



**Pekka Kallioniemi** @P\_Kallioniemi

Jun 20, 2025 · 23 tweets · [P\\_Kallioniemi/status/1936031370977120278](#)

In today's Vatnik Soup REBREW, I'll re-introduce a Latvian politician and former MEP, Tatjana Ždanoka. She's best-known for her history in the Communist Party of Latvia, for her pro-Russian politics in the country, and her connections to Russian intelligence.

1/22



Based on Ždanoka's speeches and social media posts, she has a deep hatred towards the people of Latvia. The reason for this can only be speculated, but part of it could be due to her paternal family being killed by the Latvian Auxiliary Police,...

2/22



...a paramilitary force supported by the Nazis, during the early 1940s. Ždanoka became politically active in the late 80s. She was one of the leaders of Interfront, a political party that supported Latvia remaining part of the USSR.

3/22




In 1999, Ždanoka was banned from the Latvian parliament and lost her seat on the Riga City Council after it was revealed she had served on the Communist Party's Audit Committee following its 1991 call for a coup against the Latvian government.

4/22

AFTER THE COUP

## ***AFTER THE COUP; Latvians Outlast Communist Party and Seek Arrest of Its Leader for Backing the Coup***

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AP

Aug. 23, 1991



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August 23, 1991, Section A, Page 9 | [Buy Reprints](#)

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The New York Times Archives

#### 4. The events of August and September 1991

25. On 19 August 1991 there was an attempted coup in Moscow. The self-proclaimed "National State of Emergency Committee" announced that Mr Gorbachev, President of the USSR, was suspended from his duties, declared itself the sole ruling authority and imposed a state of emergency "in certain regions of the USSR".

26. On the same day the Central Committee and the Riga Committee of the CPL declared their support for the National State of Emergency Committee and set up an "operational group" to provide assistance to it. According to the Government, on 20 August 1991 the CPL, the *Līdztiesība* parliamentary bloc and various other organisations signed and disseminated an appeal entitled "Godājamie Latvijas iedzīvotāji!" ("Honourable residents of Latvia!"), urging the population to comply with the requirements of the state of emergency and not to oppose the measures imposed by the National State of Emergency Committee in Moscow. According to the applicant, the CPL's participation in all those events has not been proved; in particular, the members of the *Līdztiesība* bloc were taking part in parliamentary debates over two consecutive days and were not even aware that such an appeal was to be issued.

27. This coup also failed. On 21 August 1991, the Latvian Supreme Council enacted a constitutional law on the status of the Republic of Latvia as a State and proclaimed the country's immediate and absolute independence. Paragraph 5 of the Declaration of 4 May 1990, concerning the transition period, was repealed.

28. By a decision of 23 August 1991, the Supreme Council declared the CPL unconstitutional. The following day, the party's activities were suspended and the Minister of Justice was instructed "to investigate the unlawful activities of the CPL and to put forward ... a motion on the possibility of authorising its continued operations". On the basis of the proposal by the Minister of Justice, the Supreme Council ordered the party's dissolution on 10 September 1991.

29. In the meantime, on 22 August 1991 the Supreme Council set up a parliamentary committee to investigate the involvement of members of the *Līdztiesība* bloc in the coup. On the basis of that committee's final report, on 9 July 1992 the Supreme Council revoked fifteen members' right to sit in Parliament. The applicant was not one of those concerned.

After this, her only option to have influence through politics was the European Parliament (EP), in which she was elected for the first time in 2004 and many times since with the help of the large Russian-speaking population in Latvia.

5/22



Since Soviet times, she has staunchly supported the Kremlin. Like many Russians, she said she was "ashamed to admit" being Russian during the Yeltsin era, but now "was no longer embarrassed for Russia and its leadership" — even attending one of Putin's "Nashi" youth camps.





Ždanoka paints an ambivalent portrait of her relationship to Putin. “When [Boris] Yeltsin was president, I was ashamed to admit I was Russian. But when Putin became president, I was no longer embarrassed for Russia and its leadership,” says Ždanoka, while stressing that she has been a critic of Putin’s brand of state capitalism and its attendant corruption.

Still, the ties with Putin smack of disingenuousness given Ždanoka’s purported support for democracy and pluralism. Ždanoka, who is divorced and has no children, even attended a summer camp for the pro-Kremlin youth organisation Nashi – not inappropriately described as ‘Putinjugend’ due to its members’ well-documented intolerance and thuggish behaviour toward opponents.

