turkish at home have a very low performance in Dutch language schools. At the same time students with French language background in German language schools outperform in mathematics those French students who study in their mother tongue. This is not true for the other two competencies. In Switzerland, students who use Italian in their home are significantly weaker in German language schools than any others who learn in any kind of education in Switzerland. The PISA data from Spain indicate that for different ethnic minorities (mainly Basques, Catalans) using Spanish language is more likely to result in lower performances than those in mother tongue education. Moreover, pupils who use Spanish in their home and are involved in Basque language schools have significantly higher results than Spanish students who learn in their mother tongue. In the United Kingdom students who choose Welsh language schools significantly underperform those who study in English. In Ireland an opposite trend can be describe: students involved in Irish language schools outperform the mainstream education schools in English.

Finally, if one compares the two main, English and French, mother tongue education forms (type BB) in Canada one would say that the French group outperforms the English one. It is interesting in this multicultural country that – at least in mathematics – French and English students have almost the same achievement level regardless of their language of study.

Following the formula I've described above in the methodological part of my paper I have calculated for selected countries the mother tongue effect indexes (MTE) for each language spoken at home (*Table A5*). The indexes of MTE are calculated for each competency area; however, below I

<sup>7</sup> Despite the high number of Roma students in Europe, in the PISA assessment it is only possible to identify in Slovakia a sufficient number of Romani speaking students.

will concentrate only on reading competencies in the case of national minorities. The reason for this is that in the relevant literature on the one hand, there is an emphasis on the role of mother tongue education in reading and text comprehension, and to analyse these phenomena at this point is elaborated from a minority perspective. It means that choosing between different languages as a medium of education forces minorities to grapple with more challenges than for students who natively speak the mainstream (state) language.

Among well-documented national minorities<sup>8</sup>, Russian minorities significantly would gain from their mother tongue education in Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, the Hungarian minority in Romania, and Basques in Spain. In post-colonial countries the 'former colonisers English minority' students gain advantages in United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Malaysia. In other countries different minority groups have no significant advantages in reading competencies. It is interesting that in some countries (Finland, Hong Kong, Israel, Serbia, Slovakia, United Kingdom) majority students benefit from their mother tongue education, however there are three countries (Kazakhstan, Spain, Sweden) where linguistic majority students lose out in terms of reading competencies if they participate in their mother tongue education. In multiethnic and multilingual states one can also observe that it is not necessarily true that all kinds of mother tongue education result in significantly higher school achievement. In Belgium, only the Dutch mother tongue education, in Canada the English mother tongue education, and in Switzerland the French and Italian mother tongue education seems to be much more effective than learning in other languages – after adjusting for the ESCS indexes.

## Conclusions

In my paper I have tried to provide a quasi general picture about minority education in the world. During this approach I have used the PISA 2012 international student database because it offers some linguistic and other background informations necessary for identification of native minority students. Thus all my analyses have concentrated on native minority students' school competencies, and I have compared either minority and majority students' achievement, or minority students who learn in their mother tongue and students who do not. In some multicultural states it was

<sup>8</sup> It is worthwhile to mention that MTE index is calculated after taking into account the economic background of students' family, therefore differences mentioned in this part of my paper sometimes are different than in Table A4.

also possible to make comparison based on school (test) languages.

In almost all countries with at least 2 test languages gaps on mean scores based on language of the test are significant (exceptions in this regard are Switzerland, Finland, Luxemburg, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia.) What is striking in this regard is that differences still remain on almost all countries even after accounting for students' index of economic, social, and cultural status (ESCS). The results indicate that in selected countries there exist a real educational inequality based on language of instruction. One can conclude that in countries where exist more than one language of instruction there is an odd to have different school competencies based on these languages.

From ethnic-national minority perspective education on mother tongue usually is an important question because it is believed that it is related to surviving of minority community as such. Therefore I have tried to map out whether it poses a real gain for minority students, or not. To answer this question I have created an index of mother tongue effect (MTE), and for eliminating the effect of family background it was calculated after adjusting by ESCS. Results in this respect show that only in some European countries (Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Spain, Kazahstan) and in some Arab countries (national) minorities have a statistically significant possibility to gain from their mother tongue education. Also it was interesting that in some countries (Finland, Hong Kong, Israel, Serbia, Slovakia, United Kingdom) while majority students benefit from their mother tongue education, minorities living there have not such a possibility. However I have identified three countries (Kazakhstan, Spain, Sweden) where linguistic majority students will lose in terms of reading competencies if they participate in their mother tongue education.

Interpreting these results I can assume that mother tongue education does not unequivocally present an advantages in all countries. However, one should take into account that gaps in school competencies should be related to the prestige, history, tradition, and to the legal status of mother tongue education. In Middle East countries for example it is interesting that mean scores on competencies are lower in Arab language than in English language. As I have presented earlier mother tongue effect in the case of Russian minorities in some countries tend to be significantly positive. These two kinds of gaps certainly could be explained by local history, and by the

social prestiges of these languages (both Russian and English languages are a kind of former 'imperial' languages). In an international perspective it is also striking that Romani speakers have not only very low school competencies but they have no possibility to use their mother tongue in education. Using PISA data and methodology for exploring school equity I have also shown that education in minority languages tend to be more selective than majority language schools, however this feature doesn't correlate positively with minorities' language school competencies. All these data emphasize that inequalities can be grasped not only at interethnic level, but in intraethnic terms, as well.

One of the principal aims of this paper was to demonstrate that PISA can be used for analysing national minorities education. Despite the fact that there are some methodological constraints as national ethnic minority belonging is not explored in a detailed way in PISA, I hope my analysis contributes to cease what Myers says,<sup>9</sup> the silence around education of native (ethnic, national) minority students.

<sup>9</sup> „The experiment of immigrants and ethnic minorities in post-war Europe represents a significant silence in the history of education in Europe” (Myers 2009, p. 801).

## ANNEXES

**Table A1. Countries with at least two test languages - Europe**

		CNT	TestLANG	N	Weighted N	%	% SE	MATH Mean	Mean SE
1	BEL	Belgium	German	577	625	0,6	0,02	519	2,73
		Belgium	Dutch	4286	58271	59,9	0,88	543	3,24
		Belgium	French	2290	38329	39,4	0,88	507	3,14
2	CHE	Switzerland	German	4864	43537	73,9	1,18	547	3,65
		Switzerland	Italian	326	2493	4,2	0,18	545	14,81
		Switzerland	French	3055	12903	21,9	1,17	551	4,18
3	ESP	Spain	Spanish	19094	265919	80,6	0,67	489	1,72
		Spain	Catalan	2046	51725	15,7	0,50	503	4,08
		Spain	Basque	1123	3699	1,1	0,09	522	3,24
		Spain	Valencian	94	8445	2,6	0,51	467	13,21
4	EST	Estonia	Estonian	3578	8758	83,8	0,60	529	1,96
		Estonia	Russian	715	1696	16,2	0,60	498	6,13
5	FIN	Finland	Finnish	5937	53510	93,6	0,15	523	1,99
		Finland	Swedish	1469	3647	6,4	0,15	522	2,16
6	GBR	United Kingdom	English	10944	580717	99,3	0,13	498	3,05
		United Kingdom	Welsh	411	3863	0,7	0,13	476	5,03
7	IRL	Ireland	English	4353	46836	98,6	0,73	502	2,33
		Ireland	Irish	69	656	1,4	0,73	521	7,99
8	ITA	Italy	German	1495	3915	0,8	0,02	516	2,45
		Italy	Italian	26699	465839	99,1	0,07	490	2,07
		Italy	Slovenian	57	491	0,1	0,06	526	8,04
9	KAZ	Kazakhstan	Kazakh	2811	106082	61,4	1,89	416	3,38
		Kazakhstan	Russian	2085	66829	38,6	1,89	460	4,45
10	LTU	Lithuania	Polish	180	1539	4,8	1,07	451	13,50
		Lithuania	Lithuanian	4098	29096	91,3	1,52	482	3,07
		Lithuania	Russian	180	1250	3,9	1,08	472	9,15
11	LUX	Luxembourg	German	2518	2623	89,8	0,48	510	1,81

		Luxembourg	English	8	9	0,3	0,09	561	22,44
		Luxembourg	French	275	288	9,9	0,49	511	5,74
12	LVA	Latvia	Latvian	3128	12274	81,0	2,24	490	3,22
		Latvia	Russian	904	2880	19,0		498	4,75
13	MNE	Montenegro	Albanian	124	254	3,6	0,10	362	6,01
		Montenegro	Serbian of a yekavian variant or Montenegrin	4199	6801	96,4	0,10	411	1,18
14	ROU	Romania	Romanian	4776	131872	94,9	0,68	445	3,72
		Romania	Hungarian	227	7033	5,1	0,68	444	20,94
15	SRB	Serbia	Serbian	4056	58834	98,6	0,56	449	3,44
		Serbia	Hungarian	54	816	1,4	0,56	471	32,17
16	SVK	Slovak Republic	Slovak	4242	49436	93,1	1,65	485	3,75
		Slovak Republic	Hungarian	313	3686	6,9	1,65	463	24,26
17	SVN	Slovenia	Italian	15	20	0,1	0,02	510	20,58
		Slovenia	Slovenian	5275	16471	99,9	0,02	506	1,14
18	SWE	Sweden	English	21	402	0,5	0,32	578	25,62
		Sweden	Swedish	3909	78234	99,5	0,32	490	2,25

**Table A2. Countries with at least two test languages – Middle East countries, Asia, Canada**

		CNT	TestLANG	N	Weighted N	%	% SE	MATH mean	SE
		<b>MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES</b>							
1	UAE	United Arab Emirates	English	1127	3167	18	2,03	433	6,65
		United Arab Emirates	Arabic	3989	14567	82	2,03	393	2,60
3	QAT	Qatar	English	546	549	11	0,30	412	3,85

		Qatar	Arabic	3672	3679	74	0,33	320	1,27
		Qatar	Hybrid - English + Arabic (QAT)	757	758	15	0,29	353	2,62
2	ISR	Israel	Hebrew	2861	61886	74	1,29	496	5,45
		Israel	Arabic	1078	22064	26	1,29	393	6,39
		<b>ASIA</b>							
1	HKG	Hong Kong-China	English	38	717	2	1,06	507	31,81
		Hong Kong-China	Cantonese	2826	42866	98	1,06	568	3,81
2	MAC	Macao-China	Portuguese	9	9	0	0,16	498	30,10
		Macao-China	English	348	351	19	0,65	547	4,53
		Macao-China	Chinese	1477	1486	81	0,65	526	2,34
3	MYS	Malaysia	Malay	3739	310237	75	2,82	408	2,83
		Malaysia	English	1265	105128	25	2,82	467	7,52
		<b>AMERICA</b>							
1	CAN	Canada	English	12513	172909	73	0,85	515	2,07
		Canada	French	4499	63692	27	0,85	541	3,06

*Table A3. Unadjusted and adjusted by the ESCS mathematic performance by test language, and index of curvilinear*

Country	TestLANG	Unadjusted mathematics mean score		Mathematics performance adjusted by the mean ESCS <sup>1</sup>		Strength of the relationship between mathematics performance and ESCS <sup>2</sup>	Slope of the socio-economic gradient for mathematics <sup>2</sup>		Index of curvilinearity <sup>2</sup>		
		Mean score	S.E.	Mean score	S.E.		Score-point difference in mathematics associated with one unit increase in ESCS	S.E.	Score-point difference in mathematics associated with one-unit increase in ESCS squared	S.E.	
Belgium	Dutch	543	(3,24)	533	(2,58)	17,6	(1,48)	48	(2,26)	-0,52	(2,02)
Belgium	French	507	(3,14)	497	(2,86)	20,3	(2,01)	48	(2,79)	1,24	(2,46)
Belgium	German	519	(2,73)	515	(3,04)	4,7	(1,87)	22	(4,37)	1,50	(4,38)
Canada	English	515	(2,07)	500	(1,81)	9,6	(0,93)	31	(1,56)	2,24	(1,25)
Canada	French	541	(3,06)	528	(2,94)	12,1	(1,69)	37	(2,89)	0,25	(2,10)
Estonia	Estonian	529	(1,96)	525	(1,86)	9,7	(1,09)	30	(1,98)	3,45	(2,00)
Estonia	Russian	498	(6,13)	498	(5,69)	4,0	(1,90)	21	(5,00)	9,32	(4,39)
Finland	Finnish	523	(1,99)	512	(2,01)	8,2	(0,91)	31	(1,89)	4,76	(2,42)
Finland	Swedish	522	(2,16)	503	(2,87)	7,7	(1,30)	31	(2,80)	-1,92	(3,57)

Hong Kong-China	Cantonese	568	(3,81)	586	(3,48)	9,7	(1,79)	31	(2,98)	2,84	(1,95)
Hong Kong-China	English	507	(31,81)	495	(15,66)	26,5	(12,97)	64	(9,23)	5,04	(22,96)
Ireland	English	502	(2,33)	498	(1,96)	15,4	(1,34)	39	(1,92)	0,54	(1,59)
Ireland	Irish	521	(7,99)	510	(13,00)	5,9	(7,79)	22	(15,13)	-23,81	(22,44)
Israel	Arabic	393	(6,39)	398	(6,17)	6,5	(2,03)	22	(4,15)	3,96	(1,87)
Israel	Hebrew	496	(5,45)	477	(4,55)	16,5	(1,57)	55	(2,94)	0,72	(2,89)
Italy	German	516	(2,45)	518	(2,66)	5,1	(1,25)	24	(2,92)	-2,33	(2,71)
Italy	Italian	490	(2,07)	490	(1,86)	9,6	(0,68)	29	(1,24)	-3,35	(0,73)
Italy	Slovenian	526	(8,04)	524	(5,04)	0,5	(2,36)	5	(10,98)	-24,23	(21,89)
Kazakhstan	Kazakh	416	(3,38)	426	(3,68)	7,4	(2,07)	24	(3,35)	4,83	(2,66)
Kazakhstan	Russian	460	(4,45)	463	(4,37)	4,3	(1,99)	21	(5,21)	-0,76	(3,94)
Latvia	Latvian	490	(3,22)	501	(2,84)	15,2	(2,00)	35	(2,31)	-0,34	(2,07)
Latvia	Russian	498	(4,75)	503	(4,26)	14,4	(3,00)	36	(4,03)	-5,28	(3,64)
Lithuania	Lithuanian	482	(3,07)	487	(2,55)	14,7	(1,30)	37	(1,78)	-1,25	(1,64)
Lithuania	Polish	451	(13,50)	457	(13,39)	9,3	(3,61)	31	(5,93)	-6,52	(4,59)
Lithuania	Russian	472	(9,15)	471	(8,88)	4,7	(4,26)	20	(10,47)	-0,81	(8,08)
Luxembourg		561	(22,44)	505	(58,80)	16,5	(24,71)	30	(29,13)	31,93	(73,30)
Luxembourg	French	511	(5,74)	489	(5,85)	17,9	(4,63)	43	(5,89)	-4,25	(6,55)

Luxembourg	German	510	(1,81)	494	(2,14)	11,4	(1,37)	36	(2,17)	-3,13	(2,06)
Macao-China	Chinese	526	(2,34)	545	(2,74)	5,1	(0,98)	24	(2,28)	4,51	(2,38)
Macao-China	English	547	(4,53)	549	(4,79)	0,6	(0,97)	9	(6,33)	3,52	(5,26)
Macao-China	Portuguese			523	(44,70)	5,3	(13,77)	-27	(40,78)	-7,13	(63,77)
Malaysia	Malay	408	(2,83)	426	(3,80)	15,1	(3,53)	38	(4,76)	2,38	(2,63)
Malaysia	English	467	(7,52)	475	(6,25)	7,7	(1,51)	21	(2,20)	3,46	(1,26)
Montenegro	Albanian	362	(6,01)	368	(6,65)	5,3	(4,42)	14	(5,93)	-1,07	(5,70)
Montenegro	Serbian of a yekavian variant or Montenegrin	411	(1,18)	420	(1,28)	13,1	(0,95)	34	(1,36)	3,64	(1,60)
Qatar	Arabic	320	(1,27)	319	(1,35)	0,6	(0,35)	5	(1,42)	0,66	(0,83)
Qatar	English	412	(3,85)	372	(5,50)	14,2	(2,74)	44	(4,67)	-2,11	(3,57)
Qatar	Hybrid - English + Arabic (QAT)	353	(2,62)	334	(3,77)	4,8	(1,46)	21	(3,48)	-1,79	(3,71)
Romania	Hungarian	444	(20,94)	459	(18,12)	17,7	(9,18)	35	(12,09)	11,06	(6,58)
Romania	Romanian	445	(3,72)	463	(3,57)	19,5	(2,46)	38	(2,98)	5,75	(0,96)
Serbia	Serbian	449	(3,44)	459	(3,25)	27,6	(13,14)	50	(12,67)	-8,41	(4,75)
Serbia	Hungarian	471	(32,17)	497	(28,16)	11,8	(1,43)	34	(2,43)	3,40	(1,60)

