

**The Singing Revolution of Baltic States: A Study of  
the Influence of Gandhian Philosophy**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**GOVARDHAN**



**Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies**

**School of International Studies**

**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

**New Delhi-110067**

**2013**



# JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

School of International Studies

New Delhi - 110067

Tel. : 2670 4365

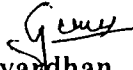
Fax : (+91)-11-2674 1586

Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies

21-07-2013


## DECLARATION


I declare that the dissertation entitled **THE SINGING REVOLUTION OF BALTIC STATES: A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY** submitted by me for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

  
**Govardhan**  
Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies,  
School International Studies,  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

## CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

  
**Prof. Arun Mohanty**  
Chairperson,  
CRCAS, SIS, JNU

  
**Dr. K. B. Usha**  
Supervisor

*Dedicated*  
*To*  
*My DADI MAA*  
*AND*  
*DADAJI*

## **Acknowledgements**

Apart from my efforts, the successful completion of this dissertation depended largely on the encouragement and guidance of many other individuals and institutions. I take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to the persons who have been instrumental in the successful completion of this work.

Foremost, I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor **Dr. K. B. Usha** for introducing me to the topic as well for providing me a very research friendly atmosphere for this work from conception to completion. Her moral support, constant encouragement and especially her valuable comments, suggestions and thought provoking guidance shall carry me a long way in the journey of life on which I am about to embark. I am greatly indebted for her concern and understanding which helped me endure all difficulties.

I would also like to show my greatest appreciation to my entire faculty of the Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies. I am also thankful to all the staff members of JNU library, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, and Institute for Defence and Strategic Analysis for the cordial academic support and valuable information.

Furthermore, I would like to extend my sincere and hearty thanks to my dear friends Arun Kumar, Sudarsana Rana and Hukum Chandra for their critical comprehensions, useful comments, remarks and fruitful discussions, including reading the chapters. A lot of thanks to my best friends Sonu, Minati Kalo, Rehna Ravindran, Anil Kumar Singh, Anoop Kumar, Afrin and many others for their selfless moral and technical supports. I am also very thankful to Ahalya Didi for her cheerful and encouraging meetings.

Last but not the least, I would also like to thank my Parents for their endless love, support and constant encouragement without which this dissertation would not be possible. Although the completion of this academic work has been possible with

the support and coordination of many individuals, I am the solely responsible for mistakes and lapse that might have remained untouched during the completion of this work.

NEWDELHI

GOVARDHAN

## CONTENTS

	Pages
Acknowledgements	vii
List of Abbreviations	xi
Definitions of Key Terms	xiii-xvii
Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Design	1-18
Chapter2: Mahatma Gandhi's Philosophy of Non-violence: Theory and Practice	19-43
Chapter 3: The Singing Revolution of Baltic States: The Influence of Gandhian Political Philosophy	44-73
Chapter 4:Role of Media and Public Communication in Disseminating Gandhian Ideas in Baltic Society	74-95
Chapter 5: Conclusion	96-106
References	107-122

## List of Abbreviations

AAM	Anti-Apartheid Movement
ANC	African National Congress
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union
CWMG	Collected Work of Mahatma Gandhi
EPF	Estonian Popular Front
ERSP	Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei (Estonian National Independence Party)
ESSR	Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic
INC	Indian National Congress
LNNK	Latvian National Independence Movement
LPF	Latvian Popular Front
LSSR	Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic
LSSR	Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NWFZ	Nordic Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone
NKVD	Narodny Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs)
OMON	Otryad Mobilniy Osobogo Naznacheniya (Special Purpose Mobile Unit)
TIC	Transvaal Indian Congress
UNESCO	United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture
UNO	United Nations Organizations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

## **Definition of Key Terms**

### **Authoritarianism**

It's a style of government in which the rulers demands unquestioning obedience from the ruled. In authoritarian political system, the authority highly concentrated in a single individual, a small group of people or a single political party.

### **Baltic Way**

The Baltic way marked the beginning of large scale pro-independence demonstrations on fiftieth anniversary of Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, nearly two million people joined hands on 23 August 1989. It was a 600 kilometer long human chain across stretching from Tallinn to Vilnius via Riga, symbolizing the shared fate of soviet occupation and solidarity in search for full sovereignty.

### **Civil Dis-obedience**

The concept of Civil Dis-obedience or civil resistance implies an act or process of public defiance of a law or policy, appropriately formulated and created by a governmental authority, to which an individual or a group of individual consider it to be unjust or unconstitutional. Mahatma Gandhi considered that it's a duty of every citizen to disobey or defy the unjust laws. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal and based on the civility of the participant masses.

### **Civilian Defence**

It's a technique of defending a nation's social institutions using strategic nonviolent action. It's a collective non-violent action of individuals against oppression and injustice by an authoritarian government. The central principle of civilian based defence is the principle of non-cooperation with the aggressor, denying him control over social and political institutions.

### **Civil Rights**

Civil rights denote the rights of individuals to equal protection under the laws of the land and equal access to public amenities and services in society. Every



individual has certain political, social and economic rights by virtue of being a citizen without discrimination of caste, creed, religion and ethnicities etc. The term gets popularized during the American civil rights movements led by Martin Luther.

### **Communism**

As a political principle, communism stands for the communal organization of social existence and common and collective ownership of wealth. In simple meaning communism means abolition of private property and it follows the theory and principles of Marxism. As an ideological movement, communism was one of the most powerful political forces of the twentieth century.

### **Forest Brothers**

The Forest Brothers were Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian partisans and dissident groups who hidden themselves in forests and waged guerrilla warfare against Soviet occupation during the Soviet invasion and annexation of the three Baltic states since 1939 and lasted till about 1957s.

### **Glasnost**

It means openness, was the soviet policy permitting open discussions of political and social issues. Under glasnost people could criticize the government system and policies without being punished.

### **Helsinki-86**

It was a human rights watch group founded in western Latvia by three workers from the port of Liepaja. The group declared that their objective was to “monitor how the economic, cultural and individual rights of our people respected. The Helsinki-86 group organized the first large demonstrations on 14 June 1987 to commemorate the mass deportation on 14 June 1941 at the monument of freedom in Riga.

### **Imperialism**

Imperialism was the imposition of colonial rule or control by one country or group of people over others. Schumpeter defined imperialism as the non-rational and objectless disposition on the part of a state to unlimited forcible expansion.

### **Mass Deportation**

The term refers to the forced removal of large number of people from a certain territory. After annexation of Baltic state in Soviet Union in 1940s, massive mass deportations took place in which soviet authorities deported a large number of people to Siberian camps or to inhospitable places elsewhere in USSR.

### **Mass Nationalism**

Mass nationalism is the development of the feeling of nationalism on the bases of their common historical, cultural and ethnic ties among the large number of masses to restore their lost independence or to bring reforms in existing political system.

### **Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939**

It was a secret pact between the Soviet Union foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov and the Nazi German foreign minister Joachim Von Ribbentrop on 23 August, 1939, on the basis of that Soviet Union forcefully annexed the three Baltic countries in 1940s.

### **Non-cooperation**

Non-cooperation as a strategy predominantly required pulling out all kind of cooperation or support and association with unjust government or wrong doer. Gandhi considered that no government can exist for a single moment without the cooperation of people.

### **Non-violence**

Gandhi considered non-violence as the supreme truth, the total abstention of physical or mental torture of any living being. Non-violence (ahimsa), an integral

part of human nature, is as much powerful to defeat an opponent how mighty he, it does not matter.

### **Perestroika (Restructuring)**

Perestroika was a policy of restructuring or reforming the economic and political system, practiced in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Gorbachev. Its foremost objective was to restructure the soviet economy and bureaucracy.

### **Prison of Nations**

It is a Marxist term for the nations from the deserts of Asia to the beaches of the Baltic; people in the Soviet Union speak over a hundred different languages. But they have all been ruled from Moscow; sometimes with respect, often with brutality.

### **Public Communication**

Public communication is the communication of ideas to the large number of masses or influence behaviors in large audiences within a specified time period using an organized set of communication activities. There are many means of public communication such as Mass rallies, Television channels, Radio and Newspapers, etc.

### **Russification**

Russification was a policy of Soviet Union to spread its culture and language in Baltic state to make their culture and language subordinate. The policy better viewed as an instrument through which Soviet Union attempted to further the centralization and modernization of Russian states.

### **Sajudis**

The Lithuanian movement for restructuring (Lietuvos Perstivarkymo Sajudis), was a new mass organizations established in 1988. At the beginning Sajudis was a movement that united various strata of Lithuanian society, including nationalists, liberal intellectuals and communist reformers. It played a vital role in mobilizing the non-violent mass movement and public meetings.

### **Satyagraha**

Satyagraha (hold on to truth) is the manifestation of Gandhian principle of non-violence into a technique to resist against the injustice or immoral elements of any government. The term has variously been translated as ‘passive resistance’, ‘nonviolent resistance’, ‘nonviolent direct action’, and even ‘militant nonviolence’.

### **Songs Festivals in Baltic States**

Songs festival are a vital feature of cultural life in all three Baltic countries, continuing a tradition begun in 1869 when first all Estonian songs festival was held in Tartu. In June 1988, the songs festival grounds in Tallinn became the focus of mass demonstrations against the soviet regime, and the phrase “singing revolution” was coined to describe the independence movement in all three Baltic States.

### **Sovietization**

Soviet Union followed the policy of Sovietization; a process by means of which all institutions, cultural activity, politics, sport, education, religion and family life were subject to strict surveillance and monitored in accordance with Marxism-Leninism.

### **Totalitarianism**

Totalitarianism is a form of government in which political authority exercises complete and absolute power over the people in many sphere of life. The basic feature is monopoly of political power by dictatorial government.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction and Research Design

#### Background

The Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania regained independence from the former Soviet Union through non-violent freedom movement known as Singing Revolution. A series of political demonstrations and other events such as music festivals in Baltic states demanding freedom from Soviet Union starting from 1987 during Mikhail Gorbachev's Presidency is known as Singing Revolution. The case of Baltic states remains as one of the latest success stories of achieving national independence in Europe that drew inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy and principle of non-violence, which is the national heritage of India. Baltic states were incorporated into Soviet Union in the 1940s based on the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939. Thus, they lost independence during the Second World War. The people of these states were subjected to the bitter life experiences under Soviet occupation, like loss of identity, mass deportation to Siberia, brutal treatment in *Gulags*, torture and repression since 1940s. The Baltic resistance against Soviet occupation was suppressed by the Soviet leadership. The situation of these countries that experienced a short span of twenty two years of independence during 1918-1940, remained largely unknown to the rest of the world until they regained independence from Soviet Union in 1991.

However, Gorbachev's liberal reforms of glasnost and perestroika led to the reawakening of nationalism in Baltic states. In late 1980s, the people of Baltic states started massive campaign of civil resistance against Soviet Union demanding national freedom. The freedom movement was mobilized using culture, i.e., song festivals. In the song festivals people were encouraged to sing their patriotic and national songs that were forbidden under Soviet rule. The noticeable fact is that full care was taken to keep the Baltic freedom struggle a completely non-violent resistance movement. Mahatma Gandhi's principles of

non-violence and non-cooperation is said to have a great influence in defining the goals and strategies of *Singing Revolution* of Baltic states. The Baltic longing for independence and their adoption of non-violent strategies, especially from the Gandhian principles in their freedom struggle may historical reasons.

In Baltic states already exist a notion that they and India may have common cultural roots. The stories about past connection with India becomes as one of the important inspirations for choosing Gandhian experience (Kule 2005: 84). Why Baltic states which survived many invasions and experienced wars and conflict chose non-violence for achieving freedom from Soviet Union is a relevant question. A brief historical background of Baltic states and the common cultural and linguistic roots of Balts and Indians help to understand the significance of non-violent strategy in the independence movement of Baltic states.

The human history of the Baltic states goes back to 8000 B.C.E. approximately as the first humans arrived there following the gradual melting of the Scandinavian glacier. The Baltic states are located in north Eastern Europe at a crossroad of European culture. The strategic location of Baltic state, across the sea from Scandinavia and between Western Europe and Russia, has exerted a profound influence on their culture and economic development and continues to affect their sense of security. The geopolitically significant location determined the destiny of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania not only to be the battleground for adjoining powers and the site of rivalry, but also a pathway of interaction between East and West (Kevin O'Connor; 2003). Hans Rothfels explained the geopolitical importance of Baltic states in the following words: "Only after the conquest of Livland from Poland could Gustavus Adolphus<sup>1</sup> enter upon his great historical

---

<sup>1</sup>Gustav II Adolf (9 December 1594 – 6 November 1632, O.S.), is widely known in English by Latinized name Gustavus Adolphus. In historical writings his name is variously marked as *Gustavus*, or his *Gustavus the Great*, or *Gustav Adolph the Great* (Swedish: *Gustav Adolf den store*, a formal distinction passed by the Swedish Parliament in 1634). He was founder of the Swedish Empire (or *Stormaktstiden* – "the era of great power") at the beginning of the Golden Age of Sweden. He was the King of Sweden during 1611–1632. He led the nation to military supremacy during the *Thirty Years War*, helping to determine the political as well as the religious balance of power in Europe (Dodge 1998).

career. And it was only with the conquest of the Baltic provinces that Russia, under Peter the Great, was opened up to the West and became a European power” (Rothfels 1944: 117 quoted in Roucek 1949: 171).

During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Baltic provinces turned as battlegrounds of competing powers of Poland, Sweden, Denmark and Russia. The attempts of unification of Baltic provinces did not materialize due to rivalry for domination over the region. Baltic provinces suffered of being both the battlefield and colony for half a dozen neighbours. The provinces of Baltic region were doubly oppressed by German and Russian empire. Moreover, Russian Tsar, enforced outmoded feudal privileges, and imposed Russification and enforced conversion to the Russian Orthodox Church (O'Connor; 2003). Despite being influenced by these powers, the Latvians, the Estonians and the Lithuanians nevertheless preserved their own particular features, culture, traditions, etc. In 1917 they emerged as clearly formed nations. National awakening that began to emerge during the modernization and Russification reforms that helped them to assert their national identities.

It was the national consciousness throughout Europe that helped national awakening in Baltic states. National consciousness during the nineteenth century in Baltic states were emerged not by a desire for independent statehood. But their subservience to alien nobility and unfair treatment of Balts by Germans were the main factor that spurred national consciousness. Growth of literary publishing and education among Baltic peasant in vernacular languages also shaped the national awakenings. The level of literacy among Estonians and Latvians peasants and rapid development of communication, most importantly the spread of newspapers, was key precondition to rise of national movements (Kasekamp 2010: 76).

Intellectual activities provoked the national pride and consciousness among the Latvian people. Andrejs Pumpurs published *Lacplesis* (the bear slayer) and poems published in 1888 augmented the feelings of national consciousness concerning struggles between Germans and Latvians. In second half of ninetieth

century, Latvian intellectual founded several organizations to bring the nationalistic consciousness in the mind of Latvian population but they had to assure the tsarist authorities that organizations were non-political. In 1868, Riga Latvian Association (RLA) was founded as a relief fund organization to aid victims of famine but the in reality it was involved in cultural development. This organization also established its own newspaper *Baltijas Vestnesis* for advocating the Latvia causes and ideas. There were many other agricultural and self-help groups, and women association such as Riga Latvian Charity Association and Riga Association of Women (O'Connor 2003: 51).

Likewise, in Estonia, the active participation of intelligentsia paid more attention to develop national awakening through literary activities and publications. The writings tried to glorify the historical legacies of Baltic region. Kreutzwald in 1857-61 published an epic *Kalevipoeg* (son of Kalev) which had profound impact on the national awakening of Estonia. During this period, to end the influence of German culture and language, Estonia peasants and activists favoured the Tsarist policy of Russification. Later, in 1860s, Johannes Jannsen edited two newspapers *Perno Postimees* (the Parnu Courier) and *Eisti Postimees* (the Estonian Courier) to advocate the Estonian cause. But few intellectuals in 1860s and 1870s questioned this favour toward tsarist Russia and showed their inclination to establish the leadership of German community. Nonetheless, the purpose of intellectuals remained specific to mad Estonian language as equal to Russian language (Kasekamp 2010).

Moreover, the tradition of national song festival that first held in Tartu on 18/20/1869 became very significant manifestation of Estonian national awakening in which about 20,000 people participated from different part of Estonia. Although, in Estonia the intellectual and organizational mobilization was not much strong as Latvia but Estonians did organize their own local societies and clubs as well as songs festival to bring nationalistic consciousness and became very crucial to lead the national awakening (O'Connor 2003: 52).



The national awakening in Lithuania started after more than two decades than in Estonia and Latvia. Although, in Lithuania the publication of books was banned by tsarist authorities the smuggling and distribution of the banned literature mobilized thousands of Lithuanians. The spread of literature created a social network of dedicated national activists. Dr. Jonas Basanavicius, the most important figure of Lithuanian national awakening movement, to whom many Lithuanians considered the patriarch of the Lithuanian national movement, in 1883 launched the first newspaper *Ausra* (Down). Lithuanian history and culture eventually succeeded in developing a new sense of self-identity (Kasekamp 2010: 82).

The idea of liberation and freedom had arisen due to the emergence of national renaissance led by writers, artists and other cultural representations. It was the ability of the Baltic awakening movements to combine aspirations to the values of liberalism fostered in European culture- human rights, freedom, welfare, a free market and solidarity (Kule 2005: 83). Activities of nationalists and Baltic intelligentsia energized the idea of political freedom of Baltic region. Lithuanian New Democratic Party (LSDP) formed in Vilnius was the first political party in the Baltic region. In principle the LSDP stood for the solidarity of working class with Polish and Russian empire. Other Lithuanian parties were the Lithuanian Democratic Party formed in 1920 and League of Lithuanian Christian Democrats in 1905. By 1904, in Latvia, the Latvian Social Democrats founded an expatriates group for demanding the national statehood and mobilize the masses for the idea of free nation (O'Connor 2003: 67).

Between the periods of two world wars, 1918-1940, the peoples of these states were able to assert and maintain their independence. Rauch (1974) identify that this period in the history of world politics was very significant in regard to Baltic question(Rauch 1974). Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became sovereign nations in the aftermath of World War I. They declared independence in 1918, after fighting independence wars against German *Freikorps*(volunteer military or anti-communist paramilitary units) and Bolshevik Russia, three Baltic states were

recognized as independent countries in 1920 (Bildt; 1994). In 1921, very enthusiastically three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joined the League of Nations and showed progressive trends by setting up liberal multicultural state structures. For its part, the League was also much more interested in Eastern Europe than is realised generally (Housden and Smith 2011: 2).

However, during this period, the people of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia enjoyed the democratic form of government. But later on a few powerful individuals in the ruling elite in Baltic states transformed these nations into benign authoritarianism. The primary cause which resulted in the end of democracy in three Baltic states was domestic impediments. Moreover, by the late 1930s, Plakans argued, "it really did not matter that three Baltic states had authoritarian presidents but they continued to have had to negotiate their way through the same deteriorating international system (Plakans 2011: 330).

