

The classroom as an arena for political propaganda: Communism and Nazism in Latvian classrooms (1940-1956)

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Abstract – This paper discerns and describes how two dictatorships – Nazi German and Soviet – used schools and classroom culture, to propagandize its political ideology and agenda. It reveals those elements of classroom culture (symbols, rituals, traditions, a/o) that are emotionally most sensitive and, thus, most appropriate for the purposes of political propaganda. This case study focuses on the Latvian experience from 1940 to 1956 when political regimes in this country changed three times. Classroom culture in Latvia was questioned through the focus of propaganda following such questions: 1) What does a totalitarian power find to be important in classroom culture for the development of propaganda policies? Who are the main heroes and who are the second ones in propaganda? 2) Did propaganda really penetrate into daily life as it was expected by authorities? How was the classroom adapted to the interests of political power in reality? 3) How can we assess effectiveness of propaganda over the course of history? And, is it even possible? The speed of information in history – how and when did propaganda reach the classroom? 4) Who were the authors of visual propaganda? When and what type of propaganda materials were made by children? 5) What is the antonym/opposite of the concept “propaganda”? How pupils and teachers resisted to propaganda?

Riassunto – Questo contributo tratta e descrive come due dittature – la Germania nazista e l’Unione Sovietica – sfruttavano la cultura della scuola e dell’aula per propagandare la propria ideologia ed il proprio programma politico. Nella ricerca vengono individuati e caratterizzati quegli elementi della cultura dell’aula (simboli, riti, tradizioni ecc.) che sono emotivamente più sensibili e, quindi, più adeguati ai fini della propaganda politica. L’analisi si focalizza sull’esperienza lettone nel periodo dal 1940 al 1956, quando i regimi politici in questo Paese cambiarono tre volte. La cultura dell’aula in Lettonia è stata osservata attraverso il focus della propaganda rispondendo ai seguenti interrogativi: 1) Che cosa, nella cultura dell’aula, viene ritenuto importante, da parte di un potere totalitario, per lo sviluppo delle proprie politiche di propaganda? Chi sono gli eroi principali e secondari della propaganda? 2) La propaganda ha davvero penetrato la vita quotidiana come ci si aspettava da parte delle autorità? Come, in realtà, si sono adattate le aule scolastiche agli interessi del potere politico? 3) Come possiamo valutare l’efficacia della propaganda nella storia? Ed è possibile farlo? La velocità delle informazioni nella storia: come e quando la propaganda ha raggiunto l’aula scolastica? 4) Chi erano gli autori della propaganda visiva? Quando e che tipo di materiali di propaganda sono stati realizzati dai bambini? 5) Qual è l’opposto del concetto di “propaganda”? Come studenti e insegnanti hanno resistito alla propaganda?

Keywords – propaganda, classroom culture, education under dictatorship

Parole chiave – propaganda, cultura in aula, formazione sotto la dittatura

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1. Introduction: propaganda and classroom culture

The notion "propaganda" most definitely has negative connotations in democratic societies. The main words that characterize propaganda in literature are: vulgar, simple and aggressive message, cultivation of negative attitudes and the search for an enemy, war of information, obtrusion, clichés, lies... Propaganda is often observed as the enforcing of opinions without critical debate.

Theoretically, we all understand perfectly what propaganda is. The problems begin when we need to recognize propaganda practically: how can we differentiate between healthy cultivation of patriotic and civic-minded citizens and uncritical glorification of the ruling order? Where does concrete information expressed under circumstances of freedom of speech end and propaganda begin? That is – what is the true nature of propaganda and how does it work?

In history, propaganda is closely related to authoritarian regimes. Dictatorships tend not to be shy about legitimizing their validity and do so aggressively by "brainwashing" people and taking away opportunities for critical decision-making. Thus, the realized self-serving "marketing" strategies can serve as an example, or model, for the study of propaganda *per se*.

Rhetoric, myths and symbolism are the three basic elements that support any form of propaganda¹. Therefore propaganda is especially suited to schools and classrooms, as they consist of these elements, including "...the 'emotional baggage' we all carry into the classroom, stemming from our different cultural, religious, gendered, racialized, and social class backgrounds"².

To reveal typical features of propaganda, my study will focus on propaganda in classroom culture under two dictatorships, namely, the Nazis and the Soviets.

Classroom culture I view as a way of life in the educational space that is determined by outsiders. The concept of space is important for my research as "[space] is a means of questioning materiality; ...space can be used to move closer to 'experience'"³.

¹ D.K. Lilleker, *Key Concepts in Political Communication*, London, Sage, 2006, p. 163.

² M. Boler, *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education*, London, Routledge, 1999, p. 3.

³ M. Crang, N. Thrift, *Introduction*, in M. Crang, N. Thrift (Eds.) *Thinking Space*, London, Routledge, 2000, p. 1.

I would like also to stress the determinism from outside: we can rather easily choose school for ourselves or our children, but despite how rich and powerful we are, we mostly can't choose a classroom and classmates. I think it is the most crucial coincident in people lives – they are put together with 10 or 20, or 30 people for growing up with them during the next 6 or 9, or 12 years: “Children were segregated with their peers according to age and levels of attainment and sequentially progressed through regulated structures”⁴. In other words, conditions are set, the way of life in these conditions depends on background of children and teacher, their character and professional training. These are very subjective moments and, as it is stated by Linda Dickerson, “the school culture can affect student identity”⁵. We are coming not just from our home, but also from our classroom.

Previous studies have found that the classroom cannot always be strictly separated from school culture. Therefore, at times in my study, classroom boundaries will be extended, and I will touch on school culture, as well. To put in some order the school's standard practices, fixed patterns of behavior, the architecture design, school artifacts⁶, as well as the routine, the rituals, and the symbolic events – all this mutual “choreography”⁷ of classroom daily reality, I set up a theoretical model of classroom culture, including sets of seeing, doing, [feeling] and saying⁸ (see *Table 1*). Of course, we can't strictly separate the classroom's spaces, as well as elements of the classroom. They all are interdependent and acting closely related.

2. Historical background

I have chosen the time period between 1940–1956 in Latvian history with purpose: first of all this period is related to the turbulent political changes in Latvia ended with the death of Stalin in 1953 and condemnation of his cult in 1956 when people started to breathe easier. Secondly, I have a subjective reason for this choice – I avoid to involve my personal memories about the Soviet classroom from 1960s and 1970s in this research. It is not because I have a naïve hope to be objective. I am deeply convinced that it is not possible in the historical research. I am just trying to zoom out and to see complete picture (in entirety) so understanding better what and why happened under both dictatorships.

I should admit that studies concerning recent past are becoming increasingly popular in the post-Soviet society. This situation is understandable because we, the former inhabitants of the

⁴ I. Grosvenor, “To Act on the Minds of the Children”. *Paintings into Schools and English Education*, in S. Braster, I. Grosvenor, M. del Mar del Pozo (Eds.), *The Black Box of Schooling. A Cultural History of the Classroom*, P.I.E., Peter Lang, 2011, p. 40.

⁵ L. W. Dickerson, *Postmodern View of the Hidden Curriculum*, PhD thesis at Georgia Southern University, 2007, p. 20.

⁶ F. Herman, *School Culture in the 20th Century. Mentality and Reality History of the Primary School*, PhD thesis, K.U. Leuven, 2010, pp. 10-11.

⁷ I. Grosvenor, “To Act on the Minds of the Children”. *Paintings into Schools and English Education*, cit., p. 39.

⁸ S. Gherardi, *Organizational Knowledge. The Texture of Workplace Learning*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Soviet empire, need to consider and reflect our own experience in order to understand what really happened under dictatorship, why it happened, and how it impacted and shaped us.

Latvia, as well as the other Baltic States Estonia and Lithuania, were independent countries in the interwar period (1918-1940). However, from 1940 until 1945, the Baltic States experienced three dramatic political changes:

- 17 June 1940: Soviet occupation and the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union⁹.
- 30 June 1941-8 May 1945: Nazi German occupation¹⁰.
- 8 May 1945 (Parts of Latvian territory were occupied by the Soviet Army already since August 1944): Reoccupation of Latvia by the Soviet Army and establishment of the Soviet dictatorship¹¹ that continued until 1991¹².

Both the Communists and the Nazis were equally foreign to the Latvians. This determines the uncertain position of the Baltic States during the World War II. The attitude to the Anti-Nazi coalition was rather suspicious due to crimes made by the Soviets on the territory of Baltics in 1940/1941, but Germans were considered as already long term enemies due to enslavement of Latvians in Middle Ages and harsh rule of German landlords on the territory of Latvia by 1918. As it was not possible to avoid military service during the war time, the part of Latvians became soldiers of the Red Army while others were recruited by Nazi. Both of these groups were sincerely sure that they are fighting for freedom of Latvia. However, dictatorships had their own agenda... (*Picture 1*).

Totalitarian regimes communicate with their citizens in two ways: 1) through coercion, power and fear and 2) through propaganda that legitimizes their actions. Using repression solely, society can be subjugated and controlled only externally. A more substantial effect results from the subordination and manipulation of people's minds – transforming society into a mass that cannot critically evaluate information¹³.

Every regime begins the up-bringing of its supporters in school, but totalitarian regimes are especially keen and successful in this field due to well organized systems of reprisals and propaganda. The comparison of the propaganda of both totalitarian regimes on the territory of third country, namely, Latvia helps to give a general picture and explain mechanism how educational spaces and places can be used for propaganda purposes.

3. Research questions and sources

⁹ In 1941, 15 424 people were deported from Latvia to the Northern parts of Soviet Russia, among them approx. 100 infants and 3000 children under 16. Approx. 1000 teachers experienced repressions, and 71 were deported.

¹⁰ 25 000 Latvians were sent to Germany to work; 18 000 Latvians were killed.

¹¹ 43 230 inhabitants of Latvia were deported to the Northern parts of Soviet Russia.

¹² See A. Plakans, *A Concise History of the Baltic States*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

¹³ K. Zellis, *Ilūzijas un bailu mašīnērija. Propaganda nacistu okupētajā Latvijā: vara, mediji un sabiedrība (1941–1945)* [Machinery of Illusion and Fear. Propaganda in Nazi Occupied Latvia: Regime, Media and Society (1941-1945)], Rīga, Mansards, 2012, pp. 11-12.

