

# THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN ESTONIA, 1918-1940

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Although the Jewish presence in Estonia dates to about 1333,<sup>1</sup> an organized Jewish community did not appear until five centuries later. From the 13th century through 1918 Estonia was under foreign domination, and the Jews, like the native Estonians, did not fare well under the Baltic German, Swedish, Polish and Russian rulers. Poland in 1595 prohibited Jews from the areas of southern Estonia, which it briefly controlled at the time, and Jews were also banned by the Swedish crown during its rule in Estonia, from mid-16th century through 1721.<sup>2</sup> Peter the Great of Russia, who had won control of Estonia during the Great Northern War with Sweden (1700-1721), granted the Jews a limited right of residency, apparently due to the need of their commercial and artisan skills. But Elizabeth's decree of 1742, which forbid the residency of Jews in Russia, also applied to Estonia.

The renewed identification of Jews in Estonia during the reign of Catherine the Great may again reflect the need for Jewish skills. During the 19th century the Jewish population increased not only through these "Schutz-Juden," but also through the settlement in Estonia of Jews who had served in the tsarist military. Many in two groups—the *Kantonists*, who were Jewish boys forcibly-taken into the Russian army, and the *Nikolai's soldiers*, who were individuals serving in various regional Russian garrisons during the rule of tsar Nicholas I—apparently remained in Estonia's cities after completion of their military service.<sup>3</sup> The 19th century also saw a modest migration of Jews to Estonia from Courland, from the Pale of Settlement, and from inner Russia.

The Jews in the urban centers of Estonia began to coalesce into an organized community during the 1840's. The first important event in this regard was the founding of a synagogue and Jewish cemetery in Tallinn by the military group. In December 1870 permission was received from the government to erect a synagogue for the civilians of the capital city, and a corner-stone for a larger

synagogue was laid in 1882. By 1876 Jews in Estonia were allowed to own real estate, and a Jewish school existed in Tallinn by the 1870's. By 1871, 412 Jews were reported in Tallinn, and there were about 800 "Nikolai's soldiers" in the city by the 1880's.<sup>4</sup> Tartu had about 616 Jews in 1879, and there were 235 Jewish university students by 1886. Furthermore, Jewish students at the University of Tartu founded a mutual aid fund in 1874, and by 1884 they had created an academic history and literary society.<sup>5</sup> It has been noted by the *Estonian Soviet Encyclopedia* that many of Estonia's Jews emigrated to the United States at the end of the 19th century because of persisting discrimination,<sup>6</sup> presumably at the hands of the Russian and Baltic German rulers.

#### *The Jewish Community in the Republic of Estonia*

Interwar Estonia (1918-1940), in terms of its population, was one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries of Europe. In 1934, 88% of the people belonged to the eponymous group, and the Jews were a mere 0.4% of the country's population from 1881 through 1940. The 1934 census showed that Estonia had 4,434 people who identified themselves ethnically as Jewish. Tables 1-6 provide a summary of population characteristics of Estonia by ethnicity.

The Jews had two characteristics which made them somewhat different from the other ethnic groups demographically. First, they were by far the most urbanized ethnic group in the country—98% of Estonia's Jews resided in cities and towns in 1934. The ethnic Estonians at the time were only 30% urbanized, and the next most urban group, the Germans, was at the 83% level. In conjunction with this, the Jews were further concentrated in a few cities. In 1934 50% of all

Table 1: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF ESTONIA'S POPULATION: 1881-1934

Ethnic Group	1881	1897	1922	1934
Estonians	89.8	90.6%	92.4%	92.9%
Russians	3.3	4.0	3.7	3.8
Germans	5.3	3.5	1.8	1.5
Swedes	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.7
Jews	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Others	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.7
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: Data are for the territorial area at the time of the 1881 census. If the territorial area of the interwar Republic of Estonia were used, the number of Russians increases and the share of all other groups decreases. See Table 2 for 1934 data for the latter territorial area.

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis*, [Volume 4, 1934 census] (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1937), 22.

Jews lived in Tallinn, 21% in Tartu 6% in Valga, 6% in Pärnu, and 4% in Narva. And second, the Jews, of all groups, had the most favorable sex ratio and age structure in regard to young adults aged 20 to 39.<sup>7</sup> The otherwise unfavorable national sex ratio and statistical underrepresentation of young adults was caused by an extensive loss of males in military service during the First World War (1914-1918) and the Estonian War of Independence (1918-1920).

In the early 1930's the Jewish community was organized religiously around eight congregations/synagogues, which were further united into a League of Synagogues, headquartered in Tallinn; see Table 7.

During the 1934 census, of the 4,434 Jews in Estonia, 4,302 professed affiliation with the Judaic religion.<sup>8</sup> At that time, 78% of the total population was

Table 2: ESTONIA'S POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP: 1934-1970

	1934a	1934b	1959	1970
Estonians	992,520	977,200	892,653	925,157
Russians	92,656	41,700	240,227	334,620
Latvians	5,435	4,000	2,888	unk
Germans	16,346		—	—
Swedes	7,641		—	—
Jews	4,434		5,436	5,288
Poles	1,608		2,256	unk
Finns	1,088		16,699	18,537
Ingrians	841	34,600	-	-
Ukrainians	—		15,769	28,086
Byelorussians	-		10,930	18,732
Tatars	-		1,535	unk
Lithuanians	—		1,616	unk
Others/unknown	3,844		6,782	25,659
TOTALS	1,126,413	1,057,500	1,196,791	1,356,079

Notes: The 1934a data are for the territorial area of the Republic of Estonia. The 1934b data are for the territorial area of the Estonian SSR, with adjustments made by this writer. The 1934a, 1959 and 1970 data are from census counts. In Soviet population data there is no Ingrian nationality; Ingrians are classified as Finns. During 1941-1944 about 16,000 Ingrian refugees were resettled in Estonia.

Source: Tõnu Panning, "Population Changes and Processes," in Tõnu Panning and Elmar Järvesoo, eds., *A Case Study of a Soviet Republic: the Estonian SSR* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), 37.

