Emily Johnson

Morale in the Forests: Nationalism and the Baltic Anti-Soviet Partisans, 1940-1953

 The Baltic anti-Soviet partisans – also known as the Forest Brothers – are a key piece of history to the modern Baltic states.[[1]](#footnote-1) In scholarship and the world beyond the Baltic nations, these individuals are either glorified as freedom fighters or vilified as Nazi collaborators.[[2]](#footnote-2) Though these men and women were combatants in a hidden and forgotten war against the Soviet Union, they were ordinary people who led average lives before joining the ranks of the rebellious movement.[[3]](#footnote-3) The motivations behind why regular people took up arms against the Soviet regime during and after World War II has been well-studied, but how these people maintained their morale has gone neglected.[[4]](#footnote-4) Though the predominate theory about the partisans’ morale claims their spirits were uplifted by news from the West and propaganda against Western nations, there remains little research on other factors that could have inspired the Forest Brothers to continue fighting.[[5]](#footnote-5) By examining song lyrics, memoirs, oral histories, interviews, and the scholarship of other historians in this field, I contend that nationalism conveyed through stories of suffering, the arts, identity, and general camp life helped to boost the anti-Soviets’ morale. In this essay, I will argue that morale was bolstered among Baltic anti-Soviet partisans due to living in the forests and sharing songs and stories of their hopes, struggles, and beliefs, helping to build their nationalism and their identity as partisans.

Although most scholars in this field assert the claim that anti-Soviet morale came from the belief that Western forces were en route to help the Baltic states, there has been little research on other aspects of camp life that may have contributed to morale.[[6]](#footnote-6) V. Stanley Vardys, Romuald Misiunas, and Rein Taagepera all assert that the anti-Soviet partisans’ morale came from a combination of anti-Western propaganda from the USSR and the hope of a third world war breaking out between the former Allied Powers.[[7]](#footnote-7) Mart Laar, while agreeing that the Soviets’ dismissal of the partisans inspired confidence, disagrees with these scholars by using the memoirs of Estonian anti-Soviets to argue that the partisans did not feel they needed the aid of Western nations to succeed in driving the enemy out of their lands.[[8]](#footnote-8) Instead of relying on Western nations or Soviet propaganda, Tomas Balkelis and Dovilė Budrytė assert that the anti-Soviets relied primarily on themselves to boost their own morale. Balkelis contends that the partisans embraced the term “bandit” drawing from popular folk hero Tadas Blinda, while Budrytė highlights her interview with a former partisan who found morale in collecting and singing partisan songs.[[9]](#footnote-9) While it is true that the anti-Soviets were hopeful at the idea of Western allies coming to join them, there has not been enough research on aspects of camp and bunker life to support this as being the sole item that inspired morale among the Forest Brothers. Those who had joined the Forest Brothers were capable of boosting their own morale from their recently restored national pride that was being threatened by the conquests of foreign neighbors.

Before World War I, the Baltic states had existed within the old Russian Empire for hundreds of years, vying for power within the framework of the imperial system.[[10]](#footnote-10) After the fall of the Empire, the Baltic states regained their independence with the help of Western allies. For a period of twenty years, the Baltic nations ruled their own republics with shaky democracies that struggled to adapt to the world they were thrust into.[[11]](#footnote-11) This frail system was challenged when Hitler began his conquest of Europe and turned to ally his regime with that of the Soviets. The two nations came together August 23, 1939 to sign the secretive Nazi-Soviet Pact – or the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact – in which Estonia and Latvia were promised to the USSR and Lithuania was to be given to Germany.[[12]](#footnote-12) The Soviet Union made its motives known as it began demanding the Baltic nations to allow Red Army military installations, forcing Mutual Assistance Treaties, and meddling in national elections before finally outright occupying and annexing the countries in 1940.[[13]](#footnote-13) This annexation brought about widespread backlash, leading to people either fleeing to the West or taking up arms and heading into the forests.[[14]](#footnote-14)