Intrinsically, the aspirations of large predatory neighbours (Russia, Germany and Poland etc.) of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and their growing powers threatened the sovereignty of Baltic states. The growing influence and dominance of old and powerful states increasingly weakened the functioning of the League of Nations. In the deteriorating international political system in late 1930s, three Baltic states left with very little choice to protect their nationhood. Although up to 1914, Baltic states never had faced with a Russo-German alternative, The second World War decided the Baltic question in terms of rivalry between Soviet union and Germany (Roucek 1949: 171). Soviet Union and Germany had many conflicts and negotiations with each other to bring the region under their dominance during 1939-1941.

On August 1939 Nazi Germany and the USSR signed the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, secretly dividing Eastern Europe into Soviet and German sphere of influence. The fate of the Baltic states was sealed by incorporating Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania under Soviet control. By August 1940 these countries became the

republics of USSR. However, in the three countries partisan movements began to resist the annexation of these states into Soviet Union. These partisan movements<sup>2</sup> (Forest Brothers) existed between 1944 and 1957 were completely suppressed by Soviet government through various policies. In order to suppress the dissident groups and patriotic agitations, Soviet authorities forcefully deported a large number of people to Siberian camps on 14 June 1941 (Presser, et. al. 2009: 30). The Soviet occupying authority unleashed a campaign of terror, collectivizing the countryside and imposing Stalinist political and social organization. Many were shot dead.

Hitler's invasion of the USSR and the subsequent Nazi occupation of the Baltic region between 1941 and 1944 created one of the most sensitive periods and Baltic history, as many Balts collaborated with the Nazis in their slaughter of Jews and other local people. This unprecedented action surprised and terrorized the populace, and resulted in mass flight. Nearly all Lithuania's Jewish population were killed. Between 65,000 and 120,000 Latvians, about 70,000 Estonians and 80,000 Lithuanians succeeded in escaping to the west in 1944-1945 to avoid the Red Army's re-conquest of the Baltic states (Presser, et. al. 2009: 30).

Thousands more known as forest brothers- took to the woods rather than live under Soviet rule. The widespread underground population was increased, mostly hiding themselves in forests, looking for arms, and preparing for violent action for resisting the illegal occupation of Baltic states. But after being incorporated in the Soviet Union these countries were neglected. As Kevin O'Connor (2003) points out the negligence of the region after 1940s by the world community isolated them from the outside world for half a century. The Baltic countries became unfamiliar terrain to most Westerners, and are often confused the equally unfamiliar Balkans (Kevin O'Connor 2003).

---

<sup>2</sup>Although Soviet Union was successful in suppressing the partisan resistance movements called Forest Brothers in Baltic states, the people of these countries were always look for opportunity regain their lost freedom. Underground dissident political activists existed throughout the Soviet occupation period (Eglitis 1993).

Sovietization and Russification of these states began after their incorporation. The post war Soviet era saw the collectivisation of agriculture, the repression of religion and the death or deportations of thousands of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians. There was also a huge influx of migrant workers from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, causing many Balts to fear that they would become minorities in their countries. According to the "White Paper" compiled (2006) by a special commission established by the Estonian parliament revealed that The Soviet Government and Communist Party Central Committee approved the mass deportation decree on Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on 14 May 1941. The planned target number for Estonia was 14,471 people, but the actual number of victims of the 14 June operation, according to the most up-to-date information, was 92677. Most of the repressed were destined to perish in the prisons of Russia, prison camps of Siberia or inhuman conditions in exile. The people of three Baltic states had to face the various inhuman and brutal magnitudes of Soviet domination.

The period of 1940 to 1991 had been a period of various brutal torturing and massive violation of human rights; masses had to face various consequences of repressive and totalitarian regime of Soviet Union. In three states, the Soviet policy of Russification not only destroyed and repressed the native cultural and social life but, moreover, changed the demographic profile. As Plakans points out that the political history of the eastern Baltic littoral contains far more discontinuity than continuity, many more years of war than years of peace, many more changes than periods of stable governance, and much more destruction than uninterrupted growth (Plakans 2011).

Under Soviet rule anyone who allegedly involve in anti-Soviet politics were deported to Siberian camps, persecuted or exiled. The opposition and resistance, sometimes violent resistance against the Soviet rule continued in the very beginning of Soviet occupation in 1940s. Daumantas (1988) a participant of these oppositional activities describes the situation "We see them risking their lives to protect Lithuanian farmers against Red Army marauders, publishing

underground newspapers to combat the vast Communist propaganda machine, even pitting their meagre forces against the dreaded NKVD and MGB” (Daumantas 1988). Although cultural resistance to the prevailing system and expressions of national feelings were tolerated, even in the official media, any attempt at political resistance was prosecuted and overt dissidents were as repressed at the time of Khrushchev and Brezhnev (Vihalemm; 2001). Eglitis (1993) described that an underground resistance movement, now using only peaceful means, and nationwide spiritual defiance continued during all the years of Soviet occupation until the relaxation of policies under Gorbachev gave another chance to challenge it openly.

### **Baltic States under Gorbachev’s Regime**

Revolutions in the Central and Eastern Europe are often regarded as an outbreak of long-repressed national sentiments and a firm stand against repression and disregard for human dignity under the Soviet rule (Ramonaitė; 2011). That may be the reason why when Gorbachev introduced liberal reforms of glasnost and perestroika, a reawakening of nationalism took place in Baltic states. Under glasnost, the Baltic nations mobilized people in the defence of their pre-existing cultures and languages which were threatened by Russification in their historic homelands (Budryte 2005: 56). The national re-awakening during Gorbachev period that led to the emergence of national independence movements in Baltic states in late 1980s. The people of Baltic States started massive campaign of civil resistance against Soviet rule demanding freedom.

During the freedom movement, people used culture and art for mass mobilization. National symbols, which were banned until 1985, were flaunted openly on flagpoles above the crowd's heads. Historical memories of Soviet crimes of deportations, genocides and repressions revived. People started commemorating these historical events to strengthen the feeling of nationalism in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The three Baltic nations emerged from political nonexistence to become political entities and historical actors. They became instrumental to demolish the entire Soviet Union in 1990-1991 (Balčytienė 2012).

They made it possible through a series of political demonstrations and other events such as music festivals demanding freedom from Soviet Union starting from 1987 is known as Singing Revolution. The most specific characteristics of Singing Revolution were its nonviolent, peaceful nature; nonaggressive, soulful, and orderly mass demonstrations; and flowers and singing as signs of spiritual defiance, determination, and national cohesion (Eglitis 1993).

However, rise of nationalism and non-violent strategies of Baltic peoples embarrassed the Soviet authorities and they tried to use the physical force to suppress solidarity but Baltic masses showed the firm belief in non-violence. People sacrifice their possessions and even boycotted the social and political relations with Soviet regime. Without bloodshed Baltic masses wanted to achieve independence. The noticeable fact is that full care was taken to keep the Baltic freedom struggle a completely non-violent resistance movement.

Mahatma Gandhi's principles of non-violence and non-cooperation is said to have a great influence in defining the goals and strategies of Singing Revolution of Baltic states. Sruoginis (1997) an active participant of these demonstrations narrate that years ago a tiny, unarmed nations, occupied by one of the largest and most powerful military entities the world had ever known, started on the road to freedom led by a handful of poets, philosophers, and folk musicians who called the people to sing out<sup>3</sup>. According Fuentes (2000) the revolution is the complete change of a society that, through a forceful overthrow of a regime, would revert back to a state of freedom that had been lost over time<sup>4</sup>. Revolution, a forcible overthrow of a government or social order for a new system have been throughout the world civilization, may be violent or non-violent in nature. But successful political revolutions in the last three decades have been dominated by masses of unarmed people.

---

<sup>3</sup>Laima Sruoginis is an eyewitness of the freedom movement, she wrote in her work "Lithuania: In Her Own Words" which is a story of peaceful revolution.

<sup>4</sup>J. Fuentes described this term that "there is a large bibliography on the origins of the concept of "revolution" and the development from its astronomical meaning to its current political one".

The practice of non-violent methods in achieving the political goal was being popularized by Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom movement of India in 20<sup>th</sup> century. His approach of non-violent political action demolished the unjust immoral constructions of British Empire in India. Moreover, these methods were used by various non-violent leaders like Martin Luther king to get civil and political rights for the African Americans; many used these strategies to get freedom from colonialism or foreign occupation. The manifestations of non-violent political principles of Mahatma Gandhi in several forms, being utilized to realized the peaceful political and social change in various part of world in 20<sup>th</sup> century. The case of Baltic states remains as one of the latest success stories of achieving national independence in Europe that drew inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy.

### **Review of Literature**

A preliminary survey of existing body of literature demonstrates that a few relevant studies are available to understand the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence in Singing Revolution in Baltic states. Below is a survey of some of the relevant contributions. Miniotaite (2002), who was one of the leading whose ideas were drawn for Lithuanian non-violent resistance, saw Gandhi as a remarkable force for non-violent resistance against the soviet regime. Miniotaite states that people in Eastern Europe realized the importance of Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and the singing; their cultural legacies hold them together with the strong belief and faith in non-violent means.

Getting influenced by Gandhian way of civil resistance a number of scholars and political leaders such as Martin Luther King and Gene Sharp (year) explore this idea of non-violence and rejected the theory of violent revolution to bringing the social or political changes. Gene Sharp (1990) and Eglits (1993) contributed to device non-violent strategies for Singing Revolution. The strategy of civilian based defence was developed by using their ideas which was also based on Gandhian principles. Sharp developed the term civil resistance that denotes a movement that is peaceful (i.e., nonviolent) in character, and it sometimes infers

that the movement's goals are civil in the sense of being widely shared in a society. Sharp (2007) also specified that civil resistance shows the “power of common masses” against authoritarians whose example was being set up in the freedom struggle of India and in south Africa and later in several liberation movement led by various leaders.

Gandhi’s own voluminous works are relevant to take original insights on non-violent principles and strategies. He emphasizes over the purity of means as contrary to Machiavellian political philosophy of attaining the goals without concerning about means. He was totally concerned about the purity of means. Only the pure means could lead to the long lasting goals. Gandhiji (1923) warned *satyagrahies* “Means must be as pure as Ends,” the success (ends) achieved through impure means will not last long as it will further invite the antipathy in the society. Gandhiji throughout his life followed this way of non-violence in freedom movement of India.

Parekh (2001) analyses the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence that use of violence denied the ontological facts that all human beings had souls, that they were capable of appreciating and pursuing good, and that no one was so degenerate that he could not be won over by appealing to his fellow-feeling and humanity. Hannah Arendt (1970) argued in favour of non-violence and says ‘No doubt, “violence pays,” but the trouble is that it pays indiscriminately. . . The danger of violence . . . will always be that the means overwhelm the end. . . . The practice of violence, like all action, changes the world, but the most probable change is to a more violent world’.

Robert (1991) in his book “Civil Resistance in the East European and Soviet Revolutions” maintained that demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins, and other such methods are no recent invention and have been used in many conflicts in this century. Ulfelder (2004) argues that people of these states pick up the culture of singing for the mass demonstration during Baltic independence movement. (Statiev, 2010) discuss how people of Baltic states had been made victims of



mass deportations to Siberia, repatriations, and other types of forced migration about and illegal enforcement of suppressing laws under Soviet rule. Björkman (2007) and Veemaa (2010) argue that culture of society was a dominating factor in uniting the people against the subjugation by external or internal self-interested forces. The oppressed people of these states found singing festival as “common uniting force for achieving their ultimate goal freedom from Soviet Union.

The source of current independence movements could be traced back to national awakening began to emerge in Baltic states during the late nineteenth century when they were under Russian Tsarist regime. The unfair treatment by German nobility also shaped their nationalist sentiments. Kasekamp (2010) and O’connor (2003) explain this aspect of Baltic history. Taagepera (1993) is relevant to understand the five decades of Soviet occupation and the transformation of situation and the forms of resistance in the Baltic countries. In the 1940s and 1950s it was a violent conflict. Armed resistance lasted until the end of Stalin regime and even beyond.

The politics of glasnost and perestroika announced by Gorbachev 1985s to bring the economic and political change in Soviet empire provided a legitimate opportunity for Baltic people to express their disagreement with Soviet rule and to regain their independence. Budryte argued that, “The Baltic nationalist movements emphasized the historic continuity of their statehood by holding demonstrations on the anniversaries of important historic events and restoring old symbols of pre-soviet national identity (Budryte 2005: 56).

Chakars (2009) points out about the fascination of non-violent meant as Balts believed that non-violence could be an effective tool to regain independence without any bloodshed. Lauristin and Vihalemm (2001) point out that Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian intellectuals, journalists and cultural activists used this situation to reassert national identity. The lost national sovereignty was recalled in the metaphoric language of poems, dramas, songs, paintings and literary essays.

Šmidchens (2007) points out “literature can and does cause people to change their political actions, and culture provides both inspiration and sustenance to political movements”. Robert (1991) discussed that the civil resistance against oppressing regimes not only emerged from their cultural and ethical values but they also spring from a society's traditions of political action, from its experience of war and violence, or from calculations about the improbability of achieving success by violent means.

K. Joseph (2010) had argued that existing military solutions are inadequate to provide security to the people concerned. Now the time has come to rethink about non-military solution for conflicts resolution and peace building in this most unstable world. Once Gandhi himself said “we do not know how handle arms. It is not our fault, it is our perhaps misfortune that we cannot”. Richard Deats (2009) a non-violence activist supports the arguments by stating that while “nonviolence is as old as the hills,” as Gandhi said, it is only in recent decades that the philosophy and practice of nonviolence have grasped the human imagination. Chakars (2009) mentions that Gandhi and Martin Luther King were discussed in the publications of various political groups participated in popular movements.

### **Research Objectives and Rationale**

Gandhian philosophy has been a topic of discussion in the contemporary world where his ideas appear out of work amidst the pragmatism and materialism which prevails, still to abandon the relevance of his thought is parallel to removing the element of humanity from man as his philosophies like *satya* and *ahimsa* derives basic human principles of love, compassion and tolerance. Although there has been a rethinking in different parts of the world about the use of violent methods to achieve social and political goals, but these violent mean never have been able to bring peace and solidarity among the masses, instead of it outcomes of these means brought more destruction and violation of human rights. Either it was in Afghanistan war or in Iraq war or in different part of world; the results have been mass killings and suppression of innocent people. People all over the world are

living in constant fear and insecurity. This precarious situation and the futility of the weapons of mass destruction in ensuring peace prompt one to think about non-violent methods (Joseph 2010). It is very necessary to re-examine and propagate these non-violent methods which were successfully employed by Gandhi in South Africa and later in India.

Whole world has recognized the relevance of Gandhian methods for achieving the social and political goals without mass destruction. The United Nations in its 61st General Assembly in 2007 declared October 2, the birthday of Gandhi, as the International Non-violence Day. According to General Assembly resolution A/RES/61/271 of 15 June 2007, the International Day is an occasion to "disseminate the message of non-violence, including through education and public awareness". The resolution reaffirms "the universal relevance of the principle of non-violence" and the desire "to secure a culture of peace, tolerance, understanding and non-violence (UNO 2007)". The international recognition of Gandhian way of non-violence and use of these techniques in so many peaceful movements led by followers of Gandhiji support the argument in the study of singing revolution as a latest case based on Gandhian principles.

The Singing Revolution of Baltic states testify the global relevance of Mahatma Gandhi's principles of non-violence and non-cooperation in the twenty first century world. This was a great historical event for the regaining of the independence from totalitarian regime of Soviet Union by Baltic States through peaceful means of non-violence. The Singing Revolution which surprised a lot but it had been a reality for peaceful demonstration and Gandhian way of fighting against the enemies of people's freedom and liberties. Baltic masses which used the singing as a tool to restore their independence proved the relevance of Gandhian philosophy in the 20th century and added up a new way of peaceful demonstrations against oppressors of humanity. The singing which was the culture of these states became a forum of uniting and learning the Gandhian philosophy for common masses. Baltic media also played a very crucial role in strengthening the ideas of non-violence by broadcasting these through various

programs. The study of the singing revolution would analyse the role of culture and media and public communication as factors which influenced and transferred the philosophy of non-violence to the common people.

The influence of Gandhian political philosophy in Singing Revolution of Baltic states is an under researched area. The study of this great historical non-violent revolution will strengthen the relevance of Gandhian method to resolve the world's political, ethnic and territorial problems through non-violent means in this 21st century. When humanity is passing through a very difficult period where violence and terrorism have become the catch words of international politics than there is a need to re-examine and adopt the Gandhian ways to combat these problems. Non-violence implies an ability to transcend one from an ordinary daily life to become an agent of change, to serve the universe. It is very possible to construct a non-violent human chain as Baltic people did it just before two decades against the exploitation of political, economic and fundamental rights.

The study of the singing revolution suggests new strategies and techniques as adopted by Baltic people according to the situation and conditions of a particular society. Civilian based non-violent defence strategy adopted by Baltic masses for safeguarding the TV towers and Radio stations attracted the world's attention for using non-violent methods into a particular situation. The contemporary world developments reiterates the relevance of Gandhian way to solve the contemporary international conflicts with peace and negotiations, while the attempts to peace making is going on through the military intervention by peacekeeping forces of great powers in the different part of world. Baltic states being the latest example on non-violent revolution by using Gandhi's ideas that help to demolish the Soviet Union assumes great significance.

### **Research Questions**

Against the backdrop of the above discussion, following research questions are critically examined in the study.

- How influential was Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy in the Singing Revolution of Baltic States?
- Why did Baltic states adopt non-violent principles and strategies in their national independence movement?
- What was the role of singing culture in Singing Revolution?
- What was the role of media and political communication in Singing Revolution in strengthening non-violence resistance of people?
- Does the peaceful liberation of Baltic states testify the global relevance of Gandhian non-violence in the 21st century world?

### **Hypotheses and Research Methods**

A hypothesis is a tentative generalizations or a statement of prediction based on the pre-research assumptions which required to be tested in the study. The study of the singing revolution will be based on two hypotheses as following:-

- Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy and practice of non-violence and non-cooperation was one of the dominant influences in shaping the ideas, principles and strategies of Singing Revolution of Baltic States.
- The Baltic media and public communication acted as forum for discourse on Gandhian principles and experience for educating and enhancing non-violent resistance of people.

To understand the theoretical and practical approach of Gandhiji's political philosophy, the plethora of books, articles and other available relevant documents are used. The study depends upon both the primary and secondary resources of data, information and literature. The primary sources consist of the various governmental documents and reports, press statements, debates, personal diaries, eyewitness of event, autobiographies, speeches and interviews of political leaders. The secondary sources include books, articles, magazines, newspaper reports, internet sources, etc. The study is based on materials published mainly in English language and translations. The study tries to use materials in Russian

language and Baltic languages also. Internet sources and documents from relevant websites are also used.