Slovak Republic	Hungarian	463	(24,26)	484	(15,18)	40,6	(4,36)	75	(5,46)	2,71	(6,05)
Slovak Republic	Slovak	485	(3,75)	494	(2,84)	23,4	(2,27)	52	(3,09)	-4,37	(2,13)
Spain	Basque	522	(3,24)	522	(2,95)	2,8	(1,03)	14	(2,68)	-1,31	(3,13)
Spain	Catalan	503	(4,08)	505	(3,60)	13,1	(2,45)	30	(2,98)	1,17	(2,14)
Spain	Spanish	489	(1,72)	494	(1,55)	15,9	(1,18)	33	(1,20)	-0,52	(0,70)
Spain	Valencian	467	(13,21)	476	(16,52)	2,3	(2,07)	15	(7,04)	3,20	(11,01)
Switzerland	French	551	(4,18)	536	(4,82)	8,6	(1,80)	33	(3,30)	0,14	(5,06)
Switzerland	German	547	(3,65)	537	(3,25)	8,9	(1,35)	34	(2,77)	0,88	(2,69)
Switzerland	Italian	545	(14,81)	535	(12,91)	4,3	(1,69)	23	(6,06)	9,08	(7,04)
United Arab Emirates	English	433	(6,65)	414	(4,75)	4,7	(2,00)	17	(2,12)	-1,61	(3,18)
United Arab Emirates	Arabic	393	(2,60)	390	(2,33)	4,7	(1,00)	23	(4,75)	2,91	(1,15)
United Kingdom	English	498	(3,05)	488	(2,46)	12,4	(1,28)	41	(2,36)	2,94	(1,67)
United Kingdom	Welsh	476	(5,03)	462	(5,84)	10,1	(2,58)	35	(4,90)	6,26	(6,10)

*Table A4. School performances by language at home and language of the test*

minority language (or mother tongue) Education – Type BB*
minority in mainstream education – Type BA
majority in minority lg. Education – Type AB
majority (mainstream) education – Type BA

\*see details in Table 2.

Country	Language at home	Language of the test	n	Mathematics		Reading		Science	
				mean	SE	mean	SE	mean	SE
United Arab Emirates	English	English	90	444	14,44	450	16,53	458	13,78
United Arab Emirates	English	Arabic	98	382	10,29	390	12,55	401	11,45
United Arab Emirates	Arabic	English	935	434	7,33	428	5,75	430	8,94
United Arab Emirates	Arabic	Arabic	3662	394	2,64	409	2,78	413	2,90
United Arab Emirates	Another language (QRE)	English	58	432	16,55	415	20,25	429	20,59
United Arab Emirates	Another language (QRE)	Arabic	73	358	11,58	370	14,09	369	12,64
Belgium	German	German	393	520	3,64	513	4,08	517	4,01
Belgium	Dutch	Dutch	3131	554	3,19	540	2,98	542	2,98
Belgium	Turkish	Dutch	42	440	19,21	428	19,09	411	15,83
Belgium	French	German	36	534	15,57	508	13,62	528	12,94

Belgium	French	Dutch	136	508	14,91	506	14,90	499	14,39
Belgium	French	French	2072	511	3,06	516	4,12	506	3,30
Belgium	Western European languages	Dutch	38	477	17,56	483	16,21	483	16,43
Belgium	Flemish dialect (BEL)	Dutch	695	531	6,09	517	5,64	519	6,27
Belgium	German dialect (BEL)	German	83	549	7,92	520	9,21	533	8,47
Belgium	Another language (BEL)	Dutch	67	442	13,06	434	13,68	434	13,80
Canada	English	English	11845	516	2,00	529	2,20	537	2,02
Canada	English	French	1148	518	6,92	502	5,30	507	6,21
Canada	French	English	319	557	17,13	547	17,11	541	11,78
Canada	French	French	3181	545	3,15	527	3,60	525	3,18
Canada	Another language (CAN)	English	99	469	11,67	470	15,38	484	12,49
Switzerland	Italian	German	49	487	16,59	461	14,42	459	16,85
Switzerland	Italian	Italian	205	544	17,19	530	10,49	536	17,44
Switzerland	French	German	49	536	20,85	508	20,06	512	19,09
Switzerland	French	French	2809	554	4,26	539	4,03	534	3,80
Switzerland	Swiss Italian	Italian	61	577	10,39	546	15,93	555	11,26
Switzerland	Swiss German	German	4448	550	3,91	523	3,16	538	3,29



<b>Switzerland</b>	Swiss German	French	97	531	12,68	521	12,88	513	11,82
Spain	Spanish	Spanish	17615	491	1,85	494	1,87	506	1,94
Spain	Spanish	Catalan	962	490	4,28	502	4,68	492	3,74
Spain	Spanish	Basque	282	510	7,88	495	6,88	484	6,72
Spain	Catalan	Spanish	180	496	18,39	494	15,80	513	16,64
Spain	Catalan	Catalan	982	520	4,57	522	4,63	516	4,40
Spain	Basque	Spanish	252	502	6,42	493	7,38	499	7,01
Spain	Basque	Basque	815	528	3,75	508	4,53	516	3,67
Spain	Galician	Spanish	538	476	4,83	476	6,81	495	5,96
Spain	Valencian	Spanish	86	486	5,99	485	15,44	506	9,66
Spain	Valencian	Valencian	61	480	13,27	472	15,75	478	14,48
Spain	Another language (ESP)	Spanish	135	446	18,78	446	21,63	450	20,23
Spain	Another language (ESP)	Catalan	35	479	26,19	472	23,51	482	27,30
<b>Estonia</b>	Estonian	Estonian	3362	531	2,00	528	2,28	554	2,12
<b>Estonia</b>	Russian	Estonian	162	508	5,87	502	6,99	519	6,15
<b>Estonia</b>	Russian	Russian	703	499	6,20	492	4,68	516	5,37
<b>Finland</b>	Finnish	Finnish	5760	524	2,01	531	2,41	554	2,26
<b>Finland</b>	Finnish	Swedish	267	528	5,82	515	5,75	525	5,98
<b>Finland</b>	Swedish	Swedish	1162	522	2,75	509	3,24	520	3,13
<b>Finland</b>	Russian	Finnish	36	482	12,92	496	22,40	512	17,02
<b>Finland</b>	Another language (FIN)	Finnish	74	513	34,13	507	34,20	525	36,52

<b>United Kingdom</b>	English	English	10675	498	3,07	504	3,41	521	3,35
<b>United Kingdom</b>	English	Welsh	264	472	5,13	467	6,12	470	6,46
<b>United Kingdom</b>	Welsh	English	47	472	11,06	473	8,95	489	10,10
<b>United Kingdom</b>	Welsh	Welsh	131	492	8,44	500	10,36	502	9,15
<b>United Kingdom</b>	Another language (QUK)	English	47	484	20,73	486	19,38	485	19,91
<b>Ireland</b>	English	English	4270	503	2,34	526	2,60	524	2,50
<b>Ireland</b>	English	Irish	52	525	8,55	551	6,60	528	4,35
<b>Israel</b>	English	Hebrew	44	537	16,04	549	18,77	537	16,40
<b>Israel</b>	Hebrew	Hebrew	2721	497	5,33	519	5,73	500	5,59
<b>Israel</b>	Hebrew	Arabic	52	382	14,46	389	16,99	379	16,33
<b>Israel</b>	Arabic	Arabic	927	396	6,24	413	5,57	404	6,62
<b>Italy</b>	German	Italian	69	474	14,81	478	15,22	489	14,38
<b>Italy</b>	Italian	German	36	515	15,83	512	17,30	545	13,25
<b>Italy</b>	Italian	Italian	21778	499	2,10	507	1,90	508	1,88
<b>Italy</b>	Another official language (ITA)	German	89	522	11,60	499	10,08	515	12,45
<b>Italy</b>	Another official language (ITA)	Italian	62	493	23,16	511	23,49	501	24,40
<b>Italy</b>	A dialect (ITA)	German	1268	519	2,58	511	2,75	537	2,80
<b>Italy</b>	A dialect (ITA)	Italian	2409	455	3,32	449	3,48	457	3,56
<b>Italy</b>	Another EU language (ITA)	Italian	48	504	21,68	507	18,76	500	28,04

Italy	Another language (ITA)	Italian	70	467	16,18	445	20,29	461	17,85
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	Kazakh	Kazakh	2713	417	3,29	373	3,20	403	3,56
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	Kazakh	Russian	395	456	8,17	418	6,71	454	7,37
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	Russian	Kazakh	57	429	10,95	387	8,68	417	8,43
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	Russian	Russian	1459	462	4,69	438	3,88	471	3,85
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	Another language (KAZ)	Kazakh	41	354	14,36	294	15,11	345	13,29
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	Another language (KAZ)	Russian	229	449	13,01	411	11,13	443	9,27
<b>Lithuania</b>	Polish	Polish	117	479	11,75	446	11,88	457	11,61
<b>Lithuania</b>	Lithuanian	Lithuanian	3904	484	3,03	485	2,77	502	2,89
<b>Lithuania</b>	Russian	Polish	33	408	17,38	368	17,98	394	17,54
<b>Lithuania</b>	Russian	Lithuanian	52	463	17,87	466	16,62	483	17,27
<b>Lithuania</b>	Russian	Russian	172	474	10,11	481	9,12	496	10,36
<b>Luxembourg</b>	German	German	40	546	14,20	561	15,18	558	13,08
<b>Luxembourg</b>	French	French	99	519	8,68	530	9,91	521	9,26
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Luxembourgish	German	2232	515	1,87	516	2,13	526	1,95
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Luxembourgish	French	100	543	9,12	550	10,50	548	10,87
<b>Macao-China</b>	Cantonese	English	304	555	4,74	479	4,89	505	4,66
<b>Macao-China</b>	Cantonese	Chinese	1379	528	2,44	503	2,13	516	2,00
<b>Montenegro</b>	Albanian	Albanian	121	361	6,28	378	7,89	360	8,07

<b>Montenegro</b>	Albanian	Serbian of a yekavian variant or Montenegrin	35	386	17,00	390	15,62	378	18,55
<b>Montenegro</b>	Serbian of a yekavian variant or Montenegrin	Serbian of a yekavian variant or Montenegrin	4164	412	1,20	426	1,36	412	1,18
<b>Malaysia</b>	Malay	Malay	2729	405	3,14	399	3,31	415	3,10
<b>Malaysia</b>	Malay	English	499	455	9,62	413	10,65	441	8,31
<b>Malaysia</b>	English	Malay	133	432	10,49	404	7,88	421	8,91
<b>Malaysia</b>	English	English	151	496	11,28	469	11,59	497	10,36
<b>Malaysia</b>	Another language (MYS)	Malay	844	413	4,48	379	5,56	401	5,03
<b>Malaysia</b>	Another language (MYS)	English	604	470	10,28	409	10,95	444	9,64
<b>Qatar</b>	English	English	63	426	12,12	442	14,93	443	13,57
<b>Qatar</b>	English	Arabic	76	296	7,61	290	13,52	294	13,79
<b>Qatar</b>	Arabic	English	367	426	5,31	425	5,58	430	5,66
<b>Qatar</b>	Arabic	Arabic	3321	321	1,39	329	1,39	333	1,22
<b>Qatar</b>	Arabic	Hybrid - English + Arabic (QAT)	672	355	2,83	407	3,27	345	3,69
<b>Qatar</b>	Another language (QAT)	English	66	351	9,05	342	15,04	351	9,98
<b>Qatar</b>	Another language (QAT)	Arabic	58	328	11,21	326	12,95	330	11,92

<b>Romania</b>	Romanian	4693	445	3,72	439	3,95	439	3,18
<b>Romania</b>	Romanian	43	400	18,65	369	19,06	387	16,13
<b>Romania</b>	Hungarian	222	445	20,72	456	20,19	466	17,87
<b>Serbia</b>	Slovak	50	461	12,07	456	17,80	453	10,52
<b>Serbia</b>	Serbian	3886	449	3,51	447	3,61	445	3,49
<b>Serbia</b>	Hungarian	47	455	12,28	456	16,13	468	12,48
<b>Serbia</b>	Hungarian	42	485	34,68	494	36,70	488	32,02
<b>Serbia</b>	Another language (SRB)	32	429	17,76	397	20,40	421	20,60
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	Slovak	3864	494	3,61	477	4,08	484	3,60
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	Romani	174	344	11,28	291	11,26	310	10,80
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	Hungarian	71	455	28,96	417	42,26	431	39,25
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	Hungarian	278	467	25,64	450	29,32	468	26,62
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	Another language (SVK)	40	475	14,17	447	19,80	454	16,83
<b>Slovenia</b>	Slovenian	5115	508	1,12	488	1,23	522	1,33
<b>Slovenia</b>	Other former Yugoslavian languages (SVN)	30	430	15,22	422	18,91	448	22,50
<b>Latvia</b>	Latvian	2715	493	3,51	490	3,43	507	3,38
<b>Latvia</b>	Russian	312	474	6,80	456	8,63	473	5,87
<b>Latvia</b>	Russian	839	499	4,95	509	4,86	509	5,22

**Table A5. Mother tongue effects (MTE) by country and by language spoken at home**

CNT	LANGN	READING	MATHEMATICS	SCIENCE
Belgium	Dutch	<b>72,24</b>	60,37	<b>60,81</b>
Belgium	French	14,87	8,05	11,38
Belgium	German	29,25	8,42	31,64
Canada	English	<b>27,50</b>	-1,69	<b>31,01</b>
Canada	French	-8,80	0,03	-6,31
Estonia	Estonian	46,93	18,27	<b>56,99</b>
Estonia	Russian	-10,64	-9,01	-2,68
Finland	Finnish	<b>28,15</b>	7,57	<b>40,00</b>
Finland	Swedish	29,52	43,45	38,09
Hong Kong-China	Cantonese	<b>36,82</b>	<b>45,32</b>	<b>49,55</b>
Hong Kong-China	English	23,53	24,92	-12,42
Israel	Arabic	-43,44	-44,72	-42,60
Israel	Hebrew	<b>105,32</b>	<b>86,37</b>	<b>90,93</b>
Italy	German	-1,64	0,36	-7,91
Italy	Italian	27,77	5,55	10,46
Italy	Slovenian	<b>87,00</b>	<b>90,74</b>	<b>66,69</b>
Kazakhstan	Kazakh	<b>-34,59</b>	-30,21	<b>-41,78</b>
Kazakhstan	Russian	<b>58,35</b>	<b>38,35</b>	<b>60,62</b>
Latvia	Latvian	-16,76	-3,05	17,56
Latvia	Russian	<b>39,65</b>	10,97	<b>24,82</b>
Lithuania	Lithuanian	56,71	35,16	60,00
Lithuania	Polish	8,83	32,26	-2,77
Lithuania	Russian	<b>52,14</b>	26,40	<b>43,95</b>
Luxembourg	English	<b>119,84</b>	<b>74,07</b>	<b>121,34</b>
Luxembourg	French	<b>62,70</b>	<b>51,34</b>	<b>48,28</b>
Macao-China	Cantonese	<b>35,83</b>	-13,56	<b>22,95</b>