 Even before the invasions of the Soviets and Nazis, who brought with them forced conscriptions, the forests were viewed fondly by local populations.[[15]](#footnote-15) This fondness came from Baltic folklore and stories that treated the forest as a safe haven sacred to the Balts.[[16]](#footnote-16) When foreign powers invaded and attempted to recruit men and women into their ranks, people began to take to the woods to go into hiding.[[17]](#footnote-17) The forests, already being seen as the symbolic roots of Baltic identity, helped the anti-Soviets foster their nationalism and embolden them as fighters.[[18]](#footnote-18) Being unable to simply accept the conquest of their countries, partisans took refuge in the woodlands and began to come together to form a more united front against their Soviet foes.[[19]](#footnote-19)

Within the safety of the forests, the anti-Soviet partisans could begin to organize themselves against their enemies. While approximately 10,000 people had joined the Estonian anti-Soviets and Latvia had recruited between 10,000-15,000 partisans, Lithuania was by far the most organized nation in this endeavor and had acquired 30,000 members by 1944.[[20]](#footnote-20) The Lithuanian Forest Brothers declared themselves the “supreme political body of the nation during the occupation period” on February 16, 1949 – an act that was inconceivable without the protection of bunkers hidden in the forests.[[21]](#footnote-21) Though unified military structure and documentation among partisan ranks were not common to all of the Baltic nations, bunkers and countryside hideouts scattered across the woods were.[[22]](#footnote-22)

According to various interviews and oral histories, the bunkers found in the woodlands of the Baltic states were typically small and cramped, only allowing for a few men to fit inside at a time.[[23]](#footnote-23) Living in forest bunkers was a dangerous affair since there was no easy escape route, with usually only one exit being built into such bunkers.[[24]](#footnote-24) This left the men with the option of either living and possibly being captured by the enemy or killing themselves in an explosion to keep partisan secrets out of the hands of the Soviets.[[25]](#footnote-25) For Jonas Kadzionis’s unit, the men all agreed to kill themselves before there was a chance to be captured, showing that this subject and their commitment to the cause were oft-discussed topics.[[26]](#footnote-26) This show of community and defiance was also shared among locals who helped the partisans to hide from the Soviets in spite of the consequences they could incur for doing so.[[27]](#footnote-27)

As it became clear that the situation at hand was not improving, more people began flocking to the woods to take shelter in makeshift bunkers, creating a parallel world of rebellion and nationalism within them.[[28]](#footnote-28) Though most areas with bunkers housed only a few partisans, some areas were used to form much larger camps of Forest Brothers. Depending on the size of the bunker, one could be finished within a single day, using the strength of the unit to come together to collect wood and hollow out the ground.[[29]](#footnote-29) Once constructed, a bunker acted as a home, a camp, and a command center from which the anti-Soviets plotted to fell their enemies.[[30]](#footnote-30) According to former Lithuanian Forest Brother, Jonas Kadzionis, “It was never boring in the bunker.”[[31]](#footnote-31) Son of a former Estonian Forest Brother, Meelis Möttus corroborates this point by stating how men traded alcohol, food, and stories to pass their time as they waited for their next attack.[[32]](#footnote-32)

While alcohol and tight spaces helped men to confide their hopes and sense of national pride to one another, so too did songs. Due to the nationalistic leanings of the songs produced by the partisans, they were dangerous to sing aloud, especially as the Second World War wrapped up and Soviet forces were able to focus on their new territories. By singing the songs of the Forest Brothers, anti-Soviets were able to identify one another. [[33]](#footnote-33) These songs were spread to far-flung units across the nations through the use of messengers like Aldona Vilutienė. Vilutienė was an anti-Soviet partisan messenger in Lithuania who found, collected, and spread the songs of the partisans. Through her discoveries of different songs being sung in the partisan camps, Vilutienė felt her own morale boosted to the point where she felt confident enough in her cause that she boldly sung of the partisans in public.[[34]](#footnote-34)