### **Structure of the Study**

The study is divided into five chapters. Each chapter describes the nature, philosophy and chronology of the singing revolution in detail. This first chapter provides the background review of some of the relevant literature and research design. Second chapter describes the theoretical aspects of Gandhian political philosophy, non-violence and its practical application, especially in Indian national movement against the mighty British Empire. This also explains the various non-violent methods developed by Gandhiji such as *satyagraha*, non-cooperation, civil resistance and civil disobedience. The chapter describes the various freedom movements emerged in different parts of the world in 20<sup>th</sup> century inspired by the Gandhian philosophy and also analyses the relevance and use of these methods in conflict resolution in 21<sup>st</sup> century. Third chapter is a detailed account of the evolution of singing revolution and the influence of Gandhian principles of non-violence in restoring the independence from Soviet Union in 1991. Fourth chapter discusses about the role of Baltic media and public communication in disseminating Gandhian ideas and experience in the society. Chapter five lists out the conclusions and findings of the study and states that if the hypotheses are proved or not.

The next chapter discusses about Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and its application in India and elsewhere in the world.

## **Chapter 2**

# **Mahatma Gandhi's Philosophy of Non-Violence: Theory and Practice**

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-48), popularly known as the Mahatma (great soul), was born in a well-to-do Hindu traditional family of Porbandar in Gujarat on 2 October 1869. As a man of action he devoted his whole life to liberate India from British colonialism. Application of his ideas of non-violence in achieving Indian independence proved to be a powerful strategy for challenging foreign domination and establishing national state sovereignty. Gandhi known as father of Indian independence became a strong inspiration for non-violent protest movements around the world. Eastern European nations adopted Gandhian principles in their revolutions. Singing Revolution in Baltic states took insights from Gandhi's political philosophy to devise their non-violent strategies for liberating themselves from the Soviet occupation. As a precedent to understand the non-violent revolution of Baltic states this chapter discusses his principles of non-violence and political strategies that applied in Indian freedom movement.

### **Mahatma Gandhi's Political Philosophy: Ideas and Strategy**

Although the political philosophy of Gandhiji evolved from ancient culture, religion and traditions of India he was also influenced by other religions of the world. He transformed the religious and traditional ideas in a very innovative way to associate them with modernity for the cause of humanity. Spirituality and the goodness of human nature are at the core of his whole philosophy. He stated, "I want to identify myself with everything that is alive. So my patriotism is for me a stage on my journey to the land of eternal freedom and peace. Thus it will be seen for me there are no politics devoid of religion" (Gandhi quoted in Andrews 1931: 353-54). His political thought emphasized that politics without religion or spirituality is dead. For

him, the politics of non-violent action was an instrument to realize the justice (truth) in society and to make a peaceful order.

He propounded an action oriented philosophy for the reconstruction of modern world civilization, based on universal truth force or non-violence, which he considered very near to God. Mahatma Gandhi's opening words of his defence speech at his trial at Ahmadabad "Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed" (Young India, 1922) reveals his deep seated faith in non-violence. As a worshiper of *satya* and *ahimsa* (truth and non-violence) he trained and inspired his followers during Indian freedom struggle. He utilized the strategy of non-violence as a weapon for liberating the Indian masses from British domination. Non-violence as political philosophy, Gandhi culminated his ideas into political action to defy injustice done by the coercive power of state.

His political philosophy of non-violence as moral opposition of violence was based on the pragmatic considerations about the most effective ways to mobilize popular power and to resist and replace authoritarian and undemocratic regimes and protect fundamental rights. This popular power was vested in the collective actions of citizens to whom Gandhiji considered higher than state (Sharp 1973). During the freedom movement of India he organized large number of non-violent political rallies and mass demonstrations against British rule.

The basic concepts which provide the fundamentals of Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy include his ideas of the human nature, state and politics, non-violence, *satyagraha*, non-cooperation and civil disobedience.

### **Human Nature**

Mahatma Gandhi believes that by nature man is not evil. Both goodness and brute is simultaneously inherent in human nature. The goodness of man enables him to achieve truth and non-violence and the brute in him makes a man to use violence. It is possible that a man can extricate the brute in him so that to achieve non-violence or



to ascertain the truth. Gandhi's approach about the human nature was to transform the violence through a process of *satyagraha* into a non-violent one. He argued that "what distinguishes the man from the brute is his conscious striving to realize the spirit within" (Gandhi 1926: 204). Since human beings had souls and were spiritual in nature, they have more inclination by their reason towards well-being.

Gandhi started with a very definite conviction about what man is in his essential nature and of what he becomes through a false view of himself, of what he should be and can become by following the path of non-violence and *satyagraha* (Gandhi 1940: 316).<sup>1</sup> Man is capable to achieve the inherited power of non-violence by self-restraint and by sacrificing the unlimited passion for materialism. In Gandhi's words, "Man being by nature more passionate than the brute, the moment all the restraint withdrawn, the lava of unbridled passion would over spread the whole earth and destroy the mankind. Man is superior to the brute in as much as he is capable of self-restraint and sacrifice of which the brute is incapable" (Gandhi 1965: 26). Gandhi conceived the individuals in moral and spiritual terms and believed that other aspects of their behaviour, especially social, political and economic, is secondary because only those human beings who are morally and spiritually rich could make a non-violent society.

Gandhi argued that it's possible to make a non-violent political active man by following some vows called *vrata* for purification of self. These vows meant for moral upliftment and making a human being fit for the service of the humanity were: 1) the vow of truth, 2) vow of non-violence, 3) vow of celibacy, 4) control of palate, 5) vow of non-stealing and 6) vow of non-possession (Gandhi 1964: 92). These vows were the process to build the consciousness about moral justice of the practitioners of *satyagraha* (Bose 1981: 161). The practice of these laws would purify all the worldly

---

<sup>1</sup>However, Parekh argues that the goodness of human nature of Gandhian thoughts does not mean that they always loved and pursued good, but they often lacked true self-knowledge, which is subject to the body-based illusion of getting this worldly life, and their *svabhava* (behaviour) might force them to do evil (Parekh 2001: 34)

HR21709

possession which could be a barrier in the way of non-violent political action. It could be viewed that his view of politics and especially of social and individual ethics was firmly based upon his assumptions regarding human nature and its perfectibility. The main assertion of his political being was as an individual of his own conscience. "Every man has to obey the voice of his own conscience and be his own master.....such a man is superior to all governments" (Gandhi 1964: 249).

### **State and Politics**

Mahatma Gandhi in India's freedom struggle challenged the British Empire that was the greatest empire of all the times and strong manifestation of state power. For Gandhi the state as it existed in the west represents the power and force concentrated in an organized form, something that has only body and has no soul at all. He writes, "The democracies that we see at work in England, America, and France are not only so called democracies, because they are no less based on violence than Nazi Germany, fascist Italy or even Soviet Russia. The only difference is that the violence of last three is much better organized than that of three democratic powers- England, America and France" (Gandhi quoted in Ashu 2010: 84). The vision of state power being derived from people's power, he sought to turn the vision into reality by mass politics in a country emasculated through more than a hundred years of harsh alien rule, and ridden with poverty and illiteracy (Dayal 1998: 75).

Gandhi recognized that the state claims to serve the nation, but he realized that this was a fallacy. "While apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, [the state] does the greatest harm to mankind" (Gandhi quoted in Jesudasan 1987: 236-237). The ideas of state power which emerged from the independence movement of India Gandhi showed that the state implies the use of violence or coercion to manipulate of its power over common masses. He accepts the minimal interference of state in the individual affairs. According to Dhawan Gandhi was a philosophical anarchist because he believed that the "[the greatest good of all] can be realized only

in the classless, stateless democracy. In other words, Gandhi also holds that state as an institution of violence must be limited” (Dhawan 1969: 479).

Gandhiji was a deeply religious man and this religious perspective shaped his views about politics, for Gandhi, politics was but a distinguished part of man’s life to serve the humanity. It cannot be separated from religion in any condition because without religion man is nothing but just like a soulless body. For Gandhi, religion was not merely the practice of rituals and chanting mantras, but it was the inherent nature of humans to search for the truth. Gandhi wrote in *Young India*, “Let me explain what I mean religion... It is the permanent element in human nature which leaves the soul restless until it has found itself” (Gandhi 1920). What he meant of religion was to discover the power of truth (non-violence) to establish a just political order. Though Gandhi thought of an increase in the power of the state did the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lay at the root of all progress, he viewed political power as a means that enabled people to better their conditions in every sphere of life. Politics without religion is a game of shrewd politicians who manipulate political power to satisfy their self-interests. The manipulation of political power could be challenged by active non-violent power of self-purified individuals.

According to Gandhi politics and religion were inseparable. Politics without religion would kill the soul of individuals and they would follow the corrupt methods to remain in power (Gandhi 1946). In his own words, “Politics divorced of religion, have absolutely no meaning” (Gandhi 1964: 234). Amer Singh (2003) states that Gandhi adopted a balance approach accepting the mixing of religion in politics on certain conditions rejecting the idea of religion in it for personal gains, greed, or self-interest or to exploit the situation to harm others. Religion and politics are meant for the welfare of the people and not for other individual purpose. It depends upon the people in common or politician in particular to use or abuse them. For him power of politics was the moral authority which he sought first to destroy the legitimacy of British rule in India, and then he offered the nationalist movement a new form of

moral authority created from an inventive combination of traditional and modern attitudes. Daltan analyzed that Gandhi was a shrewd politician and his ideological distinction between the purity of moral authority and the corruptibility of political power that rationalized his participation in politics (Daltan 1969: 378-379).

### **Principle of Non-Violence**

The Gandhian principle of non-violence is presented as a challenge to the violence that is always and necessarily implicated with the foundation of a sovereign order. For him the non-violence was the truth force that does not rely on the physical force to bring political and social change. He argues, “An armed man naturally relies on his arms. A man who is intentionally unarmed, relies upon the unseen force called truth force”(Gandhi 1942: 201). Nonviolence, especially when contrasted with a brutal government response, has an extraordinary power to influence the human mind. Hence, it may well have a profound role to play in practical politics, even against violent, heavily armed, repressive regimes.

The ideas that shaped Gandhian non-violence were drawn both from Western and Indian sources. The trial of Socrates as described in Plato’s *Apology* had a deep impact on Gandhi. The moral principles of the Sermon on the Mount, as interpreted in Leo Tolstoy’s (1893) ‘*The Kingdom of God Is within You*’, had a lifelong sway on him. *A Letter to a Hindoo* (1908), correspondence between Gandhi and Tolstoy, also influenced Gandhi’s views on non-violence. Tolstoy through his letters encouraged Gandhi in his struggle in Transvaal, South Africa (Tolstoy 1909).<sup>2</sup> But Murthy argues that non-violence as a socio-political concept is originated by Gandhi (1958: 137). Gandhi in *Harijan* states, “Truth comprehends everything. It is not in *Ahimsa*, but *Ahimsa* is in it” (Gandhi 1942).

---

<sup>2</sup>The TBIA (Transvaal British Indian Association) later known as TIC (Transvaal Indian Congress) was formed in 1903 by Mahatma Gandhi to protest against the anti-Indian legislation in the area. The organization depended on petitions and deputations to the authorities and appeals for help to the Government of India, which was then under British control, hence the name of the organization. The TBIA was involved in the Gandhi’s passive resistance campaigns of 1908 and 1913.

Godrej argue about the non-violent action that this way is neither violent nor does it require brute, martial strength, but rather relies on disciplined and conscious self-scrutiny, sacrifice, and the capacity to endure embodied pain through self-suffering. But suffering has to be meaningful, purposive and creative, it not be for the personal interests (Godrej 2011: 3). The active Ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. For Gandhi, ahimsa was the expression of the deepest love for all humans, including one's opponents; this non-violence therefore included not only a lack of physical harm to them, but also a lack of hatred or ill-will towards them. But it is not a just to be meek submissive before the opponent (Bari 1971: 99; Murthy 1958; Parekh 2001). He in *Young India* further elaborates Ahimsa (non-violence) in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for the empire's fall or its regeneration (Gandhi 1920). Moreover, as Parekh analysed that Gandhi carried his search for non-violence into the realm of the human mind itself, and asked how one should relate to one's thoughts, beliefs, and feelings in a truly non-violent manner (Parekh 2001: 62).

Through the technique of non-violence a seeker of truth tries to convert his opponent by the force of moral character and self-suffering. Thus non-violent political action became very effective to change the hurt of opponent or evil doer. It does not apply any physical coercion on wrongdoer but changed the hurt of opponent; it is because of inherited characteristic of non-violence in human soul which works very strongly. Gandhi identifies the force of non-violence ultimately with God, or Truth, and he believes that man's ultimate goal is the realization of God, all his activities, social, political, religious, have to be guided by the by the ultimate aim (Borman 1986). Thus, the practice of *ahimsa* or non-violence involves the systematic cultivation of various

virtues in daily life, accompanied by self-examination and self-regulation. The practice of non-violent action, which is in Gandhian sense a pragmatic moral force to achieve the *swaraj* or self-rule. Bari exemplified that it is through the technique of active non-violence Gandhi could reach the mass-mind so easily and quickly and with such unprecedented effect. He believed that under proper training and proper generalship non-violence could easily be practiced by masses (Bari 1971: 111). The effectiveness of this method on opponent is because every individual has the soul which is a common uniting truth in this universe and which creates an interdependent humanism. Dhawan (1946) concluded that the philosophy of Satyagraha is the philosophy of the integral man.

The physical injury done to a *satyagrahi* only reinforces the power of his soul. In the words of Martin Luther King (1963: 302) a man who is prepared to suffer “shall be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope”. Gandhi believed that by suffering a *satyagrahi* would voluntarily undergo to convert an opponent was consistent with the pursuit of truth to change the heart “The Satyagrahi’s course is plain.....He must know that his suffering will melt the stoniest heart of the stoniest fanatic” (Gandhi 1925: 83). It requires higher morality and spirituality which need much courage and voluntary self-suffering and self-sacrifice. *Satyagraha* is a tactic which excludes the use of violence. At the heart of Gandhi’s *satyagraha* is the idea that violent means can only bring negative ends, one must practice non-violence in his words, his thoughts and his actions, which are ends in themselves (Parkins 2012: 82).

### **Indian Freedom Movement: Gandhian Philosophy and Strategy in Practice**

*Satyagraha* was Gandhi’s practical tool and strategy for implementing his idea of non-violence in active political and social activities to transform the human nature for constructing a peaceful political and social order (Gandhi 1958). As a method it works in arousing the consciousness of the masses; continuing education; maintaining the unity of the sufferers and making them into fearless soldiers;

providing them a powerful organization and throwing them into heroic battles (Satyanarayana 2010: 35). According to Gandhi “The basic principle on which the practice of non-violence rests is that what hold good in respect of oneself equally applies to the whole universe” (Gandhi 1938).

Before coming to India Gandhi first used the strategy of Satyagraha in South Africa. Gandhi used the civil disobedience method for the first time during his march to Transvaal in South Africa in 1913 to protest against the discriminatory policies of the South African government. Racism in South Africa was even more intense than in India, and Gandhi became an advocate and leader of the Indian immigrant population. Struggles for Indian rights escalated over his stay in South Africa, and Gandhi’s political development paralleled the course of nationalist debates back in India. This was the first real mass movement of civil disobedience led by Gandhi and his strategy, some extent, was successful to bring the peaceful change in South Africa. However, South Africa became “the laboratory of Gandhi’s experiments; it proved an excellent testing ground, since many of the problems which he later found in India occurred there in miniature” (Dalton 1982, p.134). Therefore, it is proved that applicability of *satyagraha* is universal, not limited in certain geographical boundaries.

Gandhi returned to India which marked a watershed in the development of ideas and strategies of nonviolence. Gandhi employed *satyagraha* as a non-violent political action of non-cooperation and civil disobedience or resistance on various occasions during Indian independence movement. In 1918, he started to use non-violent methods from Champaran in Bihar and Kheda in Gujarat for protecting the rights of peasants. He got the immense success in which British government change the laws for the farmers of Indigo production. From these initial small non-violent agitations Gandhi realized that the only way to earn the respect and attention of British officials was to actively resist government activities through civil disobedience. These show the effective Gandhi’s pressure, the British Empire for accepting the Indian popular

demands for national independence. Some of the important *satyagraha* led by Gandhi are Rowlett *satyagraha* 1919, Salt *satyagraha* in 1930 and Quit India Movement in 1942 continued in the form of non-cooperation and civil resistance till the achievement of freedom of India.

### **Rowlett Satyagraha 1919**

In 1917 the Government of India had appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Justice Sydney Rowlett to investigate "revolutionary crime" in the country and to recommend legislation for its suppression. After a review of the situation, the Rowlett committee proposed a series of change in the machinery of law to enable the British government to deal effectively with the revolutionary activities. In the light of these recommendations the Government of India drafted two bills and presented them to the Imperial Legislative Council on 6 February 1919. The government maintained that the bills were 'temporary measures' which aimed at preventing 'seditious crimes'. The new bills attempted to make war-time restrictions permanent. They provided trial of offences by a special court consisting of three high court judges. There was no provision of appeal against the decision of this court which could meet in camera and take into consideration evidence not admissible under the Indian Evidence Act. Gandhi's Rowlett Act *Satyagraha* provided a rallying point to the people belonging to different sections and communities. This aspect of the movement is quite evident from the massive participation of the people in Punjab, which Gandhi had not even visited before the movement. Broadly speaking, the movement was intense in cities than in rural areas (Chandra et al 1987).

### **Non-cooperation Movement 1920**

The first nation-wide non-violent struggle was the non-cooperation movement in 1920. Gandhi planned to withdraw the nation's social and political co-operation to the government when he realized that there was no prospect of getting any fair treatment at the hands of British. The main demands were to redress the wrongs



committed in Punjab that entailed the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the atrocities related to the marital laws (The Rowlet Act 1919), Khilafat issue and achievement of *swaraj*. In a special session held in Calcutta in September 1920 Indian National Congress under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration adopted, the famous resolutions on non-cooperation which recommended the renunciation of government titles and the boycotting of the legislatures, law-courts and government educational institutions leading up at a later date to the non-payment of taxes.

The non-cooperation was launched formally on 1 August 1920, after the expiry of the notice that Gandhi had given to viceroy in his letter of 22 June in which he asserted the right recognized 'from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrule'. On the death of Lokamanya Tilak there was an emergence of all India movement, people all over the country observed *Hartal* and took out processions. The attainment of *swaraj* or self-rule was also proclaimed (Chandra et. al. 1989: 185). It took up constructive task, like *Khadi* removal of untouchability, prohibition of liquor, and national education. The use of Hindi and other Indian languages broke the barrier between the educated and the masses. Wherever Gandhi went very surprisingly he got popular support of Indian people from strata of Indian society. Gandhi applied the methods of mass communication for enhancing the idea of non-violence through mass meetings and personal writings which published in *Young India* and *Harijan*. Despite, having British control over press, Indian press showed its active participation in mobilizing the nationalistic feelings and propagating Gandhian ideas in Indian society (Chandra 1989).