In my study, classroom culture was questioned through the focus of propaganda following such questions:

1. What does a totalitarian power find to be important in classroom culture for the development of propaganda policies? Who are the main heroes and who are the second ones in propaganda?
2. Did propaganda really penetrate into daily life as it was expected by authorities? How was the classroom adapted to the interests of political power in reality?
3. How can we assess effectiveness of propaganda over the course of history? And, is it even possible? The speed of information in history – how and when did propaganda reach the classroom?
4. Who were the authors of visual propaganda? When and what type of propaganda materials were made by children?
5. What is the antonym/opposite of the concept “propaganda”? How pupils and teachers resisted to propaganda?

It was challenging to use the primary sources while researching the reality of the classroom situation. This was particularly difficult in the case of Latvia, where each regime attempted to erase the traces of the previous one in the minds of the people, as well as in material culture. Keeping reminders of the Nazi occupation was cause for repressions during the Soviet era. As a result, primary sources have been collected over an extended period of time to create a puzzle with still some pieces missing. Primary resources of my research consist of:

- Pedagogic press: *Izglītības Mēnešraksts* [Education Monthly] (February 1942-April 1944) and several Soviet era journals published in Latvia, primarily, *Padomju Latvijas Skola* [Soviet Latvian School], *Pionieris* [Red Pioneer], *Padomju Jaunatne* [Soviet Youth] (June 1940-June 1941, 1945–1951) a.o. Most of the authors are teachers and subscription for these journals was mandatory. This confirms that pedagogical press had an impact on classroom reality.
- 33 published memoirs. All memoir authors were pupils during the 1930s and 1950s, but their purpose for writing was not exclusively to tell about school life. The authors had different professions: engineer, writers, directors, poets, internal affairs professionals, officials, scientists, actors, journalist, and artists. Places of their schooling were Riga (45%), town (10%), country (25%), town and country (20%). 35% of respondents are women and 65% are men. All memoirs are published after 1991 when censorship in Latvia was abolished.
- 20 textbooks, amongst them 8 primers and teaching aids for German, English, Russian and French languages, as well as Geography, History and Singing.
- Study materials, among them essays, curriculums and school diaries.
- Photos from the Latvian State Archive of Audiovisual Documents, National Museum of History, Riga’s School Museum, Museum of Valmiera, Museum of Liepāja, press, private collections and the Internet site *Zudusī Latvija* [Missing Latvia] (<http://www.zudusilatvija.lv/>).
- Posters created for propaganda purposes in Latvia.
- Other primary sources consisted of three war letters and five unpublished memoirs from the collection of the Latvian War Museum, as well as three interviews with pupils of 1940s and 1950s.

I gleaned an unexpected large amount of information from the published memoirs. The

memoir genre flourished in Latvia after regaining independence. Alan Wieder has described this “need to tell” in his studies on post-apartheid society in South Africa¹⁴. As stated by Kevin Myers and Ian Grosvenor, “History, and its complex relationship to memory, has been seen as potential source of security and solidarity for individuals, groups, and states”¹⁵. Indeed, we try to explain our differences and peculiarities to ourselves while explaining them to everybody else¹⁶. Fully realizing the subjectivity of memoirs, I followed several considerations: 1) memoirs vividly present the details of classroom culture – images, rituals, etc., as well as emotional atmosphere; 2) published memoirs have been carefully thought-out; 3) the time perspective reveals which events really played a role – those that have long remained in the mind; 4) official documents and press prepared under censorship of Communists and Nazi are not reliable evidence and should be compared with other sources. Memoirs are suitable for this purpose.

4. Education as a target of propaganda: main topics

Under both periods of Soviet dictatorship (1940/1941 and from 1945 to 1991) education system of the Baltic States were re-organized accordingly to the Soviet model. Private schools were closed, religious studies and Latin were taken out of the curriculum, and great stress was put on teaching Russian, as well as the geography and history of the Soviet Union. Political supervision was brought into the schools and carried out by the supporters of the new power from the local inhabitants, or “missionaries”, sent to Latvia and other Baltic countries from the Soviet Union. Teachers, who were not trusted by the Soviets, were repressed – thousands of teachers were forced to change their workplace or were deported to Russia.

During World War II under Nazi occupation, Jewish schools were closed and their pupils and teachers were put into ghettos. Education was re-organized accordingly to the school system in Germany¹⁷. Religious studies were restored at school, German had to be studied intensively and was the only foreign language offered; teaching plans for geography and history were reformed. Teachers hostile to the regime were dismissed from work in schools¹⁸.

Nazi as well as Soviets had institutions specially created for propaganda purposes. These institutions erected huge propaganda’s machinery over schools. In this hierarchy, every single

¹⁴ A. Wieder, *Testimony as Oral History: Lessons from South Africa*, “Educational Research”, Vol. 33, 2004, pp. 23-28.

¹⁵ K. Myers, I. Grosvenor, *Cultural learning and historical memory: A research agenda*, in “Encounters/Encuentros/Rencontres on Education”, Vol. 15, 2014, p. 7.

¹⁶ S. Antohi, *Narratives Unbound: A Brief Introduction to Post-Communist Historical Studies*, in S. Antohi, B. Trencsényi, P. Apor (Eds.), *Narratives Unbound: Historical Studies in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*, Budapest, CEU Press, 2007, p. x.

¹⁷ Umbau des Schulwesens im Generalbezirk Lettland, 1942, *Collection of the Latvian War Museum*, 4-61686/1269-VII, pp. 115-116.

¹⁸ For more detailed characteristics about education under the Soviet and the Nazi dictatorship see I. Kēstere, A. Krūze (Eds.), *History of Pedagogy and Educational Sciences in the Baltic Countries from 1940 to 1990: an Overview*, Riga, RaKa, 2013.

teacher was at the very bottom. As stated in the Nazi calendar issued in 1942, “Teachers educate and prepare the human, performer of the state duty in the future. Teacher has an important burden on his/her shoulders, responsible work to be started [working] with this young citizen already in early childhood – kindergarten, preschool etc. Task of the teacher [is] to prepare one’s students as valuable citizens...”¹⁹. Similar duties were put on the shoulders of teachers by the Soviet regime, too: “Teachers [have] great tasks... Teachers should rise the young generation as true patriots of the [Soviet] nation and the Soviet Union”²⁰.

Soviet propaganda had a long lasting traditions from 1920s when it was flourishing and creative branch accumulating the best artists (Latvian Gustavs Klucis among them). In 1940s, when Soviet propaganda reached Latvian classrooms, this branch was already exhausted and boring.

The goals by both dictatorships were set very clearly: to create an image of enemy and convince people that current political power is the best one. The reasons how to “sell” a current power had many similarities: both dictatorships presented themselves as savers. Soviets saved Latvians from bourgeoisie, capitalism and unfair social structure (*Pictures 2 and 3*). It’s interesting that war time enemy Nazi was nearly overnight changed with Latvian bourgeoisie again after World War II. Nazi were beaten and forgotten.

The biggest difference was seen in the image of Latvians. If Nazi pretended to accept Latvian identity, Soviets incorporated Latvians immediately in anonymous mass of Soviet people. And it was silly. Struggle for preservation of their national identity became crucial part in Latvian’s out-of-public lives and the main reason for resistance against the Soviets.

5. Pupil image

“The people require of their sons... that they are honorable, brave, courageous, disciplined and vigilant fighters...”²¹ and “In wartime... the youth must be prepared theoretically and practically and morally strong, in order to lead the fight towards the victory of positive forces”²². The definition of positive forces may, of course, differ. Yet the Nazis and Communists both agreed that school needed to prepare soldiers (*Pictures 5, 6 and 7*).

During the Nazi era, separation of genders in school took place and exaggerated importance was placed on traditional gender roles. The Soviets, in their turn, declared equality of genders and made clear that also women should learn how to fight (*Pictures 8, 9 and 10*).

Boys willingly adopted the soldier image, and war entered their games. The enemy changed accordingly to the ruling order: “In school we divided ourselves into Germans and

¹⁹ Vācu okupācijas kalendārs [German Occupation Calendar], *Collection of the Latvian War Museum*, 5-135-DK/P, p. 123.

²⁰ *Skolotājiem jāaudzina īsti Padomju Savienības patrioti* [Teachers should raise real patriots of the Soviet Union], *Brīvais Zemnieks* [Free Peasant], 1940, 09.16.

²¹ *Attīstīsim mūsu jauniešos padomju karavīra īpašības* [Let’s develop Soviet soldier’s traits in our youth], *Sarkanais Sports* [Red Sports], 1941, 26.04.

²² *Karš un skola* [War and School], *Izglītības Mēnešraksts* [Education Monthly], 1943, Nr. 5, p. 97.

Russians. Nobody wanted to be a Russian, because the Germans would beat and imprison them. That's why we had to hit in school. Former members of the Pioneers would be forced to play Russians. I did, as well"²³. "After the war, we had to learn how to disassemble and reassemble weapons. The boys liked bayonet fights. We made a stuffed person with a German uniform coat, and the boys would attack it with their bayonets"²⁴.

6. Curriculum

In order to raise pupils to be good fighters, they needed to be appropriately physically prepared. This is why physical activities became an important curricular and extra-curricular subject (*Picture 11*). This was widely praised in the press by both dictatorships: "It is good that the youth have approached exercise competitions in mass events with enthusiasm and have understood that physical activity is the true and correct road to developing a healthy and strong citizen," was stated under the Soviets²⁵ and "The new trend in physical education for youth creates all the prerequisites needed for a healthy, safe, united and conscientious generation," was propagated by the Nazi²⁶.

Order and discipline were closely associated with physical activities, as can be witnessed by article titles in pedagogical press: "Discipline issues in school"²⁷, "The strongest discipline will rule in our schools"²⁸, "Komsomol [Communist Youth Organization] and Pioneers will raise discipline in schools"²⁹, "Rigorous discipline is categorically a basic demand in Soviet schools"³⁰, "Discipline in school"³¹, "Discipline theory and practice", "Development of order in school"³², "On discipline", "Orders and bans"³³ and "Teaching order"³⁴.