 Thanks to the work of those who collected partisan music like Vilutienė, many of the anti-Soviet songs survived the Soviet period. In Lithuania’s case, so many survived that the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre produced a CD compilation of some of them.[[35]](#footnote-35) One such song, “Oh, Little Falcon,” contains key clues as to what topics were usually discussed in the camps of the Forest Brothers and how nationalism factored into these conversations. The song begins by asking the falcon what was new “in that beloved country,” referring to a partisan’s home in the countryside and giving it praise.[[36]](#footnote-36) The falcon responds with, “Oh, you partisan, son of woe, Why are you asking for such news,” implying that the cause of the partisan is a tragic one and that he will not receive any good news.[[37]](#footnote-37) The song then transitions from personal tragedy to one that the whole nation was suffering by stating, “The entire country is in sorrow.”[[38]](#footnote-38) This line shows the partisans’ sense of unity through their shared suffering. The lyrics focus back on the home by mentioning the partisan’s farm and the state of their home by saying, “In your farm… Your home stands neglected.”[[39]](#footnote-39) This line shows how the Lithuanian Forest Brothers were operating primarily in the countryside.[[40]](#footnote-40) Finally, the song ends with the deaths of the partisan’s family members, presumably at the hands of the Soviets, highlighting the tragedy by repeating, “And the third sandy grave – is your youngest sister’s.”[[41]](#footnote-41) The song has several distinct movements, beginning with the home, then transitioning to the nation, then to the countryside, before finally returning to the home, making the cause personal and national to any partisan who listened to it.

Though Lithuania is the only nation to have produced a CD with partisan songs, they were not the only country to create songs about the struggles of the Forest Brothers. One of Estonia’s anti-Soviet songs is sung by Möttus, in which the lyrics tell of the bravery and tragedy of the partisan cause. The very first stanza in the song Möttus performs is, “In my family’s home, by the woods, The Reds have made their nest.” The wording here suggests a feeling that the partisans’ families are being held hostage by “The Reds.” This begins the song on a personal note where family is being invoked.[[42]](#footnote-42) The main chorus of the song is, “Partisans, we are! …Estonian partisans!” This repeating chorus establishes a sense of pride in who they are, as well as establishing that they are Estonian, showing their nationalism and their purpose.[[43]](#footnote-43) The line, “We can’t! We won’t! serve the Ruskies!” reminds them who they are fighting against while also showing that they feel they will be under the Russians as second-class citizens if they do not fight back.[[44]](#footnote-44) “Tomorrow, we’ll see who the real Estonians are” reminds the partisans of what they are fighting for and highlights their nationalism, telling the audience that those who are not fighting against the Russians cannot be considered “real” Estonians.[[45]](#footnote-45) The song ends by circling back to the topic of family, “My parents, they shot, My sister, they sent to Siberia! I stalk the woods, the bogs, to get even!” Once again, the fight of the partisans is made personal and is about avenging their families and their homeland.[[46]](#footnote-46)

These songs act both as representations of the Forest Brothers’ values and why they continued fighting, giving researchers a glimpse into what their day-to-day conversations may have been about. This revolutionary music placed partisan identity in two categories: an individual category and a group category. In both songs, there exists a distinct pattern to identify who the anti-Soviets were and who they were not. To shape individual identity, the songs show the importance of family by placing the Forest Brothers as the heads of their respective households, tasked with reaping vengeance on those who dared to bring harm to their families. In one sense, this shows them as being brave family men, while in another it shows their tragedy and woe. In shaping the group identity, these songs highlight how the countries are suffering along with individual families, seeming to beg for the Forest Brothers to take vengeance on their behalf as well. Here, individual and group identity become conflated, pushing the anti-Soviets’ struggle in the framework of nationalism and a need to defend the home at any cost.[[47]](#footnote-47) The development of personal identity was especially important to keeping up morale, as it gave the partisans something to cling to and unite over while their families suffered through Soviet raids.[[48]](#footnote-48)