Macao-China	Chinese dialects or languages (MAC)	<b>130,63</b>	46,02	<b>88,10</b>
Macao-China	English	96,42	48,89	79,71
Macao-China	Mandarin	-16,74	<b>-103,77</b>	-25,59
Macao-China	Portuguese	-28,19	-7,97	31,02
Malaysia	English	<b>43,86</b>	<b>38,76</b>	<b>50,15</b>
Malaysia	Malay	0,70	<b>-35,08</b>	-12,45
Montenegro	Albanian	-11,87	-25,26	-18,02
Montenegro	Serbian of a yekavian variant or Montenegrin	46,73	39,69	<b>74,64</b>
Qatar	Arabic	<b>-77,66</b>	<b>-52,94</b>	<b>-33,28</b>
Qatar	English	<b>127,67</b>	<b>118,74</b>	<b>133,17</b>
Romania	Hungarian	<b>71,75</b>	29,98	<b>66,23</b>
Romania	Romanian	-13,10	7,43	-14,41
Serbia	Hungarian	40,87	33,24	22,01
Serbia	Serbian	<b>28,66</b>	<b>30,53</b>	17,81
Slovak Republic	Hungarian	31,59	11,19	35,64
Slovak Republic	Slovak	<b>69,60</b>	<b>45,28</b>	<b>27,89</b>
Slovenia	Italian	<b>123,40</b>	<b>114,82</b>	<b>159,99</b>
Slovenia	Slovenian	-17,57	-6,84	-33,18
Spain	Basque	<b>16,05</b>	<b>26,97</b>	<b>18,77</b>
Spain	Catalan	23,90	19,50	-0,17
Spain	Spanish	<b>-10,36</b>	-3,92	<b>10,33</b>
Spain	Valencian	-4,26	5,52	-18,28
Sweden	English	66,33	49,58	63,22
Sweden	Swedish	<b>-84,01</b>	<b>-82,46</b>	<b>-90,88</b>
Switzerland	French	<b>32,51</b>	22,92	25,76
Switzerland	German	-74,92	-80,48	-50,50
Switzerland	Italian	<b>70,40</b>	<b>57,66</b>	<b>77,44</b>
Switzerland	Swiss German	4,94	<b>23,28</b>	<b>27,24</b>

United Arab Emirates	Arabic	-6,07	<b>-26,79</b>	-2,74
United Arab Emirates	English	<b>48,93</b>	<b>50,86</b>	<b>44,57</b>
United Kingdom	English	<b>41,34</b>	<b>29,32</b>	<b>54,95</b>
United Kingdom	Welsh	8,98	1,58	-7,19

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**Olga Aleksejeva**

### **THE JEWISH MOVEMENT IN THE LATVIAN SSR IN THE 1980s: THE EMERGENCE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY**

The article “The Jewish Movement in the Latvian SSR in the 1980s: the Emergence of the Jewish Community” includes such topics as formation of the Jewish community in the Latvian SSR and its local aspects, manifestations of the Jewish national movement in the Latvian SSR and its changes, the Soviet time anti-Semitism (anti-Zionism), the Soviet Jews’ struggle for the rights to emigrate from the USSR, resistance to the Soviet regime, changes in the self-identity of the Soviet Jews, as well as a topic about the attitude of the Latvian SSR authority towards the Jewish national movement.

Riga (the capital of Latvia) was one of the cities in which the movement of Soviet Jews was established. In the Baltic States, the Latvian SSR in particular, Jews played a significant role in the development of resistance. Latvian Jews and their activities in the post-war period can be evaluated as one of the circumstances, which established significant changes both in the USSR (including the Latvian SSR) and internationally.

It is important to pay more attention to those topics which, during the Soviet time, had the status of “a forbidden theme” or which were discussed in the ideological way of which the Jewish history serves as one of the most notable examples.

After the victory of Israel in The Six-Day War in June, 1967, a significant awakening of national awareness of Jews began. It was characterised by

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the awareness of historical, ethnical and religious roots as well as the understanding of necessity of recovery of one's own ethno-cultural identity.

The Jews in Riga were one of the first in the USSR, who began the active movement of the departure to Israel. The willingness to emigrate from the USSR was strengthened by the anti-Zionist propaganda which turned into outspoken anti-Semitism as well as further constraints of Jewish rights and the increase of Russification.

At the beginning of the 1970s and the 1980s the activists of the Jewish movement in Riga aroused interest in Jews (especially the youth) about the national history, traditions and culture: readings of Riga Judaica were organised illegally, the Jewish „samizdat” (unapproved publications by the Soviet authorities, not published in a printing-house, but multiplied by typewriting, or photocopies or in some other way) were published, ulpans (schools or educational institutions where Hebrew is being studied in an intensive manner) and excursions throughout the previous territory of Riga ghetto were organised, Jewish holidays were celebrated, etc. One of the forms of strengthening the national self-confidence of Jews became funeral meetings, which were held in Riga at the places of mass murder of the Second World War, e.g., in Rumbula.

The Jewish national awakening involved both the Jews who were born in the independent state of Latvia and their children as well as the immigrants from the USSR. Also the religious life of Jews gradually began to become more active and several Jewish youngsters tried to turn to Judaism. In addition, Jews in Riga lived in an environment which was relatively compact. However, the flourishing of the Jewish life in the Latvian SSR took place along with a sharp decrease of the number of Jewish inhabitants, which was influenced both by emigration and assimilation process. Moreover, it should be taken into account that the majority of the Soviet Jews simply tried to live a life and connected their future with the USSR. Although, among Jews of this group there were some who understood that a part of the Soviet society considered them to be strangers.

In the 1980s, the Jewish movement established related structures which specialized in religion, education, culture, publishing and topics of human rights. Over this period the number of Jewish organisations, press, education centres increased fast. The legalization of national life of Jews began. In 1988 – 1989, the Jewish part which had not been involved in social activities before became active.

Within the framework of the Jewish movement, it was important to use the experience gained in the previous years (1960s – 1980s). In contrast to

the 1970s when the Jewish movement was centred mainly in small groups of „otkazniki” (persons-Soviet citizens who were declined to receive permission to emigrate from the USSR) or groups which prepared to repatriate when people represented only themselves or a small group of persons who held the same views; over the period of the 1980s, masses of people were involved in the Jewish movement which represented different Jewish organisations. Gradually the contacts with international Jewish organisations began to improve. A peculiar union of elements of Jewish movement can be observed – emigration and the aspirations of the development of Jewish culture in the USSR.

**Keywords:** Jews, national movement, emigration, resistance, Latvian SSR

After the victory of Israel in The Six-Day War in June, 1967, a significant awakening of national awareness of Jews began. It was characterised by the awareness of historical, ethnical and religious roots as well as the understanding of necessity of recovery of one's own ethno-cultural identity. The national awakening of Jews of the USSR began.

A significant part of Jews in the USSR lived in cities and beginning in 1970s the Latvian SSR (especially Riga) became one of the national movement centres of Jews (the main reference to this is made to the field of organizational works). The Jewish national awakening involved both the Jews who were born in the independent state of Latvia and their children as well as the immigrants from the USSR. It should be underlined that Latvian Jews during the post-war years are usually the ones referred to as those who lived in Riga, in particular, as in other places in Latvia their number was comparatively small. In addition, Jews in Riga lived in an environment which was relatively compact. It was already since the 1960s when Jewish activities were observed here (a choir, a theatre troupe operated, a joint work for the tidiness of Rumbula took place, small training groups of Hebrew functioned already before 1967, etc.). However, beginning in 1968 the Jewish youth tried to hurry up the ongoing events and promote the struggle for emigration (Ro'i 2012, p. 39.; Hirszowicz 1992; Dribins, Gūtmanis, Vestermanis 2013; Dribins 2007, p. 49).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> During the first post-war years around 14 000 Latvian Jews returned to Latvia from the USSR (namely – those who were Latvian citizens and their descendants). Approximately 3 000 men of those were soldiers and officers who had fought at the front. Moreover, the large flow of emigration, which flew from the USSR (from Russian SFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, even from Central Asia) into the Baltics, at the beginning of 1946, consisted of many Jewish people.

The Jews in Riga were one of the first in the USSR, who began active movement as to the departure to Israel. The willingness to emigrate from the USSR was strengthened by the anti-Zionist propaganda which turned into outspoken anti-Semitism as well as further constraints of Jewish rights and the increase of Russification. According to the data of population census in 1970, only 46% of Latvian Jews considered Yiddish as their family's language, however, after 1989 those were 22, 5%. It became evident that by staying in the USSR, Jews would not be able to maintain their ethnic background, to remain as a part of population of the Jewish world. Therefore, a movement began, which had two main trends: 1) national education of Jews, in preparation for departure from the USSR; 2) writing protests and submitting appeals to the authorities of the USSR, which prevented or prohibited emigration. There were also groups, which helped people in writing complaints and appeals to the authorities of the USSR as well as to international organisations about the illegal prohibition of repatriation. For instance, during the 1970s more than 40% of the complaints sent by Jews came from Riga (Рига 2013; Dribins, Gūtmanis, Vestermanis 2013; Менделевич 1987, p. 217).

The second part of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s was the period of preparation for Jewish communities' life. Elements of this kind of life gradually began to appear. At those times there were no communities' ideology, but there was a network of seminars and ulpan<sup>11</sup>; different groups functioned, which studied Jewish traditions, the history of Torah and Jews, etc. Several new sources which supported the development of the Jewish movement appeared concurrently (Кошаровский 2013).

From 1975 in Riga illegal Judaic readings were begun to be organised in which topics about Jewish history, religion and culture were discussed. Jewish activists and others (approximately 50 people) participated in these meetings. These meetings took place on average two times a month. After the departure of several Jewish activists to Israel in the middle of the 1980s, B. Gaft became one of the leaders of the seminar of Riga Judaic readings. *The seminars were organised in the flats of "otkazniki"*<sup>12</sup>. At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the most frequent of-

<sup>11</sup> Ulpan – a school or educational institution where Hebrew is being studied in an intensive manner.

<sup>12</sup> The unofficial term "otkazniki" (from Russian "отказники" – the declined, rejected) was used mainly during 1970s – 1980s referring to persons – Soviet citizens who were declined permission to emigrate from the USSR.

ferers of their flats for the organisation of the seminars were V. Mitin, the Dashevski family and the Oks family.<sup>13</sup>

This kind of seminars and joint meetings gave an opportunity to maintain one's professional qualification (for many who were fired from their job, for example, because of handing in documents for departure); for many "otkazniki" it gave also moral support. Pretty often guests from abroad were invited to these meetings (Вестник еврейской культуры 1989, 51).

Yet, around 1986 the activists of Riga Jews came to a conclusion that new ideas needed to be introduced, that the activities and actions carried out up to that time had become out-of-date by their form and content (for example, meetings in flats). It was important to become a legal organisation, instead of working as an underground one. Nevertheless, these kinds of activities and ideas caused also difficulties and problems.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, not all Jewish activists supported the new ideas. Working as an underground organisation was beneficial for several of them in reference to financial issues (many tourists from abroad provided their illegal activities with different things, for example, cameras or video cameras, which could be handed over in a commission shop or sold illegally).<sup>15</sup>

One of the elements of Jewish life which connected religion and culture soon became Purimspil (Purim play) – a fun performance which is shown during the festival of Purim.<sup>16</sup> The written and oral noncensorship satire which had been established among Jews during 1970s – 1980s (the comic texts of Jewish "samizdat"<sup>17</sup>, anecdotes, and bardic songs) was joined by the genre of Purimspil, which was rejuvenated by the participants of the Jewish movement. Although the plot of the performance is well known to the spectators, the content of Purimspil in all times has been connected with current events and the specific character of the local

<sup>13</sup> The unofficial term "otkazniki" (from Russian "отказники" – the declined, rejected) was used mainly during 1970s – 1980s referring to persons – Soviet citizens who were declined permission to emigrate from the USSR.

<sup>14</sup> The interview with B. Gaft took place in the premises of the community "Shamir" in Riga, 24 January, 2013. The interview was held and written down by O. Aleksejeva; Шнеер 2013.

<sup>15</sup> The interview with B. Gaft took place in the premises of the community "Shamir" in Riga, 24 January, 2013. The interview was held and written down by O. Aleksejeva; *Baltiešu politietilodzīto likteņi* 1987.

<sup>16</sup> The interview with B. Gaft took place in the premises of the community "Shamir" in Riga, 24 January, 2013. The interview was held and written down by O. Aleksejeva.

<sup>17</sup> *Purim – a Jewish holiday that commemorates the deliverance of the Jewish people in the ancient Persian Empire where a plot had been formed to destroy them.*

community. Quite often the texts of Purimspil plays were destroyed after the performances, because they could become a reason for arrest. Y. Mendelevitsh, one of the Riga Jews activists, tried to organise Purimspil plays in Riga already in 1970; however, when in 1971 he was arrested, they were not organised afterwards for several years. A group of Purimspil in Riga appeared only at the beginning of the 1980s. Initially Purimspil (also in Moscow and Leningrad) was played only in flats, although in Riga a banquet hall was rented out to one performance of the 1980s (Ro'i 2012, p. 328.-329.; Кацис 2005; Шнеер 2013; Гензелева 2009). Purimspil became a tradition and played an evident role in the cultural life of Jews.

In December, 1979 the Soviet army invaded Afghanistan. This was the end of the so-called *détente* period among East and West. To Jews it meant the discontinuation of emigration from the USSR. A continuous period of mass "otkazni" began. A reason for rejection could be experts' finding from one's workplace about the fact that a person had had access to military or national secrets. The Department of Visa and Foreigner Registration<sup>18</sup> could deny the kinship among relatives in Israel. Also declined were those whose closest relatives in the USSR (parents, previous husbands or wives) stood against departure. Another reason for a rejection was an indefinite utterance – "does not correspond to state interests". Sometimes the rejections didn't have any justification at all (Бейзер 2007; Морозова 2011).

In circumstances when the number of "otkazniki" was so considerable, the meaning of cultural work increased, especially in reference to home seminars. In addition, at the end of the Soviet period "otkazniki" set the grounds for the religious and cultural life of Jews in the USSR which flourished during the years of „perestroika”. Yet, it should be taken into account that "otkazniki" discontinued their activity in this direction in 1988. Those "otkazniki" still living in the USSR during this period, began to take an active part only in their own departure. The things they managed to implement up to that time became an important, yet, not the only component of the new period (Бейзер 2007; Кошаровский 2013).

Although "otkazniki" had only one aim – to depart from the USSR - at the ideological level this movement was not united. There were two "factions": the one of "culture" and "political". The first one as the main task considered not the emigration, but the engagement of Jews to culture, religion and traditions. Yet, the second group, which prevailed in number, on the contrary, considered that the rebirth of Jewish nationalism is im-

<sup>18</sup> „Samizdat” (from Russian word “самиздат”) – unapproved publications by the Soviet authorities, not published in a printing-house, but multiplied by typewriting, or photocopies or in some other way.

possible under the circumstances of the totalitarian regime of the USSR (Костырченко 2008, p. 220-240).

The resistance against the Soviet regime in Latvia established after World War II was reflected in different ways, both considering from the form of implementation and intensity, as well as the motivation of the people involved in the resistance. At the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s a growing resistance against the regime began to become apparent in the part of the society represented by Jewish nationality living in the Latvian SSR. This activity was affected by the policy of anti-Semitism carried out in the state and notable changes both at international level and the level of the identity of Soviet Jews.

From 1981 the Jewish activists in Riga (also in Moscow, Leningrad, Kisinev, etc.) usually organised marches of a particular form – in groups of 50-80 people they went from one Soviet institution to another in order to attract international attention and attain a local resonance. Individual demonstrations were organized as well (Ro'i 2012, p. 69).

The year 1982 – 1983 was significant with the case of Z. Zunshtein (Zunšeins atbrīvots 1987). At the beginning of the 1980s in Riga a participant of the seminar of Riga Judaica readings, V. Frenkel, who tried to receive permission to depart to Israel was arrested and sentenced. Also, L. Umanskij and his sister S. Balter with two sons organised demonstrations several times at the Supreme Court of the Latvian SSR and the buildings of the prosecutor's office; they participated in the demonstrations organised in Moscow as well. Later they were arrested (Шнеер 2013).

