

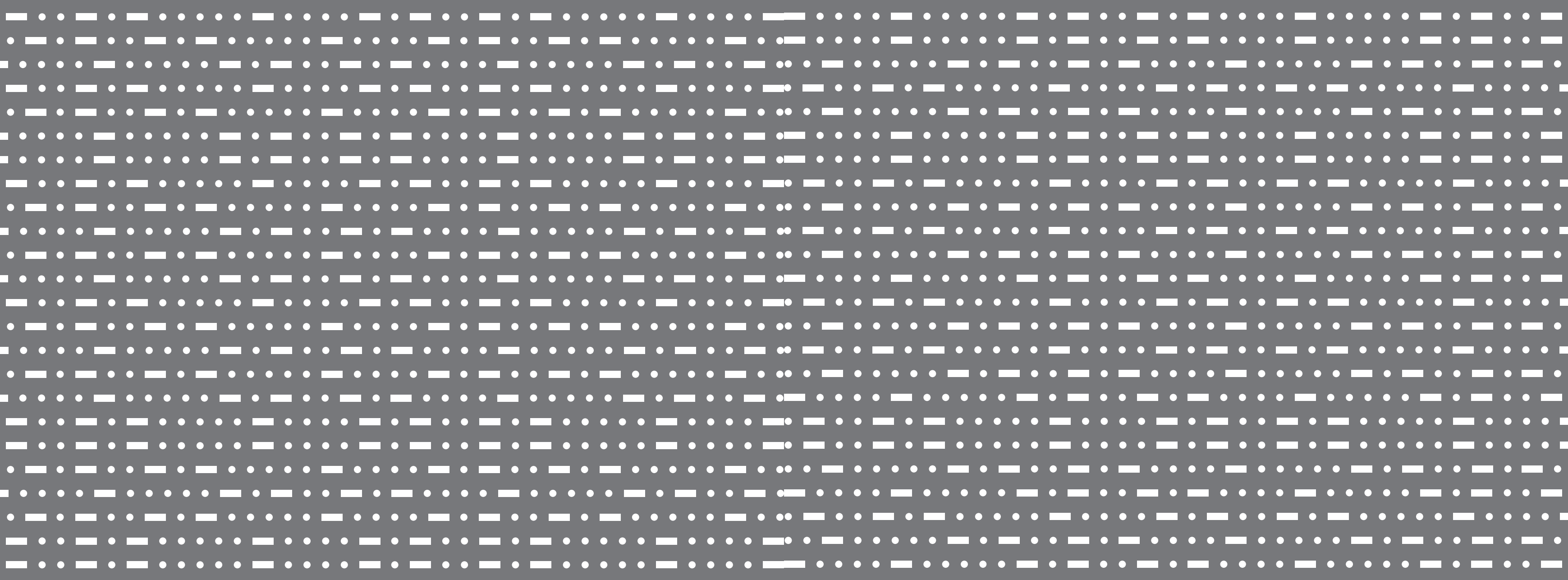
1989

2019



Latvia 100 

**THE BALTIC WAY 30**



# The Baltic Way



On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1989, the Popular Front of Latvia, the Popular Front of Estonia (*Rahvarinne*) and the Reform Movement of Lithuania *Sąjūdis* called for an ambitious non-violent protest called *the Baltic Way*.

The organizers of the Baltic Way wanted to remind the world that it was the Hitler-Stalin Pact, signed in Moscow in 1939, that had divided Europe and condemned the three formerly independent Baltic States to Soviet occupation.

The 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Baltic Way is the cornerstone of Latvia's centenary programme in 2019, highlighting and recalling the importance of this unique event in restoring Latvia's statehood.

## **The goals of the Baltic Way were to:**

- demand the Soviet Union to declare the Hitler-Stalin Pact and its secret protocols null and void as from the date of its signature;
- use the ambitious scale of the Baltic Way to prove to the world that the demand for independence truly is the will of the peoples of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania;
- demonstrate the determination of all three Baltic nations to return to Europe in unison.

At 7 pm, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989, approximately two million people in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joined hands to form a chain of people from Tallinn through Rīga to Vilnius.



# The Baltic Way Call to Action

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1939, dozens of states and nations were struck by blows that are still bleeding (...) Three members of The League of Nations were occupied by the Red Army, and three independent states ceased to exist. The Soviet Union has made every effort to erase Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania from the memory and map of Europe, from your libraries and textbooks, from your sense of justice, from your grief and your minds. (..)

Therefore today, on the 50th anniversary of that terrible deal, we, the three Baltic nations, are appealing to the European and global community firmly convinced that the democratic majority has retained its moral will, sense of justice and is ready to support our demand for

## the criminal Hitler-Stalin Pact to be annulled!

You may close your eyes to the Baltic problem, but it will not cease to exist. For us, this is an inalienable human rights issue; it is a double standards and security issue for you, but in any case, we must address it together based on principles that emanate from international law. A common European house can only be created if all nations of Europe are given the right to free self-determination. The Baltic States have sought to restore their independence in a way that is in the best interests of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as the Soviet Union that also guarantees security in Northern Europe. (..) We have sought a solution and we have called our solution THE BALTIC WAY.

THE BALTIC WAY is a parliamentary route to a peaceful restoration of our statehood.

THE BALTIC WAY poses no threat to anyone.

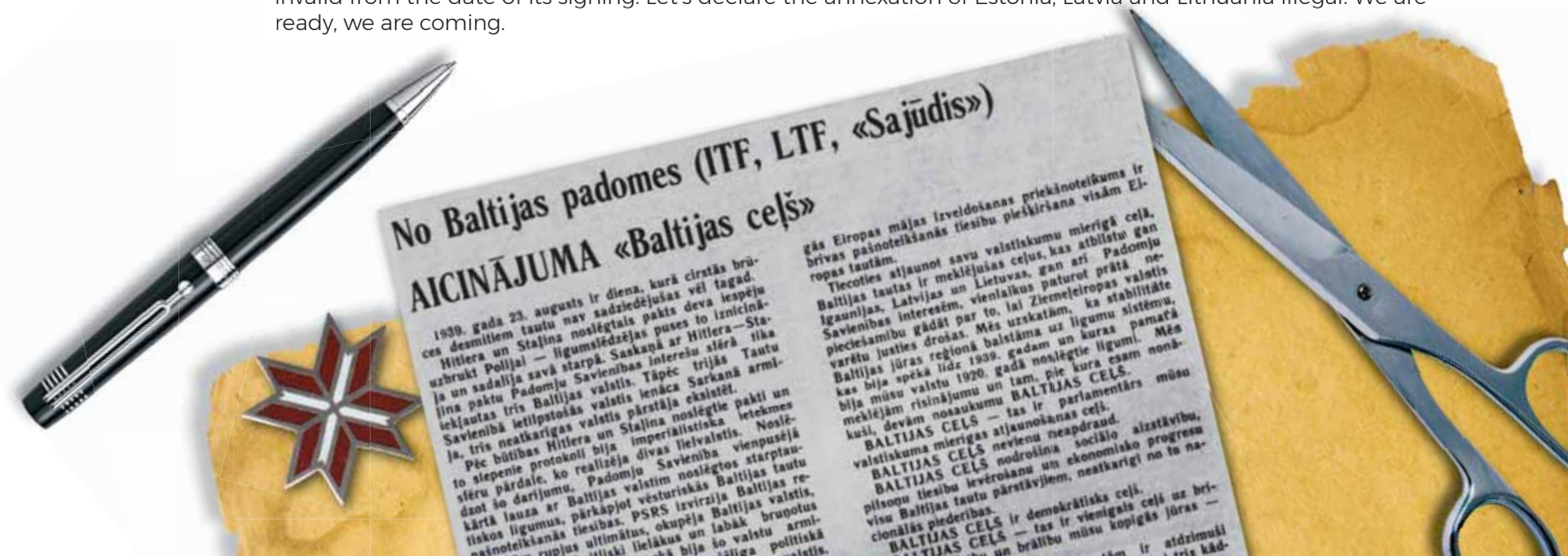
THE BALTIC WAY will guarantee social security, human rights and economic progress for the entire population of the Baltic States, irrespective of individual nationality.

THE BALTIC WAY is the path to democracy.

The Baltic Way is the only way to freedom, fraternity and equality on the shores of the Baltic Sea that we share.

Every village, city and country has risen from the ashes of World War II, except for the three Baltic States, the former members of the League of Nations. Have you noticed that we are not there? Today, almost half a century later, we turn to our friends in the North and the South, the East and the West: the Baltic States are once again standing on the threshold of Europe. Europe today welcomes us as its long lost sons. As far as we are concerned, we have never considered ourselves to be lost. Then let us stretch out our arms to each other and walk our common path together: THE BALTIC WAY is the European Way; THE BALTIC WAY is a way to eliminate recent colonialism in Europe; THE BALTIC WAY is the way to our common home.

Brothers and sisters in the East and the West, we are ready to forget your double standards if you can find the courage to demand the application of the principles of international law not only in Africa and Asia, but also in Europe. Let's unite our votes and demand the proclamation of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, with its secret protocols invalid from the date of its signing! Let's declare the annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania illegal! We are ready, we are coming.





.....

"Fifty years ago, our freedom and country were traded as if we didn't exist, as if we were no longer human beings or a nation deserving of being taken into consideration. Fifty years ago, the oppressors decided that we don't exist nor ever would. Fifty years have passed, yet still, here we are. Now, our hands show that the Baltic spirit and the determination to fight for free people and a dignified life in the restored Baltics cannot be destroyed.

The Baltic land have never before experienced such a closeness of the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Never have they stood so close or held hands so tightly as they are doing today.

Days and years will pass, many things will disappear and be forgotten. This moment will remain forever."

*A quote by Dainis Īvāns, the first Chairman of the Popular Front of Latvia, from his radio address at 7 pm on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1989*



**Egils Levits**

*President of the Republic of Latvia*

The Baltic Way paved the road to truth. The world was forced to admit that the unlawful Hitler-Stalin Pact was invalid. Our eyes were forced to see the fact that the Baltic States were still occupied and that the borders drawn by the pact still divided Europe. This needed not only to be recognized, but it was a clear demand to stand on the side of righteousness, that is, the Baltic side. Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians joining hands along the Baltic Way proved that freedom and democracy can be fought for non-violently. This was a unique lesson, the experience has now been copied and used elsewhere. However, there is still a lot that needs to be done to ensure that The Baltic Way takes its rightful place in Europe's shared historical memory.

**Krišjānis Kariņš**

*Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia*

As we build our future, let's be mindful of our history, appreciate our successes and the inherent strength that is within the nation. Thirty years ago, two million Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians joined hands to form The Baltic Way, marking an important milestone in the restoration of independence and a return to the European family. Confidence in one's country, in the nation and in collective action is a powerful force. Let's remember this, as we form Latvia into a strong, prosperous Nordic country where people live with a secure future and pride in their nation.

**Ināra Mūrniece**

*Speaker of the Saeima of the Republic of Latvia*

When we founded Latvia and dreamed about renewing its independence during the Awakening, the goals of our people seemed unattainable. Yet, they inspired us and we reached our most ambitious goals. The people who attained them still inspire us. We will forever exalt one of the greatest moral victories of the Awakening era gained by the Baltic people, the unique manifestation of nonviolent resistance – the Baltic Way. Two million people – Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians – stood hand-in-hand to tell the world: We are unlawfully occupied! We still remember our statehood! We demand freedom!

**Edgars Rinkēvičs**

*Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia*

Just 30 years ago, stretching from the Toompea Hill in Tallinn, by the Freedom Monument in Rīga to the Gediminas Tower in Vilnius, the people of the occupied Baltic States reminded the world of the unity of the Baltic people and their desire to regain their independence.