Within both “Oh, Little Falcon” and Möttus’s unnamed partisan song, the partisans mention the pain they felt over the sufferings of their families and their nations, placing such suffering as a unique part of their identity as partisans. This pain was enough to make these men seek revenge and, finding that it was happening across their respective countries, turned it into a national suffering that boosted the men’s resolve to continue fighting.[[49]](#footnote-49) The pain of the families of the partisan members is described in a first-hand account by Eha Loorits, the daughter of a former anti-Soviet partisan, who suffered a heart condition after enduring countless Soviet raids of her family’s home at a young age.[[50]](#footnote-50) After local Soviet officials suspected a man had gone to the woods to become a partisan fighter, his entire family was subjected to raids and frequent interrogations in order to discover his location, leaving many people like 11-year old Loorits terrified of Soviet officers.[[51]](#footnote-51) Loorits mentioned that her family was not alone in being taken by local officials to be interrogated. According to her, “Family members of partisans were being interrogated in the cellar… some even ten days, including my father’s two sisters.”[[52]](#footnote-52) Family members were not the only ones who felt pressure from the authorities to give up partisans – the surrounding community was often involved in helping to hide Forest Brothers and was placed under the threat of being deported to Siberia.[[53]](#footnote-53) The strain involved in keeping anti-Soviets’ locations secret was felt by the entire community, further inspiring the men of the resistance to continue fighting and believing themselves to be the sole protectors of these people.[[54]](#footnote-54)

While the partisans produced their own set of identities to help people come together in a united front, the Soviets appropriated a portion of Baltic folklore – popular bandit and “Robin Hood” figure, Tadas Blinda – into being a proper proletariat.[[55]](#footnote-55) This act soon backfired on the Soviets as they began charging the partisans with being “bandits,” refusing to acknowledge them as anything more threatening than lowly thieves.[[56]](#footnote-56) Given Blinda’s characterization as being a bandit, this branding only helped the anti-Soviets to feel more nationalistic than before. Not only were they wrestling a popular figure’s image out of the hands of the Soviets, they were also being likened to him. The label of “bandit” proved only to stoke the flames of nationalism and identity as stories were traded in the partisans’ bunkers in order to pass the time.[[57]](#footnote-57)

Among the stories the partisans traded in their bunkers to keep up morale was one of Western military forces coming to join the Forest Brothers in their fight against the Soviet Union.[[58]](#footnote-58) Given that partisan fighting continued after World War II, the tensions forming around Western countries and the Soviet Union gave anti-Soviets the false impression that Westerners planned to take action against the USSR for conquering countless countries in Eastern Europe. This rumor arose from the mistaken belief that the U.S. policy of containment in 1947 and the anti-Western propaganda from the Soviet Union were signs that a third world war was soon to break out amongst the old Allied Powers.[[59]](#footnote-59) Coupled with the rumor of Western countries coming to join the fray, the Forest Brothers developed an identity around being freedom fighters who took action to defend their nations. This identity of being righteous freedom fighters who had suffered grievous offenses under the Soviets led the partisans to feel justified in any actions they took against those who supported the Soviet regime.[[60]](#footnote-60) These actions included holding trials for captured Soviet collaborators and killing those that had supported the Soviets.[[61]](#footnote-61) Though it was not clear at first, the rumors swirling of Western intervention collapsed and the anti-Soviets were filled with the bitter feelings of betrayal and fury.[[62]](#footnote-62)