In 2024, a joint investigation revealed that Ždanoka has been in contact with Russian FSB operatives since at least 2005. She passed on political intel, helped organize Kremlin-friendly events, and maintained a long-term relationship with her handlers.

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## Exclusive: Latvian Member of European Parliament is an agent of Russian intelligence, leaked emails confirm

Roman Dobrokhotov, Michael Weiss, Christo Grozev  
29 January 2024

CONTENT

1. Their woman in Strasbourg

2. But her emails...

3. The second handler

Investigation: Useful idiots and their handlers. How the FSB's Fifth Service meddles in foreign states' politics

Tatjana Ždanoka MEP has spent decades openly advocating for Moscow from both Riga and Strasbourg. *The Insider* can today reveal that Ždanoka was working on behalf of the FSB's Fifth Service, reporting to two different handlers from at least 2004 to 2017.

Her leaked emails show she informed the FSB about EU parliamentary activities, including internal meetings, travel, and protests. She offered help with shaping Russia's soft-power image abroad and was seen as a reliable Kremlin puppet in Brussels.

8/22

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POLITICS

## Dangerous liaisons: New details of Latvian MEP Tatjana Ždanoka's espionage for Russia

Inga Springe, Michael Weiss, Christo Grozev  
23 May 2024

Investigation: Useful idiots and their handlers. How the FSB's Fifth Service meddles in foreign states' politics

Accused of working with the Russian security services, Latvian MEP Tatjana Ždanoka mockingly donned sunglasses at a press conference – as if in a spy movie. The accusations won't be laughed off that easily: *Re:Baltica* has obtained almost 19,000 of Ždanoka's e-mails detailing how she served the Kremlin.

Between 2013–2017, she exchanged over 19,000 emails with her FSB handler. She passed on insider insights about Ukraine's Maidan protests, EU sentiment, and Latvian politics. She even proposed strategies for discrediting the Baltic states on the world stage.

9/22

Ždanoka corresponded with Beltyukov from 2013 until 2017, according to the almost 19,000 emails The Insider and Re:Baltica have examined. She also communicated with another FSB case officer, Dmitry Gladey, her longtime contact and first handler from the Fifth Service.

After the revelations, the European Parliament fined Ždanoka and banned her from hosting events or using Parliament funds. An official investigation is ongoing, but the case underscores Russia's deep-rooted efforts to influence EU politics from within.

10/22

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## POLITICO: Latvian MEP faces sanctions after breaching MEPs' code of conduct

NEWS

ERR News

11.04.2024 09:14



Tatjana Ždanoka. Source: SCANPIX/LETA/Paula Čurkste

The European Parliament has sanctioned a Latvian MEP who was earlier this year accused in media reports of having spied on behalf of the Russian Federation, POLITICO [reports](#).

In 2014, Ždanoka traveled to Crimea as an “international observer” for the referendum, with the trip funded by the EU. Latvia’s Foreign Minister Edgars Rinkēvičs clarified she did not represent Latvia or the EU, as she had no official authorization.

11/22

## MEP's visit to Crimea paid for by European Parliament

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Photo: f64, Kaspars Krafts

november 24, 2015, 12:24

Society

Authors: [Māra Rozenberga](#) (Latvian Radio), [Eng.LSM.lv](#) (Latvian Public Broadcasting)





At the same time, Ždanoka actively promoted the narrative that Russian minorities were being repressed in Donbas. She also tried to link the alleged repressors to far-right politics, reinforcing Kremlin talking points about Ukraine and its government.

12/22

**Debates**

Wednesday, 14 September 2022 - Strasbourg

Revised edition

**Situation of fundamental rights in the EU in 2020 and 2021 (debate)**

**Tatjana Ždanoka (NI).** – Mr President, as usual, when speaking about the situation on fundamental rights in the EU, we avoid to name concrete Member States – it's the difference with a similar report on non-EU.

I'll try to fill in a bit the gap but not with the example of Hungary. When we are concerned about the schooling of children from minority backgrounds, we have to mention three Baltic States, especially my country, in Latvia, erasing all minority languages from the schooling system and public sphere.