This action was the first real step in the process of dismantling the empire of lies – the Soviet Union. We did it! Today, 30 years later, by singing *Atmostas Baltija, Bunda jau Baltija, Ārgake Baltimaad*, we reaffirm our core Baltic values – democracy, solidarity and unity.

**Valdis Dombrovskis**

*Vice-President of the European Commission*

The Baltic Way was the European Way. The strength of the Baltic Way was a clear goal, unwavering will and Baltic unity. It made us a significant part of the Eastern European wave of democratic revolutions, in fact, their promoter. It allowed us to regain the independence of the Baltic States as well as our rightful place in the common European home. Today, the Baltic States in Europe are known for their strong position in defending their national interests as well as common European values. The Baltic Way's lesson on the power of unity is very important for Europe, a salient reminder for the success of a secure, prosperous and united Europe.

**Nauris Puntulis**

*Minister of Culture of the Republic of Latvia*

For each of us, the Baltic Way is not only a symbol – it is also a deeply personal memory. If we didn't do it personally, then our parents, brothers, sisters, relatives, neighbours, friends, hand in hand, proclaimed to the world the most important thing – a demand for freedom and self-determination. My Baltic Way was in the Vangaži area, where we went with the whole family to receive and pass on the power of unity through the hands of thousands. The Baltic Way was a turning point in history, at the same time becoming a source of power for the nation.



**Sandra Kalniete**

*Member of the European Parliament, former Board Member of the Popular Front of Latvia, Organiser of the Baltic Way in Latvia*



In the evening after the Baltic Way, with a shiver in my heart, I realized that a legend had been born. The legend that will go down in the history of 20<sup>th</sup> century people's freedom struggles. Similarly to the Barricades of 1991, the Baltic Way is one of the most glorious moments of our nation's spiritual strength and unity. Holding hands, we demanded the freedom that had been forcibly taken from us! The Baltic Way marked a turning point in the world's attitude towards the Baltic Revolution as well as an understanding that we wanted to return to the Europe we had always belonged to.

**Vytautas Landsbergis**

*Former leader of the Reform Movement of Lithuania Sąjūdis, Organiser of the Baltic Way in Lithuania*



It was impossible for the Baltic Way to pass invisible, unnoticed and under-valued. It proved that these nations were truly free and had no intention of stopping there. It was a message for both the East and the West. From the East came anger, threats and intimidation. In the West it was clear that the Baltic States too, would be free soon. The Baltic Way itself was the liberation. It was no longer just the next step in an ongoing process, the liberation had already occurred in the spirit: we were already free. After all, nobody sent a letter to Moscow asking for permission for such a campaign from Vilnius to Tallinn. The Baltic Way reminds us of the value and joy of freedom.

**Marju Lauristin**

*Professor emeritus at the University of Tartu, former Board Member of the Popular Front of Estonia, Organiser of the Baltic Way in Estonia*



What this chain really had to demonstrate was our capability of self-organization and self-discipline. Most importantly, the title of it was very clear, declaring unanimous desire for freedom. We did not have the opportunity to express this unanimous desire through free elections, but we had an opportunity to demonstrate it forming the Baltic Way. And succeeded in being heard.







# The Baltic Way Towards Freedom

On August 23, 1989 at 7 p.m. around 2 million people in the Baltic States on the Tallinn-Rīga-Vilnius motorway join hands and created a live, uninterrupted chain of 660-670 kilometres. The bells of the Baltic churches rang. Mourning ribbons adorned the national flags banned a year ago. Participants of the Baltic Way were addressed by the leaders of the Popular Front of Estonia *Rahvarinne*, Reform Movement of Lithuania *Sąjūdis* and the Popular Front of Latvia. Word of mouth sounded, – ‘laisvē’, ‘vabadus’, ‘brīvība’ (freedom). The symbols of Nazi Germany and the Communist regime of the USSR were burned in giant bonfires. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania jointly opposed the Hitler-Stalin Non-Aggression Pact of August 23, 1939 and its secret protocols, the “Devil’s Pact”. The Baltic States demanded the cessation of the half-century long Soviet occupation, colonisation, Russification and communist genocide. The Baltic Way became a decisive application of the civil society of the Baltic States for a non-violent, steadfast restoration to its independence and return to Europe. It was a major blow to the domino effect that destroyed the totalitarian regime in Eastern Europe, an important step in the restoration of Latvia’s independence.

## Causes and consequences

After World War II, all USSR leaders, from dictator Joseph Stalin to Mikhail Gorbachev, categorically denied the existence of the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. There was no discussion of this issue in the occupied Baltic States. Any explanation of historical events that did not conform to Moscow’s doctrine of the voluntary accession of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to the USSR and the socialist revolution was criminalized anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. The situation changed when Mikhail Gorbachev, who was appointed Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985, announced the course on openness and democracy. The fateful truth of the USSR’s existence broke into public space and people’s minds quickly and spontaneously. On November 18, 1986, at the Chautauqua Conference in Jūrmala, Latvia, Jack F. Matlock, Senior Advisor to the US President, on the Latvian television announced for the first time that the United States had never recognised the incorporation of Latvia. It undoubtedly also







encouraged the Latvian human rights and national resistance group Helsinki-86 to hold an unauthorized rally at the Freedom Monument in Rīga on August 23, 1987, on the 48th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Prior to this event, the Latvian SSR State Security Committee detained group leaders in an apartment. There were arrests. Following the call of Western radios, a few thousand people came to watch what was happening, but they were obscured by the traffic buses parked around the Freedom Square. The Soviet press declared the members of Helsinki-86 enemies of the state. On November 18, the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party held a meeting in support of the Soviet Latvia on the Latvian Red Riflemen Square. The Freedom Monument, at the foot of which both the members of Helsinki-86 group and the patriots of free Latvia were ready to lay flowers, was besieged by chains of militia, army and KGB staff.

The events reached a new peak on June 1-2, 1988, at the extended Plenary Session of the Latvian SSR Writers’ Union. The live broadcast from the Rīga Political Education House (Rīga Congress House) was moderated by Ojārs Rubenis, television journalist, who decided not to interrupt it even after the allowed broadcast time. That’s when Mavriks Vulfsons, Professor of the State Academy of Arts, said, “One must learn to look the truth in the eye, however difficult and even unbearable it may be at times,” – and word for word, fact by fact, proved that Article 1 of the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was the cause of the violent occupation of Latvia and the invasion of the Red Army in 1940. Boriss Pugo, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia, had not expected anything like that from the party’s senior member and exclaimed in surprise, “Mavrik, you killed the Soviet Latvia!”

It was followed by the poet and publicist Viktors Avotiņš who proposed the founding of the Popular Front of Latvia, following the example of the Estonian Popular Front for the Support of Perestroika *Rahvarinne*. Two manifests signed by respected and prominent persons began the formation of the largest and most influential public-political organization in the history of Latvia. On June 18, at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, Boriss Pugo was sharply opposing against it, just like against the revelations of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, “Discussions around the so-called secret annexes to the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact have become active. Stubbornly the idea (...) that those were the reason for the forced annexation of Latvia and the Baltic Republics to the Soviet Union is being pushed forward. (..) The most precious – the tree of friendship of nations – has been severely shaken.” Everyone had to choose the side of the truth-and-lie divide about the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact; had to choose whether to continue the future Baltic way of freedom or remain in captivity of the Soviet empire of evil.

# Popular Movement and the Unity of the People

In October 1988, official founding congresses of popular movements in support of “reformation of the USSR” – the Estonian *Rahvarinne*, the Popular Front of Latvia and the Lithuanian *Sąjūdis* – were convened almost simultaneously. On November 11, the first meeting of their elected leaders was held in Rīga, at Benjamins House. It was decided to coordinate further political action and to participate in the first joint action – to collect signatures against amendments to the Constitution of the USSR proposed by M. Gorbachev. They would make the already almost impossible withdrawal of the compounded republics from the Soviet Union completely impossible. As a result, the Popular Front of Latvia in less than two weeks submitted 647,555 signatures of protest to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. According to population size, slightly fewer signatures were collected in Estonia, but slightly more in Lithuania. On November 18, the Latvian National Independence Movement and the Popular Front of Latvia invited for the first time since the occupation of Latvia to openly celebrate Latvia’s proclamation day by the Freedom Monument in Rīga. The same day the first talks on Baltic independence were held in Moscow between Anatoly Lukyanov, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Dainis Īvāns, Chairman of the Popular Front of Latvia, Ilmārs Bišers, a Member of the Board of the Popular Front of Latvia, and Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, took place in Moscow.

The leaders of the USSR, following the „divide and rule” policy, rejected the demand of the leaders of the Popular Front of Latvia, *Rahvarinne* and *Sąjūdis* to conduct future dialogues with them together, not with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia individually. However, such action by Moscow strengthened the Baltic people’s belief in further cooperation and solidarity.

## Baltic Assembly

Following the strategic decision to restore independence in a non-violent parliamentary route and to participate in the elections to the People’s Deputies of the USSR the Popular Front of Latvia, *Rahvarinne* and *Sąjūdis* convene the Baltic Assembly on May 13-14, 1989, in Tallinn. It was attended by delegations from all three organisations, as well as by all members of the Congress of People’s Deputies of the Soviet Union elected with the support of the Popular Front of Latvia, *Rahvarinne* and *Sąjūdis*.



On the eve of the Assembly, the Latvian composer Boriss Rezniks composed the song The Baltics Are Waking Up (Lithuanian: Bunda jau Baltija, Latvian: Atmostas Baltija, Estonian: Ärgake, Baltimaad), that later became an unofficial anthem of the Baltic States. It was premiered in Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian on the evening of May 13 at the Baltic Assembly manifestation on Tallinn Town Hall Square, repeated on May 14 in the concert hall "Estonia" during the signing the final resolutions of the conference and the cooperation agreement. The Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of the Baltic Nations read by the Estonian art scholar Heinz Valk, Declaration on the Economic Independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Resolution on the crimes of Stalinism and the Call To the Heads of State of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, UN Secretary-General and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Western politicians were invited to finally apply international law also to the Baltic States.

The coverage of the Baltic Assembly in the international press made it possible to understand the Baltic Singing Revolution worldwide.

„The Baltic Way is the European Way,” said Mati Hints, one of the leaders of *Rahvarinne* and promoter of Liv culture in Estonia, in a rally at the Tallinn Town Hall Square, accompanied by an ovation. “Only a versatile Europe in terms of languages, cultures and nationalities is capable of preserving and carrying entire Europe’s rich cultural heritage. (...)The Baltic Way is a road to finding a fair deal between East and West, the way of peoples’ self-determination. Stepping on this path would restore hope for the Baltics and Europe as a whole. The Baltic nations are ready to go down this road.”

Although during the Tallinn Summit members the Baltic popular movements had not yet thought about building a world-renowned live chain, it was then the concept of the Baltic Way as a sign of the solidarity and freedom aspirations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia became established both inside and outside the USSR. The Baltic Assembly established the Baltic Council of the leaders of the Popular Front of Latvia, *Rahvarinne* and *Sqjūdis*, which was to meet at least once a month in Panevėžys, Pärnu or Cēsis. However, the most important result of the Assembly was the development of a common Baltic strategy at the forthcoming Congress of People’s Deputies of the USSR in early June. The overarching objective of it was the establishment of a parliamentary inquiry commission on the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the cancellation of Article 6 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union on the Communist Party’s leading role, the announcement of free elections and negotiations with the Kremlin on the peaceful separation of the Baltic States.