Subject curriculum experienced many important changes. As Orwell once wrote: "He who controls the past controls the future. He who controls the present controls the past.", and his-

²³ V. Kaijaks, *Koka kāja, Kapu māja. Stāsts kā es septiņreiz no nāves izglābos* [Wooden Leg, House of Cemetery. Or the Story about Escaping Death Seven Times], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, b. g., p. 73.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 231.

²⁵ *Jaunatne savu uzdevumu izpratusi* [Young generation have understood their duty], *Sarkanais Sports* [Red Sports], 1941, 07.04.

²⁶ A. Rudzītis, *Kāpēc vajadzēja pārmaiņas skolu fiziskās audzināšanas darbā?* [Why changes are required in the physical training at schools?] "Izglītības Mēnešraksts" [Education Monthly], 1942, Nr. 2, p. 53.

²⁷ R. Liepiņš, *Disciplīnas jautājumi skolā* [Issues of Discipline at School], *Padomju Latvijas Skola* [Soviet Latvian School], 1940, 09.01.

²⁸ *Visstingrākā disciplīna valdīs mūsu skolās* [Strictest discipline will rule in our schools], *Darbs* [Labour], 1940, 09.13.

²⁹ *Komjaunatne un pionieri cels disciplīnu skolās* [Komsomol and pioneers will rise the discipline at schools], *Jaunais Komunārs* [Young Communard], 1940, 09.15.

³⁰ *Stingra disciplīna ir Padomju skolas pamatprasība* [Strict discipline is the basic requirement at Soviet schools], *Padomju Latvija* [Soviet Latvia], 1940, 09.30.

³¹ "Izglītības Mēnešraksts", 1942, Nr. 4.

³² *Ibidem*, 1942, Nr. 5.

³³ *Ibidem*, 1942, Nr. 6.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, 1942, Nr. 7.

tory was the first to suffer ideological changes. Latvians were taught that throughout history, their best friends and supporters had been either Russians or Germans³⁵. The corruption of history can be seen in the “correct” interpretation of history facts that was entrusted not to historians, but rather propagandists. During the first year of Soviet occupation, not all pupils had experienced actual repressions and were not yet afraid, so they had a tendency of asking Soviet propagandists uncomfortable questions. When asked about the unsuccessful war waged by the Red Army against Finland (“Winter War” from 30 November 1939 to 13 March 1940), the political up-bringer/leader answered that Finland was inhabited by the bourgeois, who did not deserve to be liberated by the workers and farmers of the Red Army³⁶.

Both the Soviet and also the Nazi occupations were characterized by the growing importance placed upon learning the associated foreign language. The number of Russian and German language lessons was increased. Rhetoric surrounding learning these languages was virtually identical – they were global languages spoken by all cultured people: “The German language had acquired significance as the language of the world”³⁷. Russian was positioned as the “common language of co-operation” of all people of the Soviet Union and “the bridge to world culture”³⁸. Pupil memoirs indicate that Russian in Latvia was taught by ethnic Latvian teachers, who did not know the language very well.

7. Teaching aids

Curriculum dictated by political power was propagandized through teaching materials and aids. As political power changed rapidly, textbook preparation delayed the start of the school year. The first books published in Latvian were primers (*Picture 12*) and textbooks for Latvian language, geography and history courses, as well as German or Russian language books. This indicates which subjects were viewed as politically sensitive.

Both occupying powers took action against books in libraries deemed ideologically unacceptable. Book burnings are included in the memoirs of many former pupils. The events related to books left behind even violence against people.

All political literature and textbooks with images of Latvian statesmen were collected from the shelves of school libraries and tossed into boxes. During the first year of Soviet occupation, approximately 4000 books and brochures were removed from the libraries of Latvia and destroyed.³⁹ Under Nazi rule, all literature that could be considered created by communists,

³⁵ A. Abens, *Effects of Authoritarianism on the Teaching of Latvian History*, Dr.diss, University of Latvia, 2011; A. Abens, *Effects of authoritarianism on the teaching of national history: the case of Latvia*, in “Paedagogica Historica”, Vol. 51 (1-2), 2015, pp. 166-180.

³⁶ *Mācīšana” pagājušajā gadā* [Teaching during the last year], “Izglītības Mēnešraksts”, 1942, Nr. 2, p. 47.

³⁷ J. Mierkals, *Par svešvalodu mācīšanos* [About Learning of Foreign Languages], “Izglītības Mēnešraksts”, 1943, Nr. 12, p. 279.

³⁸ Quoted from T. Lane, *Lithuania: Stepping Westward*, London, Routledge, 2001, p. 70.

³⁹ D. Bleiere *et alii*, *Latvijas vēsture. 20.gadsimts* [History of Latvia. 20th Century], Rīga, Jumava, 2005, p. 225.

Soviets, the English, Americans or Jews was taken out of circulation. The University of Latvia library alone had 30 000 books removed⁴⁰.

In memoirs, reprisals against books were described almost equally under the Soviets and the Nazis. Here are some examples: "I remember massive burning of books. They... took the books to the library from the abandoned flats and sorted them out there. Part were included in the funds of library but majority were spilled with petroleum and burnt down... In the yard of the library Komsomol were watching if somebody did not secretly take away the "harmful" books... My heart was aching... I still vividly see the magnificent volumes of burning books in front of my eyes"⁴¹. "They decided that books and posters couldn't be burned in furnaces, so they built a fire in the field behind the volleyball court. The fire consumed everything greedily"⁴².

Preservation of prohibited books became some kind of resistance: "Director announced that all books were abolished but he just took them out of book shelves and distributed to the most devoted readers"⁴³.

One book garnered the ire of both superpowers – that was the book *Dvēseļu putenis* [Blizzard of the Souls] first published in 1934 (Picture 13). The historically-based novel described battles of the Latvian Army during World War I from 1915 to 1919 when German and Bolshevik armies were driven from Latvian territory. A 1942 decree regulating school principal activities stated: "Education and culture directives require the immediate withdrawal of Aleksandrs Grīns' novel *Dvēseļu putenis*... the book must be delivered... to the book receiving station"⁴⁴. During the Soviet era, this book was banned, as was all other literature published in independent Latvia. As a result, reading banned literature became a form of protest. I believe, that a substantial number of pupils in Soviet Latvian schools have read a copy of *Dvēseļu putenis* that survived in private libraries. Today, when this work has become part of the mandatory curriculum, interest in the book has dropped sharply⁴⁵.

9. Myths

One of the main stories for both the Communists and the Nazis was the creation of the image of the enemy. Both sides widely used stories of atrocities committed against unprotected groups – women, the aged and children. Opposite the enemy stood a counter-image of "the

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 279.

⁴¹ V. Zandbergs, *Aktiera īstā alga* [Real Wage of Actor], Rīga, "Teātra anekdotes" sadarbībā ar Nacionālo teātri, 1993.

⁴² J. Liepiņš, *Es sadarbojos ar KGB un CIP dubultaģentu Imantu Lešinski* [I cooperated with KGB and CIP Double Agent Imants Lešinskis], Rīga, public foundation *Latvietis* [Latvian], 2003, p. 24.

⁴³ J. Streičs, *Lāga dvēseļu straumei* [Stream of Good Fellow Souls], Rīga, Dienas grāmata, 2006.

⁴⁴ *Rīkojums skolu priekšniekiem* [Regulation for the Directors of Schools], "Izglītības Mēnešraksts", 1942, Nr. 3, p. 94.

⁴⁵ E-mail correspondence with long-time teacher of Latvian language, assistant professor at the University of Latvia, Dr. paed. Elita Stikute in July 7, 2014.

self” – protector, ideally beautiful and a proper Russian or German (*Pictures 14 and 15*). Such was also the land from which this superhuman came, namely – Soviet Union and Germany. This was also taught in all history, geography and language lessons. I was quite surprised that post-war Soviet press had almost not mentioned school life under Nazi occupation. The enemy at this time was different – the “bourgeois” Latvian school, specifically the schools of independent Latvia: “Under the leadership of the Latvian Communist Party, a socialistic education system was developed... teachers were activists, and methodologists and pedagogy researchers unmasked the essence of the Latvian nationalist bourgeois anti-ethnic education policy and criticized the foundations of bourgeois pedagogy”⁴⁶. I interpret this as the ruling order’s assumption that the Nazis had never been popular among the local Latvians and that they had been utterly defeated. The Communists viewed stories about the flowering of Latvia during its years of independence, which still remained in the collective memory and was discussed only in the private space, to be much more dangerous.

10. Political symbols

The Soviet regime did not leave any aspect of school life to chance. During this time, even the arrangement of the classroom was officially decreed. The traditional classroom arrangement included portraits of political leaders and political slogans quoting Lenin or Stalin (*Picture 16*).

As mentioned in several memoirs, after the Red Army invasion, all portraits from previous era, including those of the president and Latvian poets, as well as patriotic posters, poetry and folk songs were removed from the walls⁴⁷. These were replaced with portraits of Stalin and, occasionally, Lenin. “Many of us suddenly felt uncomfortable – we had created our classrooms and helped to take care of our school, but all at once, everything is bad and must be thrown out”⁴⁸.

Most important elements for visual propaganda in classrooms were map, portray of politicians, soldiers and artists, slogans and paintings devoted certain themes.

However, studies of more than 100 classroom photos from 1940s and 1950s reveals a quite different picture comparing with official statements regarding propaganda at schools: the walls are almost empty. Just some pictures of Lenin and Stalin, or one slogan are placed in real classroom (*Pictures 17 and 18*). These propaganda materials obviously were large-scale production. Children were not involved in creation of classroom propaganda in these years.

However, the Soviet propaganda dwelled in schools but in specially arranged place for this. It was compulsory for every school to create “Little Red Corner” or “Red Pioneer Room” later.

⁴⁶ R. Miķelsons (Ed.), *Development of the pedagogical thought from the “Skolas un pedagoģiskās domas attīstības Padomju Latvijā”* [Development of Schools and Pedagogical Thought in Soviet Latvia], Rīga, Zvaigzne, 1969, p. 49. In press see, for example, E. Andersone, *Latvijas skola, Padomju Latvijas Skola* [Soviet Latvian School], 1945, 03.01.