The issue of Jewish emigration was highlighted also in international mass media. One such example was reflected in the December of 1987 when foreign radio announced actively about Jewish (around 200 000 in number, from different cities of the USA) demonstrations in support of the granting of emigration rights to Soviet Jews (LVA, Pa-101.f., 61.apr., 155.l., p. 55).

Beginning in 1979 individual and family hunger strikes became more frequent as a form of protest against the refusal of permission to depart (e.g., in Riga they were carried out by F. Breslav who went without food for 48 days).<sup>19</sup> In addition T. Zunshtein (the wife of previously mentioned Z.

<sup>19</sup> From 1979, F. Breslav tried to depart to Israel together with her husband and mother, but received a refusal. On 5 August, 1981 she announced hunger strike and went without food for 48 days. After all that she still did not receive the permission to depart. In addition she was fired from job. (Хроника текущих событий 1981).



Zunshstein) carried out a hunger strike to protest against the bad conditions of her husband's imprisonment (Tatjanas Zunšeinās protests Rīgā 1986). In 1980 special attention was paid to the hunger strike of 27 Riga Jews who had taken part in it in order to show their protest against the Soviet authorities' prohibition for several years to let them depart to Israel (Gaujietis 1981; Алексеева 1992).

One of the forms of strengthening the national self-confidence of Jews became funeral meetings, which were held in Riga at the places of mass murder of the Second World War, e.g., in Rumbula. From 1980 up to 1983 the participants of Riga seminar began an active and official struggle for the maintenance and the reconstruction of gravestones of Jewish murder. As for example, in November, 1986 in the forest of Rumbula an unofficial memorial gathering took place which was attended by around 200 people. Despite the presence of the Police, this memorial event took place without any incidents. The incredibly large number of participants was explained referring to the growing interest of youth about the events in Latvia in 1941 (LVA, Pa-101.f., 57.apr., 359.l., p. 52; Шнеер 2013).

At the end of the 1980s a permission to project a remembrance memorial was received. The memorial would be dedicated to the victims of Holocaust, placed at the crossing of Gogola and Dzirnavu Street where the Riga Choral synagogue was burnt in June 1941. At the same time, memorial plaques were set at the previous district of Riga Ghetto, the Old Jewish cemetery, etc (Вестник еврейской культуры 1989, p. 51). A temporary monument (the author: Uldis Stergis) was unveiled at the crossing of Gogolu and Dzirnavu Street on 4 July, 1989 (LVA, Pa-101.f., 63.apr., 78.l).

In the 1970s the most important solution to the Jewish identity and cultural dilemma was emigration. However, in the 1980s (when this opportunity practically disappeared) the findings for new solutions began. A large amount of Jews aware of national consciousness came to the conclusion that all of the Jewish culture is rooted in religion. In order to understand Jewish culture and history one has to go back to the beginning and accept religion. The second source of the religious impulse was the discontinuation of emigration. The energy which was previously used on demonstrations, protests, petitions and the overcoming of bureaucratic obstacles during the process of emigration now was invested in studies, in the exchange of ideas and knowledge. As there was no chance to live a Jewish life in Israel, then an attempt was made to implement it in an alternative community in the USSR (Гительман 2008, p. 260 -261).

Gradually the religious rebirth of Jews began to spread among the masses. If the year 1970 was the time of Hebrew teachers, then at the beginning

of 1980 the period of Torah teachers began. Yet, at the end of the 1980s several teachers of Torah received permission to depart and emigrated from the USSR, and as a result the level of Jewish religious education decreased rapidly in many communities (Дашевский, Чернин, Яглом 1989, p. 26-33; Solženicins 2007, p. 521).

At the same time, a part of "otkazniki" also chose to have a lifestyle of Jewish religion. However, it was difficult for a religious Jew to live under the Soviet circumstances due to no guarantees to have a free Saturday for the Shabbat, no possibilities to buy kosher dishes, etc (Бейзеп 2007).

At the beginning of the 1980s there were four synagogues in the Latvian SSR (one rabbi was present, the number of members in communities – 4461). However, the activity of the work at the synagogues had reduced significantly. In 1969 the four synagogues were visited by 5260 people during the Jewish holidays, however in 1979 similar events were visited only by 2300 people. The prayers took place in the synagogues of Riga, Daugavpils and Rezekne practically every day and they were visited by 10 up to 100 people during the working days; the prayers in Ludza synagogue took place only during religious holidays. The main source of income was the selling of matza which was baked in Riga synagogue (the matza baked in Riga was meant also for the communities in Daugavpils and Tallinn) (LVA, Pa-101.f., 45. Apr., 95.l. p. 22-63, 77).<sup>20</sup>

In general there were few religious Jews in Riga during 1980s. Also the Riga synagogue did not serve as a centre of attraction (the masses of people gathered here only on Jewish holidays).<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the religious life of Jews gradually began to become more active and several Jewish youngsters tried to turn to Judaism.

During the 1970s – 1980s the independent Jewish press was not only a challenge for Soviet totalitarianism; in addition, Jewish activists strived to overcome the stereotype of "silent Jews" (a name introduced by E. Vizel) by publishing and distributing "samizdat" (especially during the particular period). Many publications of Jewish "samizdat" are to be valued as a cultural phenomenon of a high level. Yet, it should be taken into account that

<sup>20</sup> The Information Report to the chairman of the Religion Cases Council of the USSR. Since 1961 there were 4 synagogues in the Latvian SSR. In 1979 in all synagogues all together 22 couples were married (all marriages took place in Riga) and 155 people were buried according to the religious canon of Jews (all burials took place in Riga, except 5, which took place in Rezekne).

<sup>21</sup> The interview with B. Gaft took place in the premises of the community "Shamir" in Riga, 24 January, 2013. The interview was held and written down by O. Aleksejeva.

the Jewish "samizdat" (in a similar way as other underground literature) did not have many readers (this is proved by the surveys carried out by the Jews who departed from the USSR) (Самиздат 2013). The Jewish "samizdat" was the ideological support of the activists of Jewish national movement.

Riga was one of the centres of the periodicals of Jewish "samizdat". In 1970, in Riga, the first two issues of the publication "Iton" ("Newspaper"), the first periodical of Jewish "samizdat" in the USSR were published. Therefore Riga became the first centre of national periodicals of post-war Jews in the USSR. The publishing of the "Iton" was initiated in Riga, because it was a quite calm city, in addition, qualitative and available photo laboratories for the duplication of the issues were accessible here (Ro'i 2012, p. 43).

In 1979 in Riga, two new publications appeared: a literary-publicistic magazine "Haim" („Life") and a periodical collection about topical documents of the legal status of Latvian Jews, "Din u-meciut" ("Law and reality"). These magazines were distributed also in many other cities of the USSR (Самиздат 2013; Ro'i Y 2012, p. 287).

From March, 1989, a magazine "Вестник еврейской культуры" ("BEK", "The herald of Jewish culture") was published in Riga. It was a literary-artistic and socially-political magazine of the Culture Community of Latvian Jews. It became the central body of the independent movement of Jews. Its first issue was published in the spring of 1989 (just before the Congress of Jewish Organisations of the All-union in Riga, when the first issue of the magazine was distributed). Articles about the problems of Jews worldwide and from the USSR were discussed in the magazine written by different authors. This publication was distributed not only in Riga, but also in other cities of the USSR. All in all from 1989 until 1991, 8 issues of this magazine were published in the circulation of 50 000 issues (Зисельц 2013; Самиздат 2013).

The attitude towards the Jewish national outset in the Republics of the Baltic States was much more liberal than in other republics of the USSR. Many people of the Baltic States did not accept their country's annexation to the USSR. The same as Latvians, the majority of Jews did not want to tolerate the dictatorship of Soviet power. At the same time, also, a different tendency of the mutual relationships of nationalities is pointed out. A Sovietologist J. Roi highlights that in the Latvian SSR (in the Lithuanian SSR as well) the bond between Jewish activists and local nationalities was held back. On the one hand it was influenced by the memories of Latvian (and Lithuanian) cooperation with the Nazi regime during World War II; on the other hand, it was connected with the Jews who came to Latvia after the war and their role of Russification. At the same time, the Jews liv-

ing in Riga felt that their Latvian colleagues, for example, at work places, looked at the Jewish struggle in a positive way (Ro'i 2012, p. 213; Dribins 2002, p. 104-105; Кошаровский 2013).

In addition, the influence of Western culture was apparent in Riga in a much more evident way. The Jewish condition here ought to be valued as much more convenient in comparison to other regions of the USSR. Moreover, it is acknowledged that Russians and Latvians found the communication much easier with Jews than with each other. The Riga Jews activist B. Gaft points out that there were places in the USSR where it was impossible for Jews to carry out their movement. However, the particularity of the Latvian SSR was connected with the fact that it was a Russian speaking republic (as for example, in the Lithuanian SSR the impact of the Lithuanian language was bigger, also the Estonian SSR was very "Estonian"); Jews had more opportunities to depart from Riga (for instance in comparison with Moscow); also, the atmosphere in Riga was more likable and free (e.g., the behaviour of people, talks, relationships, etc.). In addition, the specific character of Riga Jews' national movement was connected with the fact that it was supported by large societies of Jews and people who were not Jews (Бейзеп 2007; Latviešu un žīdu sadarbība 1989; Кошаровский 2013).<sup>22</sup>

It should be underlined that in reference to the period discussed, significant changes took place also among Jews. The average number of Jews and their offspring living in the pre-war Latvia decreased. This was partly due to both the low demographical activity of these Jews in comparison to the immigrants from the USSR and the large amount of their number as repatriates. In reference to the places of birth the Jews living in Latvia in 1989 fell in such groups: 53,3% born in the territory of Latvia, 19,7% - born in Ukraine, 12,8% - born in Russia, 9,9% - born in Belarus, 4,3% born in other republics of the USSR and other places (Dribins 2002, p. 104 - 105).

During the second part of the 1980s (in accordance with the development of the process of "glasnostj" ("openness") and "perestroika" ("reconstruction") in the USSR) the renewal of different forms of Jewish life began. The democratization process in the Baltic States developed quickly, and therefore the renewal of Jewish communities and culture evolved faster than in other republics of the USSR (Латвия 2013). Along with the process

<sup>22</sup> The interview with B. Gaft took place in the premises of the community "Shamir" in Riga, 24 January, 2013. The interview was held and written down by O. Aleksejeva.

of these changes, the formation of Latvian Jews' community took place.

Although the authorities stopped the ban on ulpanas as well as activities of religious and culture seminars, no official permission to organize them was received. Despite the lack of official permission Jewish activists began to establish different organizations of Jewish culture and charity, friendship associations with Israel, etc. In some republics of the USSR where the democratization process took place sooner, already in 1987 – 1988 the Jewish organizations succeeded to receive an official status. However, some Jewish activists reproached the leaders of the different newly-established organizations because the activists considered that by establishing different organizations these leaders prevented Jews from departure to Israel and helped the Soviet authorities to create an image of the development of Jewish life in the USSR (Советский Союз. Евреи в годы перестройки 2013).

Already in January, 1988 a group of Riga Jews, which in December, 1987 turned to M. Gorbachev with a request to form an official Jewish culture centre, came up with an announcement of the establishment of the association "Magen" ("Shield"). The association was formed on the basis of the unofficial seminar of Riga Judaica reading. The aim of the association was the compilation and spreading of knowledge about the history of Riga Jews and other communities of Latvian Jews; the tidying up of the mass burials of Jews – the Nazi victims, resistance against anti-Semitism (Кошаровский 2013).

From August, 1988, the authorities gave the permission to form Jewish associations. These associations were frequently established after the instruction of the authorities; particular people were found for them. Therefore in several cities of the USSR, after the initiative of the authorities, Jewish associations were established contrary to independent Jewish movement whose initiatives and activities the authorities tried to intercept (Кошаровский 2013).

All in all, in 1988 in the Latvian SSR, a quite comprehensive movement of the renewal of Jewish life was already organised. The first, at that time still unofficial, meetings about the establishment of the public centre of Latvian Jews took place in the summer of 1988. On 1 July, 1988, around 100 people gathered in the hall of the club "Vecrīga" („Old Riga”) in order to discuss openly and legally, for the first time in several years, topical questions to Jews. A decision of the convocation of the establishment of the

community of Jewish culture was made.<sup>23</sup>

In the autumn of 1988 (when similar meetings were held in the other Baltic States) formal Jewish communities were formed. On 30 October, 1988, in the former house of the community of Latvian Jews in Riga, Skolas Street 6, the first congress of Latvian Jews took place. The congress declared itself as the representation of Jewish culture. Guests from Moscow, Stockholm and Israel participated in this event as well. On 28 November, 1988 the second congress of Latvian Jews took place which established officially the Culture Community of Latvian Jews (CCLJ, in Russian: "Латвийское общество еврейской культуры" or "ЛОЕК"), adopted statutes and elected the board (253 delegates participated and elected the board of the community – in number of 20 people). E. Rapina was elected as the chairman of the board. In general, 1700 members of CCLJ were registered in Riga (data of 31 January, 1988). The main directions of the community were the development of education, the culture of art, the memorialization of the history of the Jewish people, the establishment of the social infrastructure of Jews (Вестник еврейской культуры 1989; p. 51; Dribins, Gūtmanis, Vestermanis 2013; Кошаровский 2013; Русланов 1989; Дозорцев 1989, p. 2-3; Программа Латвийского общества еврейской культуры. Вестник еврейской культуры 1989, p. 4 – 5; Vulfsons 1988) (Вестник еврейской культуры 1989; p. 51; Dribins, Gūtmanis, Vestermanis 2013; Кошаровский 2013; Русланов 1989; Дозорцев 1989, p. 2-3; Программа Латвийского общества еврейской культуры. Вестник еврейской культуры 1989, p. 4 – 5; Vulfsons 1988).

Along with that, in September, 1988, a friendship community Latvia-Israel began to be organised, the leaders of which were B. Gaft and J. Oks. The number of the community consisted of around 50 people, however, the main aims of the community was the development of Jewish culture in the USSR and legal aid for repatriation (Русланов 1989; Дозорцев 1989, p. 2-3; Программа Латвийского общества еврейской культуры. Вестник еврейской культуры 1989, p. 4 – 5; Private archive of B. Gaft – "Устав Латвийского Общества дружбы с Израилем").

On 19 January, 1989, a cooperative "Tarbut" was registered in Riga for the studies of Hebrew (Кошаровский 2013). At the learning centre of CCLJ

<sup>23</sup> The interview with B. Gaft took place in the premises of the community "Shamir" in Riga, 24 January, 2013. The interview was held and written down by O. Aleksejeva. Private archive of B. Gaft – "Протокол № 3 заседания инициативной группы по образованию Ассоциации еврейской культуры"; "Протокол собрания правления и инициативной группы Латвийского общества еврейской культуры".

(at A. Upisa Street 6) language courses were organized where 11 teachers of Hebrew and 3 of Yiddish worked. These courses were visited by around 250 people. In addition, a Yiddish group for children was formed as well (Вестник еврейской культуры 1989, p. 51).

A notable success of the Jews was the opening of Riga Jews Secondary School on 1 September, 1989, of which Hone Bergman became the director. It was the first Jewish secondary school in the territory of the USSR (Вестник еврейской культуры 1989; Dribins, Gūtmanis, Vestermanis 2013; Pirmā! 1989; Dribins 2002, p. 225).

The Jewish organisations, established in different cities of the USSR, had to be united and organised in some kind of way,<sup>24</sup> therefore on 21, 22 May, 1989, a meeting of 120 representatives from 49 independent Jewish organisations was organised in Riga. These organisations represented 34 cities of the USSR and they had gathered in order to understand the present situation. Jews from the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark and Israel participated as well. A decision was made to organize this meeting in Riga due to the atmosphere here and the chance to rent a hall. The tolerance from the authorities in Riga towards the Jewish initiatives was more significant than in the other republics of the USSR. Moreover, also in reference to practical work, Riga had achieved much, in spite of the difficulties (Kričevskis 1989). During the time of the meeting a session of „the round table” was organized, which was dedicated to the problems of the Soviet Jews. Four basic topics were on the agenda – anti-Semitism, emigration, Jewish culture in the USSR under the circumstances of „perestroika” as well as contacts with the communities and organisations of foreign Jews. During the meeting it was concluded that the majority of the Soviet Jews had been torn away from any forms of national life, national heritage and Judaism. The „perestroika” caused several qualitative changes in reference to the issue of Jews; the grounds for the development of the Jewish movement, which strived to formulate and defend the national rights and interests of the Soviet Jews, was set. The conference in Riga stimulated the forming of different Jewish organisations, societies, groups and religious communities (Проблемы советского еврейства 1989, p. 1-5; Кошаровский 2013; Tikšanās Rīgā 1989; Чарный 2004). It should be noted that the Jewish movement stood in for free departure to Israel as well as striving to provide preconditions for Jews’ national life in the USSR.

