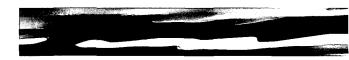
Valdis Blūzma Tālavs Jundzis Jānis Riekstiņš Gene Sharp Heinrihs Strods



REGAINING INDEPENDENCE: NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN LATVIA 1945-1991

CONTENTS

retace. <i>Dai</i>	nis ivans15
ntroduction	THE NON-VIOLENT WAY OF RESTORING BALTIC STATE INDEPENDENCE, AND ITS INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE. <i>Tālavs Jundzis</i>
	The concept of non-violent resistance and its application to asymmetric conflicts
	A theoretical basis for investigating campaigns based on non-violent resistance22
	Armed struggle and non-violent resistance during the occupation of Latvia26
	Non-violent resistance in Latvia as a strategy to regain independence
	The tactics of non-violent resistance
	International relevance of the non-violent resistance movement in Latvia
	Original research which is the basis for this book35
Part I.	THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BALTIC STRUGGLES FOR INDEPENDENCE. Gene Sharp
Chapter I.	Liberation by popular struggle
	Another history40
	Misconceptions about nonviolent action
	The nature of nonviolent action
	The methods of nonviolent action42
	Repression and defiance44
Chapter II.	Nonviolent power against domination46
	Vulnerable sources of power
Chapter III.	Results of practical wisdom49
	Success and failure49
	Advantages of nonviolent action50
	Widespread pragmatic practice51
Chapter IV.	In historical context53
	From improvisation to increased effectiveness55
	Research and policy studies57
	Decisions and implementation
	Changing power relations60

Part II.	NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN LATVIA (1945–1985). Heinrihs Strods
Introduction	63
Chapter I.	The origins of non-violent resistance and social background of persons involved in it
	Armed resistance and non-violent resistance
	The social origin of persons engaged in non-violent resistance
Chapter II.	Passive non-violent resistance
	Resistance expressed through cultural activities 82
	Resistance by the Churches 94
	Political non-co-operation101
Chapter III.	Active non-violent resistance
	Uncooperative and defiant behaviour107
	Active opposition115
	Resistance by political prisoners
	Emigration and flight abroad124
	Activities carried out abroad
	Resistance groups
	Conclusions
Part III.	THE STRUGGLE BY LATVIAN NATIONAL COMMUNISTS AGAINST THE COLONISATION AND RUSSIFICATION OF LATVIA (1956-1972). Jānis Riekstiņš
Introduction	169
Chapter I.	Opposing actions undertaken within state structures172
onaptoi ii	Conditions under which National Communism came into being in Latvia172
	Resistance to the colonisation of Latvia175
	The fight for use of the Latvian language and for more Latvian leaders180
	Restrictions on the privileges of retired military personnel186
	On the training and deployment of national specialists187
	Preservation and access to the Latvian literary and cultural heritage188
	Repression of the national communist opposition

Chapter II.	The protest letter by 17 Latvian communists to foreign communist parties	
	Suppression by Soviet officials of nationalist tendencies and limitation of republican autonomy	
	Imposition of the paradigm of a "Soviet people" on the nations of the Soviet Empire	
	The situation in Latvia after repression of the national communists	
	Drafting the letter	
	Response to the letter in the West207	
	Echoes of the letter in Latvia	
	Conclusions	
	Appendix	
	The 17 Latvian Communist Protest Letter217	
Part IV.	THE PERIOD OF THE AWAKENING AND NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE (1986 - 4 MAY 1990). Valdis Blūzma229	
Chapter I.	The political and social conditions in Latvia and in the Soviet Union in the second half of the 1980s231	
	The concept of the Awakening in Latvian history231	
	The nature of the Third Awakening236	
	Political, national and social problems of the 1980s in Latvia as a catalyst for the Third Awakening240	
	The origins, goals and achievements of the Gorbachev reforms	
	Economic problems of the USSR and attempted resolution in the late 1980s	
	Ideological motivation for the policy of reform257	
	Attempted reform of the USSR political system262	
Chapter II.	Informal organisations as the initiators of open non-violent resistance during the first phase of the Third Awakening (1986–1990)	
	Legal basis for informal organisations in the Soviet Union and in Latvia	
	The structure of informal organisations in Latvia	
	The non-violent resistance principles adopted by Latvian informal organisations283	

Chapter III.	Engagement of society in acts of non-violent resistance: resistance to the Soviet regime during the period of the Third Awakening
	The different phases of the Latvian resistance movement
	Phase 1. Initial attempts at organised public resistance (July 1986 to May 1988)
	Phase 2. The formation of the mass resistance movement (June 1988 to May 1989)315
	Phase 3. United struggle by national democratic forces to restore the independence of Latvia (June 1989 to May 1990)
	Political activities of the Latvian intelligentsia ahead of creation of the Latvian Popular Front316
	Formation of the Latvian Popular Front329
	The LPF and restoration of Latvian independence by parliamentary means344
	The Declaration on Independence of 4 May 1990349
Chapter IV.	The influence of the Latvian national democratic movement on the power structures of the communist regime in Latvia (1986–1990)
	Political repression of informal organisations by the totalitarian regime in Latvia, 1987–1990
	The position of the Latvian CP leadership on creating in 1988 a legal opposition in Latvia
	The position of the Communist Party on restoration of Latvian independence
	Relations between the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR and the national democratic
	movement
	by activities of the national democratic movement392
	Conclusions
Part V.	THE ROLE OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE FULL INDEPENDENCE (4 MAY 1990 - 21 AUGUST 1991). <i>Tālavs Jundzis</i> 401
Chapter I.	The strategy and tactics of non-violent resistance during the period of dual administration403
	The struggle for supremacy by opposing political forces post adoption of the Declaration on Restoration of Independence

	Leading the campaign of non-violent resistance and the different options which were contemplated	.415
	The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia and the Council of Ministers	. 416
	The Popular Front of Latvia	.425
	Several proposals for the campaign to regain full independence	. 433
	Action by supporters of independence to take power peacefully	
	Public administration	. 444
	Military issues	. 456
	Issues related to maintaining social order and ensuring public security	463
	The economy	470
	Legislative activities and respect for the rights of citizens	. 478
	Local authorities	. 487
	The tactics of non-violent resistance pursued in relations with the USSR	491
	The campaign to gain international recognition	501
	Co-operation between the Baltic States during restoration of full independence	512
	The role of émigrés in strengthening the independence of Latvia	520
	Increased professionalism in applying the techniques of non-violent	
	resistance	523
Chapter II.	Non-violent resistance during the severe political crises of January and August 1991	532
	Salient features of the political crisis of January 1991	532
	The role of the Supreme Council in overcoming the political crisis	543
	Preparations made by the Latvian Popular Front in anticipation of X-hour	549
	The January Barricades — the supreme act of non-violent resistance	558
	Construction of the barricades	558
	Leadership of the defenders on the barricades	565

	The defenders of the barricades570
	Organising non-violent defence of the barricades576
	The role of radio, television and the press during the time of the barricades
	The role of the international community in peaceful resolution of the January crisis 586
	The impact and relevance of the barricades593
The	August putsch in Latvia598
	s of non-violent resistance during August putsch602
Conclu	sions612
Chronology	615
Glossary of terms	638
Index of persons	653
List of literature	666
About the authors	670