Moreover, Gandhi opened up various volunteer training camps including *Sabarmati Asram*, for *satyagrahis* to teach them about the methods and strategies of *satyagraha*. To enhance the idea of non-violence Gandhi used culture and Indian traditions as an instrument to bring communal harmony and national awakening among different segments of society. He organized *Prarthana Sabhas* (Prayer assemblies) in which he, with his followers used to sing harmonious song

“*Raghupati raghavraja Raam, sabko sanmuati de bhagyaan, Iswaar allaahterenaam*”. this song along with other patriotic poems like ‘*Vande Mataram*’ and Indian national anthem ‘*Jan gan man adhinayak*’ written by Bankimchandra Chatterji and Rabindranath Tagore respectively, became a very inspirational for bearing the British brutal treatments during the painful ours of civil resistance. The non-cooperation movement maintained the communal unity and received tremendous participation of Muslim population (Chandra et. al. 1989: 196). Symbolic images of ‘*Bhaarat Maata*’, portrayal of tri-colour national flag and commemoration of historical event and celebration of cultural traditions aroused the self-consciousness about glorious past of Indian nationhood. Mahatma Gandhi popularized the non-cooperation movement and created a strong pressure over the British government to recognize their demands.

Following the persuasion of Gandhi to withdraw from state institutions and join national schools, several students left their schools. This period also witnessed the coming into being of numerous national educational institutions for the benefit of the students. In the first month itself, thousands of students left schools and colleges and joined more than 800 national schools and colleges that sprung all over the country. The *swadeshi* spirit was revived with new vigour, this time as part of as part of nation-wide struggle. Boycott of law courts by many leading lawyers of country like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Asaf Ali became a source of inspiration for many other peoples in India (Mukherji 1989: 186). In fact, Boycott of foreign clothes was very successful. Volunteers went house to house collecting made of foreign cloth; the entire community would collect to light a bonfire of the goods. Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth was also a major form of boycott. Moreover, Gandhi inspired people to wear *Khadias* a part of *swadeshi*. Under the guidance of Gandhi, *Charkha* and Indian handloom products gained back their glory among the Indian society. Public transportation and English-manufactured goods, especially clothing, would be

boycotted. The success of the revolt was a total shock to British authorities and a massive encouragement to millions of Indians.

However, during non-cooperation movement there were insurgence of violent clashes among the police and people. Many had to lose their life in police firing at Chauri Chaura place in Uttar Pradesh. Gandhiji, realizing the reoccurrence of violence, immediately withdrew the non-cooperation movement and appeal to the Indian masses to not follow the path of violence. On 10 March 1922 and he was imprisoned for two years for publishing seditious materials. It profoundly altered the entire political situation in India, and thereby in the British Empire. It certainly demonstrated that it commanded the support and sympathy of vast sections of the Indian people. It reached among many sections of Indian peasants, workers and traders, professional's artisans, shopkeepers and white-collar employees (Chandra 1988). This was the first time that nationalists from towns, students from schools and colleges or even the educated and politically aware in the villages had made a serious attempt to bring the ideology and the movement into their midst.

### **Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience Movement 1930-31**

Civil Disobedience Movement launched in 1930 under Gandhi's leadership-launched by the Salt March was one of the most important milestones in the freedom struggle of India. In non-cooperation movement under the guidance of Gandhi, the Indians learnt how ostensibly philosophical thoughts like non-violence and civil resistance, could be used to achieve political ends. While the Non-Co-Operation Movement was built on the lines of non-violent non-cooperation, the essence of The Civil Disobedience Movement was defying the unjust laws of British government (Chandra 1988). On the historic day of 12 March 1930, Gandhi conducting the historic *Dandi* Salt March, where he broke the Salt Laws imposed by the British Government. The salt tax was a political issue that had a personal impact on all Indians, especially among the poor. Salt was a basic necessity for survival and its taxation was viewed as an example of British arrogance (Kurtz 2009: 3). On 2 March 1930, Gandhi wrote

a letter to Viceroy Lord Irwin informing him of his intent to commit civil disobedience in ten days if eleven previously-communicated demands (related to the salt tax, land revenue assessments, military spending levels, currency exchange rates, and a tariff on foreign cloth) were not met. The new form of salt *satyagraha* was eagerly adopted by the people and very soon it became a mass affair.

Besides, the breaking of the Salt Laws, the program of the civil disobedience movement incorporated picketing of shops selling foreign goods and liquor, bonfire of cloth, refusal to pay taxes and avoidance of offices by the public officers and schools by the students. Even the women joined forces against the British. The movement got the popular support of a large number of masses. To mobilize the masses Gandhi and other political leaders of Indian National Congress made public speeches and involved in mass petitions. There were various ways of public communication such as patriotic slogans and symbols, newspaper and journal articles from Gandhi's own journals, masterful use of the international press, leaflets and pamphlets, lectures by INC activists on trains to a "captive audience." To foster the feeling of nationalism they followed symbolic public acts such as displays of flags (independent India), prayer and worship (Gandhi's daily prayer meetings). Political leaders of INC and *satyagrahis* organized various public meetings and public debate to make the strategic agenda for salt *satyagraha* under the guidance of Gandhi. The cultural aspirations of local people such as singing, dancing, and drums at public gatherings and among the crowds greeting the marchers as they arrived in village after village also developed a notion of unification and became a crucial part of non-violent political action (Kurtz 2009: 5). These all cultural and symbolic presentations during the protests and demonstrations under the able guidance of Mahatma, served the critical function of mobilizing the masses on a large scale against the British government.

The civil disobedience movement of 1930-31, marked a critical stage in the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle. A large number of people went jail. The import of

foreign clothes from Britain fallen by half; while the government's income from liquor and other products badly affected. Political leaders very effectively boycotted the elections of national assembly and many political groups politicize the issue of nationalism among the countryside (Mukherji 1989: 282). Satyagraha was put on a firm footing through its large scale usage in the movement. The Salt Satyagraha was a multi-faceted campaign of civil disobedience that included a range of strategic actions beyond the march and the act of illegal salt-making itself (Kurtz 2009: 3). The British government became upset with the growing popularity of the movement and imprisoned Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. The *satyagraha* against the salt tax continued for almost a year, ending with Gandhi's release from jail and signing of Viceroy Lord Irwin-Gandhi Pact and invitation to Gandhi to participate in the Second Round Table Conference in London.

### **Quit India Movement 1942**

In 1942, the 'Quit India' movement or the '*Bharat Chodo*' movement which started with these slogans occupies a special place in the history of Indian struggle for freedom for taking the final step towards India's independence under the efficient leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The main reason for outbreak of the quit India movement was the failure of Cripps mission in April 1942 (Chandra 1989: 457). In order to end the deadlock, the British government on 22nd March 1942, sent Sir Stafford Cripps to talk terms with the Indian political parties and secure their support in Britain's war efforts. A Draft Declaration of the British Government was presented, which included terms like establishment of Dominion, establishment of a Constituent Assembly and right of the Provinces to make separate constitutions. However, these would be granted after the cessation of the Second World War.

The Indian National Congress passed a resolution on 14 July 1942, demanding complete independence from Britain and massive civil disobedience. On 8 August 1942, at the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee, the Quit India Resolution was passed. The Quit India Movement, inaugurated at the call of the

Mahatma for strikes, processions and demonstrations. In response Gandhi was arrested on 9 August 1942. The factory and mill workers rose to the cause and displayed maximum vigour and enthusiasm. Inspired by Gandhiji's speech "Do or Die", the common masses enthusiastically jumped into the movement, even though there was lack of direct leadership. Large-scale protests and demonstrations were held all over the country. The government took recourse to repressive measures to subdue the movement. In an incident of open fire in Bombay, the casualties included large number of women and children.

Moreover, the common people participated in this movement had to face the more brutal repression that they had ever been used against national movement. During this movement the British government suppressed even basic civil liberties and any political activity declared illegal and revolutionary activity, either it was peaceful (Mukherji, et. al. 1989: 457). Gandhiji was released on 6 May 1944, now he concentrated on the constructive works and mobilizing the different organizations. Quit India movement was Gandhi's final bid to secure India's independence. Although, many diverse political ideologies misled the scenario of Indian National Movement at that time, but the *satyagraha* adopted by Gandhi had the most powerful effect in challenging the British authorities. Gandhi's non-violent attempts had been continued till the achievement of the freedom of India on 15 August 1947.

### **Global Impact of Gandhian Non-violence in the Twentieth Century**

The liberation of India became a strong example to root out the regime based on the unjust laws from Indian land through nonviolent means. The victory of Gandhi's non-violent strategy influenced the prominent scholars and peace activists in India and abroad such as Gene Sharp, Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King. The Gandhian model of non-violent movement focused on people's power of civil resistance broken the hegemony of colonial rule, forced occupation and authoritarian rule, etc. Gandhi model of non-violent political action emerged as pioneering strategy to mobilize the masses against the unjust political systems. It has been

exemplified by Martin Luther King, Jr. in the civil rights movement in the United States, apartheid movement in South Africa, the 'people's power' movement in the Philippines, and the non-violent collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and so on.

### **Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa (1948-94)**

Apartheid, means apartness in Africans, was a policy of racial separation that affected all aspects of life including where individuals could live, where they went to school and their instruction, who they could marry, and where they could work (Lueker 2007). An inhuman system of official racial discrimination in South Africa was in existence for almost 90 years. The apartheid system continued for four and half decades (1948-1994). The strong Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) launched inside and outside South Africa played a significant role in dismantling the apartheid system in 1994. The seeds of AAM in South Africa were sown by Gandhi. He established the first anti-colonial and anti-racial discrimination movement there and founded the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) on 22 August 1894 (Reddy and G. Gandhi 1993). Gandhi's Satyagraha experiment began in 1906 in which he opposed the 1906 legislation requiring the registration of Asians. Opposing this law, thousands of Asians boycotted registration. Gandhi and his *satyagrahis* were arrested and the jails were full. Inspired by Gandhi's ideas, *satyagraha* and non-cooperation became main characteristic features of AAM in later years.

Nelson Mandela (1995: 98) stated that "they reminded us that the freedom struggle was not merely a question of making speeches, holding meetings, passing resolutions and sending deputations, but of meticulous organization, militant mass action and, above all, the willingness to suffer and sacrifice. That was history; this campaign was taking place before my own eyes." Throughout the whole AAM, it was the articulation of Gandhian principles of non-violent resistance and Satyagraha, in which the African leaders and organizations used the Gandhian method of non-violence to resolve apartheid problem but they were compelled by South African authorities to

use violent measures. During their long struggle against apartheid thousands of people and many of their leaders lost their lives. At last in 1994 the Government based on apartheid rules negotiated with African National Congress (ANC) and other parties for the creation of a new South Africa. The AAM was the first successful transnational social movement in the modern world which was influenced by Gandhian methods. It was the first movement outside India, in which Gandhiji was directly involved in origin of the movement and testify the power of Satyagraha and non-violent actions.

### **Civil Rights Movement in America (1955-68)**

Gandhi's influence is nowhere more noticeable in the developed West than in the United States itself. Martin Luther King, Jr., the leader who led the non-violent civil rights movement, in the United States to empower the African Americans, was highly inspired by Mahatma Gandhi. The civil rights movement in U.S.A became important when thousands of African Americans returned from service in World War II and realized that they were deemed good enough to sacrifice their lives in the war but not good enough to get equal rights as citizens in their ordinary lives. Civil rights denote the rights of individuals to equal protection under the laws of the land and equal access to public amenities and services in society. Martin Luther King Jr., who employed his ideas of passive resistance and civil obedience in the civil rights movement in United States, often talked about the inspiration he got from Gandhi and his commitment to nonviolence.

King learned basic aspect of non-violence from Gandhi that non-violent does not strive for the defeat of opponent, but it seeks to win his friendship. He went deep in the technique of perfect non-violent action and looked towards it with a broader vision of social and political emancipation of Blacks. King explains: "The tension in the city is not between the white people and the Negro people; the tension is, at bottom, between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and forces of darkness. And if there is a victory, it will be a victory not merely for fifty thousand



Negroes, but a victory for justice and forces of light. We are out to defeat injustice, not white persons who may be unjust” (King cited in Dasa 2005).

In 1963, M. King enthusiastically organized peaceful marches and demonstrations in Alabama for the improvement of socio-economic conditions and civil rights of the African Americans. However, such movements faced enormous obstructions and antagonism and were often suppressed with heavy handed tactics of American governments. King and other leaders organized on 2 August 1963 a massive peaceful march “March on Washington” for jobs and freedom and rights of the African Americans that attracted about quarter of a million marchers. The methods of Gandhi created a dynamic unity, amazing self-respect and a passion to suffer voluntary among the Negroes. King taught them never to hit back the opponent instead to accept his blows calmly, so that oppressor would find himself glutted with his own barbarity (King 1959).

King commanded Negroes through the words of Gandhi. He spoke: “we will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws. Do to us what you will and we will still love you. Bombs our homes and threaten our children; send yourhooded perpetrators of violence into our communities and drag us out on some way side roads beating us and leaving us half dead, and we will still love you”. (King 1959).The long journey of civil rights movements in America succeed in 1968 when the US Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act providing African Americans and other minority communities’ equal access to public facilities and prohibited discrimination in jobs on racial grounds. In 1965 the US Congress passed the Voting Rights Act ending racial barriers in elections. King and Gandhi pioneered the use of non-violent political action and achieved desired political and social objectives in America.

### **Hungarian Revolution 1956 and in 1989**

In Hungary non-violent revolution took place against the Soviet invasion of the country to bring it in the “socialist camp” in 1956. During the violent uprising in 1956, in Hungarian revolution thousands of people had to lose their life, and many of the most politically active Hungarians left the country and stayed abroad. Approximately 20,000 were killed in the uprising.

The early 1980s, during Gorbachev’s glasnost and perestroika reforms, Hungary saw the emergence of a strong peaceful and non-violent movement in which thousands of people gathered in the streets of Budapest, the capital city of Hungary. Non-violent political action remained very effective in mobilizing the mass civil resistance. Peace activist Organizations and active non-violent networks such as the John Lennon Peace Club tested nonviolent actions as ways to express their views and this created a very large scale of peaceful demonstrations in West Europe. Gandhian tactics and strategies played a very crucial role in the development of these non-violent activities to defy the undemocratic communist rule. At last in 1989, there was a nationwide petition movement in favour of direct elections and democratic multiparty political system. These peaceful movements led to the collapse of the ruling order and its replacement with a multiparty democracy.

### **Prague Spring /the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia**

The Prague Spring (1968) was a period of political liberalization in Czechoslovakia during the era of its domination by the Soviet Union after World War II. Alexander Dubcek was elected the First Secretary of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and he started to grant additional rights to the citizens in an act of partial decentralization of the economy and democratization, and continued until the Soviet Union and all members of the Warsaw Pact, invaded the country to halt the reforms. The 1968 invasion by the Warsaw Pact armies had been expected to crush all Czech resistance in a few days but it took eight months (Robert 2011:118). Czechoslovakia’s large and well-trained army was ordered to stay in its barracks while the populace responded in unexpectedly creative, nonviolent ways.

Students sat in the path of incoming tanks; others climbed on the tanks and talked to the crews. While they did not physically fight the invaders, the people refused to cooperate with them. Clandestine radio messages kept up the morale of the people, passing on vital information and instructions, such as the calling of one-hour general strikes (Deats 2009: 9). It was the non-violent upsurge of common people to bring democratic change in Czechoslovakia, but this attempt being suppressed by totalitarian communist regime. The only significant change that survived was the federalization of the country, which created the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic in 1969.

Another non-violent revolution Velvet Revolution for demanding the democratic and civil rights in Czechoslovakia that took place in 1989 was dominated by students and other popular demonstrations against the one-party government of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Frustrated by political repression and poor living conditions, Czechoslovak students launched a series of protests against Communist rule in 1989 which led by playwright and democracy activist Vaclav Havel, the Velvet Revolution gained millions of supporters who brought the country to a standstill through marches and strikes (Taavana 2001). Havel called their quest for freedom "living in truth" as distinct from the lies and deception under which they had lived. Gandhian methods as peaceful and non-violent non-cooperation boycott of government offices and non-violent singing became strength of people. Addressing a public meeting Havel mobilizes the masses "I really do inhabit a system in which words are capable of shaking the entire structure of government, where words can prove mightier than military divisions" (Taavana 2001).

Havel and his activist movement had a strategic preference for nonviolent action followed by Gandhi and Martin Luther King that facilitated the movement's success. They showed their empty hands, put candles on the ground, and sang songs. Despite giving flowers to the police, they were attacked, and several hundreds were

wounded. After six weeks of higher civic mobilization that had begun on with a student protest, resulted of in the breakdown the one party hegemony of communist party, and people of Czechoslovakia broke through decades of Communist repression to craft a new democratic country. Havel was appointed president of Czechoslovakia in 1989, and then elected president in June 1990, holding the office until 2003 and he was awarded by Indian government with international Gandhi prize in 2003 (Taavana 2001).

### **Solidarity Movement in Poland (1980-90)**

The Solidarity movement of Poland was one of the most vividly influence by Gandhian philosophy which formed the peaceful and non-violent developments in Eastern Europe during the Cold War. The Labour turmoil in 1980 led to the formation of the independent trade union “Solidarity” after few years became a political force and by 1990 swept parliamentary elections and the presidency. “Solidarity” was the first non-communist trade union in a communist country. In the 1980s, it constituted a broad anti-communist social movement. Solidarity was founded in September 1980 at the Lenin Shipyards, where Lech Walesa and others formed a broad anti-communist movement, in which they advocated non-violence and non-violence civil resistance in its member’s activities.

In September 1981, the Solidarity’s first national congress elected Lech Walesa as president and adopted a republican program, the “Self-Governing Republic” which was very equal to Gandhi’s *swaraj*. Although martial law slowed down the process in 1981, but Solidarity movement continued in the underground. By January 1990, the Communist Party was dissolved and Lech Walesa was elected the President. The victory of the movement that changed the history of Poland was the world’s most dynamic display of people’s power against the oppression, and for the universal ideals, democracy and social justice, who were being achieved by non-violent means

after Gandhi in the twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> Lech Walesa awarded by the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983, for leading the active non-violent solidarity movement.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. remembered Gandhi when he was addressing a public meeting “Gandhi is inevitable. If humanity is to progress, Gandhi is inescapable. He lived, thought and acted, inspired by the vision of humanity evolving towards a world of peace and harmony. We may ignore him at our own risk”. He remains as an individual, a world-wide icon and inspiration, a profoundly political thinker and non-violent political activist. While twentieth century was the century of freedom from colonial brutalities, despotism, imperialism and totalitarianism, and unjust regimes, than people’s power with the non-violent weapons became very effective tool to get rid of, from the unjust and immoral regimes, which dramatically changed the face of the world and revolutionized the reforms in state institutions, mainly established with people’s power for the welfare of humanity. His ideas and philosophy, of non-violence had been a very influencing and dominating in 20th century in which peaceful and non-violent movement against the totalitarian regimes and violation of human rights being challenged by the non-violent masses.

### **Significance Gandhian Philosophy in the Twenty First Century**

Terrorism and poverty have become the catch words of international politics. After the 9/11 attacks on World Trade Centre and Pentagon, there is increasing realization that existing military solutions are inadequate to provide security to the people concerned. This precarious situation and the futility of the weapons of mass destruction in ensuring peace prompt one to think about non-violent methods. About 18 thousand Peace keeping troops of UNO are working in different parts of the world for peace making process (Deats 2009: 14).