On May 31, 1989, a few weeks after the Baltic Assembly, the Board of the Popular Front of Latvia, as the first in the Baltics and the first in the USSR, accepted a historic call to move towards the complete restoration of state independence.







## Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union

For the first time in the history of the USSR, 2250 members were elected in the first semi-free elections of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union. About half of the representatives were not elected directly but were nominated by various organizations in the Soviet system, including the Communist Party. Of the 52 Latvian deputies, 40 supported the Popular Front of Latvia Independence Program. During the first session of the congress, they together with the representatives of *Rahvarinne* and *Sqjūdis* demanded the establishment of a commission of inquiry into the non-aggression treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union of August 23, 1939. The majority of the Congress opposed it. However, several Baltic démarches, perseverance and power of reasoning succeeded. Congress had no choice but to approve Alexander Yakovlev, M. Gorbachev's advisor and „reconstruction architect” to lead the commission. Mavriks Vulfsons, Board Member of the Popular Front of Latvia, was particularly active in the commission. His speeches and interviews with the last living witnesses to the signing of the Pact were sensational both in the USSR and in the West. However, Gorbachev, who was later found to be aware of the originals of the secret annexes, continued to deny their existence. The inclusion of the Commission's interim and final reports on the agenda of the Soviet Parliament was delayed.

The reactionary position of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR not only on this but also on many other issues related to democratization in particular, total disregard for the requirements of Baltic sovereignty in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, promoted resistance and spirit. The Western press intensified the Kremlin's propaganda against Baltic „extremists”, „bourgeois nationalists” and „fascists”. Many Gorbachev's affected Western politicians still had more on the side of the Kremlin than the Baltic nations.

The Baltic nations needed to act quickly and firmly. Therefore, at the first meeting of the Baltic Council in June 1989, Edgar Savisar, leader of *Rahvarinne* and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR, offered the Popular Front of Latvia and *Sqjūdis* to consider a possibility to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin agreement by joining hands and building a living chain through the territories of all three republics. Within two weeks, Latvia and Lithuania had to evaluate their possibilities to support this idea. On July 15 in Pärnu, five representatives of each movement signed the Baltic Way Memorandum.





## From the idea to the moment of joining hands

During the colonization period by the USSR, Latvia had become the most heavily militarized, industrialized and Sovietised Baltic state with largest Soviet army contingent, the Baltic Military Headquarters in Rīga and about 700 USSR military sites in its territory. Opponents of the independence of the Baltic States hoped for Latvia to be removed from the Baltic Way as the weakest link in the chain.

In order for the Baltic Way campaign to succeed, the Popular Front of Latvia needed to secure at least 250,000 Latvia's patriots to join hands. Will the organisation be able to do this? The Baltic Way campaign, together with Estonians and Lithuanians, had to become a decisive statement by Latvians that they would fight for independence to the end.

Organizing such a grand manifestation of freedom just in landline and offline conditions was not easy. In order to coordinate the masses of the people, the organizers had to ask the Soviet authorities for permission to use live radio and close the traffic on the live circuit for at least 10 minutes. The administration of the Popular Front of Latvia divided the distance from Pasvalys in Lithuania to Nuia in Estonia into smaller sections. A responsible person was selected for each section. It was calculated in which regions other regions' members of the Popular Front could fill them in the least amount of time. The campaign coordinators met with militia and local authorities from each district along the live chain route.

At least 8,000 medium-sized buses or 50,000 cars would be needed to bring participants to the right places at the same time. The Latvian SSR fleet did not have so many suitable vehicles at all. The organizers considered ways to get people to the right place at critical moments. One of the options could have been the interception and routing of regular buses to the Baltic Way. However, the authority of the Popular Front of Latvia was so great that heads of state and local governments allowed the use the transport available to them for the sake of campaign. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR Vilnis Bressis and his deputy Alfrēds Čepānis who supported the Popular Front's independence path, were quite responsive, which was not insignificant. However, Obtaining entry visas for foreign journalists to the USSR was quite a problem. The issuing of visas remained under the control of the National Security Committee and it was in the interests of the USSR to allow only Western reporters sympathetic to Moscow in Latvia. Thanks to the Information -and the Foreign Affairs Department of the Popular Front on the eve of the campaign, there were as many Western media representatives in Latvia as there had never been before during the occupation.







On August 16, at the Baltic Council meeting near Cēsis, the council of the popular movements discussed the final text of the invitation, the Baltic Council's Pärnu and Cēsis Communiqués on organizing the Baltic Way and response to possible provocations by the Soviet Army and the State Security Committee as well as accepted the call of the Baltic Council „The Baltic Way – the road to the liberation of the last colonial territories in Europe”.

The morning of August 23 brought the most unpleasant surprise. The Communist Party of Latvia unexpectedly banned the previously agreed coordination of the Baltic Way live on the Latvian radio. In Latvia, the live chain could succeed on time, route and scale only on the basis of the participants' self-discipline, self-organization and courage. Latvia did not disappoint its members of destiny in Lithuania and Estonia. Everything went as expected. Participants of the live chain did not even realize that the speech of the Chairman of the popular Front of Latvia was not broadcast live during the minutes of joining hands, but thanks to the selfindulgence of radio journalists, was recorded a few hours before the campaign. On the evening of August 23, 1989, a miracle happened – from Tallinn through Rīga to Vilnius the whole of the Baltics came together as on the purest path of eternity and joined hands, clearly declaring its return to Europe.

## Results and significance of the Baltic Way

The Baltic Way united not only hands, but also the hearts of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians. It turned a day of mourning into a birthday of a new world. The Baltic Way brought not only the Baltic States, but all of Europe in a new future of hope.

The Kremlin saw it in a different light. On August 26, the CPSU Central Committee Bureau adopted a threatening anti-Baltic statement. Everything indicated that Moscow was contemplating doing something similar to that of the Chinese Communists in June 1989, bloodthirsty suppressing the demand for democratic reform in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. 24 member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from Latvia and 22 members of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, as well as the board of the Popular Front of Latvia, responded immediately: “We have felt the warmth of each other's hands, we have witnessed that we can stand and, if necessary, stand for a piece of Latvian land, we have no other way than the freedom of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.”



When 204,085 protest signatures from Latvia reached Moscow within two days, the Kremlin's communist aggressive tone, though not without the US President's warning that the United States does not consider the Baltic issue to be a USSR affair, faded. Gorbachev put the report of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on the agenda of the Congress of People's Deputies. On December 24, after two dramatic votes and after M. Vulfsons' brilliant speech, the majority of the Congress of the People's Deputies finally confirmed that the secret protocols were real, that they were criminal and have to be denounced. Consequently, the presence of the Baltic States as part of the Soviet Union was also declared void, at least legally.

It is undeniable that the effect of the Baltic Way was soon felt throughout the USSR, including Russia. Gorbachev, grumbling at the Baltic people, called it "the export of the revolution". Inspired by the Baltic Way, the living chain in Chisinau was repeated by Bessarabians or Moldovan Romanians occupied by the Soviets along with the Baltic States in 1940, but in January 1990 the Ukrainians joined hands from Lviv to Kiev. Not long after the Baltic Way action, the Berlin Wall fell, the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia began, and the Ceaușescu regime in Romania fell. A rapid democratisation chain reaction began in all post-WWII countries under the dictates of the USSR. Without it, the Baltic Way alone would not take Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians to Europe. In turn, without the Baltic Way it is unlikely that other Eastern European countries would be liberated from Moscow.

Gene Sharp, a non-violent resistance researcher, highlights the importance of the Baltic Way as a symbol of non-violent resistance: „Your success as well as experience gained using the same principles of struggle as in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine and elsewhere, soon convinced the world that the oppressed nations were capable of liberating themselves.”

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# ON THE ROAD TO THE BALTIC WAY

Состоялось первое заседание тройственной комиссии (Балтийский совет) Народного фронта Эстонии, Народного фронта Латвии и Литовского Движения за переестройку "Свобода".

На заседании участвовали:

От НСЗ – Кайло Ариакс, Арво Юнги, Эдгар Сависаар, Март Тармак и Рейн Вейдеманн;

от НДЛ – Кайро Гудманис, Дайнис Иванс, Валентина Зейле, Арнольд Клотинш и Янис Лучанс;

от "Свобода" – Бронис Лушчикас, Ромуальдас Озолас и Маргариус Честайтис.

На заседании председательствовал Эдгар Сависаар.

Обсуждались вопросы о принципах работы Балтийского совета, о формировании Балтийского Ассамблея 1989г., о мероприятиях по созданию Балтийского движения за переестройку СССР и Латвии, о патристическом движении за переестройку СССР и Латвии.

15<sup>th</sup> of July, 1989

## The Pärnu Communiqué

The Baltic Council\* invites "the legal representatives of the Popular Front of Estonia, the Popular Front of Latvia and Sjqūdis to organize a gathering on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August this year, the day the Soviet Union and Germany entered into a Criminal Covenant, and organize a human chain called the Baltic Way in the territory of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

\* The Baltic Council was a tripartite coordination committee founded in May 1989, by the Popular Front of Estonia (Rahvarinne), the Popular Front of Latvia, and the Reform Movement of Lithuania Sjqūdis. It featured Vytautas Lansbergis, Virgilijus Čepaitis, Bronius Kuzmickas, Romualdas Ozolas (Sjqūdis), Kyylo Arijakas, Arvo Junti, Edgar Savisaar, Mart Tarmak, Rein Veidemann (Popular Front of Estonia), Ivars Godmanis, Dainis Ivans, Valentina Zeile, Arnolds Klotiņš, Jānis Lucāns (Popular Front of Latvia).

## КОМИТЕЕ БАЛТИЙСКОГО СОВЕТА

от 12 августа 1989 года

В заседании приняли участие  
От Литовского движения за переестройку "Свобода"

- Витаутас Лансбергис
- Виргилюс Чепайтис
- Бронис Лушчикас
- Ромуальдас Озолас
- От Народного фронта Латвии
- Дайнис Иванс
- Арнольдс Клотинш
- Валентина Зейле
- Янис Лучанс
- Иварс Гудманис
- От Народного фронта Эстонии
- Эдгар Сависаар
- Рейн Вейдеманн
- Арво Юнги
- Кайло Ариакс
- Март Тармак

Председательствовал Дайнис Иванс.

Обсуждались следующие вопросы:

1. Характеристика и оценка политической ситуации в Эстонии, Латвии и Литве.
2. Стратегия и тактика НД Эстонии и Латвии и "Свободы" в выборах в организации.
3. Организация мероприятий "Балтийский путь".

Балтийский Совет считает целесообразным организовать совместное заседание Балтийского Совета с координационным центром по выборам ЭНД, НДЛ и "Свободы" 13-го сентября в городе Риге для выработки конкретных рекомендаций участникам и организационным вопросам предстоящих выборов.

12<sup>th</sup> of August, 1989

## The Cēsis Communiqué

The Baltic Council „expresses its concern at the delay and indecision with which the Congress of People’s Deputies’s conclusions on the political and legal assessment of the Soviet-German Non-aggression Treaty of 1939 are being drawn up.”

Representatives of the Baltic Council report on the organization of the Baltic Way. In Estonia, a chain of people holding hands will pass on the word „freedom” from one to another, and signatures for the “Declaration” will be collected in Latvia during the Baltic Way. Rallies will be organized on the borders of Latvia with Estonia and Lithuania.



# Timeline

## 1939

September 1, 1939, World War II begins. Germany invades Poland, September 17, the USSR invades Poland.

August 23, 1939. A non-aggression treaty between the USSR and Germany, the Hitler-Stalin Pact with its secret protocols on the division of spheres of influence in Europe, is signed.