Table 3: ESTONIA'S URBAN POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP: 1881-1934

Ethnic Group	1881	1897	1922	1934
Estonians	56.1%	67.8%	85.2%	87.6%
Russians	11.1	10.9	5.2	4.7
Germans	29.3	16.3	5.7	4.5
Jews	2.3	2.3	1.6	1.4
Swedes	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4
Others	0.9	2.4	1.8	1.4
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: Data are for the territorial area at the time of the 1881 census. If the territorial area of the interwar Republic of Estonia were used, the share of Russians would very slightly increase, and the share of all other groups very slightly decrease.

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* [Volume 4, 1934 census] (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1937), 22.

Table 4: ESTONIA'S POPULATION BY PLACE OF RESIDENCY AND ETHNIC GROUP: 1934

	Estonians	Russians	Germans	Swedes	Latvians	Jews	Totals*
Cities	28.0%	24.3%	82.0%	14.5%	44.9%	97.6%	28.9%
Towns	2.2	4.5	1.3	0.1	4.1	0.6	2.4
Rural	69.8	71.2	16.7	85.4	51.0	1.8	68.7
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

\*Note: This column includes the total population of Estonia and thus smaller ethnic groups not shown in the table.

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* [Volume 4, 1934 census]. (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1937), 25.

Table 5: THE POPULATION OF ESTONIA'S MAJOR CITIES BY ETHNIC GROUP; 1934

Ethnic Group	Tallinn	Tartu	Narva	Pärnu	Valga	Total Urban Population*
Estonians	85.8%	88.0%	64.8%	90.8%	82.4%	85.5%
Russians	5.8	4.5	29.7	2.3	3.4	6.9
Germans	4.8	4.6	2.1	4.3	1.3	4.1
Jews	1.6	1.6	0.8	1.2	2.4	1.3
TOTALS	100%* (137,792)	100%* (58,876)	100%* (23,512)	100%* (20,334)	100%* (10,842)	100%* (323,007)

\*Note: Columns will not total to 100% because not all ethnic groups are shown in the table. Also, not all cities in Estonia are shown in the table.

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* [Volume 4, 1934 census] (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1937), 24.

Table 6: RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ESTONIA'S JEWS: 1934

	number	percent
All cities	4,277	96.5%
All towns	25	0.6
All rural	79	1.8
Other	53	1.2
TOTAL	4,434	100%
Selected cities:*		
Tallinn	2,203	49.7%*
Tartu	920	20.7
Valga	262	5.9
Pärnu	248	5.6
Narva	188	4.2

\*Figures show percentage of total number of Jews in Estonia who reside in the given cities.

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* [Volume 4, 1934 census] (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1937), 24.

Lutheran (most Estonians, and almost all Germans and Swedes), and 19% was Orthodox (almost all Russians and some Estonians).

The 1920 Constitution guaranteed non-Estonians the right to preserve and advance their group heritage in Estonia, and legislation was enacted in 1925 to implement a unique cultural autonomy program. Among the important features of Estonia's cultural autonomy were the following:<sup>9</sup>

- (1) Each ethnic group over 3,000 people in size could establish by the vote of its membership a "cultural self-government," which received public funds and had also a limited right to tax its members.
- (2) This entity could organize and administer both public and private schools in the native language of the group.
- (3) The cultural self-government could, further, organize other types of cultural institutions for the ethnic group, such as theaters, libraries, museums and so forth.

Table 7: JEWISH SYNAGOGUES (CONGREGATIONS) IN ESTONIA: 1932

Location	Rabbi	Lay Leader
Tallinn	Dr. A. Gromer	M. Rogovski
Pärnu	—	Krakusen
Tartu	L. Mostovski	S. Beltsikov
Valga	M.Masljanski	M. Sein
Võru	—	M. Goldberg
Narva	A. Gorfinkel	M. Kriegmann
Rakvere	—	Sermann
Viljandi	-	S. Paturski

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Eesti aadressraamat 1932* (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1932), 227.

The Russians (who numbered 92,656) and the Swedes (7,641), who were both compactly settled in a geographical sense, made use of the local governments to pursue the cultural autonomy aims of their groups. The Germans (16,346) and Jews (4,434) were more scattered in various urban areas and created their own cultural self-governments. Under the provisions of these laws the Jews in Estonia established their own mother-tongue schools from kindergarten through high school and operated various other types of institutions at public expense. As Amitan-Wilensky notes:

The statement issued by the Estonian government informing the Jews of their full cultural autonomy was issued at the celebration of the first decade of the country's independence, and was published in both Hebrew and Yiddish. This document, which is to be found in the Jewish National Library in Jerusalem, is *sui generis*, being the first and only one of its kind issued during the two millennia of exile in which official use was made of both Hebrew, the national language, and Yiddish the Jewish vernacular. (p. 342.)

The cultural autonomy introduced fresh vitality in the Jewish community of Estonia, where there was soon a large number of cultural, education, sport and entertainment societies—a number that was indeed surprising when the size of the local Jewish population is taken into consideration. Naturally most was done in the two major cities Reval (Tallinn) and Dorpat (Tartu), which competed with one another for the hegemony over the Jews of the country. Reval was the largest city and the capital, with a wealthy Jewish community, while Dorpat prided itself on its University, Jewish students and student institutions. (p. 343)

Given the small size of the Jewish community, it should not be surprising that it never developed an active group-based press or publications program. Nevertheless, some newspapers, magazines and books in Hebrew/Yiddish did appear. Thus a monthly newspaper began publishing in 1931, and one was reported also in 1932 and 1933.<sup>10</sup> Two group-based magazines were reported in 1927, one in 1929, and one in 1932.<sup>11</sup> These presumably appeared intermittently, since in some years no Hebrew or Yiddish language periodicals at all are listed in official statistical tabulations, which otherwise are quite exacting. In 1926 one Hebrew/Yiddish book was published in Estonia. Another book of 100 pages appeared in 1927, one of 64 pages in 1935, and two of a combined 272 pages in 1936.<sup>12</sup> Jews in Estonia did, however, subscribe to foreign group-based publications. For example, it has been reported that two Jewish journals from Lithuania, *Yiddishe Shtimme* and *Dos Vort*, issued a weekly supplement targeted for Estonia's Jewry.<sup>13</sup>