---

<sup>3</sup> A good comparison of political strategies of Gandhi’s movement in India and Solidarity movement in Poland is attempted by Jakub Stepien (Stepien2011).

A huge investment for the development of mass destruction weapons and increasing number of nuclear weapons had created a security dilemma and security threats in the world political system which seems more violent and unstable. Unequal distribution of economic growth has created bitter form of hunger and poverty, non-stop exploitation of natural resources and increasing consumerism created upheavals in ecological system and a big threat to the existence of human beings, degradation in human morality resulting in more violent and acute social problems. Humanity is in danger of violence in direct or in indirect form. Poverty, inequality, hunger, alienation and malnutrition are disturbing the social peace. As Pandikattu (2001) argued Gandhian principles of truth, simplicity and ahimsa with his spiritual basis of human vision do have something significant alternative to contribute to fostering life for all.

Godrej (2011: 3) points out that Gandhian approach reminds us the new way in which political action can revolve around the primacy of embodied and warrior like exchange. The way that is neither violent nor does it require brute, martial strength, but rather relies on disciplined and conscious self-scrutiny, sacrifice, and the capacity to endure embodied pain through self-suffering that is possible in every type of society. He advocated that human advancement is possible only when man stands well-integrated into the very fabric of the world and non-violence is a rational principle based on the natural social instincts of man, therefore non-violence is a socializing influence and a civilizing force. As Pantham (1983) rightly observed, 'Gandhi's project is one of overcoming modernism without regressing to traditionalism. In his approach, there is a merging of the reconstruction of Indian tradition and reconstruction of western modernity'. His action oriented approach to conflict resolution had opened different dimensions and discourses for problem solving mechanism in modern world politics.

On January 30th, 1948 on the death of Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru spoke over the radio to the people "Friends and Comrades, the light has gone out of our lives and there is

darkness everywhere...yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country and world for many more years” (Nehru 1948).The relevance of what Gandhi stood for has increased for the whole world in the present times, on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's 70 birthday, Albert Einstein spoke "Generations to come, it may well be, will scarce believe that such a man as this one ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth". UNO 2October 2007, declaredthe birthday of Mahatma Gandhi “The International Day of Non-Violence” (UNO 2007). It is to remind the Gandhian vision of non-violence culture for world peace through non-violent means.At last could be stated that the non-violent methods still are alive in various forms among the masses; either it is non-violent demonstration against exploitation or anti-human rights state policies, environmental degradation or gender discrimination etc. Time has come to implement his practical approaches of all-round development throughout the world.

Baltic states consider that they were under foreign domination during Soviet rule. In order to resist Soviet Union they found relevance in Gandhi's strategy of non-violence political action and collective resistance by people. Hence, national movements consider Gandhian principles as one of the most useful in devising their peaceful movements during 1985-1991. The next chapter discuss in detail about Baltic national independence movements and influence of Gandhian philosophy in liberating the countries from Soviet occupation.

## Chapter: 3

# The Singing Revolution of Baltic States: The Influence of Gandhian Political Philosophy

Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms provided the Baltic states opportunity to mobilize for national independence movement known as Singing Revolution. Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika reforms made him busy in the process of making Soviet Union more capable in competing with the west in terms of defense capability. Baltic states grasped this opportunity to regain independence from Soviet occupation. They began mobilizing people through commemorating important historical events like experiences of gulag victims, mass deportations, and organized anti-regime demonstrations, etc. Popular fronts in three countries worked in cooperation with each other to lead the Singing Revolution, which was fully based on the principle of non-violence. Civilian resistance, picketing, singing songs, sending delegations, etc were some of the strategies adopted for demanding freedom from Soviet Union. The principle of non-violence, the national heritage of India contributed by Mahatma Gandhi, seems to be one of the main inspirations in Baltic non-violent freedom movement. This chapter tries to analyze how influential was Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy in the Singing Revolution of Baltic states? Why did Baltic states adopt non-violent principles and strategies in their national independence movement? Why was civilian resistance very successful in Baltic states during 1980s and 1990s? A brief history of early experiences of Baltic resistance and social impact of Sovietization provide a clear understanding of why principle of non-violence, art and culture became successful political strategies in Baltic states.

### **Baltic Resistance against Soviet Occupation: A Brief History**

The Baltic people's resistance against foreign domination goes back to the period since the region was being occupied first by the tsarist regime of Russia in the late 18th century. The Russification policies of imperial government, led to develop national awakening among the Baltic people and think towards achieving



political autonomy. National movements emerged in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as cultural Russification intensified a sense of national identity among them. Although the Tsarist Empire tried to suppress the Baltic intelligentsia, they managed to resist these attempts (Hiden 1994). In 1905 Baltic people faced a big violent uprising that caused huge material and human loss. Then they faced First World War.

In 1914, World War I broke out and the region came into the influence of Germany till the end of First World War in 1918. Due to First World War the Russian Empire began to collapse, independence movements sprung up on many regions. The Baltic states fought the war of independence; “The national movements were therefore directed towards achieving equality for the Baltic languages and cultures” (Smith 1996). After the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, Baltic political leaders attempted to establish the independent states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In Baltic history it was called the first awakening (Kaplan 2007: 52). The native Baltic states started reading the folksongs, poems and many other literary works of Baltic writers and soon after a nationalistic awakening emerged in Baltic states. Kirby argued that, “The initial national awakening was essentially a debate conducted in learned societies, journals, newspapers and in middle-class drawing rooms” (Kirby 1995).

Later in 1918, the area was drawn into the Russian Civil War and proclamations of independence were issued in Lithuania on 16 February, in Estonia on 24 February and in Latvia on 18 November 1918 (Hedlund 1993). Baltic states had to fight independence wars against German *Freikorps* (volunteer military or anti-communist paramilitary units) and finally were recognized as independent countries in 1920 (Kaszeta 1988). By 1920, the Russian civil war was in its final phase and German troops had withdrawn from the Baltic states. Subsequently, to establish peace in the region, the Baltic states signed peace treaties with Soviet Russia. Russia recognized independence of Baltic states by signing peace treaties with the three countries. Estonia signed the Tartu Peace Treaty with Russia on 2 February 1920 (Simmons 1996: 141), Lithuania, the Soviet–Lithuanian Peace

Treaty on 12 July 1920 (Liekis 2010: 127) and Latvia signed the Latvian-Soviet Peace Treaty on 15 August in 1920 (Lejins 1996: 16). Internationally recognized Baltic states began reconstruction reform to build a democratic state.

In 1920, all the three Baltic States adopted constitutions including universal suffrage, a multi-party system and parliamentary system with a president (Gernerand Hedlund 1993: 57). During this period Baltic states were among the most democratic states in the world; parliament held the upper hand in state politics, national institutions were built, and the national minorities held civil rights and participated in public life (O'Connor 2006: 22). In the following years, the new republics were recognized by most of the world's nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1920s and 1930s, the nation's economy and social development grew very soundly, but this period of twenty years did not make these countries very much persuasive in the world politics (Norgaard 1999: 41). All three states joined the League of Nations in 1921.

The freedom of Baltic states ended when the Soviet Union incorporated them in the 1940s. In the 1940s no one physically stepped in to help them and to halt their forced occupation and annexation by the Soviet Union. Moreover, this period of independence forgotten by most of the world historians. As Taagepera (2009) rightly observed the Baltic achievement of independence around 1920 could look like a random vagary of history, because their distinct cultures were little known across the world.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Nazi Germany and Soviet Union signed on 23 August 1939 divided the Baltic region in their sphere of influence. The secret "additional protocol" of 1939 Pact assigned Estonia and Latvia under Soviet sphere of influence, while Lithuania<sup>1</sup> was left to Germany (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 15). In 1941, the level of repression by NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), the predecessor of the KGB (The Committee for State Security) increased sharply. Three countries left with no choice, rather to

---

<sup>1</sup> Lithuania was later transferred to the soviet sphere in exchange for a larger hunk of Poland in which Germany attacked Poland on 1 September 1939.

surrender before the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany according to this pact. According to Neimanis “The Pact disclosed collaboration between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union and went a long way toward explaining why the German invasion caught the Soviet Union unprepared and vulnerable” (Neimanis 1997: 53).

In the summer of 1941 the German army invaded of the Soviet Union and routed the red army back to the gate of Leningrad and Moscow(Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 21). Stalin started Baltic annexation in September 1939. Around 16000 Soviet troops were brought to Estonia. Three Baltic countries forced to accept the Defence and Mutual assistance pact with USSR; Estonia 28 September 1939, later on Latvia on 5 October and Lithuania on 10<sup>th</sup> October (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 15). By agreeing to mutual assistance pacts in the autumn of 1939, Baltic states clearly compromised their countries’ future existence. It provided a ground for the Soviet Union to complete its occupation. It was a forceful annexation of these countries by Stalin into Soviet Union due to which Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania lost their independence for over half a century. Thereafter these countries had to spend more than fifty years under the totalitarian rule of the Soviet Union, which determined that they should never regain their independence. Due to Sovietization of Baltic states for establishing totalitarian regime in the name of regional security, people lost their civic and political and cultural rights.

Soon after their incorporation, the opponents of three Baltic states started organizing themselves to resist the Soviet regime. In 1944-1950, there was the eruption of a major partisan war in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. In Latvia the partisan war was strongest until 1949, but in sporadic fashion it continued until 1956. About 20,000 participated in the guerrilla warfare and they had some 80,000 active supporters among the population (Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 30). The resistance did not succeed at abolishing Soviet rule or legal structure but they try to preserving and defending national culture, traditions, and values within the Soviet system. In Lithuania, the initial form of armed struggle

against Soviet rule evolved into political and cultural sphere (Vardys and Sedaitis 1997: 81). The life in forest was difficult and thousands of partisan activists perished.” In 1945 an estimated 30,000 armed men lived in small units in the woods, attacking and harassing Soviet interior ministry forces, functionaries, and Lithuanian collaborators (Miniotaite 1997: 21). The partisan movement was strongest in the period 1944-1947. Nevertheless, the partisans were active in 1948 but by 1956 it almost fully ended.

After the end of partisan movement the dissidents groups started opposing the Soviet rule but it was peaceful national defense of religious and human rights. In Lithuania, in a totalitarian society the contradiction between centralized rule and pluralist tendencies emerged quickly. Moreover, the Prague Spring in 1968 was a significant turning point for Baltic nationalists and dissidents because there were many communists abroad who opposed the Soviet invasion (O’Connor 2003: 139). Revolutionary changes in communication technology provided a further structural factor for the emergence of the dissident movement. Recordings, copying techniques, and telecommunications in many ways weakened the Soviet control over individuals. A microfilm of a book smuggled abroad could be broadcast back over the radio (such as Vatican Radio, Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Europe), making its contents available to millions. Dissidents had a world audience (Miniotaite 1997: 22).

In 1968, when Soviet Union passed a law for allowing petitions of government, in Lithuania the petitioning activities spread like wildfire. The petitioners demanded to allow publication of prayer books and a practical guaranty of freedom of conscience. The dissidents were with the view that international attention of petitioning activities would create pressure on the Soviet Union to satisfy the dissident’s demands of religious or human rights. In 1968, Moscow based group of dissidents started publishing the *Chronicle of Current Events* (Vardys and Sedaitis 1997: 86). Nevertheless, the nationalist’s dissidents focusing on restoration of Lithuanian independence worked underground and they

published patriotic newspapers such as *Varpas* (The Bell) and *Perspektyvos* (Perspectives).

During this period, Estonians enjoyed a relatively privileged status as a bridge between the USSR and the West but dissident's movement in Estonia was better characterized as national democratic. Virtually, the main weapons of Estonian dissidents were demonstrations and to draw the attention of West. In October 1972, they jointly appealed to the United Nations complaining the abuses of human and political rights; and demanded the restoration of independence (O'Connor 2003: 140). The dissident movement in three Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was underground. Activities of dissidents such as nationalistic publication and public meetings of had been very secret; moreover it suffered due to the lack of leadership and organized structure.

### **Impact of Sovietization on Baltic Societies**

To bring Baltic states under the control of central Soviet authority, Soviet Union followed the policy of Sovietization; a process by means of which all institutions, cultural activity, politics, sport, education, religion and family life were subject to strict surveillance and monitored in accordance with Marxism-Leninism. The purpose of Russification of Baltic republics was to serve Moscow's desired political and economic ends. This policy of Soviet Union became an instrumental to establish hegemony in every sphere of Baltic population. It became most concern over the preservation of local language and culture of three republics. The Russian language was imposed upon the Baltic people throughout this period, but Baltic languages survived through literature and family traditions (Hartman 1992). Censorship was routine and exceptionally very severe to imposed tight control over anti-Soviet activities. Civil society, in effect, ceased to exist and people were not allowed to take part in cultural events which were suspected to upsurge the feeling of nationalism (Smith 1996). Soviet authorities suspected landowners, teachers, businessmen, members of the officer corps and intellectuals as enemies of state. Such people were arrested, in some cases shot immediately.

Those who survived enslaved and then deported to the remote regions and Siberian labor camps. The biggest mass deportation took place in 1949, when all the *Kulaks* other peasants opposing the collectivization of agriculture. Soviet Union, However, used the policy of collectivization as a means of ending partisan resistance in the Baltic countryside. Over all during 1945-51, not less than 60,000 natives (about 9 percent of the total native population) were deported from Baltic area to Siberia and similar inhospitable places of USSR (Smith 1996: 93; Bell 2002: 244).

The migration policy of Soviet Union which increasingly brought Russians and other outsiders to Baltic states that changed the entire demographic profile of all three nations. For instance, Latvian SSR in 1945-59 received more than 500,000 immigrants, Estonia approximately received 180,000 immigrants, and most of them were Russians (O'Connor 2003: 129). The share of population of Latvian republic decreased from 77 percent in 1939 to 52 percent by 1989, while in Estonia in the same period Estonian share of population had been reduced from 90 percent to 61 percent (Smith 1996: 126). The dissident groups showed this situation as threat to linguistic and cultural identity of native population of Baltic states. The most important effect of Sovietization was that Baltic republics had to nearly fully integrate into the political and economic structures of Soviet Union (O'Connor 2003: 129). The policies of Soviet Union to bring Baltic states under the strict totalitarian control intensified the sense of nationalism in the minds of Baltic people. This paved the way for rise of people's movement for national independence.

### **Origin of Singing Revolution in Baltic States**

1980s was the period of economic stagnation for the USSR and the image of the Soviet Union at the international level start faded up. In 1985, Gorbachev became the general secretary of communist party of USSR and started the social and political reforms, perestroika and glasnost to come over the economic stagnation (Grachev 2008 5). The reforms brought the tremendous change in the

politics of USSR, when small republics started to demand for the more autonomy and freedom from soviet rule. Nations started to mobilize the people to regain their independence through the culture, and mainly by opposing and remembering the soviet brutalities during the last decades (Ulfelder 2004: 26). Nationalistic sentiments in the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania developed very early after the soviet occupation in 1940s, and the collective emotional attachment of people or a group for their habitats in which they grow up becomes the nationalism (Plakans 2011: 445).<sup>2</sup>

The process of re-establishing the independence of the Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1991 has come to be referred to as “the Singing Revolution”. It was called the Singing Revolution because singing played an important role in mobilizing people, protests and demonstrations demanding independence of Baltic states from Soviet Union in the mid-1980s (Roberts and Ash 2009; Grachev 2008 5). The origin of Singing Revolution could be traced back to the era of perestroika and glasnost reforms by Mikhail Gorbachev, the last President of the Soviet Union. Social and political reforms introduced by Gorbachev created an environment for raising demands of independence restoration. In the atmosphere of glasnost and perestroika, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians now demand restoration of their human and national rights and opposed Soviet colonization (Thompson 2012: 146).

Moreover, earlier the nationalistic activities were there in three countries, either it was not in open space or being suppressed by Soviet Union. Gorbachev’s policy of political and economic reforms led to re-emergence of the feeling of nationalism in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania very promptly in the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century (Ulfelder 2010: 23). The popular support of the national integration called for the national awakening in Baltic region to regain their independence as

---

<sup>2</sup>Intrinsically, nationalist feeling exist in all societies with certain irrational attachments based on blood, race, language, religion, region, etc. Hobsbawm (1992) defined “Nationalism is a political programme. It holds that groups defined as 'nations' have the right to, and therefore ought to, form territorial states of the kind that have become standard since the French Revolution”.

a nation, as they were before Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939s. Broadly speaking, the political framework of the feudal absolutist state was altered into the nation-state of the nineteenth century by the popular legitimizing force of Enlightenment thought and mass nationalism (Gruber 2007: 130). It was the result of the environment created by totalitarian regime of communist governments in which people faced forceful mass deportations into the Siberian labor camps and torture and exile.

Another important opportunity for the emergence of nationalistic feeling in the Baltic state was the permission to take up environmental issues during Gorbachev's period. There was increasing pollution in the Baltic region due to heavy industrialization and irrational exploitation of natural resources. The uprisings of environmentalist protests concerning the highly industrialization of Soviet Union in Baltic region, which polluted the Baltic Sea and the environment of Baltic countries resulted in the emergence of nationalism for environment protection. The Estonian case warns against viewing environmental protest as mocked-up nationalism. As R. Auer described that from the ethnic Estonian perspective, the environmental crisis was precipitated by Soviet values and institutions that ethnic Estonians hated generally, including contaminated and wasted resources, the perceived theft of Estonia's natural riches (Auer 2007: 660). The same were in case of Lithuania also when the independence movement in Lithuania grew out of environmental protests in the 1980s.

Green organizations succeeded in gathering 1.5 million signatures on a petition to halt expansion of the Ignalina nuclear power plant, and successfully halted drilling for oil in the Neringa national park and the Baltic Sea (Sterner 1994: 126). Environmental protest against Ignalina in the 1980s played an important role in the Lithuanian independence movement's struggle against communists and the central authorities in Moscow. Ignalina was regarded as a national security risk because virtually all of its personnel were Russians (Sterner 1994: 127).



The political impact of environmental interest groups has been amplified by the demise of centralized authority; environmental groups had evolved into an important catalyst for change in the Soviet era and take the issue in their hands. Rinkevicius, very interestingly points out that Lithuanian, environmental activism of this period was most often geared towards the protest against, and critique of the Soviet totalitarian system, although critique was wrapped into discourse about particular social, economic, ecological issue (Rinkevicius 2001: 73).