## 1940

June 16, 1940.  
The USSR occupies Lithuania.

June 17, 1940.  
The USSR occupies Latvia and Estonia.

## 1941

July 23, 1940. The United States declares that it does not recognize the occupation and annexation of the Baltic States by the USSR. The declaration is signed by US Secretary of State Sumner Welles.

June 14, 1941.  
Mass deportations. More than 15,000 people are deported from Latvia, 17,500 from Lithuania and 10,000 from Estonia.

June 22, 1941.  
Germany occupies Latvia and Lithuania, July 7 – Estonia. The Holocaust and repressions.

## 1945

February 1945. The Yalta Conference. The Allies allow the annexation of the Baltic States within the USSR. Latvian diplomatic missions continue to operate in Washington and London.

## 1949

March 25-28, 1949.  
Mass deportations. 42,149 people are deported from Latvia, 31,917 from Lithuania and 20,713 from Estonia.

## 1953

June 17, 1953.  
More than 700 cities in eastern Germany rebel against the existing regime.

## 1956

October 23 – November 10, 1956. Hungarian Revolution (Uprising) against the Moscow regime. November 10. Soviet tanks invade Hungary and the revolt is suppressed.

## 1959

1959.  
The USSR punishes the National Communist Government of the Latvian SSR.

## 1968

January 5 – August 20, 1968. The Prague Spring. On August 20, the Warsaw Pact's armed forces invade the country under USSR leadership and suppress the rebellion.

## 1980

September 17, 1980. Solidarity (*Solidarność*), the first labour union in the Warsaw Pact countries not controlled by the Communist Party, is established in Poland.

## 1985

March 15, 1985.  
The Central Committee of the CPSU elects Mikhail Gorbachev, Secretary General. A course of partial liberalization begins in the Soviet Union.

## 1987

August 23, 1987. On the anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the Helsinki-86 group holds a protest rally at the Freedom Monument in Riga. The militia beats and arrests demonstrators.

July 25-31, 1985.  
Voyage of the Baltic Peace and Freedom Ship in the Baltic Sea to protest the Soviet regime of occupation

## 1988

April 13, 1988. Edgar Savisaar calls for the establishment of the *Rahvarinne*, Popular Front in Support of Perestroika in Estonia.

June 1-2, 1988. At a Plenary Session of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union, Mavriks Vulfsons announces that "Latvia didn't voluntarily join the USSR", as Moscow claims, "but it was occupied in 1940".

June 3, 1988.  
Founding congress of the Reform Movement of Lithuania *Sqjūdis*.

## 1989

October 1, 1988.  
Founding congress of the Popular Front of Estonia *Rahvarinne*.

March 26, 1989. The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR elections in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. *Sqjūdis*, the Popular Front of Latvia and *Rahvarinne* gain majorities.

May 2, 1989. In Hungary, after mass demonstrations, the barbed wire border fence with Austria is demolished.

May 13-14, 1989. In Tallinn, the Baltic Popular Movements establish the Baltic Assembly and the Baltic Council.

June 1, 1989. The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR decides to set up a commission to evaluate the consequences of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

June 4, 1989.  
In Poland, the Solidarity movement led by Lech Wałęsa wins parliamentary elections.

July 15, 1989.  
Pärnu, The Baltic Council adopts a memorandum on the organization of the Baltic Way on August 23, 1989.

## 1989

August 16, 1989. US President George W. Bush addresses the Baltic nations, endorsing the freedom efforts and condemning the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

August 23, 1989. In Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, approximately 2 million people join hands to create the 660 km long Baltic Way.

August 26, 1989.  
Statement by the CPSU Central Political Bureau "On the situation in the Baltic Soviet Republics", threatening the Baltic independence aspirations.

August 27, 1989. 204,085 protest signatures against the CPSU CC statement are collected in Latvia.



1989

October 23, 1989.  
Hungary adopts a constitution  
guaranteeing free elections and  
democracy.

November 9, 1989.  
The Berlin Wall falls.

December 16, 1989.  
In Romania, the regime of  
Nicolae Ceaușescu falls.

October 1989. Mass  
demonstrations in Leipzig, East  
Germany.

November 17 – December 29,  
1989. The Velvet Revolution  
in Czechoslovakia; November  
28. The Communist Party of  
Czechoslovakia renounces power.

December 24, 1989.  
The Congress of People's  
Deputies of the USSR declares  
the secret protocols of the  
Hitler-Stalin Pact invalid from the  
moment of signing.

1990

December 29, 1989.  
Václav Havel becomes President  
of Czechoslovakia.

March 11, 1990.  
The Supreme Soviet of the  
Lithuanian SSR proclaims the  
independence of the Republic of  
Lithuania.

March 30, 1990.  
The Supreme Soviet of the  
Estonian SSR decides on  
a transition period to an  
independent state.

October 3, 1990.  
The German reunification.

May 4, 1990.  
The Supreme Soviet of the  
Latvian SSR adopts the  
declaration "On the Restoration  
of the Independence of the  
Republic of Latvia".

1991

January 1991.  
Barricades are set up in Vilnius  
and Riga.

December 22, 1990.  
Lech Wałęsa becomes  
President of Poland.

February 9, 1991.  
In Lithuania, 93.2% of voters  
vote in favour of Lithuania's  
independence.

March 3, 1991.  
A referendum on independence  
is held in Latvia and Estonia. In  
Latvia 73.68% and in Estonia  
78.4% vote in favour.

August 20, 1991.  
The Supreme Soviet of the  
Republic of Estonia adopts the  
Constitutional Law on the full  
restoration of independence.

August 22, 1991.  
Latvia's independence is ratified  
by Iceland, Lithuania and Estonia.

August 24-31, 1991. Latvia's  
independence is recognized  
by Hungary, Denmark, Norway,  
Finland, Poland, Canada,  
Sweden, Australia and 36 other  
countries worldwide.

September 2, 1991. Latvia's  
independence is recognized by  
the United States.

September 17, 1991. Latvia  
becomes a member of the  
United Nations.

August 31, 1994. At 6 pm,  
withdrawal of the Soviet army  
from Latvia is completed.

May 1, 2004. Latvia becomes a  
member of the European Union.

July 30, 2009. UNESCO inscribes  
the joint nomination of the  
Baltic States The Baltic Way.  
*Human Chain Linking Three  
States in Their Drive for Freedom*  
on Memory of the World  
International Register.

1994

December 25, 1991. The Soviet  
Union ceases to exist.

2004

March 29, 2004. Latvia becomes  
a member of the North Atlantic  
Treaty Alliance (NATO).

2008

September 23, 2008. The  
European Parliament declares  
the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August the European  
Day of Remembrance for the  
Victims of Stalinism and Nazism.

2009

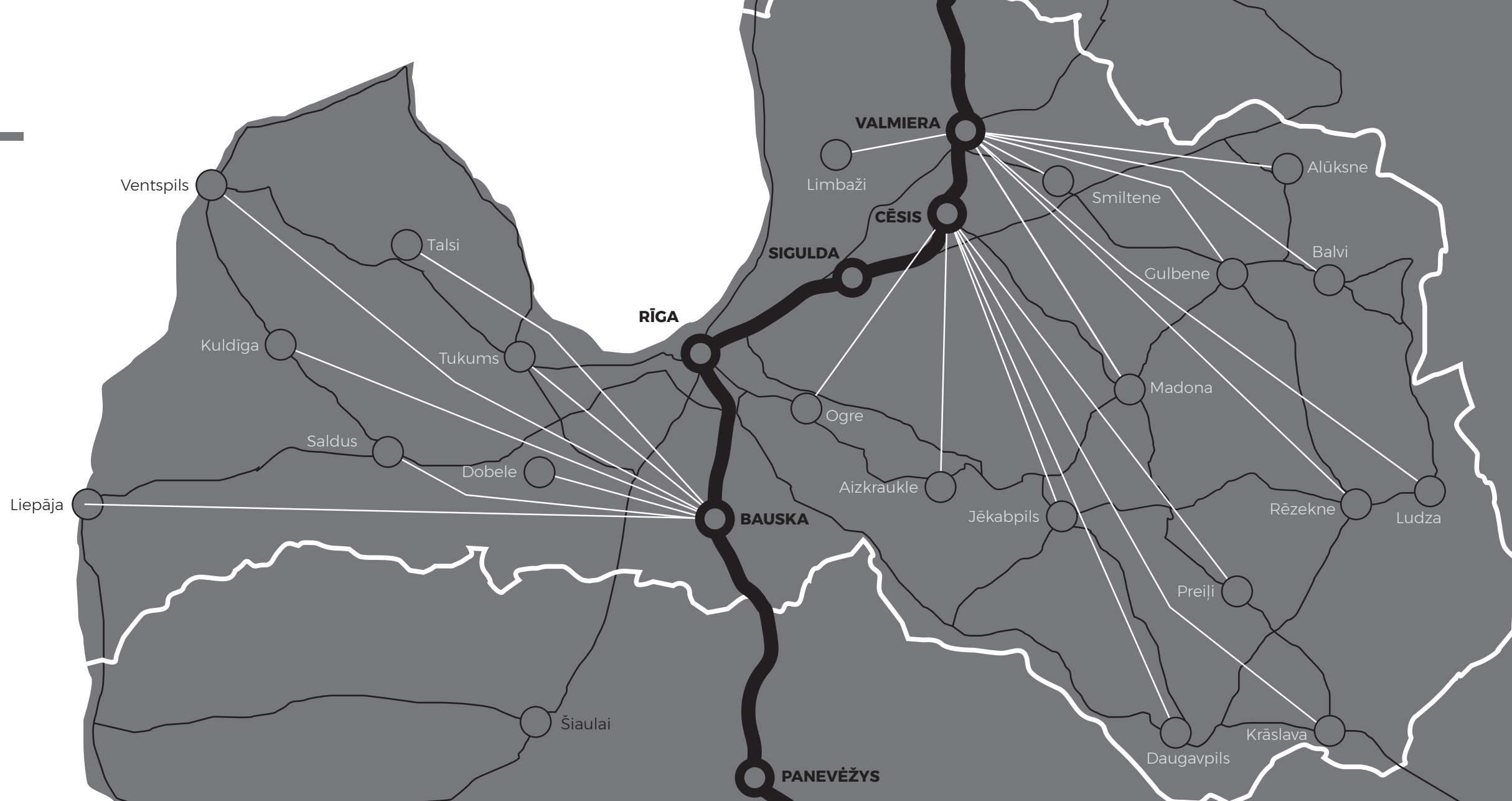






## Rallying Points

Branches of the Popular Front of Latvia were tasked with inviting the people of their local areas to go to certain sections of the Baltic Way and to help them get there. The arrows on the map show the carefully planned logistics.