⁴⁷ Liepiņš J., *Es sadarbojos ar KGB un CIP dubultaģentu Imantu Lešinski*, cit., p. 23.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

The concept of “Little Red Corner” is not easy to explain – it was both a physical and intellectual creation which consisted of the latest newspapers, political brochures and Soviet symbolism. This location was the meeting place for political information sessions and Red Pioneer meetings (*Picture 19*).

Wall newspapers also served propaganda purposes, which had to be created by pupils themselves. They, too, were richly adorned with Soviet symbols (*Picture 20*).

Nazi symbols entered the classroom in 1941. Pedagogic press invited: “Ensure that the image of Adolf Hitler, as the leader of the struggle against the world threat of Bolshevism, is central”⁴⁹. Images of marching Nazi soldiers were placed on the walls⁵⁰.

The Soviet regime unmercifully replaced the Latvian flag with Soviet symbolism. The Nazis, however, allowed the use of some Latvian elements alongside Nazi symbols, thus creating the illusion of possible Latvian independence. For example, the cover of the book *Mans tētis karavīrs* [My Dad, the Soldier]⁵¹ pictured a German soldier with the Latvian flag in the background (*Picture 21*).

This German “compliance” was a particularly successful propaganda tactic: The unified symbolism served to create the image of the Latvian-Nazi and supposedly confirmed the support of the Latvian nation for Nazism.

However, an article in the pedagogic press written by a long-time teacher offers food for thought. The article, entitled “Decorating the Classroom”, did not include a single reference to Nazi portraits or Nazi symbols. Quite the opposite – the article stressed the need to display images of local artists, scientists and other public figures, as well as their paintings and images of nature. Also mentioned were patriotic slogans “such as those displayed during Latvian independence”⁵². This article can be interpreted in various ways – it could be construed as latent resistance against the Nazi regime and its foreign heroes forced upon the people. It also could have been a protest against all foreign heroes (including the Soviets) – a call to replace them with local culture in the classroom.

11. Rituals and traditions

It is safe to say that of all the propaganda rituals, the most vividly remembered were two – singing and the celebration, or non-celebration of certain holidays. Almost all memoirs mention this. Clearly political ideologists recognized that “the key to the heart is singing”.

The most revered songs for the Communists were the *Internationale* and the Soviet anthem, as well as songs about Lenin, Red Pioneers, War songs and patriotic songs about the

⁴⁹ H. Namneek, *Vēstures mācīšana no jaunās Vācijas viedokļa* [Teaching of history from the new Germany perspective], in “Izglītības Mēnešraksts”, 1942, Nr. 12, p. 364.

⁵⁰ Kajjaks V., *Koka kāja, Kapu māja. Stāsts kā es septiņreiz no nāves izglābos*, cit., p. 133.

⁵¹ M. Grīnfelde, *Mans tētis – karavīrs. Vēstules no Volhovas purviem* [My Father – Soldier. Letters from the Swamps of Volkhov], Rīga, Zelta ābele, 1943.

⁵² A. Mežaks, *Skolas telpu izdaiļošana* [Decorating of School Premises], in “Izglītības Mēnešraksts”, 1943, Nr. 8, pp. 176-187.

Soviet Union⁵³ (*Pictures 22, 23 and 24*).

During the Nazi occupation, pupils in school had to learn and start each morning with the German national anthem. The curriculum from 1941 stated that such songs as German national anthem and “Die Fahne hoch...”, as well as Latvian national anthem should be taught in all grades in the beginning of school year⁵⁴.

Mostly the new songs were accepted but in some cases they were used for resistance: “Once when all pupils were gathered in the hall, Miss Gusmanis strongly hit the first accord on piano and we had to start to sing but there was complete silence in the hall. To save this awkward situation Miss Gusmanis continued to play the [German] anthem till the end as cordially and energetically she could..., but after that they never made us to sing the German anthem at school, we just had to get up and hear it standing”⁵⁵.

Both totalitarian regimes decreed which holidays required celebration (*Picture 25*).

During the Soviet era, the celebration of Christmas was banned as a religious holiday. At Christmas school children went into the woods to light the Christmas tree⁵⁶. Latvians celebrated Christmas in secret, only within the family or with close, trusted friends. May 1 and October revolution celebrations were declared, and on these days, the classroom needed to be appropriately decorated, and pupils had to participate in parades and meetings (*Pictures 26 and 27*).

With the printing of new calendars on 28 November 1941 the Nazis declared their holidays. Of 43, only 10 were related to Latvian history; the remaining was associated with events in Germany. Hitler’s and Goering’s birthdays were declared commemoration days⁵⁷.

However, pupil memoirs most frequently noted the ban on the celebration of 18 November – the date of Latvia’s declaration of independence. Celebration of this date was completely banned during the entire Soviet period, as well as during the first year of Nazi occupation. Yet, the Nazis allowed it in 1942⁵⁸. Nevertheless, the Nazis viewed this with suspicion, because an independent Latvia was not part of Hitler’s plan.

It was specifically on 18 November that many pupils and teachers throughout Latvia dared to organize counter-propaganda against the Soviet regime: Anti-Soviet leaflets calling for the independence of Latvia were distributed (“Down with the foreign regime!”, “God bless Latvia!”), or the Latvian flag was raised⁵⁹. One of the interviewed respondents recalled how she and some of her classmates had gone to the forest, picked some foliage and decorated the classroom with Latvian flags and the greenery. They knew they were acting against the rules, but

⁵³ *Dziedāšanas mācību grāmata 3.klasei* [Singing Textbook for the 3rd Grade], Rīga, Latvijas Valsts Izdevniecība, 1955, pp. 116-117.

⁵⁴ *Latviešu pamatskolu programmas* [Latvian Elementary School Curriculums], Rīga, Latvju grāmata, 1941, p. 46.

⁵⁵ A. Iklāva, *Ir visādi gājis* [There has been Heights and Lows], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2013.

⁵⁶ J. Zālītis, *Sestā simfonija* [Sixth Symphony], Zvaigzne ABC, 2005.

⁵⁷ K. Zellis, *Ilūzijas un baiļu mašīnērija. Propaganda nacistu okupētajā Latvijā: vara, mediji un sabiedrība (1941-1945)*, cit., p. 213.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 216.

⁵⁹ T. Vilciņš, *Skolu jaunatne nacionālajā cīņā (1940-1941)* [School youth during national fight (1940-1941)], Rīga, Latvijas Valsts Arhīvs, 1997.

they did not understand how drastic the consequences could be. The teacher arrived in the classroom, viewed the scene and said, "Thank you, class, but now take everything away." A few minutes later, the school director and a strange man entered the class. But all the decorations were gone⁶⁰. Such happy endings were not always the case – pupils were arrested and punished⁶¹ (*Picture 28*).

Just as it is in times of peace, wartime also had its share of graduation ceremonies and traditional photographs. I have viewed several tens of photographs from various Latvian schools and I found the girls' dress quite obviously – they were often wearing Latvian national dress (*Picture 29*). Perhaps that could be explained by the relative poverty of wartime and post-war period, but also by the desire to distance themselves from the foreign powers and to maintain their national identity. Traditions offered some sense of stability for pupils.

12. Conclusions and discussion

Nazi propaganda reached classrooms very poorly, but Soviet propaganda penetrated the visual culture of classrooms just from the end of 1960s. Under the Soviets in the 1940s and 1950s, the teaching/learning space and propaganda space were separated. Propaganda mostly dwelled in the "Little Red Corners" and "Red Pioneer Rooms" – specially arranged places for propaganda purposes.

I suspect that Latvia, and the Baltic region in general, was just a small player in the eyes of the superpowers and specific propaganda campaigns for Latvia were not created. Instead, campaigns piloted in other occupied territories were used.

In the 1940s and 1950s the propaganda tools were mainly created by adults. Children were engaged in creating propaganda step by step since 1960s. For this, attractive methods were used – competitions and awards. With the arrival of politics and propaganda, the classroom entered the world of the adults.

The everyday life of school experienced the confrontation of two totalitarian regimes. Propaganda often played up the dichotomy: chaos in Soviet schools against the strict order and discipline of German ones. Actually, in Latvian classroom, one totalitarian regime struggled against the other.

It is ironic to note that both occupying armies positioned themselves as liberators: The Soviet Army liberated Latvia from the bourgeois yoke, in 1941 the Nazis liberated Latvia from the Bolsheviks/Communists, and in 1944/45 the Soviet Army liberated Latvia from the Nazis. This belief in a lofty mission was also an ideological downfall, because in their propaganda, the occupying powers positioned themselves according to the image they had created, not the one perceived the people of Latvia. The teacher is the most tragic personality in all these clashes of propaganda as he/she had to publicly change his/her views and deny the validity of what he/she had previously said. It should be noted that responsibility for propaganda is a touchy

⁶⁰ Interview with Inese Zariņa (born in 1932) in 23 December, 2013.

⁶¹ T. Vilciņš, *Skolu jaunatne nacionālajā cīņā (1940-1941)*, cit.

question. It is much easier to place the blame on “the other” than to clinically analyze and explain one’s actions⁶². Portraits of dictators were placed on the walls by concrete individuals, and ideologized textbooks were written by identifiable authors. Teachers are responsible individuals and, therefore, they are easily manipulated by super-powers with purpose to create propaganda tools.

Totalitarian rule divided life in Latvia very sharply into two spheres – the public and the private. Both show attempts by Latvian pupils and teachers to return to pre-war life through stress upon and an almost desperate desire to maintain their ethnic identity. Bans often produced the opposite results – the disallowed became interesting and inviting. The Promised Land, for many years, became “an era of peace” and independent Latvia, which had been pushed out of the public sphere and became idealized in the private, becoming the “golden past”.

Strict separation of public and private life created silence due to fears from reprisals. The past was often silenced. These silences were kept through all the way of life of former pupils. In memoirs, for instance, “disappearance” was used often instead of “death” or “killing”.