It is significant that (similar to the situation in other republics of the USSR) the flourishing of the Jewish life in the Latvian SSR took place along with a sharp decrease of the number of Jewish inhabitants, which was influ-

<sup>24</sup> In 1989, 90 Jewish communities were officially registered in the USSR.

enced both by emigration and the assimilation process. In 1989 there lived 22 900 Jews (0,9% of the total of the inhabitants) in the Latvian SSR, 18 800 of them living in Riga (in 1979, 23 583 Jews lived in Riga) (Латвия 2013). In general from 1968 until 1989, 16 000 Jews departed from the Latvian SSR, 70% of them went to Israel, the others – to Western countries (Dribins 2002, p. 225; Dribins, Gūtmanis, Vestermanis 2013; Рига 2013).<sup>25</sup> However the authorities did everything in order to prevent people from wishing to emigrate.

In reference to the period discussed, different movements of anti-Semitism began to intensify. At the second part of the 1980s, anti-Semitism became more aggressive. A part of the functions of anti-Semitism, implemented by the state, turned to public structures. Publications of the character of anti-Semitism were published in the USSR. From 1970 until 1974, 134 books were published containing strong criticism towards Israel and Zionism. From 1967 until 1980, 2 262 articles about Zionism, Israel and the conditions of the Soviet Jews there were published in the Soviet press. Both Israel and Zionism were strongly criticized in these publications; the economic difficulties, the constant military tension, terror and discrimination of immigrants from the USSR were characterised in a condemning manner. As for example, it was emphasized that the local Jews of Israel and the Jews coming from other countries were on bad terms with each other; that Eastern Jews were being characterised disdainfully. In the 1970s, 1980s the number of publications of this kind increased, and in addition, radio and television broadcastings appeared. Nevertheless, soon the anti-Semitism campaigns had to face the opposition of the society (Зильберг, Кричевский 1989, p. 25-26; Советский Союз. Евреи в годы перестройки 2013). In a larger scale, anti-Semitism was also a bureaucratic phenomenon (Грозман, Эткин 1989, p. 14-16). Therefore Jewish activists tried to find new and up-to-date methods in the struggle against anti-Semitism.

The overall evaluation shows that Jewish activists saw in prospect the following aspects of development – the establishment of Jewish Culture centre, the development of independent mass media of Jews, the establishment of a system of traditional communities and social protection. Also, it was important to re-establish academic research centres of Judaica and contemporary condition of Jews in the USSR. In addition, it was necessary to establish a stable system of religious education; one had to attain free ac-

<sup>25</sup> During 1968 until 1980, 13 153 Jews or 35,8% Jews living in the territory of the Latvian SSR, departed to Israel. More than half of these repatriates were born and grew up in Latvia.

tion of Jewish religious associations, the providing of kashrut, the availability of religious educational literature, the possibility to make circumcision and other rituals (Проблемы советского еврейства 1989, p. 1-5).

However, it should be taken into account that the majority of the Soviet Jews simply tried to live a life and connected their future with the USSR. The majority of the Soviet Jews were not "otkazniki", yet, there were a lot of people who were ready to emigrate if there would have been such a possibility without any difficulties. They were not Zionists or the followers of some special Jewish lifestyle. They strived to unite with the members of their family or obtain new economic possibilities. Some of them wanted to get free from anti-Semitism or a political system they did not support. Others felt that they had integrated well in the Soviet life and did not want to depart. Their career, friends, social life was in the USSR. Although, among Jews of this group there were some who understood that a part of the Soviet society considered them to be strangers (Гительман 2008, p. 265-266).

The particular theme discussed under the circumstances of Soviet power had the status as the "forbidden theme" and it was considered in an ideological form. In further course of the research it is important to make the maximum use of the effect of "close history" or in other words, the circumstance that the participants and eyewitnesses of the intensive period of events of the Latvian Jews movement are still alive. Therefore, such sources as memories and interviews play an important part among the materials used (interviews with such activists of Latvian Jews as Y. Mendelevitch, A. Shneer, B. Gaft, etc., were made). Referring to the interviews made, at some point it is being highlighted that nowadays the Jewish activists who emigrated from the USSR felt forgotten; they point out that the activities carried out by them and their role in the context of the recent history is not valued properly (especially in the context of the development of the democratic movement; also the restoration of the independence of Latvia). One of the specificities of the theme researched is the fact that the movement of the Soviet Jews can be considered from the point of view of the prism of human rights. Whereas, this, in the course of further research, can become as the thematic prism through which one can consider the aspects of non-violent civil disobedience (Beckerman 2010).

### Conclusions

At the beginning of the 1970s and 1980s the activists of the Jewish movement in Riga aroused interest in Jews (especially the youth) about the national history, traditions and culture: readings of Riga Judaica were organised illegally, the Jewish "samizdat" were published, ulpan and ex-

cursions throughout the previous territory of Riga ghetto were organised, Jewish holidays were celebrated, etc.

In 1980s, the Jewish movement established related structures which specialized in religion, education, culture, publishing and topics of human rights. Over this period the number of Jewish organisations, press, education centres increased fast. The legalization of national life of Jews began. In 1988 – 1989, the Jewish part which were not involved in social activities before became active.

Within the framework of the Jewish movement, it was important to use the experience gained in the previous years (1960s – 1980s). In contrast to the 1970s when the Jewish movement was centred mainly in small groups of "otkazniki" or groups which prepared to repatriate when people represented only themselves or a small group of persons who hold the same views, over the period of 1980s, masses of people were involved in the Jewish movement which represented different Jewish organisations (Дашевский, Чернин, Яглом 1989, p. 26-33). Gradually the contacts with international Jewish organisations began to improve. A peculiar union of elements of Jewish movement can be observed – emigration and the aspirations of the development of Jewish culture in the USSR (Пелехова 1989, p. 17).

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**Helena Nosková**

**NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE CZECH BORDERLAND UNDER THE PRESSURE OF ECONOMIC CHANGES AND SOVIETIZATION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY (USING THE EXAMPLE OF THE FORMER DISTRICT OF VEJPRTY)**

The paper is based on archival materials and resources stored in Moscow's archives, in regional archives of Kadan, Karlovy Vary and Prague's National Archive.

The archival materials refer to national minorities settled at the Czech borderline regions, to common situations of the borderline regions at the end of the Second War and in subsequent years of building-up of socialism. The paper brings a new insight into common situations of the borderland. The borderland especially was hit by newly formed domains of political and economic impact which, together with further circumstances, caused destabilization of industry in some borderline regions. This destabilization and the displacement of Germans implied destruction of some primarily industrial districts. On the other hand, some districts were picked up where heavy industry was furthered. As an example of the destruction of industrial production, we have chosen the former region Vejprty. The region is situated at the borderline of the Czech Republic and the Free State of

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Saxony. The former region Vejprty was rich of textile, timber and food-processing industry but after war it was hit by the displacement of Germans, migrations, and by mining of uranium ore also which produced further controlled migrations. The transferred Germans were replaced mainly with Czech and Slovak inhabitants. To these days, features of cultural landscape, going as far as back the 19th century are still evident, as well as the character impressed to this region by construction of socialism.

**Key words:** national minorities, Czech borderland, sovietization, district of Vejprty

### Introduction

The inclusion of Czechoslovakia into the sphere of Soviet influence was among other things due to the national composition of the population, which was a very sensitive issue during the interwar period, World War II, and also after the war. The Soviet Union paid attention to the precise composition and proportions of nationalities in Czechoslovakia before the end of the war. The Czech party provided Soviet politicians with the numbers of nationalities residing mainly in the borderland in connection with the record of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Economic Reconstruction on July 14, 1944. The report was submitted to the Russian ministry of foreign affairs by the politician Rudolf Bechyně. The report contained information on nationalities from 1930, according to which there were 9,756,604 Czechoslovak inhabitants, 568,941 Russian and Ruthenian inhabitants, 3,318,445 German inhabitants, 719,569 Hungarian inhabitants, 100,322 Polish inhabitants, 32,857 Roma inhabitants, 14,170 Rumanian inhabitants, and 13,849 inhabitants of other nationalities. There were another 249,971 persons who professed that they were foreigners. This was followed by distribution according to religion and distribution according to profession. The listing was concluded by the percentage of illiterate people: 4.06% in Czechoslovakia, 30.88% in Carpathian Ruthenia (Archiv vnešnej politiky. No. 41). More detailed information was provided to Soviet politicians in various reports concerning the situation in Czechoslovakia, Slovakia, the region of Těšínsko and other borderland regions. (The authors of these reports were the politician and ambassador Prokop Maxa, and Otakar Kraus who was presented as the director of the Information Service.) This was due to the government-in-exile requiring the displacement of German and later also Hungarian inhabitants, maintaining the Těšínsko region within the borders of Czechoslovakia, and a potential exchange of local Poles for Czechs in the Polish part of Silesia.

The interest of the Soviet government in the actual future Czechoslova-

kia, and therefore also in the borderland with its numerous national minorities, was supported in the USSR by the politician Prokop Maxa on February 2, 1944, in the appeal to express thanks to the USSR for the help and support of requests concerning assessment of matters of future internal policy of Czechoslovakia. The chancellor of E. Beneš in London drafted out the options for coordination of future economic and cultural relations between USSR and Czechoslovakia. A delegation was appointed to go to Moscow to negotiate. The delegates included representatives from all political parties: communists, social democrats, national socialists, members of the People's Party, and Slovak agrarians. According to a telegram to A. J. Vyšinský from March 24, 1944, the aim of the delegation was to negotiate about Czechoslovak armed forces in the USSR and to give thanks for the help and co-operation in the liberation of Czechoslovakia (Archiv vnešnej politiky. No. 43).

The request for its acceptance was submitted on March 29, 1944, to Valerián Zorin by Zdeněk Fierlinger, under the reasoning that all members of the delegation supported close relations with the USSR. He mentioned the need to discuss the matters of future internal policy of Czechoslovakia and coordination of future economical and cultural relations. These negotiations resulted in the signing of the Czechoslovak-Soviet contract, on May 5, 1944, on relations between the Czechoslovak administration and the Soviet army command after entering the territory of Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Czechoslovak politicians expected minimizations of national minorities in the future – mainly in the borderland of Bohemia and Moravia, where a well-established German minority was settled.

### Czechoslovak industry and the borderland before and after 1945 and the minority population

Another result of the negotiations was the handover of the Overview of Metallurgical, Chemical, Ceramic, Paper, Glass, and Wood Industries in Czechoslovakia. The first six overviews were secretly handed over to V. Lebedějov, the USSR ambassador in London, by the Minister of Reconstruction František Němec on May 15, 1944.

The overview was put together based on technical expertise by 27 experts from the respective fields.

The first section of the overview concerned the Czechoslovak chemical industry and its export, requirement for crude material including potential development, markets, etc. It included the sugar industry, with a technical report on sugar campaigns and its postwar potential, where the experts wrote that all production was arranged from domestic sources and therefore, production should be not only maintained but even increased.



The market for the high quality Czech sugar was secured and an increased demand in the postwar period was presumed. The sugar industry was located inland, in contrast to the other chemical industry concentrated in the borderland, in which experts as well as workmen were predominantly local Germans.

Another sector was the starch industry. Experts pointed out the issues with its market because potato starch had been replaced by corn starch and rice starch already before the war. Seasonal production in potato growing regions still continued. Factories for the production of starch were located inland as well as in the borderland. After 1945, starch factories in the borderland stopped production and were shut down, together with the displacement of Germans.

The brewing industry was significant, but according to the report there were many breweries with small production, and it was thought that the export potential after the war would be small. Therefore, most breweries in the borderland were shut down after 1945 – again, this occurred along with the displacement of local Germans.

The sector of heavy chemistry was comprised of heavy inorganic chemistry. According to the report the inorganic chemical industry was well equipped, and it was using domestic coal (Ostravsko region), mercury and salt. Coking plants in the Ostravsko region were the most modern in all of Europe, as was the chemical factory in Falknov and other factories concentrated mainly in the borderland, e.g. factories for production of nitrogenous substances, distillation of benzol, etc. This was followed by the listing of organizations, cartels, and agreements which secured good future sales. Before the war, Czechoslovakia invested 5 billion Czechoslovak crowns, and at the time of the report, this industry employed more than 50,000 people. This territory included a part of Silesia inhabited by Silesians, Germans, Czechs, and Poles.

A significant sector was organic chemistry inclusive of the production of pharmaceuticals, artificial silk, which was an important export article of interwar Czechoslovakia, and also plastic substances, fats and oils, including margarine. This was followed by an overview of chemical factories, their equipment and production programs. The largest chemical plant was Ústecký spolek (Society for Chemical and Metallurgical Production) located in the borderland, which again had a substantial German population. Czech politicians expected the maintenance of the chemical industry and retention of German specialists, as well as resettlement by Czechs and Slovaks from abroad with similar specialization, and a quick implementation of this new work force.

Experts considered the ceramic and glass industry to be significant. This industry processed high quality domestic raw materials and was among the oldest in Europe. As stated in the report, Czechs supplied ceramics to the entire world. This industry was also located mainly in the borderland. German and Czech glassmakers were irreplaceable experts there. German specialists were supposed to be exempt from the displacement in the future.

The report stated that the glass, wood and paper industries, which were located largely in the borderland, were also crucial.

In the conclusion, the experts presumed a new postwar distribution of markets which would be divided between English and American companies. Czechoslovakia would want to maintain its export market and therefore, it presumed the options of export to the South-East (Archiv vnešnej politiky. No. 43). Most of the mentioned industry sectors were located in borderland regions. Qualified workers were local Germans, partially Czechs, and in the Těšinsko region also Poles. It was difficult to estimate to what extent the displacement of Germans would impact the quality and quantity of industrial production. Czechoslovak politicians required the displacement and they presumed that it would be compensated by the flow of people from the overpopulated inland and compatriots coming back from abroad. The extent to which the Soviet party presumed the extinction of a substantial part of Czech industrial plants in the borderland or eventual takeover of this production was shown in the postwar years.

Negotiations concerning the displacement of Germans from the borderland, which was significantly supported by the USSR, took place according to the requirements of the Czechoslovak government, and also according to the intentions of the Soviet government concerning the postwar arrangement of its future satellites (Nosková 2011, p. 123-146; Vaishar, Dvořák, Hubáčková, Nosková, Zapletalová 2011).

The future showed that the USSR was interested largely in the preservation of the heavy inorganic industry, to a lesser extent the organic industry, and mainly in the mining of uranium in Czechoslovakia and its export to the USSR (Nosková H., Tošovská 2010, p. 201-218). This is evidenced by a document from December 1948 - the contract on extraction and supply of ores containing radium and other radioactive components, which continued the contract from November 23, 1945 (Archiv vnešnej politiky. No. 1050; Pluskal 2014). Both these contracts were unfavorable for Czechoslovakia and they had a devastating impact on several borderland regions. (This is evidenced mainly by article 7 within the document from December 1948:

„7) To perform the planned building of Jáchymov mines, in consideration of local conditions, it is necessary to not execute the building of

new residential buildings and to completely clear out the towns of Vejprty and Jáchymov, as well as the surrounding areas, and transfer all inhabitants elsewhere. This displacement of inhabitants is associated with the necessity of new construction elsewhere for residential premises, factories and the Jáchymov spa.

In compliance with the section 3 of the Contract from November 23, 1945, the USSR will expedite the arrival of advisory engineers and technical experts”.

These circumstances had a significant impact on the destiny of both Vejprty with its surroundings and Jáchymov, and it also affected the entire former district of Kadaň. The German population was displaced and the re-settlement of these regions, which was already limited, was almost stopped. This region became non-preferred for settlement and the extraction of uranium stayed preferred. Non-displaced Germans were temporarily concentrated into Vejprty, and they were supposed to mine uranium together with Auxiliary Technical Battalions and prisoners.