According to the nationalism's theories national symbols and cultural identities have been very strong augmenting forces for the feeling of nationhood among the different ethnic groups of a society (Soup 2008). National symbols and patriotic songs, language, cultural activities, charismatic leaders, flags and historical legacies are the few nationalistic entities for the emergence of nationalism in different cultural traits (Clemens 2010: 7; Ginkel 2002: 25). In case of Latvia Budryte expressed his views that Latvia experienced the cultural type of nationalism, which values diversity of national cultures and folk traditions; preservation of Latvian language was the main nationalist issue (Budryte 2005: 24). The Baltic singing festivals, hugely popular events, played a major role in expressing the national identities of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania during their move to independence. The singing cultural festival appeared very early in the Baltic civilization. "The earliest mention of Estonian singing dates back to Saxo Grammaticus *Gesta Danorum*. Saxo speaks of Estonian warriors who sang at night while waiting for a battle. The older folksongs are also referred to as runic singing, the tradition shared by all Baltic Finns. This form of singing was widespread among Estonians until the 18th century when it started to be replaced by rhythmic folksongs" (Baltic Heritage Preservation Site). This singing culture of Baltic states in 20<sup>th</sup> century became the pivotal of all nationalist activities and provided a platform for public communication.

### **Political Strategy of Baltic States in Singing Revolution**

The popular fronts set up in each Baltic country in the 1988 were the first political organizations in the USSR to challenge the power monopoly of the communist party. Popular fronts mobilized non-violent mass demonstrations and public meeting to bring political changes in Baltic nations. The Baltic popular movements created what could be termed an 'island of freedom' in a 'sea of stagnation' (Muiznieks 1995: 06). In the three countries Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania there were the uprisings of speedy political and social reforms, which could be dealt in detail.

### **Estonia**

The period between the 1940-1990s, had been counted as the 'Dark Years' in Estonian history; the terror and illegal totalitarian rule of soviet union caused a thousand of death, huge mass deportations to Siberian camps and forced exiles and persecution of Estonian masses. But more interestingly, as S. Vardys (1997) points out that the hidden and underground efforts had been continued during this period for opposing the soviet rule in Estonia as well in Latvia and Lithuania. Historical memories of Estonian activists, dissidents and political prisoners initiated the beginning of social and political mobilization of Baltic people in this period (Bildt 1994: 73). Estonia's pioneering revolution was planned by dissidents of various political and cultural groups who were impressed by the ability of the active non-violent actions in India and other parts of the world in which people peacefully overthrow the repressive regimes.

In 1986, the Estonian Heritage society was founded with the goal of restoring the memory of the nation and collecting and publishing oral histories of the soviet histories committed during the period of occupation (Laar (2010)). The Heritage Society has been compared in some respects to a political party, and definitely played an important role in the nationalist movement (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993: 314; Virkkunen 1999: 88). Interesting popular development of ecological awareness was 'Phosphorite Crisis' which began in 1987, that was a political campaign against the centrally-planned foundation of a new phosphorite mine in

the ecologically violated and demographically modified Northeastern Estonia (Virkkunen1999: 88).

Estonian people attempted to legitimize their freedom movement in the eyes of their occupiers and the world and mobilize the local people for preservation of Estonia's identity through culture. In fact, the heritage society worked for the building of nationalism based on common cultural and historical suppressions of Baltic people under Soviet rule. In August 1987 a small group of activists formed the Estonian Group for Publishing the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which organized a political gathering at Tallinn's Hirveparkon 23 August, the 48<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the infamous deal (Haung 2005: 81).

Although the police shut off the public address system, demonstrators responded by using rolled up paper megaphones to be heard over the crowd. They spoke and spoke, but were not arrested. This event caused a stir among Estonians for it was the first time that Estonians had spoken publicly against the Soviet occupation and gotten away with it (Global non-violent action database 2009). Although the Madisson was forced into exile, and the cultural heritage movement came under pressure. A meeting of the heritage preservation organization to be held in Tarvastu was banned but it encouraged the number of heritage preservation clubs in Estonia for demonstrations against the soviet rule (Global non-violent action Data Base2009).

The turning point in this freedom struggle came when popular fronts were being set up in the three republics to mobilize the political campaigns. Not only in Estonia but in other two republics Lithuania and Latvia, the popular fronts were formed to press for democratic reforms. Estonian politician Edgar Savisaa introduced the idea of "Estonian Popular Front" for supporting the perestroika; later it became the largest political organization in Estonia (Pilgrim 2001: 75).

In 1988, the Singing Revolution began – night-time song festivals and other music events became massive peaceful protests against the Soviet occupation.

The singing of patriotic songs at the music festivals, which were banned earlier became the truly national movement, it show of the popular support for independence in Estonia. By using their historical, cultural and artistic traditions – principally their immense tradition of choral singing, the Estonians literally sang their way to revolution (Pilgrim 2001: 75).

Popular fronts in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania won huge support and in 1988, thousands of Balts gather in the capitals to voice their longing for freedom by singing the national songs. It was the time in 20<sup>th</sup> century when Estonia experienced its first national renaissance.<sup>3</sup> Several big rallies on environmental and national issues were held in Latvia, with 45000 people joining hands along the coast in one anti-pollution protest; an estimated 300000 Estonians- about 30% of the population attended one song gathering in Tallinn (Clemens 2001: 45). But these demonstrations were very closely associated with the civil resistance and non-violent methods. The campaigns there were overwhelmingly peaceful, legal, and political in character (Roberts 1991: 28). Other political parties also formed and started the demand for political liberation. On 21 January 1988, the Estonian National Independence Party (ERSP) initiative group was founded. From the Heritage Preservation Days, the blue-black-and-white message spread over the land. The national flag became the symbol of the new national renaissance. On 16 November, 1988, the Estonian Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution of sovereignty whereby in Estonia territory, Estonian laws took precedence over soviet laws and all Estonian natural resources became the republic's own property (Neimanis 1997: 57).

On 2 February 1988, Estonians marked the 68th anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty signed between the Republic of Estonia and Soviet Russia. On 23 August 1989, the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact- two million people formed a human chain stretching from Tallinn to Vilnius, demanding secession from the Soviet Union (Haug 2005: 82). On 16 November 1988, the Supreme

---

<sup>3</sup> Estonia.eu: An official gateway to Estonia "Estonia's return to independence 1987–1991" online access on 24/03/2013 URL: <http://estonia.eu/about-estonia/history/estonias-history.html>.

Soviet of Estonia adopted a declaration of sovereignty, announcing that Soviet laws would be in force on Estonian soil only if they were approved by Estonia. Estonia's decision fell under sharp criticism in Moscow (Haung 2005: 82).

To step up pressure on Moscow, on 23 August 1989, at the initiative of the Popular Fronts, a more than 600-km-long human chain was formed linking the three Baltic capitals, Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. The "Baltic Chain" took the nations' aspirations for freedom to the front pages of the world's newspapers. The Congress of Estonia elections on 24 February 1990 became an independence referendum of sorts. The Congress of Estonia convened on 11 and 12 March 1990, affirming the continuity of the state of Estonia in spite of decades of occupation. Neimanis stated (1997: 57) that Estonia moved toward full independence more cautiously.

Early in 1991, Soviet leaders opted for the use of force to quash the Baltic bids for independence. On 30 March 1990, the Estonian Supreme Soviet ruled the Soviet power in Estonia to be illegal and declared a transition period for the restoration of the republic of Estonia. On 3 April 1990, Edgar Savisaar, leader of EPF, was elected prime minister by the Supreme Soviet. On 19 August 1991, at the session of the Estonian Supreme Council, full and immediate independence was declared. Very interestingly the whole Estonian movement for the independence remained completely bloodless (Europa 1999: 332).

## **Lithuania**

Russia first occupied Lithuania and introduced a program of "Russification," an attempt to eliminate Lithuanian language and culture in favor of Russian culture, in the mid-19th century (Brujeva and Brun 2008: 125, Lane 2001: 74). In the 1940s The Soviet Union publicly stated that Lithuania had joined the USSR willingly, although secret protocols of the pact disputed this (Zalimas 2001: 4; Rausing 2004: 119). In the period from WWII until 1987, Lithuanians continued resistance, both violent and non-violent, to the Soviet rule and "Sovietization" of Lithuania. The establishment of Lithuanian Freedom League was a starting point

of Lithuania's long process to achieve complete independence. The League organized a non-violent demonstration in Vilnius on August 23, 1987, at which several hundred people protested the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact with its secret protocol on its 48th anniversary.

In 1985, form of non-violent and peaceful resistance began in Lithuania. Lithuanian intellectuals took advantage of the new openness by publishing new literary magazines that critiqued Soviet rule. Resistance also took place through environmental protection groups that opposed the ecological destruction implemented by Soviet industrial projects (Carter and Turnock 2002: 57). In Lithuania, the environmental debate focused on the Ignalina Atomic Energy station, a Chernobyl-type installation that was located only 80 miles from Vilnius. People peacefully opposed the functioning of this nuclear power plant. Opposition to its planned expansion was one of the first causes to mobilize the Lithuanian masses in the spring of 1988 (Kevin and Connor 2003: 147).

In August 1987, Lithuanian dissident groups demonstrated peacefully on the anniversary day of the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. In February 1988, the security services prevented a celebration marking the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lithuanian independence (Bell 2003: 376). But non-violent demonstrators continued celebrating this huge event peacefully.

Along with the environmental and economic issues, the activists groups of Lithuania turned their demand for the national liberation. Vardys and Sedaitis (1997: 101) rightly states "what started as the support for Gorbachev's intended 'pluralistic socialism' in Lithuania turned into a struggle for 'democratic pluralism' as well as national liberation". The non-violent character of demonstrations and its success to make pressure over the communist rule inspired the people at large scale for getting maximum autonomy. The Lithuanian movement for restructuring (*Lietuvos Perstivarkymo Sajudis*) or simply *Sajudis* quickly became main focal point of the emerging groups and was the engine that drove social and political change in the republic (Vardys and Sedaitis 1997: 101).

Leaders of *Sajudis* formulated their strategy and tactics based on the non-violent methods to mobilize the masses to get back the lost independence from Soviet Union. Miniotaite (2009: 203) described that the civilian based defence strategy of *Sajudis* and its leaders were well-experienced in constructive leadership over spontaneous mass action. Eventually, *Sajudis* became mass organization; participation became open to all, including dissidents and political prisoners. *Sajudis* organized people from all strata as political, social and cultural background.

One of those events was the tour of rock music festivals in July 1988 led by architect and musician Algirdas Kauspedas a member of the national council of *Sajudis* and a leader of best-known rocks groups (Non-violent Data Base 2009). Moscow did not dare to use force against the singing people as this would have destroyed the credibility of perestroika in the west. In the meeting of *Sajudis* leaders used to discuss the ideas and tactics of non-violence. In August 1989, about 2 million people joined hands to form a human chain, 'the Baltic way' that extended more than 600 km through Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fateful Molotov-Ribbentrop.

The singing revolution in the Baltic countries drew upon a hundred year tradition of mass singing, and took place during annual national folk song festivals that organized regularly since the end of nineteenth century (Donskis 2004: 2). At these singing concerts, people started singing the nationalistic songs those were banned. Forbidden to sing anything other than Soviet propaganda songs, the choir and the crowds rang out as they sang "Land of My Fathers, Land that I Love" with lyrics (The movie Singing Revolution 2009). People reconstructed the destroyed historical and cultural monuments by Soviet Union overnight to strengthen the nationalism. Moreover, the singing culture and historical symbols enhanced the notion of national freedom. The singing revolution appeared in the every corner of Lithuania from famous cities to countryside. Interestingly, this was opposition of unlawful and immoral restrains over Lithuanian masses as

Gandhi did the same in the freedom struggle of India by breaking down the laws of British government.

Lithuanian people also adopted the methods of boycott and non-cooperation like a boycott of dairy products (controlled by the state monopoly) and the refusal to pay increased taxes. Till 1989, the influence of non-violent non-cooperation was so deep that the Lithuanian youths boycotted conscription and burned their conscription cards. A large number of individual citizens repeatedly accepted personal risk to oppose superior coercive force. Over one hundred Lithuanian veterans of the Soviet army returned their medals and awards. Some public organizations, unions, and societies, including the Lithuanian Communist Party, ended their relationships with Moscow (Non-violent Data Base 2009).

Lithuanian Supreme Council declared independence on 11 March, 1990. The Soviet leadership predictably denounced this act as unconstitutional. Moscow sought to bring Lithuania to heel with an economic blockade in April (Kasekamp 2010: 167). On the night of 12 January 1991 a shadowy Lithuanian national Salvation Committee declared that it was assuming power. Soviet military units were brought into the republic with instructions to seize control of strategic sites. Following provocations by pro-Russian demonstrators in January 1991, Lithuanian civilians started to encircle their major strategic buildings, including Vilnius TV tower, protectively, where, in the early hours of 13 January, a number of them were attacked by soviet paratroopers (Vardys and Sedaitis 1997: 102). Although, the Red Army troops moved on the capital of Vilnius, killing 14 unarmed demonstrators protecting the nation's TV tower, news and images were transmitted out of the country from another station, and large crowds were called out later that day to gather around the supreme council building.

Instead of surrendering or issuing a call to arms, Lithuania called on the citizenry to “hold to principles of nonviolent insubordinate resistance and political and social noncooperation.” The Lithuanians did just that, continuing their nonviolent and independent course. They protected their parliament with unarmed citizens and requested the Fellowship of Reconciliation to provide nonviolence training



for the volunteer militia they had established. This brutal act of Red Army and dual character of Soviet policies of glasnost and perestroika revealed the real face of Soviet Union. In August 1991, Lithuania restored her sovereignty and was officially recognized as an independent nation. In September 1991, Lithuania became a member of the United Nations. Gandhian model of civil resistance and disobedience, social and political non-cooperation with Soviet Union remained very effective through whole independence movement in Lithuania

### **Latvia**

In Latvia just similar to Estonia and Lithuania, the democratic non-violent resistance that led to the Singing Revolution against communist regime began in the mid-1980s (Commission of the Historians of Latvia 2005). Non-violent resistance against the totalitarian occupation of Latvia was a popular movement that had political, social, economic and ideological causes. In 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev introduced the economic and political reforms in USSR, several mass socio-political organizations emerged, including *Tautas Fronte Latvijās* (The Popular Front of Latvia), *Nacionālās Neatkarības Kustība* (The Movement for National Independence), and *Pilsonu Kongress* (The Congress of Citizens of Latvia).

To avoid the direct confrontations with the mighty Soviet rule, Latvian people adopted non-violent means to oppose the Soviet policies of repression. In the non-violent struggle for Latvia's independence, history became a major vehicle for destabilizing communist rule. A small group of artists, craftsmen and intellectuals who had been active in various folklore and cultural groups initiated a grassroots campaign of preservation of historical buildings. Dilapidated, rural churches were the initial targets, and renovations included the replacement of crosses, a historic symbol opposed by the atheist soviet regime (Pabriks and Purs 2001: 86). Its visible part involved writers, artists and musicians in Soviet-style creative unions, who used every opportunity to push back the limits imposed by the ideological dictates of the Communist Party and enforced by censorship (Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 37).

Initially, the campaign grew into the environment protection club which became much nationalist oriented. Consequently, oppressed Latvian culture came under the imagined protection of the Latvian environment protection club. The environment protection groups used massive non-violence and civil disobedience methods to oppose the Soviet rule. The movement against the dam construction and environmental protection can be seen as the first success story of Latvian collective action against Soviet authorities. In the same year, three workers from the port of Liepaja in western Latvia founded Helsinki-86, a human rights watch group (Pabriks and Purs 2001: 86).

The group declared that their objective was to “Monitor how the economic, cultural and individual rights of our people respected”. The organization consisted of about ten people, but its presence made the KGB panic (Pabriks and Purs 2001: 86). The Helsinki-86 group organized the first large demonstrations on 14 June 1987 to commemorate the mass deportation on 14 June 1941. About 5000 participants took part in the event at the monument of freedom in Riga. During this phase of popular movement for independence, the mass non-violent activities mainly organized by former dissidents, political prisoners and social activists. This was the learning and training period for the activist about the non-violent methods.

In 1988, the Singing Revolution broadened the demand for national liberation and restoration of independence with the establishment of the Latvian National Independence Movement (LNNK) on 17 June 1988 (Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 37). Eduards Burklaves was appointed as the head of LNNK. Another more moderate mass organization ‘Popular Front of Latvia (LTF) was created under the guidance of Latvian intellectuals in October 1988 (Pabriks and Purs 2001: 86). Initial goal of LTF was road political and economic autonomy for Latvia but in 1989 the changing political situation pushed LTF leadership to demand full independence. The popular cultural of singing festivals in Latvia manifested and mobilized national consciousness. During these mass demonstrations Latvians sang their national anthem and flew their original flag in

public after annexation in 1940s. Latvian leaders trained the activists and participants in non-violent methods with the help of mass media and huge rallies (Chakars 2009: 3).

Eglitis (1993: 1) very rightly describe the event of 23 August 1989 “The Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian drive for independence became known as the ‘Baltic Way’ the most specific traits of which were its nonviolent, peaceful nature; nonaggressive, soulful, and orderly mass demonstrations; and flowers and singing as signs of spiritual defiance, determination, and national cohesion”. The Baltic Way was the prominent example of civilian based defence and people’s power against Soviet domination and Communist totalitarianism (Roberts and Ash 2009; Lazda 2009: 502). During this historical event the singing revolution gained momentum and the number of non-violent demonstrators increased dramatically (Clemens 2001:47-48). During this mass mobilization, Latvian grassroots and state organizations that played a crucial role in organizing nonviolent civilian resistance to Soviet efforts to regain control of Latvia.

In 1989, a group called the Citizen’s Movement began registering all citizens who had been in Latvia before the occupation and all other residents who supported the idea of an independent Latvia. The group registered nearly half the population before electing a Citizens’ Congress in April 1990 to act as a parallel government in the movement towards independence (Non-violent Data Base 2009). In the elections of 1990, for the supreme council of Latvian SSR, under the soviet election law, this allowed participation of all residents, including ethnic Russians and other immigrants in which LTF gained absolute majority (Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 40). Two months later of these elections, Supreme Council of Latvia announced its intention to restore independence and renamed the nation “The Republic of Latvia”.

When unarmed Russian loyalists in the presence of thousands of Soviet troops marched on the Supreme Council of Latvia making the demand against the declaration of independence, a large number of Latvian collected to surround the building of the supreme council and defended it without violence – although

there were a few minor physical interactions (Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 40). The USSR tried to suppress the independence movements through threats, decrees and economic boycotts. Although the transition period was relatively peaceful but ordinary citizens experienced quite a bit panic and concern about their security and well-being. The radical forces within the CPSU, the Soviet military and the Latvian communist party decided to use force against the peaceful demonstrations (Kasekamp 2010: 170; Pabriks and Purs 2001). Soviet paramilitary units (OMON) stationed in Latvia struck with the violence at random targets of the new Latvian state and civilians.

On January 2, 1991, at the request of the communist party of Latvia, OMON troops occupied the press buildings, effectively halting the popular media for a short while. On the January 20<sup>th</sup>, the same units attacked Latvia's Ministry of interior. In the ensuing firefight, five people were killed and twelve others wounded. The National Defense Center issued 2,000 copies of the guide to nonviolent resistance and they encouraged people to set up small centers of resistance in each of their town (Non-violent Data Base 2009). The popular movement with its human sacrifice of 1991, however, was the catalyst that paved the road to Latvian independence (Pabriks and Purs 2001). The Soviet government called off the troops but kept up the pressure. Finally, when a coup in Moscow attempted to re-establish a Communist dictatorship, the Supreme Council of Latvia declared full and complete independence and sovereignty on 21 August 1991 (Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 40).