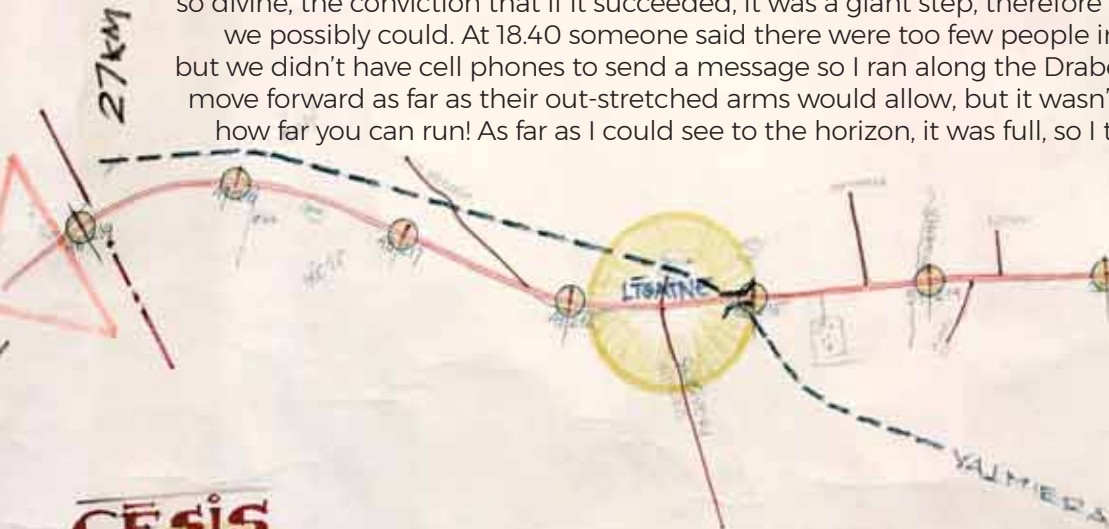


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1cm=100m

Jānis Līpaciš

coordinator of the Cēsis section of the Baltic Way

I was rather worried about whether such a big idea could come to fruition. On the other hand, it was so reassuring, so divine, the conviction that if it succeeded, it was a giant step, therefore it was clear that we must do everything we possibly could. At 18.40 someone said there were too few people in the Cēsis direction, we had quite a lot, but we didn't have cell phones to send a message so I ran along the Drabeši intersection to Cēsis to tell people to move forward as far as their out-stretched arms would allow, but it wasn't that easy to explain, I was worried, but how far you can run! As far as I could see to the horizon, it was full, so I too took my place where I had stopped.



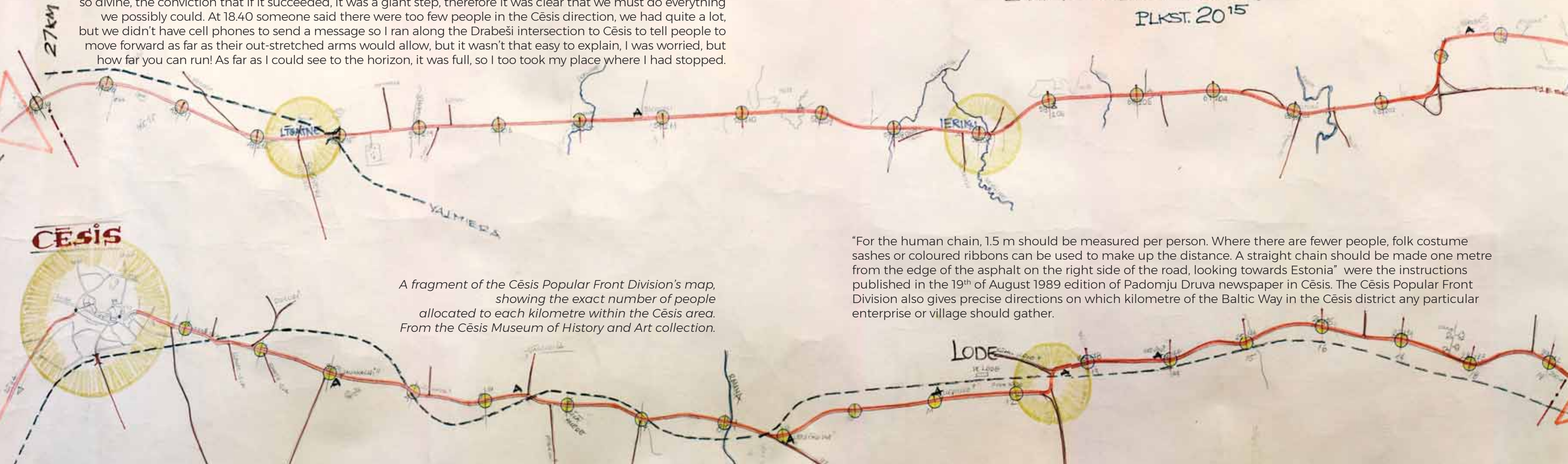
CĒSIS

A fragment of the Cēsis Popular Front Division's map, showing the exact number of people allocated to each kilometre within the Cēsis area. From the Cēsis Museum of History and Art collection.

"BALTIJAS CEĻŠ" CĒSU RAJ.

23.AUGUSTĀ 19.00  
PLKST. 20<sup>15</sup>

"For the human chain, 1.5 m should be measured per person. Where there are fewer people, folk costume sashes or coloured ribbons can be used to make up the distance. A straight chain should be made one metre from the edge of the asphalt on the right side of the road, looking towards Estonia" were the instructions published in the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1989 edition of Padomju Druva newspaper in Cēsis. The Cēsis Popular Front Division also gives precise directions on which kilometre of the Baltic Way in the Cēsis district any particular enterprise or village should gather.



LODE





"Today, we remember an August day just five years ago,

when the peoples of your nations  
joined hands in common cause.

From Tallinn to Vilnius, a million strong, you reached across the boundaries of fear. And here in this square, sheltered by the Freedom Monument, that human chain found its center. You showed the peoples of the world the power of the Baltic Way. Now today, I stand with you here. And on behalf of all Americans, I proudly take a place in that unbroken chain of freedom.”

*Excerpt from USA President Bill Clinton's address in front of the Freedom Monument in Rīga on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, 1994*





# The Kremlin's Position Against the Baltic Way

The organizers of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August events sought to stir up the mood to a true nationalistic hysteria. The slogans that have been imposed on thousands of people express hatred against the Soviet system, against Russians, against the CPSU, against the Soviet Army.

Events in the Baltics are eliciting an emotional response by people of all nationalities throughout our country. The Central Committee is receiving hundreds of letters, announcements and other information that Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians, ordinary people who are not infected with the virus of nationalism, are experiencing a great deal of anxiety. Even those who take part in the mass action either do not understand nor support the intentions of the anti-Soviet movement and try to emphasize their friendship and sincerity towards people of different nationalities. They distance themselves from, and condemn the extremist actions and hooliganism of the people who revolve around the nationalistic leaders. In any case, the calls to break ties with other peoples of our vast and powerful nation do not come from ordinary people. (..)

This thing has gone too far. The fate of the Baltic nations is in grave danger. People need to know into what abyss they are being pushed by their nationalistic leaders. If they succeed in achieving their goals, the consequences for those nations could be catastrophic. Their very existence could fall under a question mark. (..)

The current state of affairs requires serious awareness, realistic and serious appraisal, and vigorous, urgent measures to rid the reconstruction processes in the Baltic Republics of extremism and such destructive, damaging tendencies.





# Eyewitnesses

## Ieva Pīgozne, Latvia

*Back then, I was 16*

Standing in a chain of people with clasped hands, it was as if you could feel a flow of current. Such powerful energy! A huge sense of community togetherness, determination, stubbornness, courage and a love of homeland. Everyone was in it together. Everyone shared one thought – about a free Latvia. I am glad that I have participated in such a significant event and I love our country Latvia.

## Edgars Balodis, Latvia

*Back then, I was 10*

Many years have passed, back then I was still a boy. I remember how the husband of my mother's colleague packed us all into his orange minibus, and we set out from Madona, where we all lived, on a friendly expedition to fulfil some still incomprehensible but very important task on the road between Cēsis and Valmiera. There were a lot of people and it took us a long time to find a place to join the chain. If I remember correctly, we joined it around Lode or Liepa.

## Irena, Lithuania

*Back then, I was 3*

At the time of The Baltic Way, I was three years old. I only fully understood its meaning when I was in high school. The Baltic Way was a very mature, non-violent event in the fight for Lithuanian independence. It symbolizes our liberation and pride in the unity of all three Baltic States.

## Linas, Lithuania

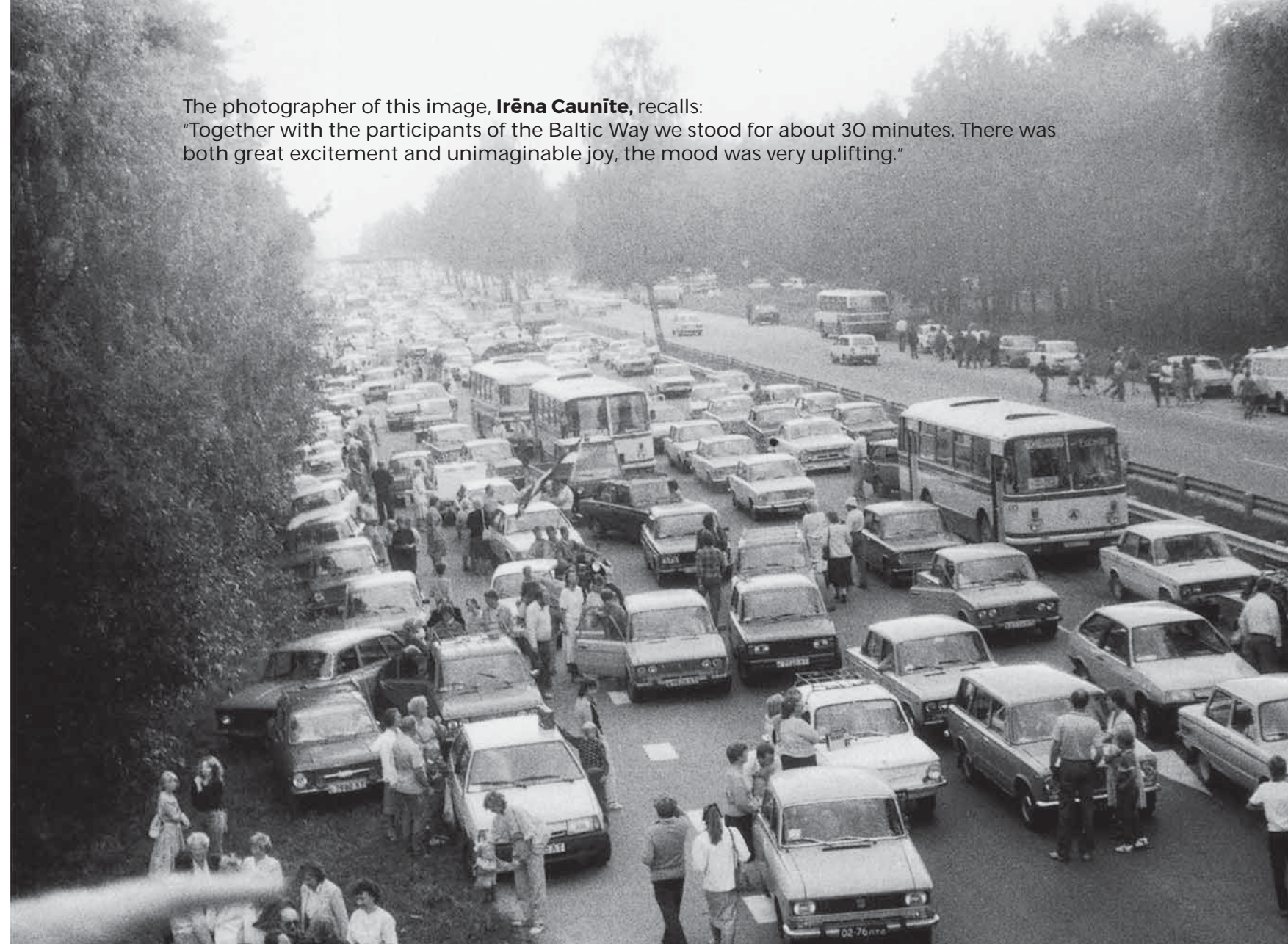
*Back then, I was 14*

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1989, I was 14 years old. I was standing with my family on Ukmergės Street in Vilnius. I learned about the Baltic Way from my parents. We had our Lithuanian flag. We arrived on foot. The greatest impact on the Baltic Way was the huge number of people with national regalia. Why is there no unity now?