Although the Jewish educational tradition in Estonia dates to the 19th century, it blossomed during the Republic when, under the provisions of the cultural autonomy program, the Jews in 1932 had the following school system: a kindergarten in Tallinn, three elementary schools (in Tallinn, Tartu, and Valga) and two secondary schools, one each in Tartu and Tallinn, as shown in Table 8. It should be noted that of all ethnic groups in the country, the Jews had the highest relative participation in education at the University level, as is evident from Tables 9-11. Government data on school enrollments indicate that most Jews attended the group-based schools. Thus, in the 1938-1939 school year, there were 258 Jewish students in grades 1-6 across the country.<sup>14</sup> Of these, 108 were in Hebrew/Yiddish schools, 62 in Yiddish schools, and 86 in Estonian-language schools. There were 86 Jewish students at the *pro-gümnaasium* school-level, grades 5-9, of whom none were in Jewish schools. Of the 74 at the *realkool* level, grades 7-9, 53 attended the Hebrew/Yiddish school, 17 the Yiddish school, and 4 Estonian-language schools. Lastly, there were 37 Jewish *gümnaasium*, or high school students, grades 10-12, of whom 20 were in the Hebrew/Yiddish school and 16 in Estonian-language schools.

Jewish students at the University of Tartu had organized themselves already in the late 19th century, as noted earlier. During the Republic, the number of Jewish students declined in the 1930's, as shown in Tables 10 and 11. This probably reflects certain demographic characteristics and trends in the group itself rather than restrictive access policies. In terms of age-structure, the Jews were

Table 8: JEWISH SCHOOLS IN ESTONIA: 1932

School	Location	Director
Kindergarten	Tallinn, Karu tänav 16	F. Dubovsky
Elementary School	Tallinn, Karu tänav 16	S. Gurin
Elementary School	Tartu, Aleksanderi tänav 49	J. Levitin
Elementary School	Valga, Vee tänav 1	J. Bachmat
Secondary School	Tallinn, Karu tänav 16	S. Gurin
Secondary School	Tartu, Aleksanderi tänav 49	J. Nodel

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Eesti aadress-raamat 1932* (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1932) 174-6, 1934.

Table 9: UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PER 1000 PEOPLE IN ETHNIC GROUP  
IN ESTONIA: 1922-1938  
(index: 100=ethnic Estonians)

	1922		1930		1934		1936		1938	
	<i>index</i>		<i>index</i>		<i>index</i>		<i>index</i>		<i>index</i>	
Estonians	2.58	100	2.91	100	2.73	100	2.70	100	2.91	100
Russians	1.85	70	1.78	60	1.63	60	1.10	41	0.97	33
Germans	12.77	490	12.91	440	14.56	533	10.21	378	8.69	299
Jews	29.56	1150	29.35	1010	21.65	793	13.30	493	15.56	535

Sources: A. Lepp, "Tartu ülikool 1926-30 a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 115 (June 1931), 361.

A. Lepp, "Tartu ülikool 1938.a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 212/213 (July/August 1939), 393.

relatively strongest at the 20-39 year old levels in 1934, and weakest at the age-levels below this. In other words, the number of Jews eligible and available to attend the university probably declined noticeably during the 1930's. Furthermore, there was a slow emigration both to America and Palestine during the 1920's and 1930's. In addition, it must be kept in mind that the University of Tartu until 1918 also served the population of the territory which later became Latvia. With the founding of new institutions of higher learning in inter-war Latvia, this could have funneled off some Jewish students from Tartu. But it is also important to note that because of the overproduction of white collar employees and professionals in relation to the capacity of Estonia's economy, the university's enrollment in the 1930's was drastically reduced in relation to the 1920's. Thus, in 1926 there were 4,651 students at Tartu; by 1930-3,474, and by 1936—3,052 (Table 10). The most drastic early cutbacks were made in the Faculty of Law and Economics, a field of disproportionate Jewish concentration (Table 12). While the 1930's saw the establishment of an authoritarian



Table 10: THE STUDENT BODY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU  
BY ETHNIC GROUP: 1926-1938

Ethnic Group	1926	1930	1936	1938
Estonians	3,850	2,849	2,680	2,892
Germans	273	245	167	142
Russians	217	163	100	90
Jews	188	131	59	69
TOTALS*	4,651	3,474	3,052	3,227

\*Note: Columns will not yield totals shown because not all students at the university are covered by the four ethnic groups shown in the table.

Sources: A. Lepp, "Tartu ülikool 1926-30 a." in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 115 (June 1931), 362.

A. Lepp, "Tartu ülikool 1938.a." in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 212/213 (July/August 1939), 392.

Table 11: JEWS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE STUDENT BODY  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU: 1922-1938

	Total Number of Students	Total Number of Jews	Percent Jewish
1922	3,115	135	4.3%
1924	4,343	177	4.1
1926	4,651	188	4.0
1928	4,008	165	4.1
1930	3,474	131	3.8
1936	3,052	59	1.9
1938	3,227	69	2.1

Sources: A. Lepp, "Tartu ülikooli õppejõud, üliõpilased ja majandus 1922-26 a." in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 67 (June 1927), 283.

A. Lepp, "Tartu ülikool 1926-30 a." in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 115 (June 1931), 360, 362.

A. Lepp, "Tartu ülikool 1938. a." in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 212/213 (July/August 1939), 392.

Table 12: STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU BY  
FACULTY OF MAJOR: 1926 AND 1930

	1926				1930			
	Jews		All students		Jews		All students	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Theology	-	-	118	2.5	-	-	114	3.3
Law/Economics	104	55.3	2140	46.0	67	51.1	1381	39.8
Medicine	52	27.7	410	8.8	35	26.7	484	13.9
Philosophy	5	2.7	828	17.8	6	4.6	628	18.1
Mathematics and Science	17	9.0	586	12.6	12	9.2	319	9.2
Veterinary Medicine	7	3.7	119	2.6	10	7.6	149	4.3
Agriculture	3	1.6	450	9.7	1	0.8	399	11.5
TOTALS	188	100%	4651	100%	131	100%	3474	100%

Source: A Lepp, "Tartu ülikool 1926-30 a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 115 (June 1931), 362.

rule in Estonia, there is no evidence that this in itself resulted in restrictive Jewish enrollment policies at Tartu.