### **Gandhian Influence in Singing Revolution**

Gandhian influence in the ideas and strategies can be understood from two aspects: common cultural and linguistic background of India and Baltic states and Baltic intellectual discourse on non-violence and strategies adopted in Singing Revolution. It has been mentioned by Baltic scholars and political leadership that in Baltic states that there is some popularity among people about India. Prof. Vytyis Cuibrinskas (Center for Oriental Studies, Vilnius University Lithuania), in his lecture on Lithuanian Singing Revolution delivered at Jawaharlal Nehru

university mentioned that they studied and discussed about the ideology and strategy of India's freedom struggle led by Gandhi to adopt while they were planning their own struggle for independence during the last years of Soviet Union (Cuibrinskas 2012). There are various arguments and reasons to why and from where Baltic people adopted the non-violent methods.

Firstly, it is the assumption of old cultural, linguistic and civilizational link between Baltic countries and India. The historical commonancestral roots of Balts and India are often cited based on the similarity in language and Vedic culture. Ancient Indian Aryan Vedic religious traditions and practices had very closer marks to the ancient Baltic pagan religious practices (Chatterji 1968). These close ancient cultural, lingual and religious ties among Baltic States and Indian continent take up both regions more close to each other in 20<sup>th</sup> century time. Additionally, in India, the Indian leaders of freedom struggle very keenly were watching and supporting the independence of Baltic states after First World War. India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said about Baltic states after the First World War: "They [Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland] are small states, but each is a distinct cultural entity with a separate language. You will be interested to know that the Lithuanians are Aryans (like many others in Europe) and their language bears quite a close resemblance of Sanskrit. This is a remarkable fact, which probably many people in India do not realize, and which brings home to us the bonds of which unite distant people" (Nehru 1942 quoted in Usha 2012: 83). This ancient connection of Balts with Indians is almost an unknown subject in India.

However, available sources of history testify that Baltic states had a strong fascination towards India and a long tradition of oriental/Indology studies. The Indo-European linguistic and cultural background is depicted in studies as the basis of this common origin hypothesis. Indian author Suniti Kumar Chatterji who studied the Indo-European background of Balts and Aryans in the 1960s wrote:

It may be mentioned in passing that during the nineteenth century, when the Baltic peoples, the Latvians and the Lithuanians, began to study their national literature of the Dainas and became conscious of their Indo-European heritage, through their study of it from the German Sanskritists who took a leading part in establishing the “Aryan” or Indo-Germanic or Indo-European bases of culture of the European peoples, they developed an uncritical and a rather emotional idea that the Baltic peoples came from the East-from Asia- and as they thought, from India too. ... Baltic writers and poets like Andrejs Pumpurs, the Latvian poet who composed the Latvian national epic of *Lacplesis* (based on Latvian ballads and myths and legends) in 1888, and Janis Rainis, (1865-1929), the national poet of Latvia, and writers also from Lithuania, described in glowing terms how the culture and wisdom and even the origin of the Balts was from far-away Asia in the East, from India itself. The Latvian writer, Fr. Malbergis, actually wrote in 1856 that the Latvians like the Russians and Germans came from the Banks of Ganga ... A wise people, the Burtnieks, according to the Latvian tradition, brought all science and knowledge to Latvia from India ... The old Lithuanian priestesses, the Vaidilutes, used to tend the sacred fire as part of the old Indo-European Balt religious rite, and this fire, as a modern Lithuanian poet suggested, ‘arrived in Lithuania from the banks of Ind’ (Chatterji 1968 quoted in Usha 2012: 95).<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, non-violent methods used by Gandhi in freedom struggle of India indirectly influenced and attracted Baltic leaders to articulate their strategy of non-violent civilian based defense. K. B. Usha rightly observed that, “it seems that the Baltic States had great respect for and genuine interest in Indian thought and ideas” which had persuaded the Baltic people for partly borrow the philosophy of non-violence from Mahatma Gandhi (Usha 2012: 95). The Indo-European connections of the ancient pagan traditions remain important to the modern Latvian and Lithuanian pagans. The myths of pre-Christian Latvian dainas and Lithuanian dainos, for example, have been compared often with the Vedic hymns of ancient India (Strmiska 2005: 41). India’s religions, philosophy, culture, customs, myths, spirituality, etc. attracted Balts. Baltic scholars explored Indian philosophy.

---

<sup>4</sup>These hypothetical assumptions are subjected to criticism. Acceptance and rejection of common ancestry theory exists among scholars.

Linnart Mall is an eminent personality who contributed a great deal in Buddhist studies and development of oriental academic studies in Tartu University in Estonia. *Dhammapada*, *Diamond Sutra*, *Bhagavadgita*, etc were some of his works published in Estonian during this period. He also translated into Estonian “Twenty-Five Tales of Vetala”, a famous ancient story novel, and *Sukasaptati*, (“the Parrot Book”) (Mall 2005: 194). Vydunas (Vilhelmas Storost, 1868-1953), one of the prominent Indology scholars during Soviet era in Lithuania he is equated with Indian leaders such as the Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo. He was extremely interested in Indian philosophy, especially Hindu religious philosophy and spirituality so that he could create a system of philosophy school based on Vedanta (Usha 2012). According to Ruta Grineviciute (2005; 105), Vydūnas is shown as a care taker and promoter of Lithuanian language in Lithuania Minor. He served as means for cultivating nation’s spiritual resistance to violent de-nationalization. This goal was also at the forefront of Vydūnas’ cultural activities, whose principals were close to principles of M. K. Gandhi’s political activities, i.e., spiritual resistance to violence. Vydūnas, similarly to M. K. Gandhi, found in ancient Indian philosophy, more specifically in Vedanta system. Vydūnas’ practical cultural engagement consisted of work in Tilze singers’ club, founded by him in 1895 and active until 1935. Vydūnas’ philosophy was also constructed as an instrument for enlightening nation’s intellect and spirit, helping an individual to excel spiritually and mature from inside and become an insurmountable block to enslavement. Spiritually strong individual is a precondition for the survival of a nation.

Ms. Asta Skaisgiryte Liauškiene, Vice-Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, in her lecture delivered at the Indian Council of World Affairs in 11 November 2011 testified that Indian philosophy was popular in Lithuania as back as 19th century. Gandhian way of gaining independence was followed by intellectuals who involved in the Lithuanian national movement. Gandhi, Vivekananda and Tagore were translated in Lithuanian to be accessible to vast population of Lithuania. She also mentioned that Gandhi’s close friend Hermann Kallenbach was a Lithuanian. Sonja Schlesin, Gandhi’s private

secretary in South Africa, was also a Lithuanian. This is to say, through personal relations Lithuania was connected to Indian leadership during Gandhi's period (Liauškiene 2011; Usha 2012). This shows already familiarity with Indian thought is present in Baltic societies. Their religion and culture also contain values and norms against violence.

Since, for Gandhi non-violence was the universal phenomena, its result depends upon its understanding and proper application in particular circumstances (Manish Sharma 2006: 60). Once the Baltic people decided to choose non-violent path of independence, Gandhi became dominant attraction among Baltic intellectuals. They discussed many sources of ideas and methods of non-violence. They also discussed success stories of non-violent methods used by different leaders in different part of world like Martin Luther King in America, non-violent revolution of Czechoslovakia so and so on, writings of Gene Sharp<sup>5</sup> on non-violent political actions, also inspired Baltic people to use active political non-violence to liberate their nations from the totalitarian regime of Soviet Union. Moreover, writings of Gene Sharp published in Baltic states to teach them how to organize the non-violent resistance (Chakar 2009: 9). The reason to discuss these leaders was that there was no indigenous theoretician of non-violent philosophy in Baltic states that is why Gandhi and King was the obvious choice to formulate non-violent ideas and strategies according the Baltic situation (Kule 2010). Kule states: Maija Kule (2005: 84) states: "In the late 1980s, there was an increasing interest in experience with non-violent resistance elsewhere in the world. Latvia had no theoreticians on the subject, so that advice was sought in the works of both M.K. Gandhi and M.L. King. These were translated and published. Stories about how our nation may have, in the past, had some connection with India lent popularity to Gandhi's views." The people of the Baltic states found the Gandhian non-violent means more adequate and trustworthy. For them it seemed

---

<sup>5</sup> King and Sharp also derived their non-violent strategies and methods by following the footprints of Mahatma Gandhi and articulated them according to different national contexts and social conditions.



the reliable weapon and worldwide supported strategy to defeat the colonial and totalitarian regime of Soviet Union (Eglitis 1993: 5).

Minotaite during her personal interview with an Indian academic said that Gandhian ideas are known in Lithuania. When people choose non-violence as a strategy, India's freedom movement and Gandhian experience became one of the important themes of discussion, among other things. She got in touch with Gandhian ideas through Gene Sharp's writings about civil defense. Gene sharp is an eminent scholar on Gandhian non-violence (Usha 2012). Gene Sharp accomplished a Herculean effort for analyzing, according to an objective viewpoint, all past experiences of non-violent actions; he came up with a comprehensive description of two hundred techniques applied in the past in the name of non-violence (Drago 2012: 89).

Some scholars identify non-violence rooted in the peace loving cultural of Baltic people and in their strong broadly shared identities. The non-violent means seemed much more effective as Šmidchens (2007) advocated that Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians had heard such rhetoric long before the Baltic Singing Revolution began, in cultural expressions that recast national identity into a non-violent mold. More interestingly, they transformed the images of their historical heroes into the non-violent one for enhancing the non-violent methods among the Baltic people. Smidchens points out that, "Lithuanians have no direct equivalent of non-violent heroes, but many sorts of a story about King Mindaugas emerged. Like the Son of Kalevi and the Bearslayer in Latvia, the image of this thirteenth century grand duke exposed his more militant aspects, and gradually became more humane – even gentle and self-sacrificing in the stories during the Singing Revolution"(Smidchens 2007: 502). It was a kind of transformation of national narratives into a non-violent type of images to create a non-violent environment. Eglitis called it the spiritual non-violent resistance among the people to revive the power of their soul through non-violent cultural presentations(Eglitis1993: 5).

The Baltic people had a very bitter experience of violent guerrilla warfare in the early period of their occupation by Soviet Union. Soviet Union brutally

suppressed this anti-Soviet violent resistance movement fought by 'Forest Brothers' to restore their independence in all three Baltic countries. Virtually, the evolution of non-violent culture was powerfully influenced by historical memories of mass deportations, illegal exiles and holocausts, and by a strong awareness of the need to reform the economic system and environmental degradation during Soviet regime. During Gorbachev period in 1980s, they realized that use of direct violent methods would be resulted in more bloodshed and injuries of civilian people. The direct military or violent confrontations with the soviet army might be resulted into the heavy destruction and of deaths of thousands innocent civilians. It was not possible to triumph over the strong Soviet army through violent means (Miniotaite 1997: 204). In case of Lithuania Miniotaite described that the very first resolution of the Council stressed the importance of the discipline of non-violence in the pursuit of the goal of independence. In the words of Miniotaite whose ideas were drawn for Lithuanian non-violent resistance:

The scale of the East European nonviolent liberation movements can only be compared to India's drive for independence, led by Mohandas Gandhi ... Gandhi was among the first national leaders to show both in theoretical analysis and practical action that nonviolent struggle is a positive force that can be successfully used in conflict. He was convinced that nonviolent action provided means of action incomparably superior to those of violence. Gandhi had noted that rulers and the ruled are ultimately bound by a relationship of partnership and mutual dependence rather than by one of force: "In politics, [the use of nonviolent action] is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed." The proposition can be held as the axiom of the theory of nonviolent action. This is of course not something entirely new. The idea was clearly stated by the sixteenth century writer Étienne de la Boetie, and later by Locke, Montesquieu and other classical representatives of political liberalism. Yet with Gandhi we see this axiom applied on a nearly unimaginable scale for national liberation.

These expressions make it clear that Baltic intelligentsia and leaders were very much influenced with the Gandhian principle that violence would create more violence.

The political situation of all three countries of that time was one of the most important and immediate reasons for the success of non-violent strategy. Ultimately, the situation and atmosphere created by the economic and political reforms of Gorbachev known as *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* exploded the demand for self-rule and liberation from the Soviet Union in twentieth century. Political leaders and activists of Baltic states found this political atmosphere very appropriate time for raising their demands of freedom by using non-violent means from soviet union. The fundamental aim of all three movements was copiously clear; to restore the independence which the Baltic republics lost when they were being forcefully annexed by the Soviet Union during Second World War. They utilized the Soviet policy of *Glasnost* (openness) to mobilize non-violent agitations and non-violently put their demand of independence before Soviet Union. Kelam (1989) addressed the masses in a public speech “our present has been centered on one single theme—how to restore our national and political independence ...that national independence is the only way to help our people rise out of colonial dependence and to insure our political, economic and cultural sovereignty”.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, the activists were aware that the ultimate source of state’s power are the people and if they pullout their support no government would not be able to exist anymore (Sharp 1973: 1). In fact overall comprehension makes it clear that it was Gandhian philosophy directly or indirectly Baltic people believed to be an adequate weapon for opposing the soviet rule. The Singing Revolution, an anti-Soviet movement was totally based on civilian defense strategies as socio-political non-cooperation and civil dis-obedience, boycott, etc.

---

<sup>6</sup>Tunne Kelam, Estonian’s Independence Day speech, 1989. In August 1988 Kelam became a founding member of the Estonian National Independence Party (ERSP, *Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei*), the first non-Communist political party on the territory of the Soviet Union.

Another significant aspect that reflects Gandhian influence is the ideas and strategy of Singing Revolution. Many of the strategies adopted in Singing Revolution resemble Gandhian *satyagraha*, non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements. Although the people of Baltic states were aware of the success stories of the active non-violence across the world during glasnost and perestroika gave them opportunity to openly employ the Gandhian strategies and tactics and experiences of other leaders. The tactics of active non-violence during the Singing Revolution as Eglitis (1993; 5) points out were, “forming underground resistance groups, discussion clubs, and cultural units; issuing leaflets and publications; displaying the national flag, tearing down Soviet flags; holding memorial meetings, drawing national symbols and defiant slogans on walls; singing banned national songs, etc”. The civilian based defence, peaceful demonstrations, strikes, boycott of Soviet made products, social and political non-cooperation with the communist rule, sending delegations to Moscow, etc. became hope and courage for people throughout the Baltic liberation movement. The Baltic strategies resemble the strategies adopted by Gandhi during his *satyagraha* in Indian freedom movement.

Singing of forbidden national and folk songs during Singing Revolution not only reflects the importance cultural traditions and national identity but also an act of civil disobedience. In the same way singing prayer songs were used by Gandhi to propagate values of peace spirituality, freedom and non-violence through *Prarthana Sabhas*. Singing Revolution organized song festivals to spread the values of peace, non-violence and thirst for freedom. The activities of intelligentsia and artists were significant contributions in Indian freedom movement. The same could be seen in Singing Revolution also. This helped cultural revivalism. Gandhi used issues of civil rights and tactics of presenting symbolic images of mother India, *swadeshi* movement, boycott of foreign goods and articles, picketing shops, bonfire of cloth, refusal to pay taxes, strikes, processions, demonstrations, resolutions to eliminate the status of “captive nation”. Singing revolution also used strategies that resemble Gandhian methods. The civilian based defence or active non-violent action employed collectively by

the three Baltic states during the “Baltic Way”. This human chain was a conspicuous proof of the growth of a more vocal public opinion the peaceful restoration of their statehood and the practical assessment of Gandhian philosophy of non-violence.

The Gandhian model of *satyagraha* and Gene sharp’s model civilian based defence widespread in Baltic states has differences. As Vējūnė Domanskaitė-Gotaet. al puts it “Gene Sharp and Mahatma Gandhi’s concepts have fundamental differences, which arise from their different value orientation, goals and interaction with the special features of opponents, viewpoint towards violence, etc. These differences presuppose two communication models. Civilian based defence fits the propagandist communication model oriented towards short-term effects, while *satyagraha* is a dialogue communication model oriented towards long-term effects.

The next chapter will discuss and analyze the role of media and public communication in disseminating the ideas of non-violence among local masses.

## Chapter 4

### **Role of Baltic Media and Public Communication in Disseminating Gandhian Ideas in the Societies**

The Singing Revolution explains undeniable thirst for self-determination and its staunch belief in what it means to be free or a wave of peaceful demonstrations and a victory of active non-violent actions of the Baltic masses by overthrowing the totalitarian communist rule of Soviet Union in 1991. Worldwide popular Gandhian methods and strategies of non-violence had been guiding force of Baltic people to maintain the demonstration purely non-violent and peaceful throughout the liberation movement. The surprising thing is that how Baltic people in a very short period of time would have been able to learn these teachings and technics of non-violent civil resistance such as boycott of foreign goods, social and political non-cooperation with government and civil disobedience of unjust laws to resist against the Soviet Union. Activists and masses of three Baltic states were very much influenced with the Gandhian pragmatic non-violent approach *satyagraha* (a path of truth). No doubt the different mode of media (print media, electronic media) and public communication (mass rallies, non-violent instructors, underground meetings and speeches etc.) played a very crucial role in spreading and disseminating the Gandhian ideas and experiences among the Baltic masses.

The role of journalists and political leaders during the mass movements in three Baltic states was to educate, motivate, and mobilize people through non-violent means. Information and communication played a significant role in awakening the Baltic people toward the atrocities and illegal annexation of three Baltic states by soviet union. Virtually, Baltic press, TV channels and Radio stations all mass media resources became an integral partner of the singing revolution. Dissatisfaction of the people with the totalitarian soviet rule and terror of militia over innocent people ignited the mass awakening when Baltic people got some relaxation during glasnost period in USSR. Earlier free flow of information had

been restricted by the state authorities to prevent the open opposition of soviet crimes. The spark of patriotism and nationalism of Baltic people was nipped in the bud by the soviet forces whenever they tried to restore their independence. But the Gorbachev's policy of glasnost provided a space to disclose the committed crimes over Baltic people under earlier soviet governments. Ironically, the change in soviet policy initiated the non-violent mass movements.

The contribution of media and public communication in providing information and transfer of knowledge has been remarkable throughout the history of social and political movements. During the freedom struggle of India led by Gandhi and other leaders press and public communication remained a very effective tool in such a vast country to teach the Gandhian ideas, to educate and mobilize the masses. Mahatma Gandhi probably was the greatest journalist and public communicator of all time who shaped the freedom movement and very strongly influenced the public opinion on various issues. Non-cooperation movement 1921, civil dis-obedience movement 1930 and quit India movement 1942 were the three major mass freedom non-violent movements launched by Mahatma Gandhi to mobilize public opinions and to communicate the reliability of non-violent method to achieve political freedom from British Raj. Interpersonal media, folk art media and mass media were used to reach to the public which came to be known as Gandhian techniques of communication and became part of Indian public relation (Reddi 2009:474). He published and edited a number of newspapers and journals to heighten the understanding of non-violent methods, even very strongly, he criticized the British government's policies to made awareness and patriotism among the India masses.