Then it was a different situation. There were many people all around, many cars, everyone holding hands, holding flags. We stayed for about half an hour, it was very warm.

The photographer of this image, **Irēna Caunīte**, recalls:

“Together with the participants of the Baltic Way we stood for about 30 minutes. There was both great excitement and unimaginable joy, the mood was very uplifting.”







More eyewitness accounts of the Baltic Way:  
[www.thebalticway.eu](http://www.thebalticway.eu)

**Tuuli Reinsoo, Estonia**

*Back then, I was 8*

I was born in 1981. We stood amongst car mechanics, artists and secretaries from my mum's workplace. Before joining hands, there were some organizers who yelled out instructions. The song Ärgake, Baltimaad rang out from the speakers in the truck. I remember wondering - how on earth did they stop all the cars? Then we stood for a moment holding each other's hands. Everyone then rushed home to see themselves on television. We saw ourselves on Finnish TV, which was available via the illegal "Finnish block", which was added to the TV. Then the Baltic Way became one of the most popular themes in art classes. In the eyes of the world, The Baltic Way made the Baltics indivisible.

**Eva Seera, Estonia**

*Back then, I was 12*

At the age of 12, I attended the Baltic Way with my grandparents, with whom I spent the summer holidays. We stood in Käru, a small town. I remember the waves of hope and celebration, anxiety. We were surrounded by many acquaintances. We listened to speeches on the radio. When we stopped holding hands, we went to a family birthday celebration.

**Peter Elsuwege, Belgium**

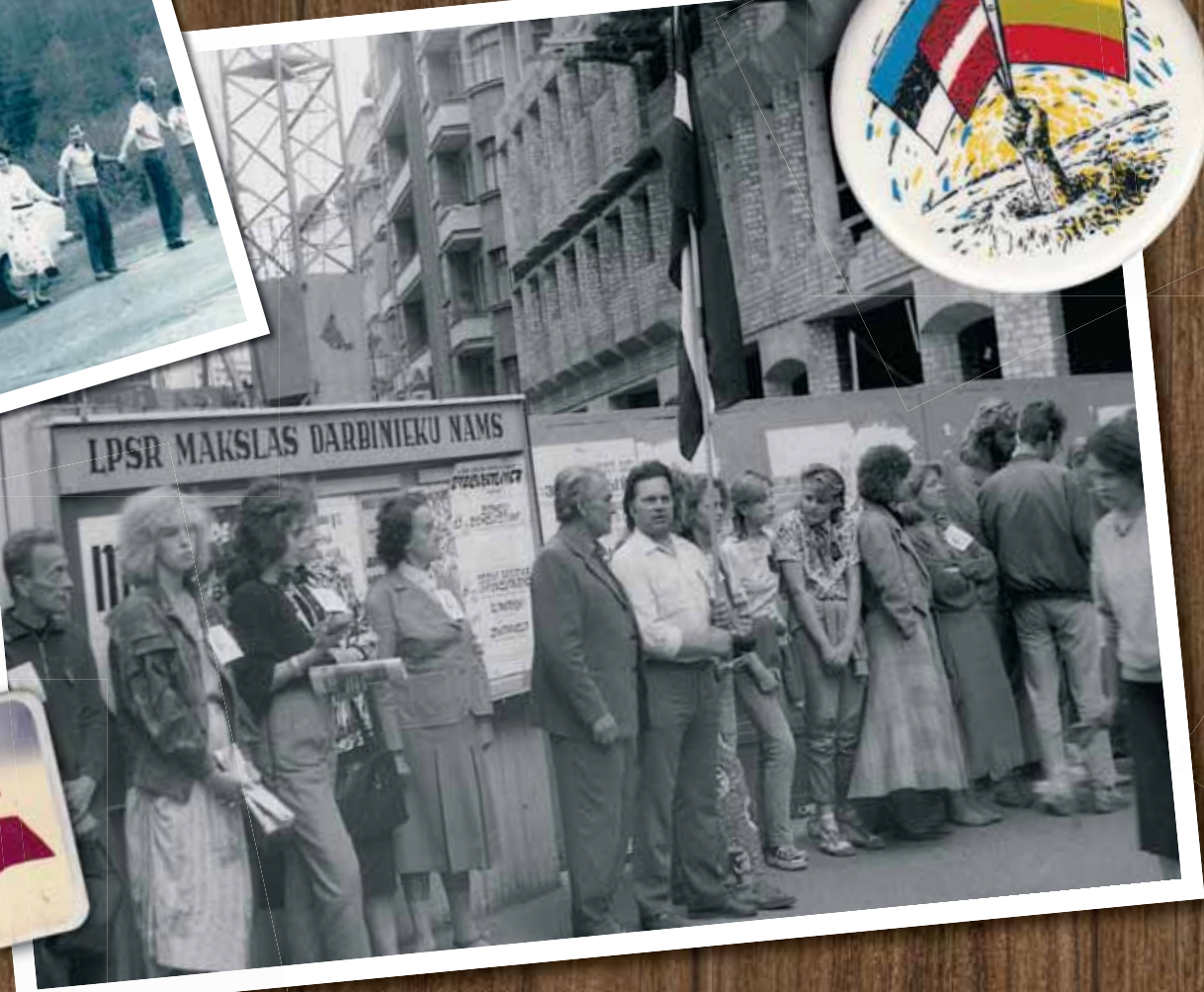
*Back then, I was 11*

I was living in a small Belgian town. I remember hearing the news of the events that were so far away. For the first time in my life, I heard about the Baltic States and their peculiar history. My father said that when he was my age, they were independent European states.

**Luis Ramirez, Mexico**

I think about how humanity and the world have changed with the Baltic Way. At the time, I didn't know much about the fate of Latvia, but the Baltic Way has affected many people in different countries. I was a high school student then, studying socialism. I believed it offered answers to many questions. Now I know that's not true. I got to know Latvia in 2009 as a beautiful country with charming people. When I visited the capital Rīga, I met a girl and fell in love. My whole life changed.





From an article in the 5<sup>th</sup> of  
September 1989 edition of the  
Padomju Jaunatne newspaper.

## «Baltijas ceļš»

● Dažus kilometrus aiz Ķekavas, vietā, kur Rīgas—Bauskas šoseju šķērso apvedceļš, uz pasākumu sabraukušo cilvēku transportlīdzekļu daudzums liedza saskatīt apvārsni. No Automašīnas, automašīnas. No Rīgas, no Salaspils, no Kurzemes puses. Ap pulksten 19 viss it kā pamira, tika izslēgti automašīnu dzinēji. Fantastisks klusums. Cilvēki stāvēja pa šosejas vidū, dažviet pat trijās rindās. Skļēta mi neiespējama, tomēr reāla vienotības apziņa un izjūta. Dziedot tautas himnu, likās — zeme līdzī dreb: «Dievs, sve-ti Latvijai!»

● Lalkposma no plkst. 19 līdz 19.15 visizsmalcinātākā gardēžu iecienītajā restorānā «Sēnīte» nav bijis neviena apmeklētāja. Gan ēdienu gatavotāji, gan iespējamie ēdāji ar savu klātesamību no Baltijas ceļa posmiem. Turpat bijis pat šā sabiedriskās ēdināšanas uzņēmuma direktors un Inčukalna bērnu sanatorijas 55 latviešu un krīevu mazie aktivisti kopā ar saviem audzinātājiem. Visi itin apņēmīgi apļēcinājuši savu vienotību un vērojuši, kā no helikoptera fotokorespondents AIVARS LIEPINS lemūžina šos visai tautai nozīmīgos mirkļus (sk. 25.08.89. «PJ»).

● Jekabs, Doms, Peteris... Ak, laimīgais zvaniķi, Tev ausis dun Tavas baznīcas zvans, bet Tu apzinies, ka esi līdzdalīgs, lai visa Baltija lūdz uz Debesīm. Un to nevar nesadzirdēt.

● Pie Strēlnieku muzeja — turkmēnietes savos tautastērpos. Uzzinājušas, kas un KAPEC šelt noliek, iestājušās par «Baltijas ceļu».

● Dažiem liekas, ka pat otrā pasaules kara istenā sakuma 50. gadā dienā vajadzētu traukties šķērsām pāri «Baltijas ceļam». Diemžēl mēs valrs nevaram šiem ļaudīm ļaut pārsķēlt dzīvu miesu.



# The Baltic Way: crucial, determined, ambitious and united

The existence of the 1939 Friendship Treaty, or the „Devil’s Covenant” signed on August 23 by Nazi Germany and the USSR, no longer needs to be proved. However, photocopies of the secret annexes to the criminal agreement were made public only in May 2019 by the Russian Institute of International Relations in a Special Collection titled The Anti-Hitler Coalition of 1939: Formula of Failure. The publication is accompanied by a commentary that justifies this agreement. The only difference being that back then the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov vehemently denied the existence of the secret protocols signed by himself and Hitler’s Foreign Minister Ribbentrop, while the Putin’s regime is desperate to justify them. Considering that the Congress of People’s Deputies of the Soviet Union in December 24, 1989 admitted that the criminal deal between Moscow and Berlin had indeed taken place since its signing, current Kremlin revisionists’ attempts to continue their lying are doomed to failure. This is one of the major successes of the Baltic Way. This is the actual significance of the living chain created by the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

The liberation movements founded in the autumn of 1988 – the Popular Front of Latvia, the *Rahvarinne* of Estonia and the Lithuanian *Sąjūdis* – already in spring of 1989 had grown rapidly in power, influence and experience in non-violent struggle tactics. They entered the Soviet politics as a serious, informal alternative to the communist rule. Mikhail Gorbachev, the new Secretary General of the Communist Party treated them with caution. He too tried to deny the very existence of the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact to the very end. However, he was unable to stop this previously banned topic from being widely debated in the occupied Baltic States. The long-cultivated doctrine of the “voluntary accession of the Baltic States” into the USSR collapsed. The Deputies of the Congress of People’s Deputies who were elected from the Popular Front of Latvia, *Rahvarinne* and *Sąjūdis* in the first semi-democratic elections at the first session of the Congress of People’s Deputies in Moscow asked for the establishment of a parliamentary committee for the investigation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Thousands of followers gathered at Vilnius and Riga railway stations to see off their deputies demanding that they return from Moscow as soon as possible, with a legal dissolution of an illegal marriage.

At the same time, supporters of the popular movements had already discussed the possibilities of restoring their full independence. On May 31, the Board of the Popular Front of Latvia issued a call to develop a program for this purpose. This was a grave concern for both Gorbachev and the Kremlin as a whole. Reports by a parliamentary committee for the investigation were postponed from meeting to meeting.

The Kremlin’s propaganda directed to the West against the efforts of the Baltic States intensified. The Western countries

hesitated to express direct support for the Baltic struggle to restore justice. Europe seemed to have forgotten the Baltic States. It is now known that German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in private talks with Gorbachev had expressed that he would not support the departure of the Baltic States if such would endanger the existence of the USSR. To the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian suggestion to discuss a civilized divorce procedure Gorbachev always responded with either: „Never!” or, encouraged them to abide by the “withdrawal” mechanism completely impossible within the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

The independence movements of the Baltic nations at this point were balancing on the knife-edge of the Soviet Empire. We knew that nothing would happen unless we acted fast, decisively, purposefully, with ambition and unity. Of course, non-violently. It was the only opportunity to overcome the empire that had turned the Baltics into one huge Soviet military base and an annex to the Soviet military-industrial complex. It was the last hope for survival, especially for the Latvians and Estonians, who were gradually becoming minorities in their own homelands.