When we speak about politically motivated arrests, we have to mention three Baltic States again. In what concerns the fight against certain forms of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law in order to combat pre-existing Afrophobia, anti-Gypsyism, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, we certainly have to add Russophobia. The president of Latvia has recently declared that the part of our citizens, mostly Russians, must be isolated by reason of their opinions and beliefs. Mr Reynders, is that not a hate speech to be punished, as you promised?

Ždanoka has frequently used her platform in the European Parliament to claim repression of the Russian language in Ukraine and the Baltics. She once ridiculously compared the situation of Latvia's Russian-speaking population to that of Jews before World War II.

13/22

► Situation in Ukraine (RCB7-0219/2014, B7-0219/2014, B7-0220/2014, B7-0221/2014, B7-0222/2014, B7-0223/2014, B7-0224/2014)



► **Tatjana Ždanoka (Verts/ALE).** - Mr President, I voted against this resolution, as the description and assessment of recent events in Ukraine are made superficially and given a unilateral interpretation in this text. The resolution contains many impracticable appeals. For example, there is a call to the Ukrainian Parliament and the incoming government to respect the rights of minorities in the country and the use of Russian and other minority languages, but who will realise this request? Mr Yatsenyuk is a candidate for the post of Prime Minister; I would like to remind you that only in 2012 he was the leader of protest actions against the newly adopted and highly compromised law on regional languages. I won't even mention the representatives of the radical nationalist Svoboda Party. I was extremely surprised at the statement made yesterday by Commissioner Füle that Oleh Tyahnybok is a big democrat. From where did he draw this conclusion?

In 2016, Ždanoka visited Syria and met with then-leader Bashar al-Assad. She was joined by Estonian MEP Jana Toom and Spanish MEP Javier Couso Permuy. The visit took place while Russia was already actively supporting Assad's brutal campaign against civilians.

14/22



Over the years, Ždanoka has closely collaborated with former Irish MEPs Mick Wallace and Clare Daly. All three have publicly defended Algirdas Paleckis, a Lithuanian politician convicted in 2021 for spying on behalf of Russian intelligence.

15/22











Tatjana Ždanoka

7. heinäkuu 2022 · 🌐

### ЛАТВИЙСКИЕ ШКОЛЬНИКИ ПОСЕТИЛИ ЕВРОПАРЛАМЕНТ!

Вчера более сорока латвийских школьников по моему приглашению посетили пленарную сессию Европейского парламента в Страсбурге. Большинство школьников – победители проводимых нашей партией в этом году конкурсов.

Ребята встретились и пообщались не только со мной, но и с моими коллегами, депутатами от Ирландии Миком Уоллесом и Клэр Дейли.

### LATVIAN SCHOOL CHILDREN VISITED THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT!

Yesterday, more than forty Latvian schoolchildren attended the plenary session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg at my invitation. Most of the students are the winners of the contests conducted by our party this year.

The guys met and interacted with not only myself but fellow Irish MPs Mick Wallace and Claire Dailey.

⚙️ · Piilota käännös · Arvioi käännös



On Feb 16, 2022, Ždanoka gave a speech in the European Parliament accusing fellow MEPs of using Nazi slogans. She repeated false claims of a “genocide in Donbas” and displayed a photo of a 4-year-old allegedly killed in shelling, parroting Kremlin bullshit.

16/22




While thousands were dying in Ukraine, Ždanoka focused on Latvia removing Soviet-era statues. In 2022, most of her EP speeches condemned the dismantling of “over 70 monuments to liberators of Latvia,” and her party gathered 10,000 signatures opposing their removal.

17/22

**Debates**1k

Wednesday, 22 June 2022 - BrusselsRevised edition

▶ One-minute speeches on matters of political importance



▶ **Tatjana Ždanoka (NI)**. – Madam President, colleagues, we are today 22 June, the day Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union 91 years ago. In one week they were already in Riga.


I sounded, one month ago, the alarm about the decision of Riga City Council to demolish the monument to the liberators of Riga and Latvia from Nazi occupation. But last Thursday, the Parliament of Latvia passed the law that provides for the dismantling in the whole territory of Latvia of about 300 of this kind of monuments by 15 November.

I see this decision as a provocation on both the short—term and long—term scales. Society is sharply divided on the issue. According to a recent public opinion poll, only 70% are supporting 'dismantle', while 40% are against and 30% undecided. The demolition of monuments will turn on historical time, and the insult will remain for decades in the memory of generations of children and grandchildren of the soldiers who defeated Nazism. It will split Latvian society further and it's very dangerous.