Over the years, many changes took place in postwar Czechoslovakia, not only in the composition of nationalities. These changes gradually affected mainly the borderland districts, whose population consisted of almost 90% Germans, a Polish minority, Sorbs, Croats, Czechs, and eventually also Slovaks. Industry and agriculture were liquidated in the borderland and residential premises as well as cultural landscape were removed. A military area and uninhabited border was created (Kovařík 2006). Most of the three-million minority Germans were displaced. After 1948, 186,000 Germans lived in Czechoslovakia and, as in the case of other minorities, they were not granted the rights of a national minority. Ethnic Croats from borderland villages in south Moravia were displaced from their homes based on an accusation of collaboration, and they were “dispersed” as individual families in north Moravia and in the Podkrušnohoří region. During the re-settlement of the borderland, Czechs from the inland and Slovaks from Slovakia, which together formed the majority population, came to this region together with Czech reemigrants from the Soviet and former Polish Volhynia and Czech reemigrants from Germany and Austria who, however, largely emigrated to Western Europe after the victory of the communists. Specific cultural minorities were formed by Slovak reemigrants from the Transylvanian Ore Mountains in Rumania, Slovaks from Hungary, Slovaks, and Ruthenians who opted from the Carpathian Ruthenia. Various regions were inhabited by various ethnic and cultural groups that together with the majority population tried to make a new home out of the foreign cultural landscape.

### Example of Vejprty and its surrounding

Contemporary publications write about Vejprty in the following way: Vejprty, a town in the north-west of Bohemia in the Ore Mountains; 3.238 inhabitants. Machinery, textile, paper, and furniture industry. Recreational region. Original baroque church. Originated in the first half of the 16th century near mines of silver and copper ore. A royal mining town since 1617. A deep decline after the displacement of the German population in 1945. A lively border business after 1990.

Archival sources of the State District Archive in Kadaň give evidence of a great blooming of the town in the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century. The town Vejprty and its surroundings were known not only for their mines of copper and silver, but also for their lacemaking. In 1751, Maria Theresa declared lacemaking a free trade and she founded a lacemaking school in Prague. There were three lacemaking schools founded in the region of Vejprty in the beginning of 19th century: in Měděnec, Přísečnice, and in Kovářská.

Besides lacemaking, another source of living in this region was weaving of trimmings. Trimmings from Vejprty were in demand not only in the monarchy but also in abroad. At the end of the 19th century, there were 50 companies that mechanically produced trimmings decorated with glass beads. The development of the town and region was expedited by the construction of the railroad from Chomutov to Vejprty in 1782. 13,019 German inhabitants lived in Vejprty in 1912. There were many other factories manufacturing such goods as stockings and knitwear, as well as a vinegar plant, distillery, sawmill, furniture plant, slaughterhouse, and also other associated manufacturers, printing works, etc.

After 1918, German politicians created the Deutschböhmen province and it seemed that they would gain the territory of Vejprty. In 1919, however, Vejprty was occupied by Czechoslovak troops. The gendarmerie, frontier financial guard, public officials and rail workers were soon replaced by Czech employees. Approximately 21 Czechs lived there in 1921, and 283 Czechs – 2% of the population - lived there in 1930. The National North-Bohemian Association as well as other clubs and institutions were founded by Czechs. In 1925, they opened a Czech one-room minority school and later also a kindergarten. There was a German Grammar school, German vocational schools, and continuation schools. However, the population started to decrease – e.g. in 1921 there were 10,256 inhabitants living in Vejprty. For the time being, there were enough job opportunities. There were spinning factories, weaving mills, dye works, and hosiery mills in Ve-

jeprty, and the town also produced thread, rifles, electric cables, computing machines, rubber goods, weaving looms, iron foils, stationery, celluloid goods, furniture, groceries, etc. Nevertheless, approximately 800 workers commuted daily to work in Germany. But the economic crisis affected Vejprty and the entire region as well. This situation worked to the advantage of Henlein. He gained voters from other German parties through demagoguery, nationalism, and intimidation. Czechs started to leave the region. Henlein's storm troops suppressed the life of minorities, and there were several raids, plus the demolition of Czech institutions and the railway, etc. After September 25, 1938, the Czech population was evacuated.

The region was also left by Germans – mainly social democrats and others who did not succumb to Henlein's propaganda. Production articles changed during the war. Czechs and Slovaks engaged in forced labour as well as French and Belgian captives worked there.

In the beginning of 1945, with the help of the Red Army, Czechs who were originally engaged in forced labour created a Revolutionary National Committee, and they took control of the town. They were soon supported by Czech rail workers and the frontier guard, which came to Vejprty by the armored train "Železo". The train was sent by the Czech National Council from Prague and it was supposed to explore the situation in the borderland. Due to the lack of reliable persons with Czech nationality, the Revolutionary National Committee changed into the District Administration Commission, which began its activity on July 7, 1945. This commission did not have full legitimacy, however, because the establishment of the Vejprty district was not supposed to take place unless it had been formed by new settlers. The commission expected the displacement of most Germans from the district.

The commission wrote down the following characterization of the district for institutions controlling the settlement and new settlers:

"The district of Vejprty is situated in north-western Bohemia in the Ore Mountains, and it neighbors the districts of Kadaň, Chomutov, and Jáchymov. The northern border is the German-Saxon border. The single-line railway Chomutov runs through the district. The district roads are mostly in good shape.

The climate is harsh with high rainfall. The warm season is short. There is strong wind and rain in the fall, and a lot of snow in the winter. The average annual temperature is 4.5°C. Elevation above sea-level is 730 m, with individual peaks exceeding 900 m above sea-level.

Besides agricultural industry, there are seven sawmills, one brewery, and one mill in the district.

Other industry is concentrated in Vejprty, Šmídeberk, Měděnec, Přísečnice, Hamry, and Pleil. There are textile, trimming and stocking factories, dye works, a fish-canning factory, and vinegar factories. Domestic industry in the district is represented by the manufacturing of gloves, laces, buttons, trimmings, and various decorations made from pearl shell. Trades and crafts are represented by all kinds.

It is a purely German district with 26,783 inhabitants, according to the last census. Larger towns: Vejprty 11,751 inhabitants, Šmídeberk 4,897 inhabitants, Přísečnice 2,606 inhabitants. The district area is 151 square km, density 110 persons per 1 square km. Inhabitants are employed in: agriculture and forestry 12%, industry and domestic industry 58%, commerce 12%, various professions 18%.

In terms of agriculture, the entire district can be divided into two zones:

A grain zone, which contains fruit trees, wheat and also vegetables, situated on the protected slope towards the river Ohře. It comprises the following municipalities: Kyšovice, Sobětice, Cíbrle, Volyně, Nová Víska, Třebiška, Podmílesy, Petlery, Kunov.

A pastoral zone situated on the higher plateau, with numerous meadows and pastures, without fruit trees. It comprises the rest of the district municipalities. The beef cattle concentration is high – presently approximately 70 heads of cattle per 100 ha (84 heads per 100 ha in 1934). Average milk production is 6-8 litres, fat content 4.9%.

Soil structure is as follows: arable soil 2,038 ha i.e. 15%, meadow 1,480 ha i.e. 9%, double-crop meadow 1,542 ha i.e. 10%, pasture 552 ha i.e. 3%, forest 8,766 ha i.e. 59%, other 679 ha i.e. 4%

Arable land is partly heavy red soil and partly gravelly soil. Average yield is 7 q of rye, 6 q of wheat, 8 q of oat, 140 q of potato, 50 q of clover, and 54 q from meadows. Permanent meadows are double-crop and they provide good hay. Pastures are in a good shape. Forests are mostly spruce, also in good shape.

According to the last census, the district had: 302 horses, 3,718 beef cattle, 29 pigs, 2,305 goats, 112 sheep, and 8,616 other small domestic animals.

Administratively, the district is controlled by the district administration commission residing in Vejprty and by local administrative commissions: Přísečnice, Kryštofovy Hamry, Pleil, Vejprty, České Hamry, Šmídeberk, Měděnec, Reišdorf.

The district has an industrial blue-collar zone which comprises industrial centres as Vejprty, Kovářská, České Hamry, Černý Potok, Kryštofovy

Hamry, etc. that can be settled by industrial workers and forestry workers. It would be good to assign them local agricultural land so that their living base is improved" (SOka Kadaň Fond).

Furthermore, the commission elaborated a proposal for settlement. According to the commission, the district could be settled after the district Kadaň and Chomutov were saturated. The commission suggested a group resettlement "in which the new home would be settled by people who know one another, or are even related, and who would accommodate and help one another in the local conditions" (SOka Kadaň Fond).

Only new settlers with Slavic origin came into question, i.e. Czechs and Slovaks who would be willing to establish a new home in the harsh climate of this originally highly developed industrial region.

The commission also stated that there were Kyšovice, Sobětice, Cibřle, Třebiška, Volyně, Nová Víska with the settlement Krčma, Podmílasy, Petlery, and Kunov with the settlement Hadorf, which were smaller and purely agricultural municipalities situated on the slope of the Ohře river valley. Cereals (rye, oat, wheat), potatoes, linen and fodder crops – red clover – were grown there. Fruit trees and vegetable were also grown. The terrain was hilly and pitching.

Roads were good, electricity was mostly not installed, residential and farm buildings were in good shape and they corresponded to medium land tenure. Municipal and private forests were dispersed on hilltops, and pastures and meadows were in good condition. Soil was lighter and gravelly.

According to the commission, forestation would be limited only to unproductive areas with the aim to connect forests into one larger coherent mass for management. The change of arable land into pastures would take place only on selected land. The commission pointed out that so far there had not been any interest in this land, and the settlement would require intervention from higher authorities. At the same time, only people from similar conditions could be settled there, so that the settlement would be permanent and would bring expected results.

Individual municipalities would need approximately 20 families on average, and therefore 150 families could be settled there. The commission reckoned on a three-member family, i.e. placement of c. 800 persons which would be 50% of the original settlement size. As for the pastoral zone, the commission stated that it was suitable mainly for the establishment of large pastoral cooperatives.

According to the commission, "the displacement of the German population will be prepared such that all persons are displaced who are not essentially necessary. Mainly all women and children, also all educated classes

– mainly all former owners of companies, tradesmen, etc. In this case, only very exceptional exceptions will be allowed since national governors must be mainly experts and, therefore, only if special tasks of individual businesses were concerned, although even in these cases they could acquire the necessary knowledge" (SOka Kadaň Fond).

Furthermore, the commission calculated that the district would need approximately 500 forestry workers, 500 people for pastoral cooperatives, 7,000 industrial workers, as well as approximately 5,000 persons for other services, trades, commerce, and transport, i.e. approximately 14,000 people. This number presented 50% of the status from the beginning of 1945. In this calculation, the commission proceeded from the assumption of the displacement (evacuation) of all Germans.

The commission's description implies that in 1945, the Vejprty district was an ordinary and adequately prosperous region which secured the living of local inhabitants through industrial production as well as agriculture. Its industry, however, partially declined after the displacement of Germans and partially did not prosper due to the lack of an adequate work force.

The settlement stagnated markedly in the submontane districts of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. It was not until 1946-1948 that Czechs from the inland, Volhynian Czechs as well as Slovaks settled Vejprty. The future deep decline of the town and surrounding municipalities was not due to the initial lack of interest on the part of the settlers, but rather due to the depression of all industry that took place after the displacement of the Germans, and also due to the perspective of other displacements of recently settled inhabitants owing to the extraction of uranium in the close proximity of Vejprty.

Vejprty and the entire region of Chomutov were among regions where the native German inhabitants were not entirely displaced. They were, however, totally dispersed and often moved from one part of the district into another distant part so that they lost bonds to a concrete locality. This is how the middle class was liquidated as well. According to settlement directives, the Vejprty district was supposed to be settled to 50% of the prewar population status, and to be gradually reforested. In 1947-1948, it was expected to meet total extinction due to the building of the Jáchymov mines.

In Czechoslovakia in 1945-1950, migrations affected approximately 4,492,192 people whose basis or final locations were the Czech lands and their borderland regions. These migrations did not only concern territory – they also included migrations in the social stratification of society. New ethnic minorities were formed in the Vejprty region in the post-war period. Germans who came from other borderland regions became a new local mi-

nority. Specific minorities were also formed by Slovaks relocated from the Transylvanian Ore Mountains in Rumania.

### Preferred and non-preferred borderland

In 1953-1960, the government designated preferred borderland areas, e.g. the regions of Karlovarsko, Liberecko, and the region of České Budějovice. Vejprty and the entire district of Kadaň became a non-preferred part of the borderland.

In 1969, an analysis was processed concerning the development of population and settlement in the borderland, and the provision of civic and technical infrastructure in municipalities and its availability. The assessment criteria were whether the municipality was cleared of population, to what extent it was resettled, and what were its tertiary amenities. The observed values were compared with the republic's averages and the inland. Based on these indicators, the new territorial scope of the borderland determined by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic's government decree No. 122/1969 decreased compared to the original determination. Another determination concerned the preparation of the preference of the territory on the western border. It was not until now that the central authorities acknowledged that the territory was cleared of population, and that it was still affected by the unfavorable demographic development which was not reversed by the controlled settlement in 1946-1950, or by the resettlement and preference of selected borderland areas in 1953-1960. The central authorities were not concerned with the national composition of local inhabitants, since from the beginning of the settlement they had expected a quick assimilation with the new majority population.

In 1970, the government approved economic instruments that became involved in all sectors and activities in the borderland. However, some submontane border regions which belonged to significantly industrial areas before WWII were not stabilized. One of them was the Vejprtsko region and the former political district of Kadaň.

The interest in the borderland declined in the 1970's, and in 1977 the special state support of the borderland was stopped. This termination of support was premature. It was decided that only the development of the territory on the western border would be dealt with because in this territory the situation was the most complex, also due to military-political interests. This concerned the districts of Cheb, Tachov, Domažlice, Klatovy, Prachatice, Český Krumlov, České Budějovice, Jindřichův Hradec, Znojmo, and Břeclav.

In 1990-1992, the borderland regions entered a completely different sit-

uation. The guarding of borders was stopped, borderland regions stopped being military zones, and their new political and economical development was initiated. They became regions for new co-operations with the borderland regions of Austria, Germany, and Poland. The borderland was defined again, and according to this definition it was provided with further support for private development in agriculture, industry, services, and mainly tourism. A search for permanent priorities for individual regions was initiated. National minorities – German, Polish, Slovak, Croatian, Ukrainian, and Greek – were newly constituted in these regions, however, today the number of clubs and their members is quite low. According to the census of 2011, there are 147,152 Slovaks, 39,096 Poles, 18,658 Germans, 5,135 Roma, 17,872 Russians, and 53,253 Ukrainians living in the Czech Republic. None of these minorities constituted a club in the former Vejprty district.

### Conclusion

Vejprty and the Vejprtsko region remained different even after 1989. While most borderland regions first started to develop on grounds of private enterprise, restored trades that had gone extinct, industrial production and agricultural enterprise, Vejprty with their 3,350 inhabitants were partially enhanced thanks to tourism and border crossing. The present population does not know the history of the town with its prospering factories and trades. After their experience with industrial production up until 1989, and the depopulation of the region, locals focused on border tourism, enhancement of communications, enhancement of the school system, activities of clubs, strengthening of the relation to the town and region, and on local patriotism. They try to enhance the economic life through enhancement of business activities because the town and its surrounding are economically unused. Vejprty is an authorized municipality on the border with the Free State of Saxony. The municipality has an attractive location and natural environment. It is, however, separated by a natural obstacle, a mountain ridge, from Czech economic and cultural centres, which is also due to obsolete infrastructure. Vejprty is a town whose number of inhabitants has decreased by 75% in the past sixty years. Present inhabitants do not have a deeper relation to the town and region.