For the first time, the idea of organizing a human chain of a previously unprecedented scale, from Vilnius through Riga to Tallinn, was discussed in June 1989 at a meeting of popular movement leaders in Panevėžys. A month later, it was officially approved by the Popular Front of Latvia, *Rahvarinne* and *Sąjūdis* at the Baltic Council meeting in Pärnu.

“The Baltic Way is the European way,” we stated in the Baltic Way Call to Action. This impressive event took place despite the Communist Party’s ban on coordinating it in Latvia through live broadcast on radio. We did not ask for permission to do so neither the Kremlin nor the local occupation authorities. On August 23, 1989, two million people managed to join hands thanks to their courage, a high degree of self-discipline amongst the leaders of the popular front movements, the fantastic solidarity of the people of the three occupied countries, the ability to self-rule and, of course, the irrepressible desire to become free. As a result, the nascent democratic process escalated even more rapidly not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the Eastern and Central European countries subordinated to Moscow. The Baltic Way attacked the symbolic and true Berlin Wall.

Although a couple of days after the non-violent action the Politburo of the Communist Party called it extremism and even threatened with physical repressions, we had nothing to lose, except enslavement. The return of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to Europe was unstoppable. Finally, even the most cautious, Moscow-leaning Western politicians were forced to recognize its inevitability. Until the accession of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to the European Union and NATO. The inclusion of the Baltic Way in UNESCO Memory of the World International Register in 2009 does not mean the end of this road. On the contrary. It’s from where we’ve come from, and we’re moving along it into the future. The Baltic Way cannot be dismantled by the lies, blackmail or hybrid warfare of its former enemies. That is, if we stay as united as then; if we hold on to Europe closely.

*Dainis Īvāns, the first Chairman of the Popular Front of Latvia*



# The Baltic Way in UNESCO

Jointly nominated by the Baltic States, „the Baltic Way – a human chain for the united efforts of the three countries for freedom” was included in UNESCO’s International Register of the Memory of the World on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 2009. The idea was first suggested in 2003 at the Baltic Sea States Regional Meeting of the UNESCO World Memory Program in Gdansk (Poland). Lithuanian representatives called on all three Baltic States to join forces and prepare a nomination.

The Baltic States brought together experts from the National Archives, National Libraries, Ministries of Culture, Memory of the World National Committees, UNESCO National Commissions, the Museum of the Popular Front of Latvia (section of the National History Museum of Latvia since 2015) and the Vabamu Museum of Occupations and Freedom (Estonia).

The nomination included 38 Baltic Way documents. Of these, 7 are held in the National Archives of Estonia, 8 in the National History Museum of Latvia, and 23 in the Lithuanian Central State Archives. These carefully selected documents complement each other and provide a comprehensive overview of the Baltic Way, which is an integral part of the collective memory of Europe and the world.



The Popular Front Museum section of the Latvian National History Museum has 6 documents, 1 photo film and 1 poster in its collection:

1. The Baltic Council's 15<sup>th</sup> of July, 1989 Pärnu Communiqué (3 pages).



3. A request sent by Sandra Kalniete to the Deputy Prime Minister of the Latvian SSR, Alfrēds Čepānis, to close traffic along the planned route of the Baltic Way on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989 from 6.34 pm to 7.15 pm.



4. The Baltic Council's Cēsis Communiqué (3 pages)

2. A request sent by Sandra Kalniete to the Deputy Chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee on Radio Broadcasting and Television, Imants Rākins, to schedule a special broadcast at 7 pm on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989 to ensure synchronization of the Baltic Way.



6. A fax invitation to participate in the Baltic Way sent by the Popular Front of Estonia Rahvarinne on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August, 1989.



8. The Baltic Way. A hand-written poster by the Ogre division of the Popular Front of Latvia.

5. Information sent to the Rīgas Vīlņi newspaper by Sandra Kalniete about the Baltic Way events and times.



7. Participants of the Baltic Way gathering at the Freedom Monument and the formation of the human chain on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. A master film negative, 29 frames, photographer Ēvalds Cimbulis.













# Event programme 2019

From the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July to the 27<sup>th</sup> of August (Tuesdays) at 9.15 pm, LTV1  
**THE BALTIC WAY 30 – BALTIC FILMS**

*This series of six Baltic films was selected to mark the thirty-year anniversary of the Baltic Way. The Baltic films featured in the series reflect the time of the national Awakening, the restoration of independence and the living conditions of society in Soviet times compared to today.*

Presented by: Latvian Television

19<sup>th</sup> to the 29<sup>th</sup> of August, the Freedom Square, Rīga  
**PHOTO EXHIBITION THE BALTIC WAY 1989. A DEDICATION TO THE 30<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE CAMPAIGN**  
**Exhibition opening on 19<sup>th</sup> of August, 1 pm**

*Large-format photography exhibition with materials from the collections of the national archives of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.*

Organized by The Latvian National Archive in cooperation with Ministry of Culture Latvia 100 Office

22<sup>nd</sup> of August, 10 am, National Library of Latvia, Rīga  
**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE THE BALTIC WAY. CONTINUATION.**

*The conference will feature speakers from the Baltic States, the Czech Republic, Poland, Sweden and Germany, who will analyse the democratic revolutions of the 1980s in Eastern and Central Europe, their affiliation and the role of the Baltic Way in these events. The conference will also address challenges to democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. With pre-registration.*

Organized by the Popular Front of Latvia Museum at the Latvian National History Museum in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Library of Latvia, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the 4<sup>th</sup> of May Declaration Club

22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 6 pm, 8.30 pm, Splendid Palace Cinema, Rīga  
**BALTIC FILM DAYS**

*The Baltic Film Days is an initiative that is co-produced by three film institutions – the Latvian National Film Centre, the Lithuanian Film Centre and the Estonian Film Institute – to strengthen cooperation in cinema between the three Baltic States and to raise the audience's knowledge of films by their neighbours.*

22<sup>nd</sup> of August, 6 pm, Bridges of Time (dir. Kristīne Briede, Audrius Stonys, 80 min, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, 2018) Opening session of the Baltic Film Days. After the screening conversation with film directors and the Latvian producer Uldis Cekulis (VFS Films).

22<sup>nd</sup> of August, 8.30 pm, Summer Survivors (dir. Marija Kavtaradze, 91 min, Lithuania, 2018)

23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 6 pm, Ahto. Chasing a Dream. (dir. Jaanis Valk, 94 min, Estonia, 2018)

23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 8.30 pm, Tale It or Leave It (dir. Liina Triškina-Vanhatalo, 101 min, Estonia, 2018)

Free admission.

Organized by the Latvian National Film Centre

23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 3 pm, Culture Palace Ziemeļblāzma, Rīga  
**FESTIVE EVENT**

*The Kremerata Baltica Chamber Orchestra will present a program of works by Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian composers. The laureates of the Baltic Assembly Prize for Literature – the Latvian writer Māris Bērziņš, the Lithuanian poet Vladas Braziūnas and the Estonian poet Hasso Krull - will read essays written for the occasion in their original languages.*

*By invitation only.*

Organised by: the Baltic Council of Ministers, the Baltic Assembly, the Parliament of the Republic of Latvia Saeima, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia and the Ministry of Culture of Latvia

23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 7 pm, at the Freedom Monument, Rīga  
**FESTIVE GATHERING – THE BALTIC WAY 30**

*A ceremonial event with the President of Latvia, the Popular Front of Latvia personalities and musicians.*

Organized by the Latvian National Centre for Culture in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture Latvia 100 Office





**23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 10 pm, entry from 6 pm, Lucavsala, Rīga**  
**METAL OPERA KURBADS. SON OF THE MARE**

**Riffaricca (Estonia) concert at 7 pm**  
**Lietis Band (Lithuania) concert at 8.30 pm**

*The heavy metal opera tells the story of the legendary Latvian folk hero Kurbads in a modern day interpretation. The performance includes folk/pagan metal band Skyforger and contemporary dance. Free entry.*

Rīga Municipality event. Organized by the Education, Culture, and Sports Department of Rīga City Council

**23<sup>rd</sup> of August (from 5 pm). Grenctāle Cultural Centre, Bauska district**  
**BRĀLĪBA. BROLYBĒ. BROTHERHOOD – THE BALTIC WAY ANNIVERSARY EVENT**

*This popular music event, including amateur- and pop-culture performers, will bring together participants from Latvia and Lithuania. The first part will feature choirs and dance groups from the Bauska district and Bauska sister cities' ensembles from Lithuania, while the second part will feature a popular music concert that concludes with the musician Igo's concert program.*

Organized by the Brunava parish administration

**23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> of August, Ķoņi, Naukšēni district**  
**PROGRAMME OF EVENTS THE BALTIC WAY 30**

**23<sup>rd</sup> of August (from 5 pm), Unguriņi-Lilli border point**  
**CELEBRATION PROGRAMME**

*The festivities include a concert by the accordion orchestra Baltic Tremolo, an artisan trade fair, festive speeches and a performance by the Jānis Lūsēns' group with soloists Zigfrīds Muktupāvels, Kristīne Zadvovska, Uģis Roze and Anmary. After that, folk groups Mežābele (Latvia) and Tiistelu (Estonia) will invite everybody to light a solidarity bonfire followed by a concert of the Karl-Erik Taukar Band (Estonia). Participants are invited to illuminate the Baltic Way with candlelight or other lights.*

**24<sup>th</sup> of August, Karksi-Nuija – Rūjiena**  
**THE BALTIC WAY 30 BIKE RIDE**

**Starts 10 am.** Route (36 km): Karksi-Nuija town square (Estonia) – Lilli-Unguriņi border crossing point – Rūjiena town square (Latvia)..

Organized by the Naukšēni Municipality, Rūjiena Municipality and the Karksi-Nuija Municipality (Estonia)

**24<sup>th</sup> of August, 6 pm, Likteņdārzs (The Garden of Destiny), Koknese district**  
**SUNSET CONCERT – SUN, THUNDER, DAUGAVA**

*The concert will feature significant melodies and songs associated with the Awakening. With the participation of Mārtiņš Brauns, choirs Gaudeamus, Rasa, Cantus Fortis, conductor Ivars Cinkuss, dancers led by choreographer Agris Daņiļēvičs, singers Ieva Akuratere, Lorija Vuda, Julgī Stalte, Aija Andrejeva, Rūta Muktupāvela, Valdis Muktupāvels, Asnate Rancāne, Lauma Bērza and others. Directed by Dace Micāne-Zālite.*

Organized by the Association *Latvijai* in cooperation with the Koknese Foundation

**24<sup>th</sup> of August, 7 pm, Cultural Centre Latgale Embassy GORS, Rēzekne**  
**BEETHOVEN'S EROICA, CARION AND THE LNSO**

*Programme:*  
*Andris Dzenītis, Britta Byström, Anders Nordentoft New Work for Wind Quintet and Orchestra*  
*The new work consists of three compositions by world-renowned composers – Britta Byström (Sweden), Anders Nordentoft (Denmark), and Andris Dzenītis (Latvia) whose part, titled Delta Returning, is dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the Baltic Way. It was specifically commissioned by the LNSO in the series of new works commemorating Latvia's centenary..*

*Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 3*  
*With the participation of Wind quintet Carion (Denmark/Latvia), the Latvian National Symphony Orchestra, Conductor Andris Poga, Director Dāvis Sīmanis, Lighting designer Oskars Pauliņš.*  
*With admission tickets.*

Organized by the Latvian National Symphony Orchestra

Programme is subject to change. Full programme available here: **[www.lv100.lv/balticway30](http://www.lv100.lv/balticway30)**



**23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 7 pm,  
at the Freedom Monument, Rīga**

## **FESTIVE GATHERING – THE BALTIC WAY 30**

**Everybody, the participants of the historical live chain and those who did not stand on the Baltic Way themselves, are once again invited to meet at the Freedom Monument.**

Let us affirm standing side by side the importance of freedom for both the individual and the nation, as well as the state in every period of history.