In comparison to University of Tartu students of different ethnic background, the Jews were distinctive by their heavy concentration in the Faculties of Law/Economics and Medicine, as shown in Table 12. Indeed, of all Jewish students, in 1926 83% were in these two Faculties, and in 1930 78%. In fact, this enrollment pattern is in congruence with the general Jewish occupational structure as noted subsequently. It might be added that few Jewish students chose technological fields of study as evidenced by the fact that there were only two Jews enrolled at the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute in 1925 and three in 1926.<sup>15</sup>

Like other students, the Jews attending the University of Tartu were organized "academically." A Jewish Student Music and History Society registered in 1922 subsequently became the fraternity *Korp! Limuvia*.<sup>16</sup> In 1932 *Limuvia* had 60 active student members and 70 alumni, with alumni chapters located in Tallinn as well as in Riga and Berlin. A Zionist student group, the fraternity *Korp! Hasmonaea*, was founded in 1923, and a sorority, *Hazfiro*, dates to 1924. By 1932 the latter had a total of 44 active student and alumni members.

The University of Tartu had no Jewish faculty members until 1934. Indeed, until the achievement of Estonian independence in 1918, the typical faculty member was German. One of the major shifts during the Republican period was the increase in the proportion of faculty who were ethnic Estonian. But in 1934 the University did create in its Faculty of Philosophy a Chair of Jewish Studies. From its inception until the Soviet occupation and annexation of Estonia in mid-1940, the Chair was occupied by Dr. Lazar Gulkovitsch (or, Gulkowitz), formerly a professor of philosophy at Leipzig.<sup>17</sup> (The *Chair* concept at the University of Tartu is functionally similar to the notion of *Department* at North

American universities.) As Amitan-Wilensky aptly points out, Estonia's Tartu "was possibly the only University in Eastern Europe which had a special Department for Jewish scholarship " (p. 346). By 1938 the University faculty had two Jews in a total of 207 faculty positions,<sup>18</sup> which was half-way between the proportion of Jews in the total population of the country and in the University's student body.

### *Economic Profile*

Estonia's Jews had a tradition in the trades and crafts dating to the medieval period. However, given the disproportionately large Jewish enrollment at the University of Tartu already toward the end of the 19th century, it should not be surprising to find a strong presence in business/industry and the professions by the time of the Republic. Before looking at the Jewish occupational profile, we might note that the group operated three credit unions, one each in Tallinn, Tartu, and Narva.<sup>19</sup> The credit union concept was quite popular in Estonia, and other ethnic groups also had their own financial institutions.

Tables 13 and 14 give the distribution of the active labor force by major economic sector in 1934. The Jews differ from the other groups in several ways. Foremost, there was only a minimal Jewish presence in agriculture, transportation/communication and the service sector. Instead, the strongest Jewish presence was in industry, commerce and the professions. Furthermore, Jews were most likely to have wage-employees or to work alone, and very unlikely to use members of the family in their business as labor. Also, together with the Germans, Jews were very unlikely to be "workers," but most likely to be either owners of enterprises, white collar employees or professionals. Estonia's Jews had a particularly strong presence in the medical field. Of the country's 899 doctors in 1932, 59% were Estonian, 21% German, and 10% Jewish.<sup>20</sup>

The 1934 census tabulation notes, furthermore, that: "the Germans and Jews, who are primarily urban people, are represented in leading positions in occupational sectors related to possession of capital and education disproportionately in regard to their relative size in the population."<sup>21</sup> A contemporary Estonian analyst further points out:

It must be asserted [on the basis of 1934 census data] that the minority nationalities have possession of the larger capital-rich enterprises and the more profitable businesses . . . We have approximately 370 enterprises in the area of industry, trade, banking, and insurance which are joint-stock companies, with a total stock capital of about 120 million Estonian *kroons*. Of these companies, approximately one-third are owned by minority nationalities, but this one-third owns about two-thirds of the total stock capital.<sup>22</sup>

The above reference to "national minorities" is obviously to the Germans and the Jews. Hence, at least in an economic sense Estonia's Jewish group was at the higher echelons of the class structure.

Table 13: THE ACTIVE LABOR FORCE IN ESTONIA IN 1934 BY MAJOR AREA OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND BY ETHNIC GROUP

	Estonians	Russians	Germans	Swedes	Jews	Others	Unknown	TOTALS
Agriculture	47.2%	49.1%	9.9%	56.9%	2.0%	26.8%	8.8%	46.2%
Industry	21.5	24.8	19.3	10.2	33.5	25.6	4.3	21.7
Transportation & Communicat.	3.8	1.6	1.6	4.0	0.5	4.4	2.9	3.6
Commerce Societal	5.5	5.7	19.4	5.6	35.9	11.6	2.4	6.0
Activities* Household & Personal Servants	6.6	4.4	19.8	7.7	13.2	8.0	2.9	6.7
Other**	9.0	7.0	22.8	8.5	10.3	15.7	7.1	9.1
Unknown	2.9	3.8	3.3	2.1	3.9	3.9	70.8	3.2
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(411,627)	(32,854)	(8,247)	(2,243)	(1,957)	(5,141)	(985)	(463,054)

Source: Tõnu Parming, *The Collapse of Liberal Democracy and the Rise of Authoritarianism in Estonia* (London: Sage, 1975), 27.

Notes: \*Refers to national and local civil servants, those working in areas of health, education, religion, military and the professions (doctors, lawyers, surveyors).

\*\*Refers to those living off of capital income, welfare, prisoners.