The only aspect of Communist and Nazi propaganda enthusiastically accepted in Latvia was the idea of proper and disciplined upbringing of pupils in schools. Firstly, the technical aspect of this policy was implemented successfully: it permeated all the politically sensitive elements of classroom culture – images, symbols, rituals, myths and rhetoric. Secondly, the idea of discipline was acceptable to all the players: pupils enjoyed the associated physical activities and teachers appreciated the organized and as a result easily controlled pupil masses. Thirdly, as we know from Foucault and his like-minded colleagues, discipline and order are the essence of school life. It does not even need to be propagandized because it corresponds to the nature of school: “Through the design of the classroom, in the structuring of lessons, in the emphasis on punctuality and obedience to authority, the conduct of each child could be ordered, observed, judged and assessed”⁶³. Nostalgia for the “old days” form of discipline in schools resounds in Latvian society to this day⁶⁴.

The antonym of word “propaganda” could be traditional piece of art (beauty): slogans *versus* paintings (piece of art), soldier’s uniform *versus* national costume. Propaganda is centered on a new future, traditions – on the familiar current comfort zone.

⁶² M. Šneidere, *Dīta* [Dita], Rīga, Jumava, 2006.

⁶³ N. Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*, Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 76-77.

⁶⁴ I. Keštere, T. Lāce, *Padomju skola: ieskats tās raksturojumā un vērtējumos* [Soviet School: Introduction in its Characteristics and Evaluations], *Latvijas Universitātes raksti* [Latvian University Articles], *Pedagoģija un skolotāju izglītība* [Pedagogy and Teacher’s Education], Vol. 670, Rīga, Latvijas Universitāte, 2004.

The Classroom as an arena for political propaganda:
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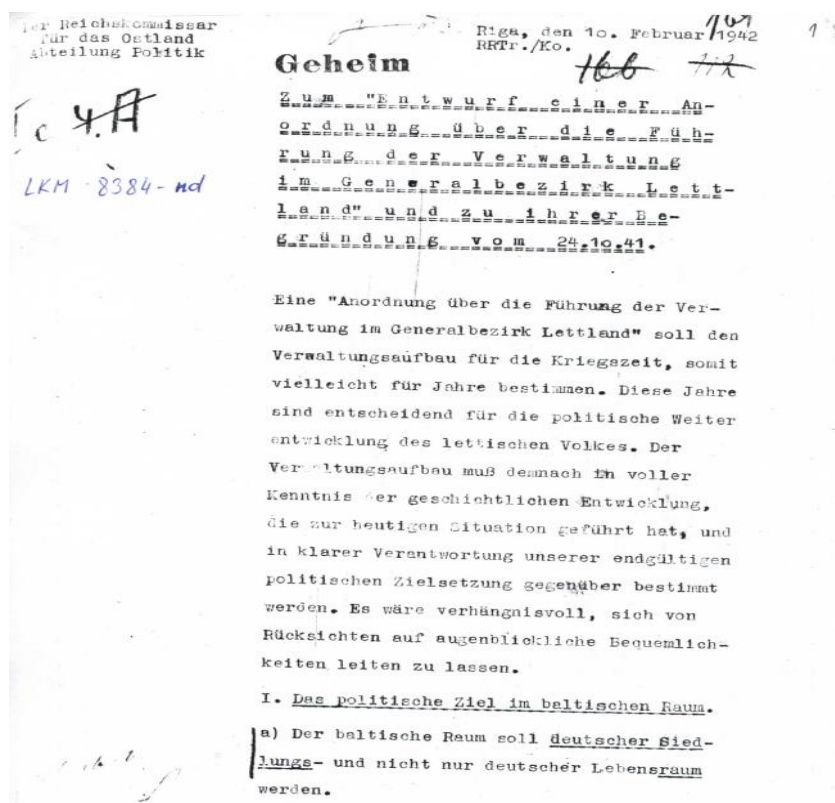
Table 1

Class-room as...	Personalities/ Social roles/ Actors/ Images	Artifacts/ symbols	Daily practices and rituals	Traditions	Exceptional events	Language/ Rhetoric
...a physical space	Teacher/Pupil	Text-books Wall display	Teaching/ Learning	Holidays Trips	Death Disappearance etc.	Teachers' stories Pupils' stories Expressions Nick-names Slang Addresses etc.
...an ideology space	Boy/Girl Poor/Rich Popular/ Marginalized etc.	School bag School desk etc.	Lesson/Break Punishment/ Awarding Flirt/Fight Singing etc.	Graduation etc.		
...a social space						
...a psychological space						
... an intellectual space						

Structure and elements of the classroom culture⁶⁵

⁶⁵ See S. Braster, I. Grosvenor, M. del Mar del Pozo (Eds.), *The Black Box of Schooling. A Cultural History of the Classroom*, cit.; M. Lawn, I. Grosvenor (Eds.), *Materialities of Schooling*, Oxford, Symposium Books, 2005; N. B. Johnson, *West Haven: Classroom Culture and Society in a Rural Elementary School*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1985; S. Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1982; P. M. Jackson, *Life in Classrooms*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968; M. Mead, *The School in American Culture*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951; N. Brooks, *Culture in the Classroom*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986; J. S. Bruner, *The Culture of Education*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1996.

Picture 1

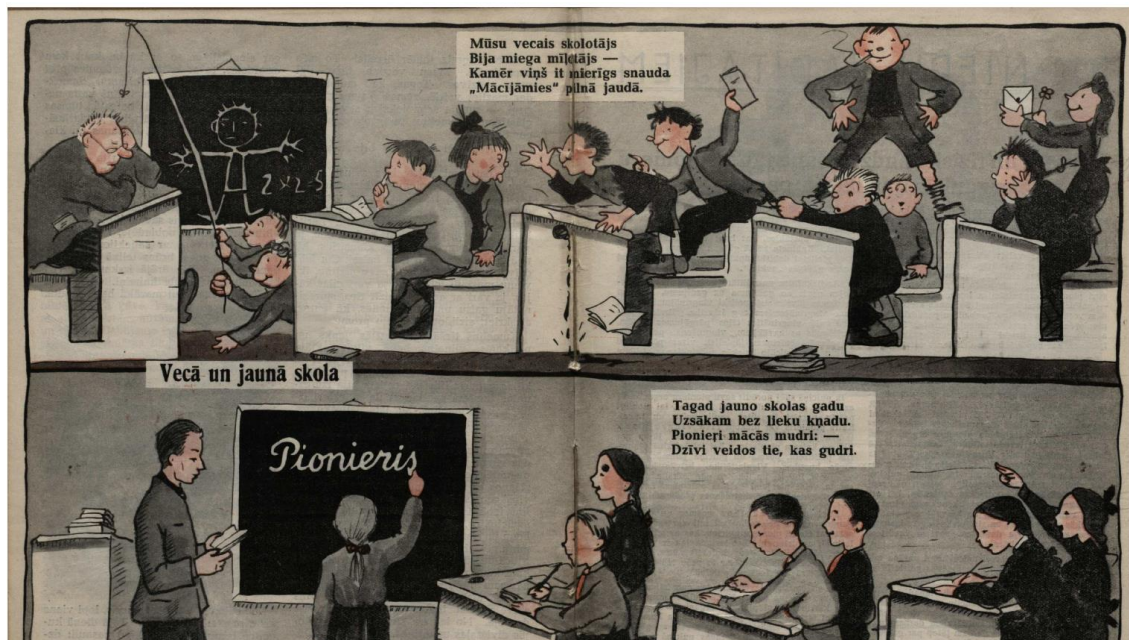


Secret document issued by Nazi in October 24, 1941: "... I. Political goal in the Baltic area. a) The Baltic area should become German's space not just German's living place"⁶⁶.

⁶⁶ Collection of the Latvian War Museum, LKM 8384-nd.

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Picture 2



“Old” (the bourgeois) versus “new” (the Soviet) school depicted in the Soviet children’s journal in Latvian *Pionieris* [Red Pioneer], 1940⁶⁷.

Picture 3

In capitalist countries the young toilers are fighting against the exploiters for better living conditions, for a free and cultured life. This is a life and death struggle against reaction, capitalism, war. Many young boys and girls finish school but do not find work. They are a burden to their parents, who themselves have nothing to eat.

Text from the Soviet textbook of English language for Latvian schools, 1947⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ *Pionieris* [Red Pioneer], 1940, Nr. 2, 24.

⁶⁸ A. S. Landa, M. I. Ļebedinska, *English. Angļu valodas mācība vidusskolai* [English. English language teaching aid for secondary school], Rīga, Latvijas Valsts Izdevniecība, 1947, p. 4.

Picture 4

Happy Soviet youth whose future is secure! The radiant future was foretold by Lenin when he called on the youth in 1920 to do their duty: "The generation which is now fifteen years of age will see the communist society and will itself build that society. And it must know that the whole task of its life is the building of this society."

Text from the Soviet textbook of English language for Latvian schools, 1947⁶⁹.

Picture 5



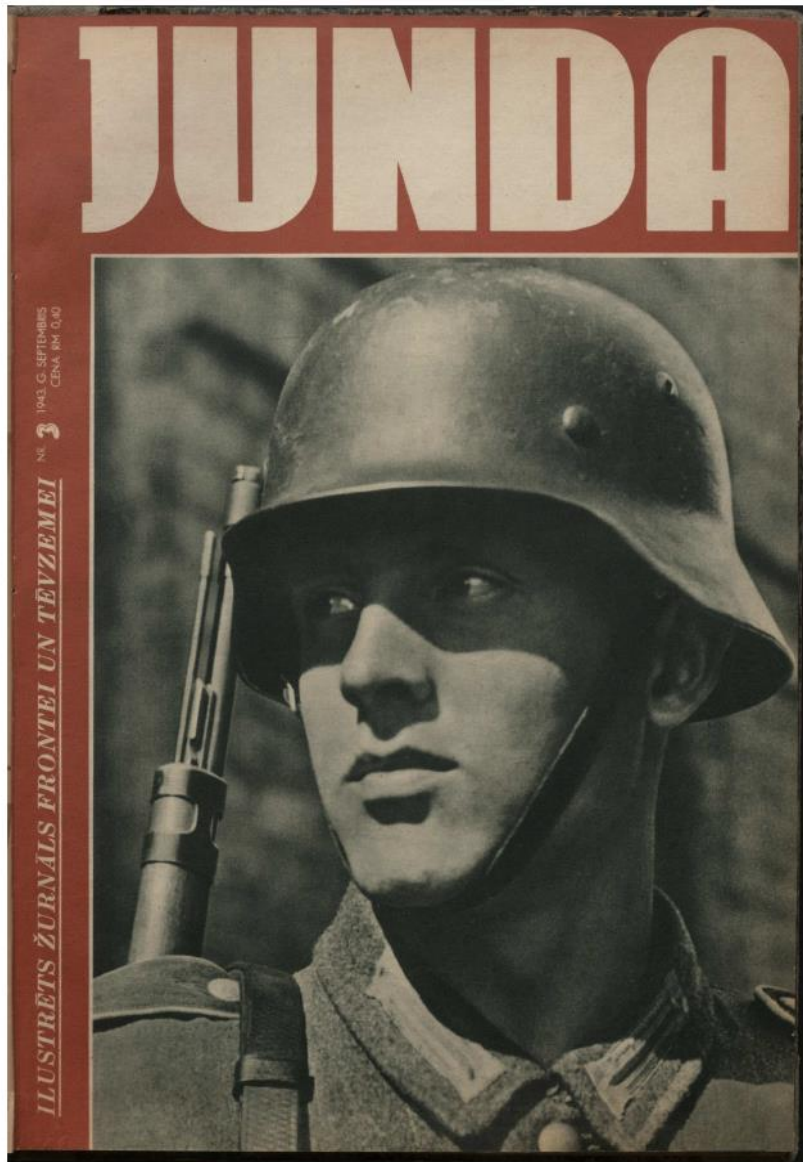
Cover page of the Soviet children's journal in Latvian Pionieris [Red Pioneer], 1940⁷⁰.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*