 At the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union was finally able to turn its full attention toward the unrest in the Baltic states, committing special operatives to dress in partisan garb in order to fool them into coming out of hiding.[[63]](#footnote-63) Former partisan Kadzionis was among those tricked by this tactic and claimed, “We would have resisted longer if it wasn’t for them.”[[64]](#footnote-64) By infiltrating the ranks of anti-Soviets and the villages they occupied, the Soviets were able to reduce support for the partisan movement, which began to dwindle as did morale.[[65]](#footnote-65) The final blow to the partisan movement came with Stalin’s death in 1953, though in the years preceding his demise policies were enacted in order to coax the Forest Brothers to come out of hiding.[[66]](#footnote-66) With the harshest Soviet policies behind them and their villages and families begging them to come home, the anti-Soviets quietly began rejoining society.[[67]](#footnote-67)

 For decades, the former members of the anti-Soviet partisans were unable to speak of their time in the woods without attracting the attention of the Soviet administration, ever on the prowl to stomp out vestiges of nationalism that did not fit their own agenda.[[68]](#footnote-68) Möttus, son of a former Estonian Forest Brother, claimed that under Soviet rule no one was allowed to speak of the partisans.[[69]](#footnote-69) Now, these men and women are finally able to share their experiences with the world, restoring nationalism and a sense of pride in their countries. One former Latvian partisan said, “It is a nice feeling, we can talk freely now.”[[70]](#footnote-70) While decades have silenced many of the former partisans, their stories coming to light now have inspired a new sense of nationalism, boosting the morale of modern troops with their tales of courage in the face of suffering.[[71]](#footnote-71)

 In this essay, I have argued that nationalism helped boost the Baltic anti-Soviet partisans’ morale. Nationalism came from hiding in the forests that were long-since seen as safe havens, trading and collecting songs, sharing stories of pain and suffering, and by placing the partisan identity within the framework of the country. By living in the forests with other partisans, Forest Brothers were able to craft their own identities as well as feed off the labels given to them by their opponents. These identities were placed within a larger scheme of nationalism, with those living in the bunkers using national suffering and personal pains to fashion themselves as freedom fighters looking for vengeance against the enemies who have harmed them. While there was certainly hope of Western intervention, these men and women inspired themselves to continue fighting, showing that nationalism was a key element in keeping up the morale of the Baltic anti-Soviets. Future research on this topic must take a more holistic approach to the Forest Brothers’ morale, in which culture, the countryside, and the struggle for independence in the Baltics must be accounted for.