### Intergroup Relations

Amitan-Wilensky points out that in regard to the 18th century, when the Jews in Estonia suffered harshly at the hands of the authorities, "the general population of Esthonia, particularly in the villages, adopted a friendly attitude towards Jews and not infrequently helped them to conceal themselves from the authorities. It should be noted that the Christians of Esthonia were less anti-Semitic than their Latvian and Polish neighbours" (p. 339). Friendly relations at the general level must have persisted during the interwar Republic. For example, in appreciation of Estonia's cultural autonomy laws and programs, the Jewish National Fund awarded a special "Golden Book Certificate" in 1927 to the Republic of Estonia (see photocopy) for its kind treatment of Jews, the

Table 14: SELECTED GENERAL OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ACTIVE LABOR FORCE IN ESTONIA IN 1934 BY SELECTED MAJOR AREA OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND BY SELECTED ETHNIC GROUP

	Estonians	Russians	Germans	Jews	TOTALS*
INDUSTRY:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Owners	30.2	18.2	27.9	49.2	29.3
Of this: Owners with permanent employees	( 4.5)	( 2.2)	( 8.1)	( 25.5)	( 4.5)
Workers, service workers and officials	69.8	81.8	72.1	50.8	70.7
Of this; Officials**	( 4.5)	( 4.8)	(41.1)	( 17.2)	( 5.3)
COMMERCE:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Owners	40.5	48.9	24.4	54.3	40.7
Of this: Owners with permanent employees	( 6.3)	( 5.2)	( 9.6)	(23.4)	( 7.0)
Workers, service workers and officials	59.5	51.1	75.6	45.7	59.3
Of this, Officials**	(20.5)	(14.0)	(57.9)	(19.5)	(22.3)
SOCIETAL ACTIVITIES***	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Workers, service workers and officials	92.9	79.8	60.1	32.0	89.8
Of this: Officials**	(54.3)	(52.9)	(53.8)	(27.4)	(54.0)
Self-employed	7.1	20.2	39.9	68.0	10.2

Notes: \*Includes ethnic groups not shown here.

\*\*Officials [Estonian: *ametnikud*] refers approximately to the white collar labor force.

\*\*\*Refers to national and local civil servants, those working in the area of health, education, religion, military and the professions (doctors, lawyers, etc.).

Source: Tõnu Panning, *The Collapse of Liberal Democracy and the Rise of Authoritarianism in Estonia*. (London: Sage, 1975), 28.

only country in the world ever to have been so honored by the Jewish people.

There are no available data on personal attitudes of the Estonian population toward the Jews and vice versa. Amitan-Wilensky implies that relations were good in the 20th century between Estonians and Jews given "the relatively considerable number of mixed marriages between Jews and Estonian girls" (p. 339). However, intermarriage data for the early 1930's, (Tables 15 and 16), show that next to the Estonians the Jews were the most endogamous group. Indeed, 93% of Jewish women in the 1932-1935 period married Jews, and 85%



In appreciation of the benefit of a unique cultural autonomy, granted by Estonia to its national minorities (Russians, Germans, Swedes, Jews, Latvians), the Jewish National Fund in Palestine presented in 1927 to the Republic of Estonia (independent from 1918— 1940) a special award, the certificate of which is reproduced above. The Hebrew and Estonian inscriptions read in English as follows:

ESTONIAN REPUBLIC. As a sign of gratitude for the first historical deed in the history of Israel through the gift of national and cultural autonomy to the Jewish minority in Estonia. Recorded by the Zionist Organization of Estonia.

Table 15: INTERMARRIAGE PATTERNS IN ESTONIA: 1932-1935

Groom's Ethnic Group	Bride's Ethnic Group							Totals
	Estonians	Russians	Germans	Swedes	Latvians	Jews	Others	
Estonians	30,416	523	100	35	60	6	63	31,203
Russians	483	2,615	23	2	13	1	10	3,147
Germans	123	38	256	2	4	-	13	436
Swedes	36	1	2	126	1	-	1	167
Latvians	45	15	-	-	41	1	1	103
Jews	14	4	1	-	2	123	-	144
Others	85	21	5	-	1	1	31	144
TOTALS	31,202	3,217	387	165	122	132	119	35,344

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* [Volume 4, 1934 census] (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1937), 106.

Table 16: INTERMARRIAGES PER 100 IN-GROUP MARRIAGES IN ESTONIA BY ETHNIC GROUP: 1932-1935

Ethnic Group	Grooms	Brides	Totals
Estonians	2.5%	2.5%	2.5%
Russians	16.9%	18.7%	17.8
Germans	41.3%	33.9%	37.8
Swedes	24.6%	23.6%	24.1
Latvians	60.2%	66.4%	63.6
Jews	14.6%	6.8%	10.9

Source: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* [Volume 4, 1934 census] (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1937), 107.

[The numbers were wrong. Corrected by M.R.]

of the males did so. It is true, of course, that if a Jew intermarried it would be almost always with an Estonian. However, this was also true for all of the other ethnic groups as well, and it should not be statistically surprising given the fact that the ethnic Estonians were 88% of the country's population. Hence no conclusions on the relative permeability of ethnic social boundaries can be made on the basis of intermarriage data.

Amitan-Wilensky (3434) also implies that there must have been some social distance since "[Jewish doctors] did not all engage in their profession. In fact no more than a few did so as there was no need for so large a number of Jewish physicians, to whom Christian patients hardly came at all. As a result they worked in the businesses of their parents." There is, however, no way of ascertaining exactly what this reflects in terms of inter-group attitudes or relations. Consider the fact that almost all Jews resided in cities, most Estonians in the rural areas.

In the cities, language may very well have been a barrier between patient and physician. Most Jewish doctors during the Republic would have had their schooling in pre-1918 days when the University of Tartu was a German/Russian-language institution. If a Jewish doctor was not fluent in Estonian, it was unlikely that he/she would have attracted Estonian patients.