In contrast to many borderland regions, it is more difficult for Vejprtsko to overcome its past because it was historically more affected than other regions. The region is an example of partially unexplored connections which were brought after WWII by the re-creation of state borders, their closure to the West, the Cold War, and the establishment of spheres of influence. It can be assumed that the situation in the Vejprtsko region was also con-

tributed to by the displacement of local Germans, the manipulation of local industry, and the subsequent liquidation of industry, such that not even the new settlers from inland Bohemia and Slovakia, Volhynian Czechs, or Slovak and Czech reemigrants from other countries managed to overcome.

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## Discussion

### THE ISSUE OF VALUES IN THE PREAMBLE TO THE SATVERSME (CONSTITUTION) OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

The journal "Ethnicity" publishes the material of the scientific seminar held at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia on March 12, 2014 and which is devoted to the analysis of ethnic, ethnic-cultural and ethnic-religious aspects contained in the project for the preamble to the Constitution of Latvia (Satversme). The seminar material contains the participants' address to the Speaker of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia, Solvita Āboltiņa, and the Chairman of the Legal Affairs Committee of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia, Ilma Čepāne, which was compiled by M. Kūle, Director of the Institute, Member of the Academy of Sciences on behalf of the seminar participants, as well as reports of the seminar participants.

**The Address by the Members of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia to the Speaker of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia, S. Āboltiņa, and the Chairman of the Legal Affairs Committee of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia, I. Čepāne.**

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Nr. March 18, 2014

**Dear Speaker of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia, S. Āboltiņa,  
Dear Chairman of the Legal Affairs Committee of the Saeima of the  
Republic of Latvia, I. Čepāne,  
Dear Members of the Saeima!**

We, specialists in the Humanitarian and Social sciences, experts, doctors of science, professors, researchers and post-doctorate students believe that at such a crucial moment the state of Latvia has to consider scientists' opinions about the project for the preamble to the Constitution of Latvia.

Scientists of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia (LU FSI) at the State Research Centre, in Riga, Kalpaka blvd. 4 on March 12, 2014 organized the scientific seminar "The Issue of Values in the Project for the Preamble to the Satversme of the Republic of Latvia" which was devoted to the Saeima's initiative to adopt the preamble to the Satversme.

Prof. Maija Kūle, Prof. Igors Šuvajevs, Dr. Sc. Soc. Dagmara Le Galla, Dr. Hist., D. h. c. Leo Dribins, Prof. Rihards Kūlis, As. Prof. Māra Kiope, Dr. Hist. Inese Runce, Dr. Sc. Soc. Vladislavs Volkovs participated in the seminar with their reports. Dr. Phil. Ella Buceniece, Dr. Hist. Kaspars Zellis participated with the co-reports, Dr. Phil. Solveiga Krūmiņa-Koņkova, Dr. Phil. Kārlis Vērpe, post-doctoral students Elvira Šimfa, Igors Gubenko, Māris Kūlis, Mg. Sc. Soc. Aleksandrs Aleksandrovš, Mg. chem. Vallija Rone participated in the debates. The seminar was also attended by several other people interested in the issue. Having listened to the reports and participated in the discussions, the seminar participants concluded that in general they approve the adoption of the preamble to the Satversme at the Saeima.

Analysing a newer version of the preamble project, the scientists (L. Dribins, I. Šuvajevs, E. Šimfa) introduced the audience to the preambles of other states (Germany, Italy). It was noted (K. Zellis, I. Gubenko) that the project initiated debates over the vital issues of the development of the state and society within the civil society and among scientists.

It was noted in the reports (M. Kūle, L. Dribins, I. Šuvajevs, R. Kūlis D. Le Galla, etc.) that in some parts of the society there is no understanding of this type of document and there is no belief in its importance. There is a common misunderstanding of the content of the philosophical and political concepts used in the project, concepts are interpreted in various ways, including the concept "state nation" ("valstsnācija"). The participants of LU FSI seminar pointed out (L. Dribins, M. Kūle, V. Volkovs, V. Rone) that the

elaboration of the concept and term "state nation" ("valstsnācija") had already started in the scientific environment in the middle of 1990s when the Institute's scientists published the book "Civic Awareness" and organized international conferences. However, the understanding of this concept has not been approved. So the seminar participants supported non-inclusion of the concept "state nation" ("valstsnācija") into the preamble as it causes discrepancies.

All seminar scientists admitted that up to now the issues on the role of Satversme, nation formation, culture and identity forming values, etc. have not been paid due attention in the society as well as in the education system starting from secondary to university level. Therefore, it is necessary to promote the acquisition of philosophy within the system of general and higher education. A range of issues which modern society is interested in should also be included in philosophical education which is a basis for general educational and humanity subjects, which was proved by the debates on the project for the preamble to the Satversme.

It was noted at the seminar (I. Runce, M. Kiope) that the concept "Christian values" ("kristīgas vērtības") requires more explanations in the public opinion. Some of the seminar participants (I. Runce) supposed that the description "European Christian culture" which also involves values is easier to understand.

Speaking about the issue of the folk wisdom ("dzīvesziņa") the scientists indicated (I. Runce, S. Krūmiņa-Koņkova, M. Kūle) that this description is rooted in Dievturība (in Brastiņš works), so the given definition is already more comprehensive "... Latvian national traditions were formed" without mentioning the folk wisdom ("dzīvesziņa").

If in the project for the Preamble to the Satversme the definition "ethnic minority rights" is replaced by "minority rights", it is not acceptable and the scientists recommended to more precisely describe the ethnic minority rights, which is strongly emphasised in the Preamble. Ethnic minorities are also a state forming factor covered by Article 114 of the Satversme. The scientists (V. Volkovs, etc.) asked to draw attention to not introducing the interpretation of ethnic minority rights as something more than human rights. This is extremely important as the understanding of Article 114 of the Satversme does not recognize "ethnic community's" claims for special rights.

The definition "everyone cares for themselves up to their abilities" created some speculation at the seminar (I. Šuvajevs, E. Buceniece, M. Kiope), asking if it hides the apology of egoistic and selfish attitude, and if there is a risk to approve de jure the social inequality which can be observed in

modern Latvia. The scientists came to a conclusion (R. Kūlis, E. Buceniece, D. Le Galla, etc.) that it is crucial to emphasise the idea of “the common good” (“kopējo labumu”).

As it was reported by the press, some LU experts (S. Lasmane, etc.), who participated in the sitting of the Saeima’s Legal Affairs Committee on March 10, 2014 resolved to exclude the abstract “Our identity in the European culture environment was specifically formed by Latvian national traditions...” but to leave it in the comments to the Satversme. Several seminar participants (E. Buceniece, etc.) stated that the given abstract can be also rephrased in the following way: “Latvian all-inclusive identity is formed by Latvian national traditions, Latvian language, Latvian parallel, in other words other nations’ cultural values and personalities, universal human, liberal and Christian cultural values”. Although, it was not supported unanimously by all seminar participants.

It is difficult to agree with this (M. Kūle) because in this case the part about basic social values which, notwithstanding the fact that a number of listed values is limited (the opinions on this differ), provides a view on the life-asserting settings of the Preamble, is lost.

The seminar participants called on the Saeima and Government not to neglect humanities and social sciences, asked to call on the Ministry of Education and Science and the Cabinet of Ministers not to delay the opening of the programme of state research for a new stage of development and education of the society, as the course of discussion of the project for the Preamble indicates a low level of awareness of the society’s biggest part when the issues of philosophy and statehood are concerned. This situation should be urgently changed in favour of developing good reasoning and critical thinking, in order to change a wide-spread cynical and nihilistic approach, and therefore to contribute to the development of the ability of philosophical abstraction which is required for the understanding of this type of the state basic documents.

We wish you all success in the process of adoption of the preamble to the Satversme of the Republic of Latvia!

On behalf of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia

Director,  
Dr. Habil. Phil., Professor, Member of the Academy of Science

Maija Kūle

**Maija Kūle.** The necessity for the Preamble is objective and has cultural and historical perspectives. The Preamble is supported and it would be sad if it was not adopted. This would just confirm the ability of mass media to fool people making use of the situation when in the public environment it is possible to proclaim anything. For example, using post-modernist and obsolete methodologies to state that there is no nation but there are only constructs (as K. Sedlinieks opposes the Preamble), or using propagandist clichés (that the Preamble creates a pre-holocaust situation as V. Procevska objects), etc.

I believe that the Preamble possesses an educational and value stabilizing meaning, its ideas should be incorporated into the system of youth and life-long education, culture and science policies.

From the philosophical viewpoint I agree that the values should be defined in the Preamble. Values are the characteristic features of things and processes which are vital for human lives; they are bearers of life settings. Values cannot be invented, they are self-consistent and they do not depend on wishes or interests of any social groups or individuals.

Unfortunately, in Latvia the study on values is not incorporated into any study courses, the issue of values is not being discussed in the press, which can be considered as a weak point at the present time.

Joining the European Union proves that Latvia relies on the modern European values. The basic European values and assumptions are human rights and solidarity, democracy, rights, sexual equality, freedom, religious tolerance, science, and values related to social modernization. In modern Europe the priorities are being shifted from the economic progress as an ultimate goal to welfare and quality of life. It is important to understand, that in Western Europe completing the industrialization stage, the values are being shifted from the values of survival to the values of free individual self-expression which, unfortunately, are under the strong influence of consumerism ideas.

Values which promoted the development of the Latvians in a wide sense can be characterized as cultural values from which emerged social values - justice, law, social freedom, as well as political values which first of all meant the right to national self-identification – to establish their own state as a politically and internationally recognized value.

The ultimate purpose of the Latvian state as it is stated in the project to the Preamble is “the existence and development of the Latvian nation, language and culture through the ages, and to ensure the freedom and welfare of the nation and every individual thereof”. Only progress antagonists can see here a suppression of some ethnic groups or minorities, which is not



the case, as the ultimate goal is welfare of every individual thereof and the Latvian nation in general.

The basic values proclaimed in the UNO Universal Declaration of Human Rights which are already included in the Satversme of Latvia are crucial. Alongside the life as a main value, liberty and dignity are mentioned. Life, liberty, private property, law, refer to individual as well as socially significant values; the right to criticism and stagnation taking over if the development values are not provided.

It is evident that it is not possible to enlist hundreds of values in the Preamble that is why it is necessary to observe that the most significant values from every group – cultural, social, political values – would be included.

Liberty should be included as it is a European as well as a Latvian nation value, which is demonstrated undeniably by history, liberty unites individual with social, cultural with an existential dimension.

Justice is one of the basic social and moral values, and, particularly, in Latvia it should be emphasized.

Solidarity should be considered, specifically emphasizing the modern multinational situation in Latvia, when there are concerns that the Preamble in some way could ensure a priority situation for welfare of the Latvians [which is not the case at all], it is necessary to put a special emphasis on the unity and solidarity of the people of Latvia, in other words, solidarity with national minorities, thus providing them with the possibility for development in Latvia and Europe.

There are discussions about life settings of the Latvians and Christian values. Discussing the Preamble it is often mixed up that in the project speaking about these values not the Present tense is used but the Past tense, as they are referred to as the values which were created historically. In relation to the Latvian history it is conclusive evidence. Speaking about life settings, they should be cleared out from ideologization, vulgarization and turning them into a tourist product. “Traditional culture of the Latvians” would probably be a better description.

A reference to Christian values should not be interpreted as an obligation to become religious, which is not assumed, but as a reference to the bases of our civilization which are displayed even in unconscious forms. Everybody knows that the basic values of the European civilization are created by Ancient Greek philosophy, Roman law and Christianity. Christianity as a basis possesses many dimensions: the ability to unite faith with mind, and to promote the development of rationalism, modernization introduced by Protestantism promoting a national language and the development of an individual risk of capitalism, managed to preserve a moral

base, which is actively supported by the Church in Latvia. I believe that the reference to Christian values denotes the civilization, the basis for origin and development which Latvia belongs to.

From the philosophical viewpoint I can come to a conclusion that it is important to refer to values in the Preamble, there should not be hundreds of them, but the ones selected are emphasized. I do not agree with the opinion expressed by S. Lasmane at the sitting of the Legal Affairs Committee of the Saeima on March 10, 2014 that paragraph 4 on values should be excluded and mentioned in the comments to the Preamble.

Speaking about values, it should be taken into account that scientists – humanists, teachers and politicians will have to work harder in order to introduce the idea of values into the society and the system of education. It is impossible to write down values and after that not to discuss, teach, or follow them. A rise in the importance of philosophical education at all levels of education is a pathway to a comprehensive understanding of the values stated in the Preamble.

**Dagmara Beitnere-Le Galla.** The preamble to the Satversme of Latvia is a belated timeliness, as our neighbour states – Estonia and Lithuania – expanded their main law after they regained their independence in the beginning of the 1990s realising that the destinies of the Baltic states in the 20<sup>th</sup> century required some specification of their main law. If we look at old democracies we can see that the main laws of the states are expanded, with preambles as well. For example, the Constitution of France has the Preamble which was expanded several times (in 1949, 1958, 2005). The German Constitution of 1949 was amended in 1990. Every time recording the changes which affected the society, the third Preamble to the French Constitution makes records of attitudes and responsibilities towards nature, environment and ecological issues.

A preamble is the essence of the Satversme which is used at schools. A latent function of an education system is to bring up a political integrity in the future members of a society. State constitutions are bulky juridical documents which average citizens are not supposed to learn by heart, that is why the essence of the main document children are taught at basic school, thus creating the awareness of belonging to the state. It is evident that states in Europe differ in their constitutional identity. A passport in the pocket does not ensure the awareness of belonging to the state. The awareness of belonging is more likely formed by the understanding of the state's history and the emotional belonging to it.

The Preamble to the Satversme proposed by Egils Levits is a compre-

hensive and serious text which includes the essence of our state's Satversme. The Preamble to the Satversme of Latvia is a challenge to any citizen to think over and view themselves and their attitude to the definition of the most significant basic document for Latvia. Globalism forms a person of a new epoch who feels at home anywhere in the world, but when problems arise we can see that a citizen seeks for help and support at their state. Democracy is also active within the state and the national identity motivates a person to act in favour of the state.

Ethnic minorities and their rights which are protected by law are specified in the Satversme. This norm logically proves the existence of the state nation, since if ethnic minorities are mentioned in the Satversme, therefore there is the state nation which is responsible for these ethnic minorities.

The ethnic minority policy in Latvia has always been one of the most tolerant in Europe at all stages of the state independence. The proposed Preamble does not offend ethnic minorities but it enhances the state awareness of the basic nation. It is necessary to remember that Latvianness has always been available for those who came to live here and adopt the Latvian language and culture. Comprehending the historical nature of the Latvian state, it can be admitted that Latvia is a state of Latvian nation, and this arch-principle is a basic postulate of the Latvian state, a basis for its existence.

It is not that important if the concept of state nation is included into the last version of the Preamble, but it is crucial that the understanding of state nation would be Latvian in itself.

The Preamble points at the values which could unite the society. However, in the proposed version several nation forming values in the past and values which unite in the present are excluded. The background of historic values provokes discussion in the society and impedes the integration. But the outcomes of these discussions can help the state nation to consolidate the self-understanding – who are we? If we are not the state nation, then who are we? Discussions can encourage self-awareness, as the previous research shows that a weak state awareness of a Latvian is an obstacle to other nations to acquire the awareness of belonging to the Latvian state.

I would like to emphasize the participation of the intellectual elite in the debate on the Preamble and their attitude towards it. The state can exist if it has powerful intellectual elite who can identify and remind the society of the principles of the state awareness. The majority of the society lives with an everyday awareness, that is why the purpose of the intellectual elite is not to polish the version of the Preamble but realising the effects of a demographic occupation to create and transmit ideas which are not always

included in the regulatory state documents.

In the last version of the Preamble the definition of the minority rights is ambiguous. What does it mean? Is it a new understanding of democracy? If the ethnic minority rights are implied then yes, but the definition minority rights can generate unwelcome legal precedents in the future.

Finally, discussions on the Preamble are the way to overcome a post-colonial syndrome, and not only for the Latvian nation who should regain its self-awareness but it is also time for thought for the bearers of the colonial dominion mentality.

The Preamble text has been created involving many social groups. Anybody interested in expressing their opinions on this issue could propose their version of the Preamble. Then versions were summarised and written down by one person – Egils Levits. The same as the Preamble to the Swiss Constitution was defined by a journalist. I think that the Preamble was rather widely discussed in the society.