**Debates**

Monday, 21 November 2022 - StrasbourgRevised edition

▶ One-minute speeches on matters of political importance



▶ **Tatjana Ždanoka (NI)**. – Madam President, during this summer and autumn, more than 70 monuments to the liberators of Latvia from German Nazi occupiers were dismantled, despite the decision of the UN Human Rights Committee urging Latvia to refrain from demolishing them.


I was among those who addressed the committee. It appeared that the land on which one of the monuments was staying belonged to my ancestors, victims of the Holocaust. The fight against monuments of the past continues with the repressions of people living in Latvia nowadays.

After dissolution of the USSR, one third of Latvian residents became so-called 'aliens'. Most of them are local natives. Some are still preserving this status, but some, mostly elderly people, acquired the citizenship of Russia.

The new retroactive law norm requires annulment of their permanent residence permit in case of weak knowledge of Latvian language. Thousands will soon face being made illegal in their homes in Latvia and, therefore, in the EU. Shame.

Debate
Monday, 13 March 2023 - Strasbourg
Provisional edit

One-minute speeches on matters of political importance



Tatjana Ždanoka (NI).

– Mr President, to my regret, I have continued to speak about political prisoners in my country, Latvia, since the wheel of repressions is not stopping. Now, one month ago, it has captured the young student girl, Tatjana Andrejevs. Her guilt is just activities to defend minority schools and to oppose the destruction of the monuments for the liberators of Latvia from Nazi occupiers.

Our state security service has an intention to show its necessity, especially before accepting the new state budget. They managed to receive a doubled budget for their activities with respect to the previous year. I think money has to be spent just for young, talented students like Tatjana to integrate them into society, to give them social lifts, not to repress them.



Русский союз Латвии

13. heinäkuu 2022 ·

МЕХАНИЗМ ЗАПУЩЕН: 10 000 ПОДПИСЕЙ ПЕРЕДАНЫ В ЕВРОПАРЛАМЕНТ!

Сегодня наш депутат Европейского парламента Татьяна ЖДАНОК передала в Комитет по петициям более десяти тысяч подписей, которые мы собрали за последний месяц против сноса памятников героям и жертвам Второй мировой войны и кампании русофобии в Латвии.

В ближайшее время наша петиция получит номер и будет передана на рассмотрение вопроса о ее приемлемости. После прохождения этого второго этапа, все желающие поддержать петицию смогут это сделать на сайте самого комитета.

MECHANISM LAUNCHED: 10,000 SIGNATURES TRANSFERED TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT!

Today, our Member of the European Parliament Tatyana Zhdanok handed over to the Petition Committee more than ten thousand signatures that we have collected over the last month against the demolition of monuments to the heroes and victims of the Second World War and the Russophobia campaign in Latvia.

In the near future, our petition will receive a number and will be forwarded for consideration on its acceptability. After this second stage, everyone who wishes to support the petition can do so on the committee's website.



Piilota käännös ·

Arvioi käännös

Ždanoka’s voting record in the European Parliament has been consistent: out of 22 key votes, she opposed 20 measures condemning Russia. This includes votes against denouncing the 2022 invasion of Ukraine and against labeling Russia a state sponsor of terrorism.