It appears that there were no Jews in Estonia's five elected parliaments, although exacting biographical studies or sources are not available to sustain a definite conclusion. However, Estonian political parties were also structured extensively along ethnic lines—the Germans, the Swedes, and the Russians had their own group-based parties, which continually elected representatives to parliament.<sup>23</sup> The Jews did have their own group-based party during the election for the First State Assembly (*Riigikogu*) in 1920, which received 395 votes.<sup>24</sup> However, given the small number of Jews in the country, a group-based party was bound to be unsuccessful, and no Jewish parties are noted in subsequent elections. Furthermore, given the appreciable differences between Jews and Estonians in urban/rural residency, sector of economic activity (agriculture vs. commerce/industry/professions), and general socio-economic standing, it is unlikely that a Jew would have risen to the political forefront in the major national, respectively ethnic Estonian, parties. Hence, the absence of a Jewish presence in Estonian national politics again is not the best empirical indicator of inter-ethnic attitudes.

We do not have attitudinal survey data from interwar Estonia to adjudge whether there existed prejudices against the Jews on the part of the Estonians. But it is clear that in terms of opportunities in cultural life, education and economic achievement, the Jews in Estonia fared quite well. That is, there are no clear-cut signs of overt discrimination along ethnic lines. In the approximately 650 years of Jewish history in Estonia, clearly the best period for the Jews was during the brief two decades of sovereignty between the two World Wars, the period of the Republic, 1918-1920.

The historical roots of the seemingly positive relations between Jews and Estonians—a somewhat unique situation in both Eastern Europe and the two millennia of the Jewish diaspora—have not been studied. However, several important factors distinguish Estonia itself from most other European countries, factors which elsewhere have had a bearing on Jewish/non-Jewish relations. First, the Jewish community of Estonia was especially small in terms of absolute numbers, and therefore, in a relative sense, it was quite invisible. Second, Estonia's Jews had not played a significant mediating role between the tsarist government and the native Estonians. Hence, there was no basis for ethnically manifested stratification-linked animosities between these two groups prior to Estonian independence. Since the thirteenth century the detested upper-class or dominating group was the Baltic Germans. And third, until the period of the Republic, the Lutheran Church, the church of the majority of the population since the Reformation, was an institution controlled by the Baltic Germans. Thus, the religious intolerance, which often was an important cause of discrimination against Jews elsewhere in Europe, was absent from the viewpoint



of the ethnic Estonians because the Lutheran Church was not a *national* church of the majority of the population. To the degree that such religious intolerances take on ethnic dimensions, in Estonia this would have involved either the Baltic Germans or the Russians on the one hand and the Jews on the other, but not the Estonians themselves.

It is conceivable that interethnic relations would have deteriorated after the Second World War if Estonia had regained its sovereignty, following the Soviet (1940-1941) and German (1941-1944) occupations. Namely, for inevitable reasons the Estonians and the Jews had chosen opposing sides in the essentially German-Soviet clash. Clearly the Jews could not have been expected to be pro-German. For them, the lesser of two evils was the Soviet side. For the Estonians, following a brutal year of Soviet rule from mid-1940 to mid-1941, with its symbolically Russian destruction of Estonian independence, political executions and deportations, it was inconceivable that the bulk of the population would side with the Soviets. Thus, for the Estonians, the Germans were the lesser of two evils.

One hears or reads occasionally Jewish accusations directed against the ethnic Estonians for their very limited involvement in the German execution of Jews on Estonian territory during 1941-1944. The Jewish outrage and anguish in relation to this is readily understandable. The opposite side of the coin is less familiar to us, but nevertheless significant from the viewpoint of interethnic relations. Recent studies by Jewish scholars of the Jews in Eastern Europe during the war years note that in mid-1941 the Jews in the Baltic States were overrepresented statistically in the so-called Soviet "destruction battalions" (Estonian: *hävituspataljonid*).<sup>25</sup> These were the shock units of the Red Army left behind in the Baltic to delay the German advance. The destruction battalions played a central role in the Soviet Union's last-minute executions, the destruction of farms, crops, bridges, factories, etc. From the Estonian viewpoint these units were instruments of political terror of the Soviet regime.

The research further points out that relative to their size the Jews were twice as likely as the ethnic Estonians to serve as officers in the "Estonian Rifle Corps," a two-division force in the Red Army, made up mostly of mid-1941 draftees from Estonia and Estonians who had lived in Russia proper before the World War. Again, from the Estonian viewpoint the Corps was an instrument of Soviet destruction directed against Estonia. It must be noted that a sizable proportion of the Estonian draftees of mid-1941 into the Red Army had died while assigned to forced labor battalions in northern Russia even before the Corps was actually formed.<sup>26</sup> The fact that some 1,000 men defected to the German side in one of the first military engagements of the Corps in December of 1942 further evidenced the unpopularity of the Red Army with Estonians. And several thousand Estonian men transferred intact in units from the former Estonian army to the Red Army had similarly defected in their first engagements against the Germans in mid-1941.

In any case, these particular types of developments, and specifically the forced

choice of opposing sides by the natives and the Jews in what essentially was the struggle of third parties, as determinants of changed native attitudes deserve appreciably greater scrutiny than they have received to date. A German SS source cited in a Soviet Estonian publication notes: "In Estonia it was not possible to provoke [the organization of] pogroms because of the relatively small number of Jews."<sup>27</sup> But even in regard to Latvia and Lithuania, where large numbers of Jews were murdered during the German occupation of 1941-1944, the strictly native role in this process may be exaggerated.<sup>28</sup> It appears certain that anti-Semitic attitudes existed before the war in both localities, although the causes of the prejudices have yet to be identified. It is also probable that the aforementioned Jewish overrepresentation in the destruction battalions of the Red Army, and later in the various "Baltic units" of the Red Army, may have intensified prejudices. However, the subtle nature of the German role, ignored by several recent Jewish authors in favor of attribution of the atrocities more strictly to the Latvians and Lithuanians, needs further study as well. For example, a Soviet Estonian publication of 1969, which deals with the war-time atrocities of the period of the Nazi occupation, presents a report dated 15 October 1941 from SS-Brigadeführer Franz Stahlecker (commander of Einsatzgruppe A) to Heydrich, which in part reads as follows:

"We forced the local anti-Semitic elements to organize Jewish pogroms within a few hours after the conquest of a city [the references is to Baltic cities], even though it was hard to convince them of this. Following our advice, the security police decided to resolve the Jewish question with all available methods and extreme decisiveness. But we did not wish the security police, at least at first, to act in its own name, because unusually extreme methods could impact badly even on the Germans. We decided to perform things so that it would seem to all as if the local population had taken upon itself the initiative in the struggle against Jews."<sup>29</sup>

The fate of the prewar Estonian Jewish community is not fully clear. The Soviet deportations of 1940-1941 are thought by a recent Jewish source to have affected about 1/9th of the group's membership, about 500 people.<sup>30</sup> Fairly detailed listings of the deported population were compiled and are still available, and in regard to ethnicity, these indicate that certainly not over 600 of those deported in 1940-1941 could have been Jewish.<sup>31</sup> Further, it is certain that most Estonian Jews did not fall into German hands at all but fled eastward to the Soviet rear. A contemporary, war-time source in the West states that almost all in the group went to the Soviet Union.<sup>32</sup> But an Estonian exile source of 1948 notes that about 2,000 (of the approximately 4,400) remained in Estonia in mid-1941.<sup>33</sup> Recent Jewish sources note that from 3,000-to 4,000 Jews from Estonia fled eastward to the USSR while up to 1,000 remained in Estonia.<sup>34</sup> A 1969 Soviet Estonian publication cites a contemporary SS report as follows: "The larger part of those 4,500 Jews who lived in Estonia at the time [our] offensive began fled together with the retreating Red Army forces. Only 2,000 persons remained. In Tallinn alone there had lived about 1,000 Jews. The arrest

of all male Jews over the age of 16 has been almost completed."<sup>35</sup>

Purre recently noted that according to a Soviet Latvian publication prepared by the Communist Party itself, a total of 5,433 residents of Estonia were executed during the German occupation, of whom 400 were reported as being Red partisans, 4,070 Communists and their sympathizers, and 963 Jews.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it appears that at least 50% of Estonia's prewar Jews escaped the German occupation altogether, and less than 25% were executed during 1941-1944; this would imply that the remaining 25% survived the German occupation inside Estonia. This is further suggested by the following German SS report reproduced in a Soviet Estonian source: "All of them [the arrested male Jews over age 16 referenced in the preceding quote] were destroyed by the Self Defense Forces under the direction of Special Unit 1-A. Exceptions were made in regard to doctors and leaders of local government. Jewish women aged 16 to 60 who were able-bodied were arrested and sent to the peat industry and other jobs."<sup>37</sup>

It must be added that although the Germans, in their concentration camps and prisons on occupied Estonian soil, appear to have executed far more people than the number of Jews in prewar Estonia, the bulk of those executed, regardless of whether they were Jews or Soviet prisoners, were individuals brought from other German-controlled areas to Estonia. Although individual Estonians are known to have been involved in the executions, there has been no evidence of any significant degree of native participation in the atrocities. And as noted, existing evidence from German, Soviet, Estonian and Jewish sources indicates that most Estonian Jews were not annihilated by anyone in Estonia. Rather, they successfully escaped to the Soviet Union, where, however, their fate is unknown.

As a community or as an ethnic group, the Jews did survive the war in Estonia, in spite of the atrocities of the period. The 1934 census had shown 4,434 Jews in the Republic of Estonia; the 1959 Soviet census enumerated 5,436 Jews in the Estonian SSR (Table 2, above). We do not know, of course, how many among the latter are Jews of prewar Estonia or their descendants. Overall, Estonia's population losses during the bloody decade of 1939-1949 were more than 25% of the prewar figure due to resettlements, flight westward, executions, deportations and territorial transfers.<sup>38</sup>

## NOTES

1 *Eesti Nõukogude Entsüklopeedia*, 3 (1971), 296.

2 Ella Amitan-Wilensky, "Estonian Jewry: A Historical Summary," in M. Bobe et al., eds., *The Jews in Latvia* (Tel Aviv; Association of Latvian and Estonian Jews in Israel, 1971), 337.

3 Amitan-Wilensky, 336, 339-40.

4 Amitan-Wilensky, 341-4.

5 Bernard Kangro, *Universitas Tartuensis* (Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv, 1970), 155.

6 *ENE*, 3 (1971), 296.