**Māra Kiope.** I appreciate the aspects of Christianity in the Preamble to the Constitution. In the public environment debating on the fact that Article 4 of the Preamble to the Constitution indicates the Christian values as a Latvian identity forming factor, there is an opinion that the indication on these values contradicts the principle of separating the state and the Church established in the Republic of Latvia. It is necessary to state, that the above mentioned principle established in the Constitution is not violated by indication on the Christian values, as in the project of the Preamble speaking about “our identity in the European domain” it is important to admit that Christian values to a large extent formed this identity.

Moreover, they did it by means of national traditions into which they had integrated, realised and existed for hundreds of years. Latvian history of culture demonstrates the reciprocity of the Christian and the national in this way that the well-known traditional forms of culture were formed under the influence of Christianity, or to be more precise, they accepted and turned Christian values into the national forms of life. So the discussion about who adopted what from whom and how should it be recognized is just one more vain attempt to launch an invented opposition between the national and the Christian. For example, Gudenieku suiti, known as the outstanding keepers of the folk heritage, on Ligo day, i.e. the Baptist's Day vigil go to church wearing traditional clothes, carrying traditional wreaths, and singing religious songs. Haralds Biezais, Professor of Uppsala University, a world famous researcher of Indo-European religion, in his turn, points out that the opposition of the Christian and the national was developed by

the Dievturi movement in the 1930s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century who strived to think of a special Latvian religion as opposed the one which, according to them, was Jewish, after that, later, in the Soviet times Religion Studies continued to promote the artificial separation between the Christian and the national. In the 1990s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century at the time of Latvian National Awakening in order to chill the ones who were arguing about the opposition between the national and the Christian, a literary scholar V. Ancitis exclaimed in despair: "Tell me, which world – the Christian or the Latvian – does Kukažiņa belong to? And Bungatiņš? If one wanted to separate them, they would have been torn into two parts as they are to the full extent the one as well as the other". Besides that, it should be noted that based on the Christian values which were inspiring for the founders and defenders of the Latvian statehood, as well as in the statehood restoration, the Christian confessions also contributed to the national liberation movement. For example, the Catholic Church in postwar Latvia the same as in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century stood against the Russification in Latgale. The Latvian Baptists formed the main body of the group "Helsinki-86" in the beginning of the Latvian National Awakening movement. The Lutheran priests founded the underground organisation "Atdzimsana un atjaunotne". During the crucial time of January barricades and August coup in 1991, Catholic, Lutheran, Baptist, Russian Orthodox and Old Believer priests all together addressed the people of Latvia, encouraging some of them to sustain, appealing to others not to raise a hand against their brothers and sisters in Christ. That is why the issue of the place of Christian values in the Preamble is the issue of formation of historically Latvian identity in relation to the Christian civilization, and moreover, it is the issue of the future which is difficult to build without a transcendental aim in the society, which allows a person to raise above himself and which includes the Christian values. Notwithstanding the actuality which exists in our cultural consciousness in relation to the national and the Christian, for a number of reasons, including poor funding of science, more and more often a large number of materials are neither being summarised, nor the general reflection on this issue is being carried out. That is why at the moment we find ourselves in a situation when in Article 4 of the Preamble the lack of scientific research and developed discourse is reflected, as "the folk traditions of Latvians, the Latvian folk wisdom, universal human and Christian values" are levelled as identity forming. The problem is that no one has suggested any definition of folk wisdom ("dzīvesziņa"). Quite a lot of people admit that folk wisdom ("dzīvesziņa") is a definition of the traditional folk culture, which raises the question why are "the folk traditions of Latvians" being separated? If we take into ac-

count the viewpoint of religion theorists that folk wisdom ("dzīvesziņa") is a concept of the national religion of Dievturi, then we can ask why we should use a specific concept of a religious national-romantic movement of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Preamble to the Satversme in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. That is why to confine to the words that the identity "... has been significantly defined especially in the interaction between the values of traditional folk heritage and Christian values" would be a more rational solution.

When analyzing the Preamble to the Satversme into the perspective of Christian truth, it should be mentioned that in the initial version by E. Levits which was presented to a public consideration, in the text proposed to the Saeima committee, Article 5 says that "it is everyone's obligation up to one's abilities to take care of one's self and one's relatives, as well as the common good of society". The inclusion of the concept "the common good" ("kopējā labuma") in the Preamble is welcomed as it refers the Preamble to the Satversme of Latvia to a development of a European mindset. Nevertheless, I would like to invite the members of Parliament to think if it would be better to put it as the following "it is everyone's obligation to take care of the common good of society", as the words "up to one's abilities" amid the modern social reality in Latvia sound at least ambiguous, provoking speculation on the sharp differences in Latvian citizens' abilities "to take care of one's self and one's relatives". Those citizens who are closer to the leading political elite, in the majority's opinion, possess wider abilities to take care of one's self and one's relatives.

Obviously, from the Christian viewpoint, for the sake of precision, "a natural family created in marriage by a man and woman" should be emphasized in the Preamble as a fundamental basis of society.

It should be specified that the personalistics anthropology typical of Western culture should be placed in the Preamble to the Satversme, if it is so extensive as compared to the Constitution of Germany, as the integration of values into the text. It means that it is not necessary to enumerate the basic values "freedom, honesty, fairness, solidarity, equality", as the list of specified values should be more profoundly discussed in the scientific environment. But taking into account that after the years of Soviet totalitarianism the most important thing is forgotten still, it would be necessary to say in the text that the fundamental value is a human personality and respect to it. It would be an indication of the care, as a real constitutional responsibility (if we use Martin Heidegger's existential concept) for formation of the community worthy of respect of a human personality in the Latvian state, keeping in mind that a person is created after the image and

likeness of God, and as consistent with this respect, to take care of oneself and one's relatives, that is every person, first of all, of one's nuclear family. Speaking about the values it is possible to add that Latvian identity can be expressed by the words aligned with the encyclical *Evangelium Vitae* by Pope John Paul II for reflection, Latvia could be perceived as the land of vital culture, because we survived war terrors and deportations, historically we have made so many sacrifices that we know what the price of life is.

Finally, the Christian dimension of our identity should be expressed in the Preamble in a reasonable and balanced definition of relations between Latvians and ethnic groups residing in Latvia, evaluating how the ethnic minority's participation could be additionally identified from the viewpoint of formation of the state, for example, saying that it is one of the state forming factors or something like that. However, this is already within the competence of the colleagues - historians and researchers on national identity.

**Igors Šuvajevs.** Some points have to be summarized and shortened anyway. There are some speculations which refer to Levits' proposal (Jurista Vārds. 2013. No. 39) where there is the text, comments and interview. Transformations and development are not considered. The proposed viewpoints – "private, scientific, legal and philosophical". I doubt in private as there is an immediate reference to positions in the public environment. Scientific – we shall see. Legal and philosophical – are not necessary.

1) self-comprehension has been lost. I doubt whether the Preamble would help. One can find oneself in a situation – I know what. I don't know what is  $2 \times 2$ ; I was told. Now I know but it is not clear in itself, if I do not know everything about numbers and operations.

2) a scientific character. What about the arguments? Everybody strives for the good ... there cannot be any objections to the Preamble. Or, if consolidation has not happened, it is the fault of those who have not consolidated. This is not the way to run a scientific discussion.

3) the most significant is: purpose, tasks, identity, specific values. This is also precise and clear.

What threatens? In my opinion the biggest threat is self-fooling and self-threat. "The apparent identity problem" - then we need to address the specialists who deal with the issue of alienation. This is not the purpose but above-purpose; and this is: Latvian nation, language and culture, and welfare. There is no task; the Preamble is not the place where identity is defined. I will dwell upon the specific values later.

4) the proposal reminds one of historic Russia, where they issued laws not meant for implementation and observation. Is this a similar case?

Some considerations. Take care of oneself. It sounds well from the philosophical viewpoint reminding Plato's concept of self-care. But there is a viewpoint that a model of a bipolitical modern state is a concentration camp. In this context taking care of oneself possesses another meaning as well as care for one's relatives. Maybe that's enough? There are no precise concepts.

Folk wisdom – ? Christian values. What are they? Is it love for one's neighbours? Initially, it meant to turn to the love for God. We can recollect Dante's *De Monarchia* where he wrote about the separation between the state and Church. Modern values are formed against the Christianity and Church. What does it mean – family is a basic unit of society? Does it mean a comeback to Marxism-Leninism? What is a national state? It may have been like this in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but not now. What is Latvians' land?

The mentioned values are: freedom, dignity, justice, solidarity. But the list could be extended...

Conclusion: Why the Preamble? What are the legal effects? Will it alienate the society even more? There is no precision, clarity and scientific character. The Preamble to the German Constitution as the opposition: it precisely states in just 3 sentences what should be said.

**Solveiga Krūmiņa-Konkova.** I belong to those who believe that the text of such a document as the Satversme or in our case – Satversme should not be re-written. I reckon that the "fathers" of our Satversme have already provided it with a brief but comprehensive Preamble which is the introduction to the Satversme: "The People of Latvia have adopted, through their freely elected Constitutional (Satversme) Assembly, the following Satversme" and the following general provisions. The expression "the people of Latvia" has not been selected randomly, as in the beginning of the foundation of the state of Latvia alongside the Latvians actively participated Baltic Germans, Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Jews and representatives of other nations, and the state they founded was their state and they altogether were the people of Latvia. The newly created Preamble dramatically changes the initial directive of the Satversme, and the question is, if reading the new Preamble we will associate only Latvians with the people of Latvia, does it really enhance our identity and language? Will the citizens of Latvia for whom their belonging to their nation is important, be ready to approve of the new Preamble?

**Vladislavs Volkovs.** The issue on the Preamble to the Satversme is important as it involves conventional legal wordings as well as the ones which have so far been used only in scientific research and political vocabulary, for example, the concept “national state”. So, the Preamble claims for an extremely serious innovation. At the same time the considered project contains the following statement: “As a democratic, law-based, socially responsible and national state, Latvia is founded upon the dignity and freedom of its people, and it recognises and protects human rights, including the rights of ethnic minorities”. How to interpret the part referred to the rights of ethnic minorities? Are they part of universal human rights or not? Then we have to recognize them as a type of collective rights, the rights of communities. But the Latvian law is founded upon the recognition of individual human rights. Furthermore, the text of the Satversme itself (Article 114) states that “Persons who belong to minority nationalities have the right to maintain and develop their own language and ethnic and cultural originality”. The Satversme as well as the adopted Latvian laws (The Law on the Unrestricted Development and Right to Cultural Autonomy of Latvia’s Nationalities and Ethnic Groups” (1991); “Education Law” (1998); “State Language Law” (1999); the Law on “Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities” (2005)), recognize explicitly the right of ethnic minorities to preservation of their identity as a demonstration of universal human rights. The term “ethnic minorities’ rights” suggested in the project for the Preamble virtually moved from the concept “human rights” allows at the same time a liberal as well as a communist interpretation.

**Kaspars Zellis.** I do not see any sense in the Preamble and I do not know if the aims proposed by the author could be implemented by adding these couple of sentences to the Satversme. In the first version of the Preamble there were many conceptual inaccuracies and too shallow an attitude towards historic facts. I expressed my doubts in the abstract which has been also published in “Jurista Vārds”. Does the latest version manage to overcome these drawbacks? I would say - partially!

Nevertheless, the Preamble initiated a number of serious and urgent, in my opinion, discussions in the academic sphere and in the society. Not all discussions were qualitative and consistent, but they were an excellent illustration of our ability or inability to discuss, to choose arguments, to refuse from ad hominid, etc. on the issues which we have opposing opinions about. Therefore, the debates about the Preamble encouraged the academic discussions as well as illustrated this discussion, and, possibly, even the quality of our academic environment.

On the opinions expressed during the discussion, it is not clear to me why we tried to get rid of the proposed modernist explanation of the nation. I would like to hear what would be proposed in return of Benedict Anderson’s or Anthony Smith’s theories not coming back to perennialism. I firmly believe that nation is a construction but not a natural/divine formation. Or cannot the construction be a value? I believe that it can! The question is how we are going to look at it – as a self-sufficient value and self-purpose, or we via this construction will try to achieve other goals – human rights, freedom, social equality, etc.

There were various opinions on appropriateness/inappropriateness of excluding the concept of state nation. It should be pointed out that leaving this concept unexplained might generate the inconsistency in understanding the Preamble. However, if the explanation which was proposed also by E. Levits in the course of discussions, was added to the Preamble, then many questions and sensitive issues in the Preamble would be withdrawn. In one of the discussions E. Levits compared his concept of state nation to a coin where one side is Latvians – a basic nation, but the other one – national minorities. If this concept was properly defined and included into the Preamble, I would not have any arguments. I believe that in this case the Preamble would acquire more significance – providing us with the opportunity to realise what is understood as Latvian nation at the level of politics.

The last argument is for/against Christian values. I do not think that this concept contradicts the idea of a secular state nor does it aim against religious freedom in any way, etc. I would recommend looking at this concept from the viewpoint of the theory of civilization or culture, which recognizes Christianity as a pillar for European civilization and culture. Is it necessary to validate the belonging to European culture and value domain by the Preamble with reference to Christian values? But this is another issue for consideration.

**Igors Gubenko.** I would like to pose a philosophical question concerning the text of the preamble, which is closely connected to the question of its juridical force and applicability. The question is as follows: can we consider the text of the preamble to be a series of constative statements describing observable facts? Or are the statements rather what John Langshaw Austin called ‘performatives’, namely, statements that produce certain effect and ‘do things’ rather than just describe facts? Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu famously discerned the performative force of official discourse in its symbolic power to produce the existence of what it enounces. According to

Bourdieu, juridical discourse is the exemplary case of such creative speech. By solemnly enouncing what it posits as true, such discourse produces and maintains an authoritative representation of the truthfulness of its enunciations. In other words, it compels its addressees to accept the facts it purports to describe as true and this regardless of the actual truth of the facts in question. Without intending to put in question the truth of the statements making up the preamble, I would like to draw attention to the problematic relation of the performativity of its statements to the performativity peculiar to the statements of positive law. While they seem to make up a single whole, the preamble and the Satversme itself represent two different discursive modalities. The text of the Satversme is genuinely performative – it literally creates the states of affairs it enounces (e.g. “Latvia is an independent democratic republic”). The text of the preamble on the other hand does not have quite the same normative force: the preamble is not strictly speaking a law. This makes the text of the preamble a particularly interesting case for analysis within the framework I have just sketched out: it purports to be a series of descriptive statements, while at the same time having certain performative effects peculiar to authoritative and especially legal discourse, which yet does not amount to the full normative force of law. During the public debate concerning the text of the preamble many of those on the defending side have been justifying the need for such a belated supplement to the Satversme by appealing to the need to clearly formulate the *raison d'être* (in terms of both cause and aim) of the state. The preamble of the constitution is definitely an appropriate place for making clear the causes and aims of the existence of the state. What must not be lost from view though is the fact that these reasons and aims are not always just facts in need of enunciation; they are often produced by the very performative act of enunciation, which in the case of the preamble is removed from the foundation of the Republic of Latvia for almost a century.

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Turner J. H. (1974) *The Structure of Sociological Theory*. Homewood (Illinois): The Dorsey Press.

Zepa B. (ed.). (2006) *Integrācijas prakse un perspektīvas*. Rīga: BISS.

**Articles in collections:**

Turner R. H. (1990) A Comparative Content Analysis of Biographies. In: Oyen E., ed. Comparative Methodology: Theory and Practice in International Social Research. London, etc.: Sage Publications.

**Articles in magazines:**

Masaļska J. (2005) Sabiedrības integrācija Baltijas valstīs: kopīgais un atšķirīgais. *Politikas zinātnes jautājumi. IV*. Rīga: University of Latvia.

**Articles in newspapers:**

Strazdiņš I. (1999) Matemātiķi pasaulē un Latvijā. *Zinātnes Vēstnesis*, 8. marts. [March 8]

**Materials from the Internet:**

Niessen J., Huddleston T., Citron L. (2007) Migrant Integration Policy Index.

British Council and Migration Policy Group, September. <http://www.integrationindex.eu>. p. 104-109.

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