1. This research will primarily be focusing on the Forest Brothers of Estonia and Lithuania, which are known as *metsavennad* and *miško broliai* – both roughly translating to “Forest Brothers.” [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Andrew Higgins, “Nazi Collaborator or National Hero? A Test for Lithuania,” *The New York Times*, Sept. 10, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/10/world/europe/nazi-general-storm-lithuania.html ; Silvia Foti, “In Search of the Truth: Silvia Foti Investigates Jonas Noreika,” *Wordpress*, https://silviafoti.com/ ; Jason Katz, “Surmounting Lithuania’s Holocaust past,” *The Washington Times*, April 11, 2017, https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/apr/11/lithuanias-holocaust-past-still-haunts-country/. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas (1918-1957),” accessed Apr. 4, 2020, http://genocid.lt/muziejus/lt/746/a/ ; Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “Bronius Liesys-Naktis (1922-1949),” accessed Apr. 4, 2020, http://genocid.lt/muziejus/lt/753/a/. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States, Years of Dependence, 1940-1990*, Expanded and Updated ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 84 ; Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “MSFL Organizational Structure in 1949-1950,” accessed Feb. 2, 2020, http://genocid.lt/centras/en/1018/a/ ; Mečislovas Mackevičius, “Lithuanian Resistance to German Mobilization Attempts 1941-1944,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences*32, no. 4 (1986): http://www.lituanus.org/1986/86\_4\_02.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 85 ; V. Stanley Vardys, “The Partisan Movement in Postwar Lithuania,” *Slavic Review* 22, no. 3 (1963): 504 ; Tomas Balkelis, “Social Banditry and Nation-Making: The Myth of a Lithuanian Robber\*,” *Past and Present* 198, no. 1 (2008): 115-18 ; Dovilė Budrytė, “From Partisan Warfare to Memory Battlefields: Two Women’s Stories About the Second World War and Its Aftermath in Lithuania,” *Gender & History* 28, no. 3 (2016): 766 ; Mart Laar, *War in the Woods: Estonia’s Struggle for Survival, 1944-1956* (Washington, D.C.: Compass Press, 1992), 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Vardys, “The Partisan Movement,” 501. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Anti-Western propaganda was taken as a sign of tensions heating up between the USSR and the Western world, giving anti-Soviet partisans the false impression of an impending war; Vardys, “The Partisan Movement,” 503-4 ; Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Laar, *War in the Woods*, 63, 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Balkelis, “Social Banditry,” 114, 121, 135-36 ; Budrytė, “From Partisan Warfare to Memory Battlefields,” 765-66. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Aldis Purs, *Baltic Facades: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania Since 1945* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2012) 40-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Purs, *Baltic Facades*, 45-47. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. The Soviets later asked for all three Baltic states; Daniel J. Kaszeta, “Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation 1940-1952,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 34 (1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88\_3\_01.htm ; Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Kaszeta, “Lithuanian Resistance,” http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88\_3\_01.htm ; Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 19-20 ; Andrej Plakans, *The Latvians: A Short History* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1995) 143-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Most migration out of the Baltics came in 1944 with the approach of the Red Army, just as most partisan activity began in 1944. Though not as many people were migrating or fighting until 1944, this wave of discontent is important to note; Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, “Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea: The Siberian Memoirs of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė,” trans. by Laima Sruogyntė, *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 36, no. 4 (1990): http://www.lituanus.org/1990\_4/90\_4\_05.htm ; “Meelis Möttus. Son of a Forest Brother (Partisan)” by Hint-Video and KGB Cells Museum/Tartu City Museum, *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 0:35-1:38, http://coldwarsites.net/videos/ ; Camps in Germany (1944-1951) for Refugees from Baltic Countries Exhibition, “The Beginning of Displacement (Estonia),” accessed Apr. 22, 2020, http://www.archiv.org.lv/baltic\_dp\_germany/?id=210&lang=en ; Kaszeta, “Lithuanian Resistance,” http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88\_3\_01.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 0:45-1:15 ; Laar, *War in the Woods*, 54. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Edmunds V. Bunkśe, “Latvian Folkloristics,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 92, no. 364 (1979): 203 ; Vykintas Vaitkevičius, “The Sacred Groves of the Balts: Lost History and Modern Research,” *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 42 (2009): 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 1:30-1:50. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Vaitkevičius, “The Sacred Groves of the Balts,” 82 ; Balkelis, “Social Banditry,” 135-36. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. “Jonas Kadzionis. The Partisan in the Forest,” by Algis Kuzmickas, *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 1:28-1:35, http://coldwarsites.net/videos/ ; Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “MSFL Organizational Structure in 1949-1950,” accessed Feb. 2, 2020, http://genocid.lt/centras/en/1018/a/. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 83 ; NATO, “Forest Brothers – Fight for the Baltics,” July 11, 2017, 5:27-5:42, , accessed Mar. 4, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5rQFp7FF9c. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “The LLKS Council’s Declaration of Feb. 16, 1949 and Its Signatories,” accessed Mar. 24, 2020, http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/2376/a/. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. “Jonas Kadzionis,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 1:35 ; Capt. Olavi Punga, “Estonia’s Forest Brothers in 1941: Goals, Capabilities, and Outcomes,” *Global ecco*, accessed Feb. 29, 2020, https://globalecco.org/estonias-forest-brothers-in-1941-goals-capabilities-and-outcomes. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 3:35. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. KGB artist, *Vilma War after war\_4-www*, illustration, from the Museum of Genocide Victims, http://coldwarsites.net/country/lithuania/. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. “Jonas Kadzionis,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 4:00. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. “Jonas Kadzionis,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 3:55. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. NATO, “Forest Brothers,” 4:03-4:15 ; “Eha Loorits. Daughter of a Forest Brother (Partisan),” by Hint-Video and KGB Cells Museum/Tartu City Museum, *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 12:14, http://coldwarsites.net/videos/. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. “Jonas Kadzionis,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 1:35. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 3:35, 6:52 ; “Jonas Kadzionis,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 4:55. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Council of the Movement of the Struggle for Freedom of Lithuania, *LLKS Declaration of Feb. 16, 1949*, declaration, from the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, http://genocid.lt/centras/en/2375/a/ (accessed Feb. 2, 2020) ; Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “The LLKS Council’s Declaration,” http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/2376/a/. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. “Jonas Kadzionis,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 7:19. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 7:07-8:03. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Budrytė, “From Partisan Warfare to Memory Battlefields,” 765. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Budrytė, “From Partisan Warfare to Memory Battlefields,” 765-66. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “For Freedom, Homeland, and You,” accessed Feb. 24, 2020, http://genocid.lt/centras/lt/570/a/. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. DamnKimPhilby, “Songs of Freedom, “Oh, Little Falcon”,” Feb. 21, 2008, 0:46, accessed Mar. 16, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-ULCDUc\_3s ; Laar, *War in the Woods*, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. “Oh, Little Falcon,” 1:05. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. “Oh, Little Falcon,” 1:19. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. “Oh, Little Falcon,” 2:17-2:23. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 91 ; Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “The LLKS’s Declaration,” http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/2376/a/ ; Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, “The Partisan Military Districts of the Lithuanian Freedom Fighters,” accessed Feb. 2, 2020, http://genocid.lt/centras/en/1017/a/. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. “Oh, Little Falcon,” 3:07. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 10:01. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 10:15. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 10:36. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 11:12. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 12:23. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 11:12-12:23 ; “Oh, Little Falcon,” 1:19, 3:07. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Laar, *War in the Woods*, 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 12:23 ; “Oh, Little Falcon,” 3:07. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. “Eha Loorits,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 3:58. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. “Eha Loorits,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 3:13. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. “Eha Loorits,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 7:22. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. “Eha Loorits,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 12:14 and 1:13 ; Laar, *War in the Woods*, 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. “Eha Loorits,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 12:14 ; NATO, “Forest Brothers,” 5:06-5:10. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Balkelis, “Social Banditry,” 113, 134-35. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Laar, *War in the Woods*, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Balkelis, “Social Banditry,” 121, 134-36 ; NATO, “Forest Brothers,” 2:40-2:49. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Vardys, “The Partisan Movement,” 503-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Vardys, “The Partisan Movement,” 504. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Mart Laar, *Scenes of Resistance 28*, in *War in the Woods: Estonia’s Struggle for Survival, 1944-1956* (Washington, D.C.: Compass Press, 1992), 108-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Yad Vashem, “Bronislava Krištopavičienė,” accessed Apr. 3, 2020, https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous-women/kristopaviciene.asp ; Genocide and Resistance Research Centre, “The LLKS Council’s Declaration,” http://genocid.lt/muziejus/en/2376/a/ ; Laar, *War in the Woods*, 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. “Jonas Kadzionis,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 1:15. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. NATO, “Forest Brothers,” 5:42-5:50 ; Laar, *War in the Woods*, 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. “Jonas Kadzionis,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 7:59. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 91 ; Laar, *War in the Woods*, 70, 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. “Eha Loorits,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 7:33-8:06 ; NATO, “Forest Brothers,” 5:50-5:57 ; Laar, *War in the Woods*, 58 [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 5:55-6:12. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 91 ; Balkelis, “Social Banditry,” 134-35 ; Laar, *War in the Woods*, 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. “Meelis Möttus,” *Baltic Initiative and Network*, 6:41. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. NATO, “Forest Brothers,” 7:00-7:05. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. NATO, “Forest Brothers,” 5:58-6:27. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)