- 7 See data in Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* [Volume 4, 1934 census] (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1937), 11, 25.
- 8 H. Reiman, "Kirikuelu 1930-34," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 160 (March 1935), 126.
- 9 Karl Aun, "The Cultural Autonomy of National Minorities in Estonia," in *Yearbook of the Estonian Learned Society in America, I* (New York: Estonian Learned Society in America, 1954), 30-35. See also Aun's "On the Spirit of the Estonian Minorities Law," in E. Blumfeldt, ed., *Apophoreta Tartuensia* (Stockholm: Estonian Scientific Society in Sweden, 1949). The 1920 Constitution is analyzed in general by Robert T. Clark, "The Constitution of Estonia," in *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, 3 (1921), 246-50, and Ants Piip, "The Constitution of the Republic of Estonia," in *The Constitutional Review*, 9 (1925), 3-12.
- 10 Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Eesti aadress-raamat 1932* (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1932), 209. A. Lepp, "Eesti kirjastus ja ajakirjandus arvudes," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 156 (November 1934), 580.
- 11 A. Lepp, "Kirjastus ja ajakirjandus 1927-29," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 109 (December 1930), 685. A. Lepp, "Eesti kirjastus ja ajakirjandus arvudes," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 156 (November 1934), 580.
- 12 A. Lepp, "Kirjastus, ajakirjandus ja kirjandusturg 1924-26a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri* No. 68/69 (July/August 1927), 397. A. Lepp, "Kirjastus ja ajakirjandus 1927-29," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 109 (December 1930), 682. A. Lepp, "Kirjastus ja ajakirjandus 1936. a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 194 (January 1938), 18.
- 13 Amitan-Wilensky, 344.
- 14 A. Lepp, "Alg- ja keskkoolid ning gümnaasiumid 1938/39. õ/a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 217 (December 1939), 636.
- 15 A. Lepp, "Tallinna Tehnikumi õpilased, õppejõud ja majandus 1922-26a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 66 (May 1927), 289.
- 16 Kangro, 155-6.
- 17 Kangro, 58; Amitan-Wilensky, 346.
- 18 A. Lepp, "Tartu ülikool 1938.a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 212/213 (July/August 1939), 399.
- 19 Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Eesti aadress-raamat 1932*, 324-5.
- 20 E. Lasberg, "Arstkont Eestis 1932.a.," in *Eesti Statistika Kuukiri*, No. 131 (October 1932), 586.
- 21 Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* [Volume 4, 1934 census] (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1938), 77-79.
- 22 R. Kadaja, "Vähemusrahvused Eestis," in E. Roos, ed., *Tähiseid II* (Tartu: Eesti Rahvuslaste Klubi, 1936), 54.
- 23 Tõnu Panning, *The Collapse of Liberal Democracy and the Rise of Authoritarianism in Estonia* (London: Sage, 1975), 11. At their highpoint, the minority parties had 8% of the parliamentary seats.
- 24 Actually, Jews were represented in this parliamentary election by two parties, which polled a total of 395 votes out of a total vote of 471,228 nationally. See, Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, II *Riigikogu valimised 5.-7. mail 1923* (Tallinn: Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1923), 70.
- 25 Dov Levin, *The Participation of Jews from the Baltic States in the Fight Against the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 1976), as cited in *Meie Elu* (Toronto), 7 January 1977. The disproportionately large role of Baltic Jews in Soviet military formations is also pointed out in Levin's *They Fought Back. Lithuanian Jewry's Armed Resistance to the Nazis 1941-1945* (Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 1974). The difference in Baltic Jewish and Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian perceptions is also brought forth clearly in Levin's reference (p. vi in the latter work) to the Soviet reentry

- into Lithuania in January 1945 as the *liberation of Lithuania*; the native terminology would be *reoccupation*. See also Levin's "Participation of the Lithuanian Jews in the Second World War," *JBS*, 4 (1975), 300-10; and his "The Jews and the Sovietization of Latvia, 1940-41," *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, 5 (No. 1, 1975).
- 26 See Tõnu Parming, "Population Changes in Estonia 1935-1970," *Population Studies*, 26(1972), 54.
- 27 E. Martinson and A. Matsulevits, compilers, *Pruun katk. Dokumentide kogumik fasistide kuritegude kohta okupeeritud Eesti NSV territooriumil* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1969), 67.
- 28 The native Latvian and Lithuanian role in the war-time murder of Jews in German-occupied Latvia and Lithuanian territory has been emphasized recently by Levin (see sources in Note 25, above), Max Kaufman, "The War Years in Latvia Revisited," in M. Bobe, et al., eds., *The Jews in Latvia* 351-68; and several papers delivered at the Sixth Conference on Baltic Studies, University of Toronto, 11-14 May 1978, in a special series of sessions on Baltic Jewry and the holocaust in the Baltic region. In the holocaust literature, this particular emphasis has had earlier advocates as well; as an example, Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution. The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe 1939-1945* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1953 [Perpetua Edition of 1961 was used]). We are concerned here not with an attempt to absolve individual Latvians and Lithuanians of responsibility for the atrocities. Rather, the central question concerns the tendency in the holocaust literature to imply primary responsibility and thereby collective guilt. Indeed, this particular orientation exists both in the native-nationalistic interpretation (in regard to Jewish involvement in Soviet atrocities) and the Jewish interpretation (in regard to the involvement of the natives in Nazi atrocities). It might be more honest in both cases to attribute the actions to the individuals who committed them on both sides. But in any case, in my estimation, some evidence in the German SS archives, noted subsequently in the article, raises serious questions as to whether the natives acted as spontaneously in regard to pogroms as the aforementioned sources would lead a reader to believe. There also appears to be appreciable difference in terms of the scope of the atrocities, in comparing the native to the German role, as noted even in Reitlinger, p. 201: "On January 31st, 1942, Stahlecker [head of the mobile killing unit Einsatzgruppe A] contrasted the 5,000 Jews killed in Lithuania by the native militia with the 136,421 killed by his own commandos. The enthusiasm of the local inhabitants waned,' he complained to Heydrich." It is perhaps a fitting conclusion to this discussion to note, citing Reitlinger once more (p. 565 [1971 edition]), that Stahlecker was killed by "Estonian partisans."
- 29 Martinson and Matsulevits, 67. See the similar information provided in Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961). For example (p. 203), as cited from a letter of Stahlecker to Himmler, dated 15 October 1941: "The Einsatzgruppen were most successful with 'spontaneous' outbursts in the Baltic area, particularly in Lithuania. Yet even there Dr. Stahlecker observed: To our surprise, it was not easy at first to set in motion an extensive pogrom against the Jews.' "
- 30 Dov Levin's work (Note 25, above), as cited in *Meie Elu* (Toronto), 7 January 1977.
- 31 Table 7 in the compilation "Persons Deported from Estonia or Murdered in Estonia by the Bolsheviks in 1940-1941," in the possession of the Consulate General of the Republic of Estonia, New York City. See comments in Parming, "Population Changes in Estonia 1935-1970," 54-56 for additional information in regard to this period.
- 32 Eugene Kulischer, *The Displacement of Population in Europe* (Montreal, International Labor Office, 1943).
- 33 Ants Oras, *Baltic Eclipse* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1948).
- 34 Amitan-Wilensky, 347, and Levin, as cited in *Meie Elu*, 7 January 1977.
- 35 Martinson and Matsulevits, 67.
- 36 Arnold Purre, "Max Lasbergi artikli puhul 'Ketserlus metsas' Laabani kirjutise kohta "Metroo 77" Tulimuld, 29 (N 3, 1978), 164. The cited Soviet Latvian work is by the Latvian SSR Central History Archives and the History Institute of the LSSR Communist Party Central Committee, Mes apsudzam (Riga, 1965)
- 37 Martinson and Matsulevits, 67