⁷⁰ *Pionieris* [Red Pioneer], 1940, Nr. 2.

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Picture 6



Cover page of the Nazi journal in Latvian *Junda* [Watch], 1943⁷¹.

⁷¹ *Junda* [Watch], 1943, Nr. 3.

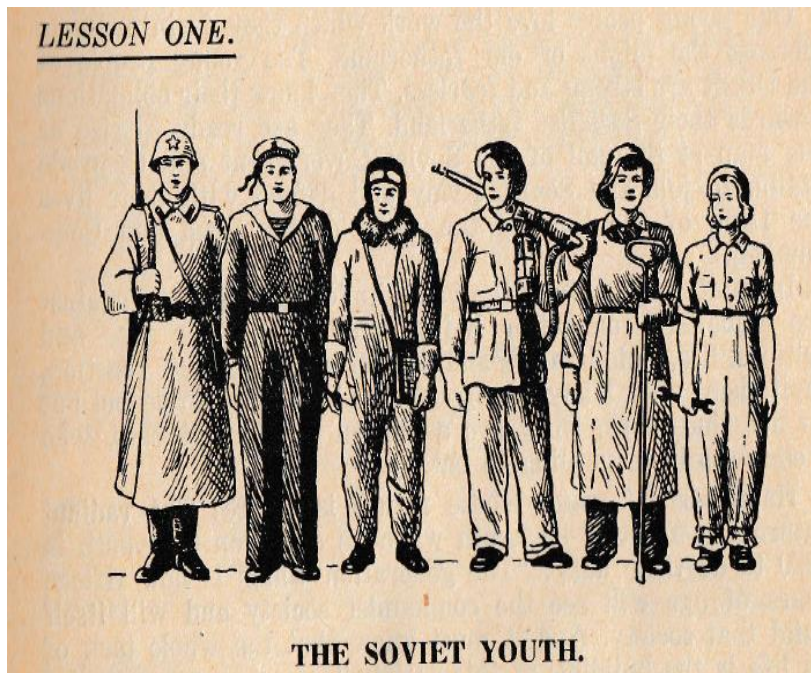
Picture 7



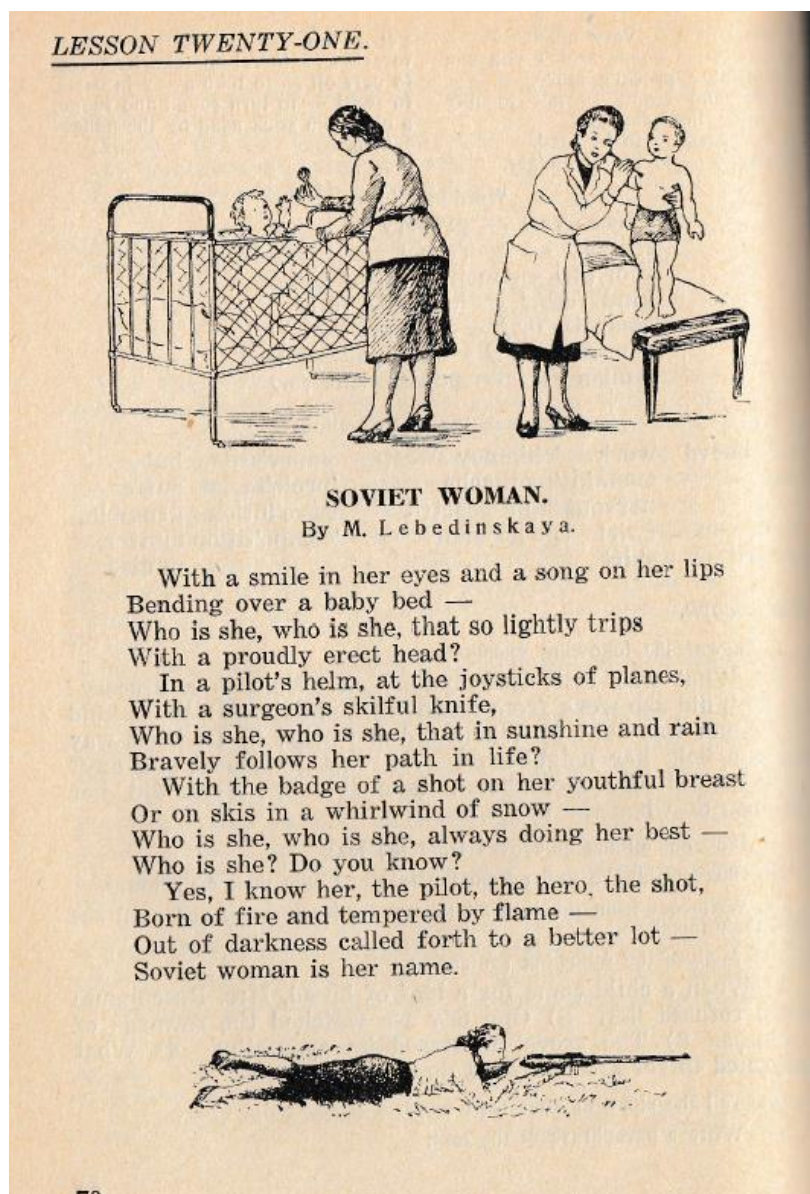
Nazi poster in Latvian: ‘Latvian Youth! Fatherland is calling for you during the fatal hour!’, 1944⁷².

⁷² K. Zellis, *Ilūzijas un baiļu mašīnērija. Propaganda nacistu okupētajā Latvijā: vara, mediji un sabiedrība (1941-1945)*, cit., p. 191.

Picture 8



Picture 9



Pictures from the Soviet textbook of English language for Latvian schools, 1947⁷³.

⁷³ A. S. Landa, M. I. Lebedinskaya, *English. Angļu valodas mācība vidusskolai*, cit., p. 70.

Picture 10



Poem devoted to military parade published in the Soviet children's journal in Latvian Pionieris [Red Pioneer], 1941:

“...I will grow up!
I will learn!
I will go to army
I will drive an armored vehicle.”⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Pionieris [Red Pioneer], 1941, Nr. 5, p. 25.

Picture 11



Pupils of Riga elementary school, 1941⁷⁵.

Picture 12

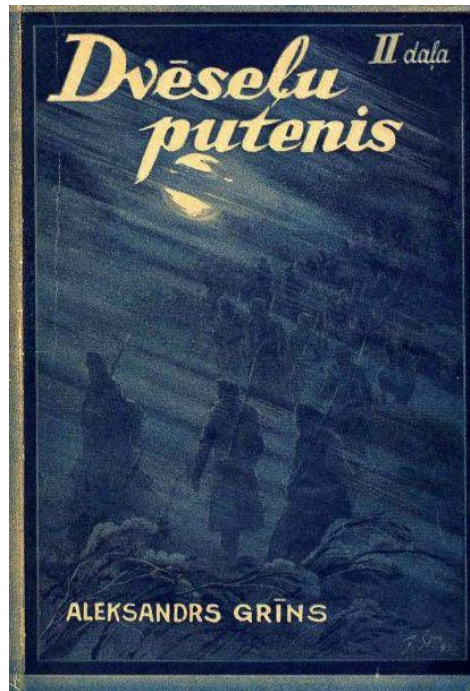
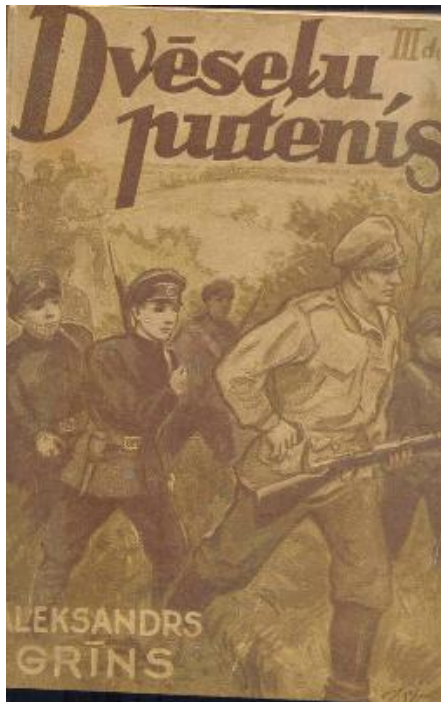


Text in the Soviet primer for Latvian schools, 1946: "...Our Peter is a tankman. Tankman is strong"⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ *Pionieris* [Red Pioneer], 1941, Nr. 4, p. 3.

⁷⁶ K. Karulis, *Ābece* [Primer], Rīga, Grāmatu apgāds, 1946, p. 21.