## Ranking of “pro-Putin” MEPs based on their voting records in 2019-2023

|    | MEP<br>Party                                                   |                                                                                     | Total number<br>of rejected<br>resolutions* | For | Abstained | Against | Didn't<br>vote |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|---------|----------------|
| 1  | <b>Tatjana Ždanoka</b><br>Latvian Russian Union                |    | 20                                          | 2   | 2         | 14      | 4              |
| 2  | <b>Ivan David</b><br>Freedom and Direct Democracy              |    | 19                                          | 0   | 8         | 9       | 2              |
| 3  | <b>Konstantinos Papadakis</b><br>Communist Party of Greece     |    | 19                                          | 3   | 1         | 17      | 1              |
| 4  | <b>Lefteris Nikolaou-Alavanos</b><br>Communist Party of Greece |    | 18                                          | 3   | 1         | 17      | 1              |
| 5  | <b>Milan Uhrík</b><br>Republic                                 |    | 19                                          | 1   | 7         | 12      | 0              |
| 6  | <b>Sandra Pereira</b><br>Portuguese Communist Party            |    | 19                                          | 2   | 4         | 15      | 0              |
| 7  | <b>Maximilian Krah</b><br>Alternative for Germany              |    | 18                                          | 1   | 2         | 10      | 6              |
| 8  | <b>Gunnar Beck</b><br>Alternative for Germany                  |    | 18                                          | 3   | 6         | 10      | 2              |
| 9  | <b>Christine Anderson</b><br>Alternative for Germany           |    | 18                                          | 4   | 6         | 11      | 1              |
| 10 | <b>Guido Reil</b><br>Alternative for Germany                   |    | 18                                          | 4   | 6         | 11      | 1              |
| 11 | <b>Bernhard Zimniok</b><br>Alternative for Germany             |    | 18                                          | 4   | 6         | 11      | 1              |
| 12 | <b>Özlem Demirel</b><br>The Left                               |    | 18                                          | 3   | 1         | 12      | 5              |
| 13 | <b>Miroslav Radačovský</b><br>Slovak PATRIOT                   |    | 18                                          | 4   | 2         | 12      | 4              |
| 14 | <b>Manu Pineda</b><br>Izquierda Unida                          |  | 18                                          | 3   | 3         | 10      | 5              |
| 15 | <b>Hynek Blaško</b><br>Freedom and Direct Democracy            |  | 17                                          | 2   | 0         | 14      | 3              |
| 16 | <b>Nicolas Bay</b><br>Reconquête                               |  | 17                                          | 3   | 7         | 9       | 1              |
| 17 | <b>Nicolaus Fest</b><br>Alternative for Germany                |  | 17                                          | 3   | 6         | 10      | 1              |
| 18 | <b>Joachim Kuhs</b><br>Alternative for Germany                 |  | 17                                          | 4   | 6         | 10      | 1              |
| 19 | <b>Ivan Vilibor Sinčić</b><br>Human Shield                     |  | 17                                          | 4   | 13        | 1       | 3              |
| 20 | <b>Marcel de Graaff</b><br>Party for Freedom                   |  | 16                                          | 0   | 0         | 16      | 0              |

\*We added up the number of votes against, abstentions and refusals to vote

Source: European Parliament, votewatch.eu



## Latvian MEP refuses to condemn Russian invasion of Ukraine

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Photo: LETA, Evija Trifanova

march 2, 2022, 10:41

Politics

Authors: [Eng.LSM.lv](https://eng.lsm.lv) (Latvian Public Broadcasting)

## Ždanoka votes against naming Russia a sponsor of terrorism

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Photo: LETA, Zane Bitere

november 24, 2022, 12:11 | [Politics](#) | Authors: [Eng.LSM.lv](#) (Latvian Public Broadcasting)

**Latvian Member of the European Parliament (MEP) Tatjana Ždanoka surprised no-one November 23 by voting against a motion designating Russia a state sponsor of terrorism.**

As mentioned, Ždanoka was exposed as a Russian spy. There's no clear evidence that Daly and Wallace were spies too, but they often acted like it. This is how Russia operates: infiltrating EU institutions and steadily chipping away their credibility from within.

NEWS > POLITICS

## EU Parliament fines MEP accused of spying for Russia

Latvian lawmaker Tatjana Ždanoka faces sanctions after breaching the MEPs' code of conduct.

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Tatjana Ždanoka, a Latvian MEP who was accused in media reports this year of having spied for Russia | European Union

APRIL 10, 2024 4:02 PM CET  
BY EDDY WAX

Fortunately, all three Putin bootlickers are now gone from the European Parliament, but new figures appear to have taken their place. While the rhetoric is softer, the messaging remains aligned with Russia's goals, including calls for Ukraine's capitulation.



These figures are easy to spot — they claim to be “for peace,” vote in Russia’s interests, take “friendship trips” to Moscow, host pro-Kremlin guests, and constantly undermine the EU and its leadership.

Yes, Fidas, I am talking about you:





To conclude: a vocal minority in the European Parliament continues to vote in line with Russian interests & is frequently amplified by Russian & Chinese media. Ždanoka was eventually exposed as a Russian agent — and there are likely many more cases we'll never hear about.

# European Parliament Members Plan Moscow Trip for Victory Day Commemorations

May 8, 2025




MEP Michael von der Schulenburg.

Focke Strangmann / dpa

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