The audience will be addressed by the President of Latvia Egils Levits and the first Chairman of the Popular Front of Latvia Dainis Īvāns. Garkalne Municipality Mixed Choir (conductor Jānis Ozols), actors, soloists and musicians led by Kristaps Krievkalns will perform at the event.

Organized by the Latvian National Culture Centre together with the Ministry of Culture Latvia 100 Office



**23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 10 pm,  
entry from 6 pm,  
Lucavsala, Rīga**

## **METAL OPERA KURBAD'S. SON OF THE MARE**

**Riffaricca (Estonia) concert at 7 pm  
Lietis Band (Lithuania) concert at 8.30 pm**

Spectacular and contemporary staging of a legendary Latvian folk tale about Kurbads, the half-man, half-horse hero. Human will, self-development, a struggle with inner and outer demons, initiation – are the themes at the centre of the tale and have not lost their relevance today. The production will feature the folk/pagan metal group Skyforger, contemporary dancers, and actors.

Directed by Inga Tropa, scenography by Uģis Bērziņš, music by folk/pagan metal group Skyforger, choreographers – Guntis Spridzāns, Liene Stepena, Liene Grava, costume design by Kristians Aglonietis. Narrator – Zane Jančevska, Kurbads – Ģirts Bisenieks, Snake-Witch – Liene Stepena. Dancers – Ivars Broničs, Gints Dancītis, Liene Grava, Jūlija Kobceva, Aldis Liepiņš, Artūrs Nīgalis, Rūta Pūce, Reinis Rešetins, Asnate Rikse, Maija Sukute.

Rīga Municipality event. Organized by the Education, Culture, and Sports Department of Rīga City Council

Free entry



# List of international events

**20<sup>th</sup> of July to the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, the Institute of National Remembrance, Warsaw (Poland)**  
**EXHIBITION “THE BALTIC WAY – A PROTEST IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM”**  
*The exhibition presents photo, video and documentary material from the three Baltic States about an important period in the history of the Baltic States, when the people of the countries showed remarkable unity and faith in the power of a non-violent movement and protest which eventually led to independence and freedom. The exhibition was created by the Latvian National Archive in co-operation with the Lithuanian Central State Archive and the National Archives of Estonia.*  
Organized by the Latvian National Archive in cooperation with the Lithuanian Central State Archive and the National Archive of Estonia, the Institute of National Remembrance of Poland and the Embassy of Latvia in Poland

**21<sup>st</sup> of August, Czech Television**  
**SCREENING OF THE DOCUMENTARY THE PATH TO BALTIC FREEDOM**  
Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in the Czech Republic

**23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1 pm, U.S. Capitol, Washington D.C., USA**  
**BALTIC WAY 30 IN WASHINGTON**  
*A remembrance event including the formation of a human chain. The main message of the event is freedom (#freedom; #BalticWay30). Baltic communities will also stage similar events in other American cities, for example, Chicago.*  
Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in the United States of America

**23<sup>rd</sup> of August to the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September, National Art Museum of Moldova, Chisinau, Moldova**  
**THE BALTIC WAY 30**  
*Exhibition Latvia’s Century and screening of the documentary The Path to Baltic Freedom (Askolds Saulītis, Director)*  
Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in Moldova

**4<sup>th</sup> of September, 5 pm, the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po), Paris, France**  
**THE BALTIC WAY 30TH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE:**  
**THE BALTIC WAY: FROM THE USSR BACK TO THE EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY**  
*The aim of the conference is to develop a better understanding of the history of the Baltic States and their views on current issues – transatlantic relations, the future of the EU, relations with Russia, as well as successful Euro-Atlantic integration of the Baltic States. Latvia is represented at the conference by its former President Valdis Zatlers.*  
Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in France

**10<sup>th</sup> of September, Urania Kino, Vienna, Austria**  
**THE BALTIC WAY IN VIENNA**  
*With screening of the documentary film The Baltic Way (dir. Peeter Simm, 1989)*  
Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in Austria

**12<sup>th</sup> September, Isabel Bader Theatre, Toronto, Canada**  
**16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> September, Ottawa City Hall, Ottawa, Canada**  
**EVENT PROGRAMME TO MARK THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BALTIC WAY AND THE SIGNING OF THE INFAMOUS MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT**  
*International conference celebrating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of The Baltic Way and the passage of eighty years since the signing of the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact*  
*Photo exhibition dedicated to the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Baltic Way*  
Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in Canada

**16<sup>th</sup> of September Danaos Cinema, Athens, Greece**  
**BALTIC WAY 30**  
*Screening of the documentary film Those who Dare (dir. Ólafur Rögnvaldsson, 2015)*  
Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in Greece

**23<sup>th</sup> of September, Bundestag, Berlin, Germany**  
**October, Krokodil Cinema, Berlin, Germany**  
**9<sup>th</sup> of November, the Katerblau Club, Berlin, Germany**  
**THE BALTIC WAY EVENTS IN BERLIN**  
*Discussion dedicated to the anniversary of the Baltic Way; a series of films about the period of Awakening; participation of Victor Buda in the European Music Night at TheRoom music club, screening of the film Dance Age and conversations with the film’s director.*  
Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in Germany



**24<sup>th</sup> of September, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland**

**CONFERENCE: 30 YEARS ON**

*The main aim of the conference is to talk about common and differing Cold War experiences and the lessons learned from various countries. Latvia is represented at the conference by Daunis Auers, a Professor at the University of Latvia.*

Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in Ireland

**25<sup>th</sup> of Septembers, EBRD, London, Great Britain**

**THE BALTIC WAY; THEN, NOW AND TOMORROW**

*Touring exhibition The Baltic Way, a discussion, and excerpts from the documentary film The Path to Baltic Freedom.*

Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in the United Kingdom

**29<sup>th</sup> of October to 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, Lübeck, Germany**

**SCREENING OF THE DOCUMENTARY THE PATH TO BALTIC FREEDOM**

**AT THE NORDIC FILM DAYS LÜBECK AT THE NORTHER EUROPE FILM FESTIVAL IN LUBECK**

Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in Germany

**Autumn, the University of the Republic of San Marino, San Marino**

**AN EVENT TO MARK THE 30<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE BALTIC WAY**

*Screening of the film The Path to Baltic Freedom in the presence of Nicolas Renci, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Political Affairs and Justice of the Republic of San Marino and Ambassadors of the Baltic States.*

Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in Italy

**2<sup>nd</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> of December, Tallinn University Academic Library, Estonia**

**THE BALTIC WAY 30**

*Exhibition The Baltic Way – a Protest in the Name of Freedom*

Organized by the Latvian National Archive in co-operation with the National Archive of Estonia, Tallinn University Academic Library and the Embassy of Latvia in Estonia

**October – November, Delhi, Chennai, Bangalore, Mumbai, India**

**LATVIA 100 AND THE BALTIC WAY 30**

*Exhibition Latvia's Century; presentation of Jawaharlal Nehru University Professor Sadhana Naithani's new book "Folklore in Baltic History: Resistance and Resurgence"*

Organized by the Embassy of Latvia in India



**Add your own Baltic Way  
photograph to the**

# **ALBUM OF THE CENTURY!**

To mark the thirtieth anniversary of the Baltic Way, the National History Museum in Latvia in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture Office Latvia 100 invites everyone to look for photographs in albums of family, relatives and friends for evidence of participation in the Baltic Way and add these images and stories to the project *Album of the Century* developed withing the joint exhibition of Latvian Museums *Latvia's Century*.

*Album of the Century* is a virtual gallery of photos and stories sent in by the public from private, family and group archives, building a communal image of the Latvian state's first 100 years.

Become a contributor to the Album of the Century:  
**[www.latvijasgadsimts.lv/albums](http://www.latvijasgadsimts.lv/albums)**



# THE BALTIC WAY 30

For the visual identity of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the Baltic Way graphically is depicted as a line consisting of the official letter codes of the participating Baltic States (Lithuania (LT), Latvia (LV) and Estonia (EST)) expressed in Morse Code.

It is Morse code specifically that has been used for a long time in war and other stressful situations to convey an important message. It symbolizes a “cry for help” that describes the essence of The Baltic Way campaign - to be noticed, to express a clear message and communicate it widely without using force.

The image is supplemented by a tagline The Baltic Way 30, explaining the anniversary of the historic event.

## PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM OF LATVIA

Cover - Participants of the Baltic Way on the Vidzeme highway. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Aldis Jermaks.

p. 10 - Participants of the Baltic Way. Place unknown. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1989. Photographer unknown.

p. 15 - Participants of the Baltic Way on the intersection of Brīvības (Ļeņina) and Stabu (F. Engelsa) Streets, Rīga. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Jānis Buls.

p. 16 - Participants of the Baltic Way on the Vidzeme highway. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Aldis Jermaks.

p. 19 - Participants of the Baltic Way on the Latvian-Estonian border. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1989. Photographer unknown.

p. 20 - Participants of the Baltic Way, the Stone Bridge (Oktobra Bridge), Riga. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Uldis Briedis.

p. 23 - Participants of the Baltic Way on the Vidzeme highway. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Aldis Jermaks.

p. 24 - Participants of the Baltic Way. Place unknown. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer unknown.

p. 27 - Participants of the Baltic Way. Place unknown. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer unknown.

p. 34 - Participants of the Baltic Way. Place unknown. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer unknown.

p. 35 - Participants of the Baltic Way gathering by the Freedom monument, Rīga. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Ēvalds Cimbulis.

p. 45 - Participants of the Baltic Way near Rīga on the Vidzeme highway shortly before holding hands. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Irēna Caunīte.

p. 46 - Participants of the Baltic Way on the Vidzeme highway 2 km from Rīga. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1989. Photographer Irēna Caunīte.

p. 48 - Participants of the Baltic Way gathering in the Rīga Old Town. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Ēvalds Cimbulis.

p. 54 - Participants of the Baltic Way gathering by the Freedom monument, Rīga. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Ēvalds Cimbulis.

p. 55 - Participants of the Baltic Way by the Freedom monument, Rīga. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Boriss Koļesņikovs.

p. 56 - Participants of the Baltic Way. Place unknown. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Aleksejs Koziņecs.

p. 57 - Participants of the Baltic Way marching by the Freedom monument, Rīga. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Ēvalds Cimbulis.

p. 62 - Participants of The Baltic Way gathering by the Freedom monument, Rīga. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Ēvalds Cimbulis.

p. 67 - Participants of the Baltic Way near Riga on the Vidzeme highway shortly before holding hands. 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1989. Photographer Irēna Caunīte.



p. 6 - Dainis Īvāns, the first Chairman of the Popular Front of Latvia. From the Publishing house *Dienas mediji* archive.

p. 12 - From [www.europeana.eu](http://www.europeana.eu).

p. 63 - Metal opera Kurbads. Son of the Mare. Photographer Kristaps Ēberliņš.



Full programme available on: **lv100.lv/balticawy30**

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Publisher: Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia Office Latvia 100, 2019

ISBN ISBN 978-9934-8863-1-7

Facebook: Latvija100

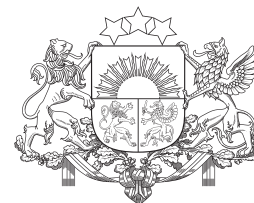
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