Picture 13



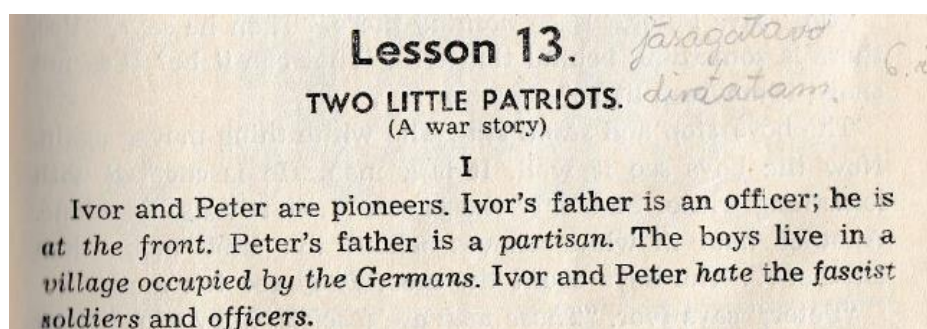
Cover of the novel by Aleksandrs Grīns *Dvēseļu putenis* [Blizzard of the Souls], 1934.

Picture 14



Photos of Russian children from the Nazi journal in Latvian *Junda [Watch]*, 1943: “Russian children... under Bolsheviks were never properly dressed, enough fed and treated. Under the German liberators... small human beings can smile again knowing that whole life is still ahead”⁷⁷.

Picture 15



Text from the Soviet textbook of English language for Latvian schools, 1950⁷⁸.

⁷⁷ Krievu bērni [Russian children], *Junda [Watch]*, 1943, Nr. 6.

⁷⁸ J. Godļiņiks, M. Kuzņecs, *English. Angļu valodas mācība septiņgadīgās skolas 6.klasei* [English. English language teaching aid for 6th grade of middle school], Rīga, Latvijas Valsts izdevniecība, 1950, p. 49.

Picture 16

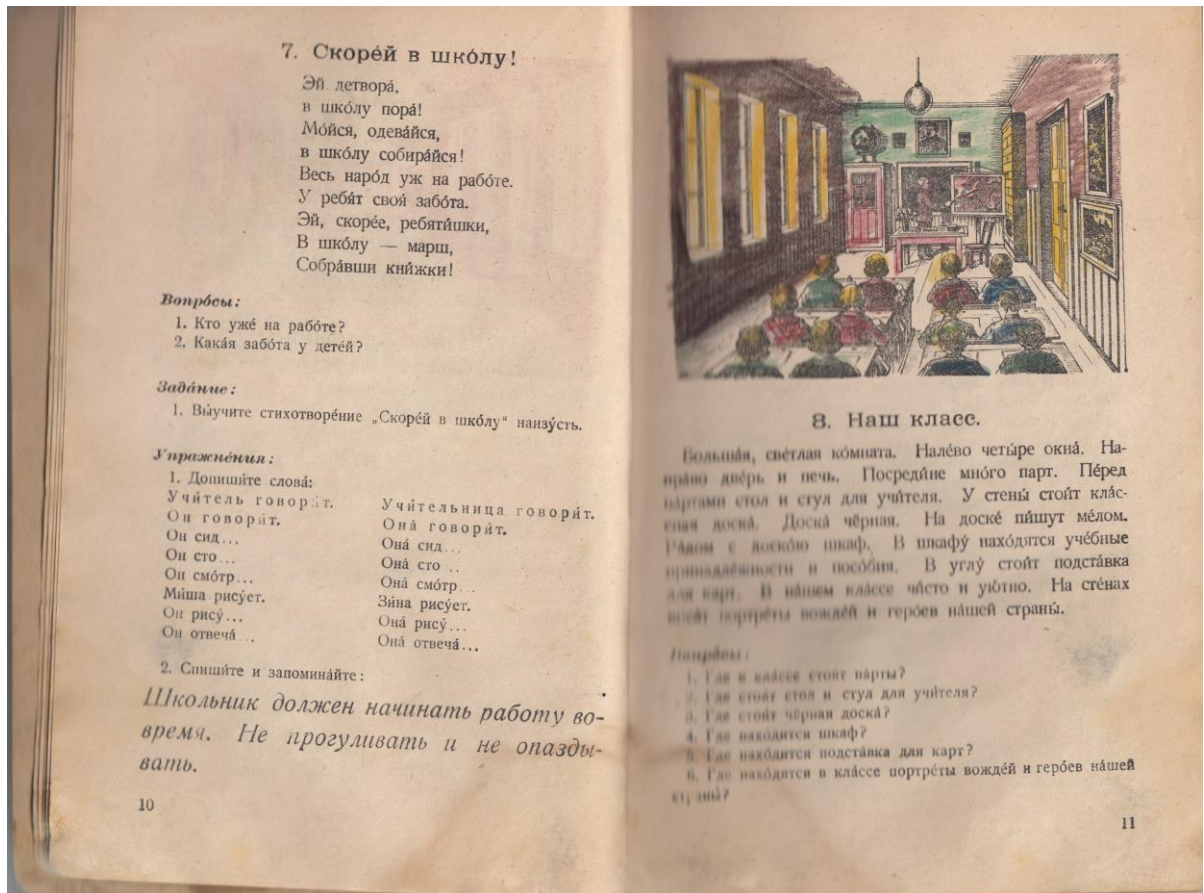


Image and description of classroom in the Soviet textbook for Latvian schools, 1946: "...The portraits of our political leaders are on the walls...."⁷⁹.

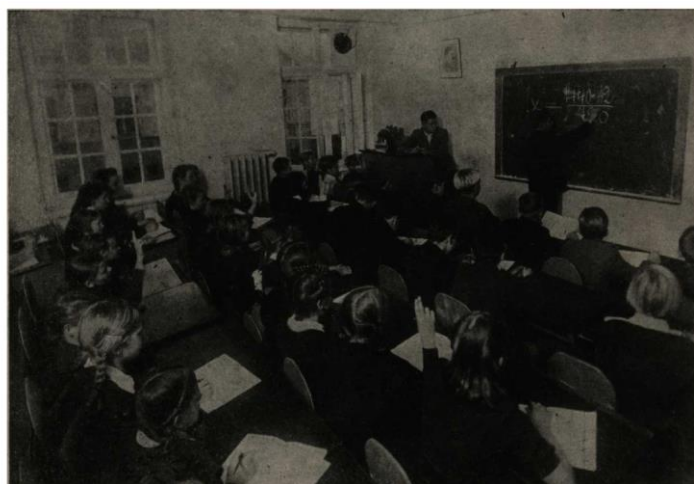
⁷⁹ K.J. Peterson, *Ucbebnjik russkovo jazika dlja 3-jevo klassa latisskih skol* [Textbook of Russian Language for the Latvian Schools. Grade 3], Riga, APP Knjigoizdatelstvo, 1946.

Picture 17



Classroom in reality: elementary school of Riga, 1947⁸⁰.

Picture 18



Classroom in reality: elementary school of Riga, 1940⁸¹.

⁸⁰ Collection of School Museum of Riga.

⁸¹ *Pionieris* [Red Pioneer], 1940, 01.11.

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Picture 19



“Little Red Corner” in elementary school of Riga, 1952⁸².

Picture 20

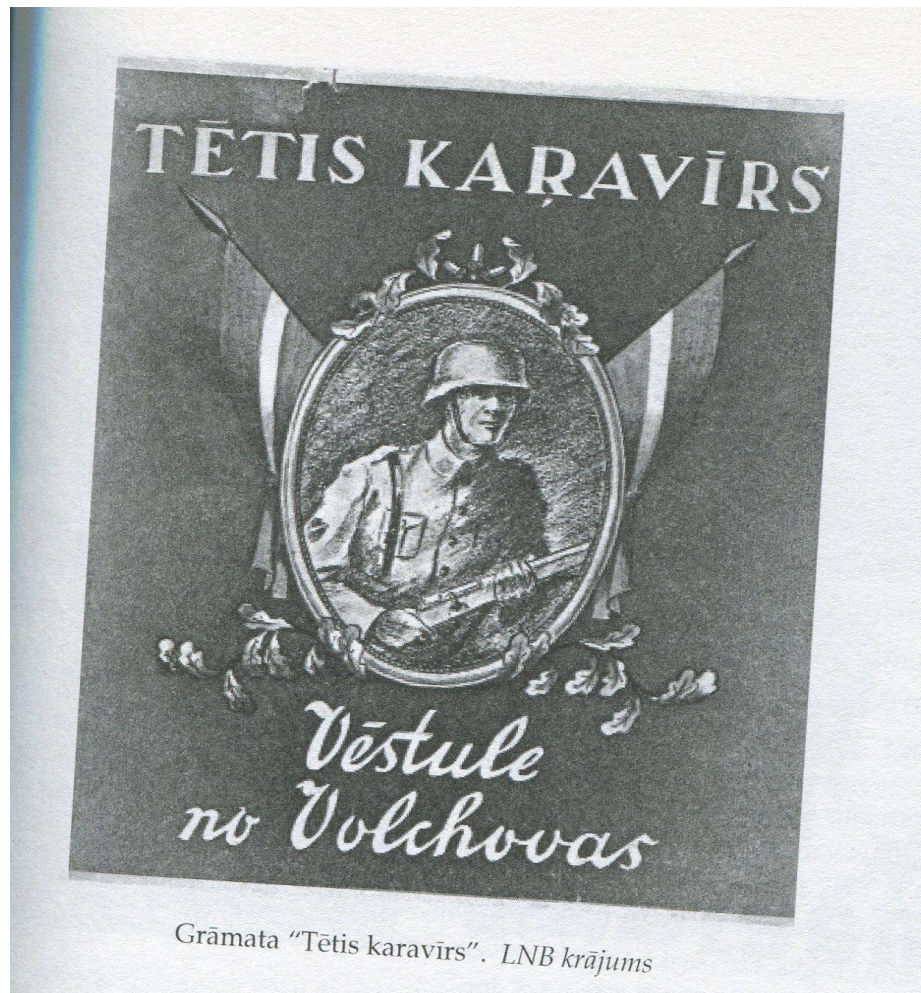


Elementary school of Riga. Red Pioneers preparing the wall newspaper on the occasion of the anniversary of the Red Army, 1941⁸³.

⁸² Collection of Latvian State Archive of Audiovisual Documents.

⁸³ A. Ceichners, *Latvijas boļševizācija 1940-1941* [Bolshevization of Latvia 1940-1941], Riga, 1944, p. 321.

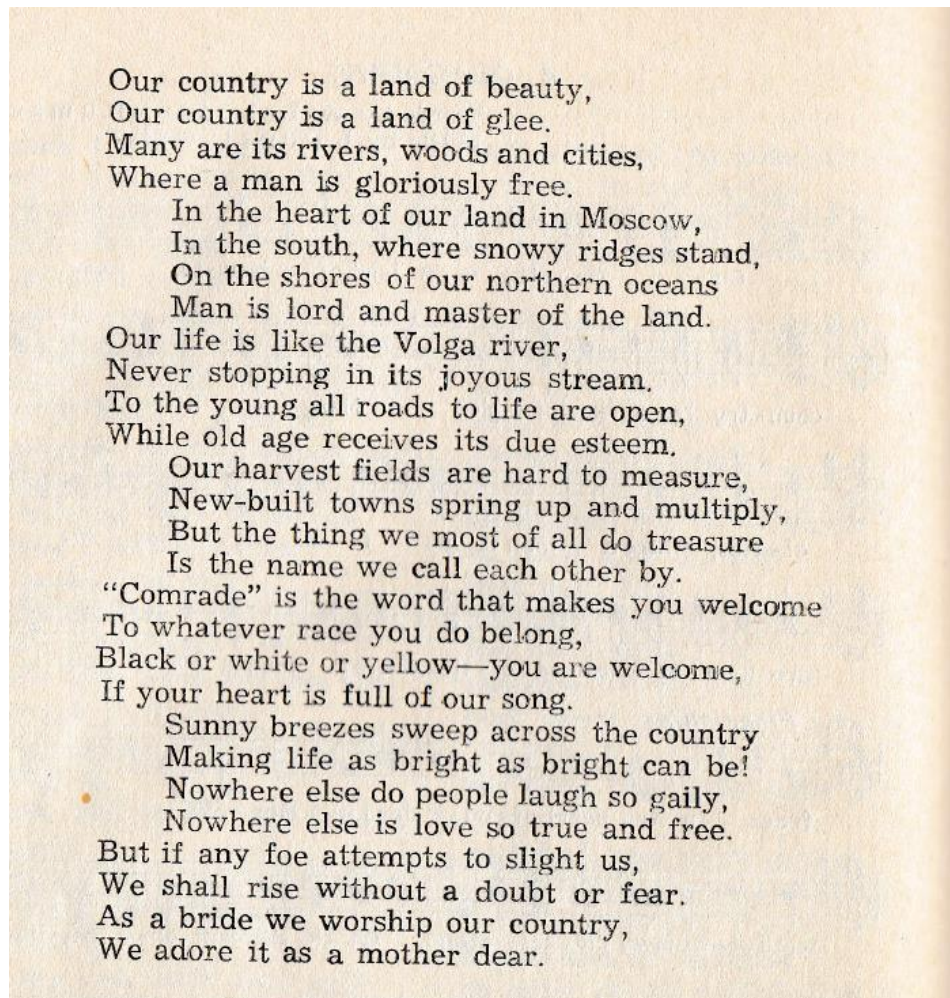
Picture 21



The cover of the book *Mans tētis karavīrs. Vēstules no Volhovas purviem* [*My Dad, the Soldier. Letters from the Swamps of Volkhow*], 1943⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ K. Zellis, *Ilūzijas un baiļu mašīnērija. Propaganda nacistu okupētajā Latvijā: vara, mediji un sabiedrība (1941-1945)*, cit., p. 137.

Picture 22



English version of the Soviet patriotic song Shiroka strana moja rodnaja [Wide is my Motherland] by Isaac Du-naevsky (1936), published in the Soviet textbook of English language for Latvian schools, 1950⁸⁵.

⁸⁵ J. Godļiņiks, M. Kuzņecs, *English. Angļu valodas mācība septiņgadīgās skolas 6.klasei*, cit., p. 102.

Picture 23



Pupils' choir of the school in Cesis under the slogan: 'Komsomol, Pioneers and pupils! Diligently and persistently acquire the knowledge and skills! Prepare to become active fighters for Communism!', 1950s⁸⁶.

Picture 24

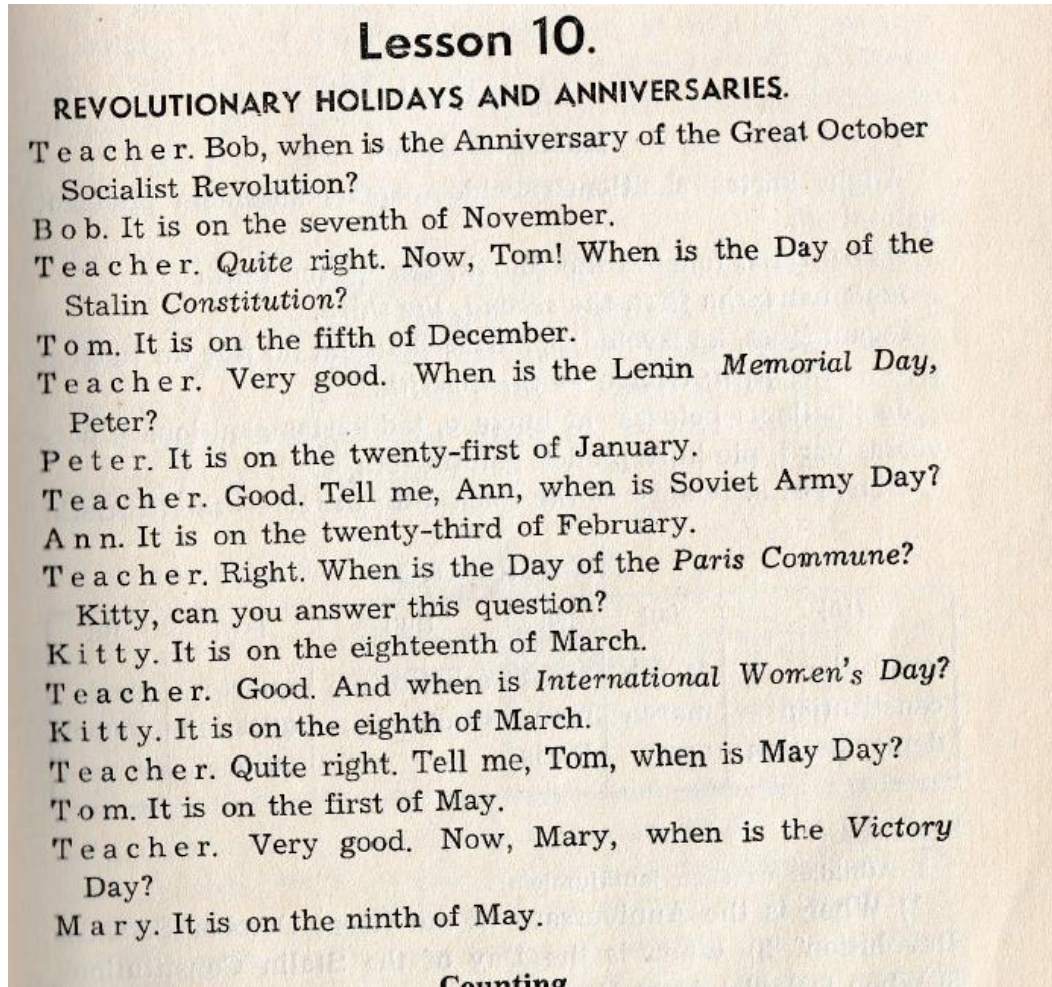


School in Liepaja, 1953⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ Collection of School Museum of Riga.

⁸⁷ Collection of the Museum of Liepaja.

Picture 25



The Soviet holidays listed in the Soviet textbook of English language for Latvian schools, 1950⁸⁸.

⁸⁸ J. Godļiņiks, M. Kuzņecs, *English. Angļu valodas mācība septiņgadīgās skolas 6.klasei*, cit., p. 35.

Picture 26



Students marching in the parade of the Anniversary of 'the Great October Socialist Revolution', Cesis, 1940⁸⁹.

Picture 27

The meeting *began* after the lessons. Comrade Ozols, a Soviet officer, *came* to our school to tell us about the Soviet Army. He *told* us about the Great *Patriotic War*, about our *heroes* and their *exploits*.

At the *end* he *said*, "Our Soviet Army and our Soviet Navy are very *strong*. Our *artillery* and *aviation* are the *best* in the *whole world*. Our soldiers and officers are always ready to defend our country.

We must all be ready; you, children, must learn *to shoot* and become Voroshilov *shots*."

Long live the Soviet Army!
Long live the Soviet Navy!
Long live Great Stalin, Generalissimo of the Soviet Union!

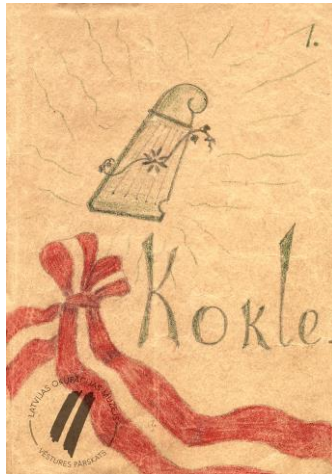
Celebration of Soviet Army Day in school, described in the Soviet textbook of English language for Latvian schools, 1950⁹⁰.

⁸⁹ Collection of National History Museum of Latvia.

⁹⁰ J. Godļiņiks, M. Kuzņecs, *English. Angļu valodas mācība septiņgadīgās skolas 6.klasei*, cit., p. 64.

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Picture 28



Pupil's illegal anti-Soviet journal Kokle [Lute] issued from 1945 to 1946. The authors were arrested and punished⁹¹.

Picture 29



School graduation ceremony, 1943⁹².

Received December 1, 2016
Revision received January 3, 2017
Accepted January 10, 2017.

⁹¹ The Second Soviet Occupation. Terror of Stalin, 1944-1953, *Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Department of Education* <http://omip.lv/lv/latvijas-vestures-parskats/otra-padomju-okupacija-stalinisma-terors-1944-1953> [retrieved 6th of November 2015].

⁹² *Collection of National History Museum of Latvia.*