*Young India* and *Harijan* became powerful vehicles of his views on all subjects. He wrote simply and clearly but forcefully, with passion and burning indignation (Aggarwal and Gupta 2001: 104). However, British government attempted to control the press, persecutions against of large number of newspapers and their editors to suppress the press and many new laws were being enacted but Indian press in the leadership of many leaders continued underground for forging the

nationalism among the Indian masses. When Gandhiji came on the scene of freedom struggle of India he employed the technics of mass mobilization through non-violent hunger strikes and mass rallies to develop the non-violence resistance among Indian masses. As Gandhiji was a charismatic communicator and in the freedom struggle of India that is why he used mass communication as an instructive tool to teach and promote the values of non-violent methods to defeat the British government. In the 'Young India' of 2 July 1925, he wrote: "I have taken up journalism not for its sake but merely as an aid to what I have conceived to be my mission in life. My mission is to teach by example and present under severe restraint the use of the matchless weapon of *satyagraha* which is a direct corollary of nonviolence."<sup>1</sup>

These technics of non-violent methods employed by Gandhiji got wide spread coverage into the press and mass media not only in India but at the international level. As political strategist of non-violence Gandhiji developed a basic strategy of non-violent resistance, which he called *satyagraha* (the path of truth). He trained the disciplined volunteers and took the help of magazine, pamphlets and other means of communication to lead the mass marches, campaigns and disobedience of specific laws. In India the Gandhian non-violent strategy changed the face of political movement it got the popular support from all strata of Indian society to realized the dream of *swaraj* (the self-rule). Getting influenced by the non-violent movement led by Mahatma Gandhi many other leaders also followed the same path to restore the human and civil rights in their respective countries. In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania influenced of non-violent methods inspired the people to restore their lost freedom. Songs festivals and other artistic performances was being used as a platform for public communication, it was a unique wave of strong non-violent nationalism. The success stories of non-violent action of Gandhi and Martin Luther King remained deep seated in the heart and mind of Baltic people.

---

<sup>1</sup>Quoted in V. S. Gupta (2001), "Mahatma Gandhi and Mass Media" Vol. XXVI.



The first Soviet occupation in 1940 based on the secret Molotov-Ribbentrop pact sealed the fate of the sovereign states of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, for the next 51 years. It was an unprovoked occupation, take-over and annexation of a small neighbouring state by a major power breaching international treaties and agreements (Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 6). Magstadt (2012: 181) stated "The Stalinist state that remained in place until 1991 displayed all the classic features of totalitarian rule, including centralized control over armed forces, the media and economy; a dominant monopoly party; an official ideology; and a systematic program of terror against suspected political opponents and the mass murder of innocents deemed unworthy by the regime". In the process of Sovietization of Baltic states new governments in three Baltic states started subordinating all social and cultural activities, even only those artists and writers allowed to present their works those glorified the system and support the communist ideology. All the publication of books and articles direct came under the control of state authorities, only those books being allowed in the stores and libraries that corresponding to the official communist ideology. All forms of news media came immediately under the control of the occupiers, and all publications were subjected to censorship. The press had to reflect the official views of the Communist Party and its ideology (Occupation Museum Foundation, Riga 2005: 20).

O'Connor (2003: 148) very rightly observed that the censorship that had more than 40 years rendered impossible any honest discussions of the past, present and future. However, this censorship led to the development of the underground and hidden publication activities for opposing the soviet policies. At the same time, despite the system of total control, many underground publications of persistence value were published and a kind of semi participatory channel was born in the subdued Baltic countries, namely the cultural sphere (Balcytiene 2009: 150). Although partisan information services were not so well developed as the underground press during the German occupation, periodicals of every kind and quality appeared more or less regularly till the end of 1951, and their impact on the population greatly disturbed the Communist regime. During this period Mass

communications was a large soviet industry and an instructive tool, used to promote the government line. This attitude affected the functioning of the press. Required skills were truthfulness, objectivity, and thoroughness, but only within narrow ideological borders. The media was being used only for the purpose of state monopoly over news content and broadcasting of different programs.

In case of public communication it was also very limited, only the dissident groups and forest brothers were active to mobilize the patriotic feeling among the people who were against this forced annexation into Soviet Union (Kaszeta 1998). However, the people who were engaged in these activities brutally tortured and punished, number of them deported to the labour camps in Siberia while many got exiled. Moreover, these exiled writers and activist continued their efforts to create an environment for freedom in abroad. After 1985 when Gorbachev came into power with glasnost and perestroika, in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia the media emerged as social servant and started highlighting the social and political problems under the communist governments. In fact, new born media and journalists found themselves in a situation completely different from the ideologically defined context of the past- in a kind of normative vacuum in which old values became extinct and new values were absent. The new time required a new logic of professionalism (Hallin and Mancini 2012: 66). Basically, media person realized that this was the right time to disclose the brutalities and atrocities of communist rule before the world community, active media persons started mobilizing the public opinion, initially on environmental and cultural issues but later on political issues.

The journalists were full of the feeling of nationalism and patriotism and whole media activities transformed into the social service oriented. The forgotten pages of soviet crimes over Baltic people printed in newspapers, and even radio and television channels started broadcasting very frequently about the atrocities of Red Army. The active media persons started collecting the facts and stories of crimes of communist regime and published them for the common masses. During the peaceful demonstration, Baltic media very responsibly covered the events and

imparted the ideas of non-violence among the large number of protesters. The message of Gandhian techniques non-violence and its success stories in India and in other part of world of was being broadcasted and circulated by the Baltic media. The newsletters of popular fronts published the original copies of secret Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and disclosed about the illegality of the pact and forced annexation of Baltic states by soviet union. Interestingly, the Baltic media got attention of international leaders about the reality of three Baltic states under the communist rule. Until, three states regained their freedom in 1991, media stand by the people and communicated the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence among the people and remain a very responsible partner of whole political events.

### **Public Communication during Singing Revolution**

The public communication which is a process to transfer the knowledge or any message to large number of individuals by using media, messaging, and an organized set of communication activities (mass rallies, public speech and publications, etc.) to mobilize or unit the opinion on any social, political phenomena in a specified period of time. The American Heritage Dictionary tells us that communications is the art and technique of using words effectively to impart information or ideas for a strategic purpose. The public communication is a very necessary to leading a mass movement successfully. Throughout the freedom struggle of India Mahatma Gandhi also used the public communication techniques to mobilize the Indian masses against the unjust and immoral rule of British government. He was known very well that the success of non-violent methods depends on the social and political non-cooperation of people with government; this was the political strategy of Gandhiji to cut off all kind of political and social support to throughout British Raj from India. In India, these were the mass rallies and Gandhiji's charismatic unique communication approaches which gathered large number of masses to participate in the freedom struggle of India. To communicate and to teach the non-violence methods to common people he addresses various mass rallies, conducted special classes at

Sabarmati Ashram and published several newsletters and magazines, and even he went door to door to communicate the message of non-violence.

In Baltic States before the period of glasnost and perestroika the public communications had very limited domain. Exploitive and suppressive policies of Soviet Union not allowed the mass communication openly. The totalitarian nature of government started imposing the press and media censorship to conceal the reality of soviet rule in occupied states in the western eyes. The news of mass deportations to Siberian camps, use of terror to control the dissident groups and murdering of innocent people remained unwritten or of course, in the memories of survived people. In the period of 1940-1986, the medium of public communication as newspapers, magazines, television and radio were under the control of state and not allowed to criticize the government's policy and programs (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993:81-82). However, underground or hidden activities of public communication had been continued to criticize and oppose the soviet rule. These were the dissidents groups, dissatisfied people with the annexation of Baltic states into soviet union and many other patriotic people. The violent uprisings of dissatisfied people in this period did not succeed due to lack of effective communication and suppressive nature of communist regime.

In about 40 years of soviet rule till 1980s communist government imposed various restrictions and limitation over public communicatory mediums but with relaxations of press and media in glasnost period brought a chance to made concern for freedom. The policy of glasnost allowed considerable expansion of their public expression. Initially, the concern of political activists arisen on the environmental issues. The principal objects that the ecological question centred around were a hydroelectric complex in Latvia, a phosphorus mining in Estonia, the third reactor of the atomic plant in Lithuania. The significant change of the way of mass rallies and public demonstration appeared was its non-violent and peaceful character (Miniotaite 1997: 204). Even the activist and artists transformed the violent images and stories of historical heroes and kings into the non-violent one (Eglitis 1993: 5). This cultural sphere created a space to discuss

the problems and to come over from them. The successes of non-violent demonstrations for the environment protection strengthen the belief of Baltic millennia in the adequacy of non-violent means to further expansion of national liberation movement.

The reforms of Gorbachev introduced in 1985 brought the new hope for the emergence of nationalistic feelings among all ethnic groups. Deats (2009: 8) very rightly stated that the reforms speeded up the stirrings for change across the U.S.S.R., as thousands of grassroots groups sprang up to deal with a whole spectrum of social, economic, political, environmental, and cultural issues. The mass rallies in three Baltic states to protect the environment and historical legacies adopted the Gandhian way of non-violent civil resistance movements. People were very much aware and being trained to maintain non-violence during the campaigns and demonstrations against the totalitarian rule. The communication of non-violent methods spread through the mass rallies, newspapers and folk music and songs. Throughout the Baltic protests, the urge and yearning for freedom springs from a sense of Divine power of non-violence or as Gandhiji called it the 'soul force'.

In 1987s, it was the period of starting of the singing revolution in three Baltic states when the forbidden national anthem and patriotic songs got popularity among the Baltic masses. Lauristin and Vihalemm 2002: 17) expressed that a very special role was played by the institution of national songfests, which was preserved by the Soviets as a demonstration of the multinational character of Soviet culture, but in reality served as a powerful expression of national identity and will for the cultural resistance. The culture folk music songs festivals in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania restated and provided a platform to express the will of people. These music and songs festivals also played a pivotal role in the public communications and emergence of non-violent nationalism. Thousands of people participated in these music consorts to strengthen the feeling of nationalism and to show the dissatisfaction with the soviet rule. In mid-June of 1988, thousands of Latvians demonstrated in Riga, the capital, to mark the anniversary of mass

deportations from Latvia under Stalin. The Soviet press agency, Tass, reported the march and noted that a monument would be built to the deportees. In the past, Soviet authorities had always forbidden exhibits of Latvian nationalism (Magstadt 1989).

Same kind of demonstration emerged at a large scale in Lithuania and Estonia also. According to Aleksandras Stromas “when free communications is suppressed or otherwise impossible, a cultural sphere acquires a certain consolidative function. Indeed, in soviet times, the Baltic nation were maintained through certain cultural functions (cultural traditions, folk songs and distinctive poetry) such a common heritage allowed all ethnic community members to communicate on a free and understandable basis which also required a specific literacy to comprehend hidden meanings in Aesopian language” (cited in Balčytienė 2012). The people were very cautious in communication because there were a lot of possibilities of direct armed conflicts with the soviet army. The leaders of independence movement were aware with the fact that the violent armed conflict with soviet army would led to the more devastation in Baltic society, the use of non-violence was the only adequate weapon to restore their independence (Miniotaite 1997: 204). Very carefully people followed the Gandhian ideas throughout the singing revolution.

The establishment of popular fronts in the three Baltic states led to the proliferations of public communication at the maximum height. These popular fronts and their non-violent philosophy to restore the independence got popular support from the awakened people of Baltic states. The strategies and agenda of active non-violence communicated through various ways as pamphlets and newsletters of these popular fronts (Chakar 2009: 9). The non-violent strategies and tactic mentioned in newsletters to impart the ideas of non-violence had been, symbolic lights, singing, assemblies of protest and support, non-cooperation and non-violent interjection etc. (nvdatabase 2011: 2). During the era of perestroika and glasnost the independence drive (Atmoda) which led to the restoration of independent statehood, newspapers and magazines had an enormous audience

and enjoyed a great deal of trust. To communicate the Gandhian methods of non-violence leaders took the help of the news media for the proliferation of Gandhian ideas and philosophy a guiding figure to mobilize the active non-violent demonstrations and ensure the peaceful transition of regime.

### **Gorbachev's Reform and Development of Mass Media in Baltic States**

The media was strictly supervised, regulated and controlled by the communist party and its apparatus. Control included not only censorship of the press and electronic media but all information – books, films, theatre and cinema performances, and advertising- was subject to censorship (Balcytiene 2009: 150). As soon as, Gorbachev introduced the liberalized economic and social reforms to restore the Soviet economy, the three states Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia got an opportunity to express their will of sovereign states. Gorbachev's policy of glasnost lifted the severe restrictions on information and debate which had been part of Soviet life since the 1920s and provided a legitimate opportunity for Baltic people to express their disagreement with Soviet rule and to reclaim their independence. Gorbachev hoped that glasnost would expose the errors of previous governments, so the people would support more extensive economic reforms. Media censorship was relaxed, though not completely abolished; literature once banned in the USSR was now permitted.

Although in the beginning Baltic media had been consistent with the style of soviet propaganda for example as Vihalemm (2003: 587) stated that in the 1987 protests at Tallinn the media declared that the Estonian people did not support the meeting; it was labelled as a provocation inspired by the voice of America. But gradually in 1988 the period of ideological breakthrough the media acquired a role of mobilization, integration and service. Media, in this transition period played an important role, even decisive role in the formation and performance of the national mass mobilization. The structures of the public sphere that emerged in connection with the massive popular movements in 1988 and 1989 in the Baltic countries were created with the help of media and functioned through

media. National media became a network supporting the growing political activity of people. With the explosive outburst of national pride and determination, the singing revolution brought the euphoria of freedom, including the freedom of the written word. Due to active participation of media into manifestation of the Gandhian philosophy among the Baltic people the whole independence movement remained non-violence.

This was a “golden age” of Baltic journalism in which the journalists who feel involved in the nationalist movement facilitated the non-violent proceedings of liberation movement. Old concepts of professionalism of media turned into the national service and proliferation of patriotic feelings against the Soviet rule. The press in general discarded most taboos of the past. It discloses Stalinist crimes in detail; the sufferings of the deportees of 1941 and 1944-1952 were described and published in memoirs. The open discussion in media over the crimes and illegitimacy of soviet annexation into the Soviet Union based on the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939 inspired the masses to throughout the totalitarian and suppressive rule of Soviet Union. Soviet crimes and accident reports were published with regularity and discussions followed. Special sections of newspapers were dedicated to the analysis and interpretation of the nation’s history (Hallin, Paolo Mancini 2012: 66). Media had been so active that it covered every moment of demonstrations and broadcasted or published it into a very effective manner. To strengthen the active non-violence and civil resistance among the people media had been very effective tool. For example the movie “Gandhi” was being broadcasted frequently on the national television channels strengthening the nonviolent resistance of the people (Deats 2009: 9).

The mass media and political activists very successfully transformed the violent power of common people into non-violent one. The success of active non-violent actions depends on the power of people to throw out the deep rooted mighty unjust empires (Sharp 1973: 1). About more than half decades long economic, political and cultural suppression and exploitation of Baltic people by totalitarian regime of Soviet Union resulted into the heavy decline of development in every



sphere of life. As Gorbachev's reform provided a chance to express their will, political activists of three Baltic states found the Gandhian methods of non-violence, an adequate weapon to restore their lost independence from the soviet union. In addition to fulfil this desire the mass leaders took the help of mass media that became an alternative device to spread and teach the non-violent methods and strengthen the civil resistance among the common masses. During the period of glasnost, when a multi-party system did not yet exist and the underground centres were weak, the media was the main mechanism of social legitimization and mass mobilization (Vihalemm 2003: 588).

The people showed the strong faith in the non-violent methods as they were already aware about the success of these methods in various non-violent movements. In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania mass rallies and peaceful demonstration developed a sense of national unity and coercive power of totalitarian government not feared the people. Deats (2009: 8) specified that the totalitarian rule in the nations of Eastern Europe was overturned by unarmed people only with truth and courage. A critical mass had been reached as growing numbers of people were emboldened to break their chains. Civil resistance of people and coverage of media augmented the whole movement not only at the national level but it surprised the whole world. The widespread assumption that totalitarian regimes could not be overturned by unarmed struggle has been decisively shown to be wrong. Governments ultimately derive their strength from the consent – either passive or active – of the governed. Once that consent disappears and resistance spreads, governments find their power to rule weakened (ibid). The government had to bow down before the growing power of non-violence. The non-violence mass communication very effectively organized and mobilized the people and had been successful in throwing out the totalitarianism.

### **Role of Print Media**

Naturally during the period of Soviet Union, print media (newspapers, press and publication houses) were under the control of authoritarian state in the Baltic countries. In colonial rule either it was in India or in Baltic States one of the main

objectives of colonial powers had been to control the media to maintain their hold on social and political institutions. In Baltic states Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia also only those newspapers and books were allowed to publish that were following the communist line and glorifying the communist rule. Soviet censorship had been overwhelming and penetrated all sphere of life, not only the media but cultural activities also. Journalists experienced the watchful eye of the authorities not just in editorial offices but in the context which they writing also. Soviet censorship was simultaneously preventive and repressive (Lauk and Hoyer 2008: 13-14). During this period for journalists it was very hard to disclose the brutalities and violation of individual rights of Baltic society by militia. Print media had been helpless in writing about the atrocities over innocent people and their grievances under the communist regime. But the whole scenario changed during the glasnost era in 1986, newspapers depicted the militia as not only brutal but ineffective also (Shelley 1996: 51).

Before the glasnost period, what was not allowed to be published officially was sometimes published underground. However, these publications remained very confined to the violent revolutionary groups in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The publications of Lithuanian dissidents were the most active publishers of these samizdat materials and were responsible for the chronicles of Lithuanian Catholic Church, which appeared from 1972 to 1988 (O'Connor 2006: 148). The print media and its influence broadened due to the policy of glasnost, as some extend media got the freedom to express their view. Although, the institution of censorship was not formally abolished until September 1990, the policy of glasnost prevented direct interference with the media's activities. National media became a network supporting the growing political activity of people for the restoration of lost freedom. Cultural events also remained the point of attraction of print media. In a two-or three-month period from April to June 1988, rapidly emerging liberation movements used the media for coverage of meetings, publication of manifestos and declarations, and disclosure of the atrocities committed by the Communist regime (Vihalemm 2003: 588). Many new national

and regional/local newspapers were introduced. New magazines were also printed and circulated without having any fear or restriction from the state.

After the occupation of Latvia, many persons working in journalism were killed or repressed. While Latvia was in the Soviet Union, the Soviet press system was fully imposed. In Latvia, the paper re-emerged only in the latter half of the 18th century. During the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, newspapers played an important role in shaping public opinion, in ensuring national and social emancipation, in promoting social and political changes, and in establishing the new Republic of Latvia. A particularly impressive phenomenon in the 20th century history of the Latvian media was the newspaper *Jaunākās Ziņas* (1911-1940), which was vastly popular and influential (Latvia, European Journalism Centre, online access URL: [www.ejc.net/media\\_landscape/article](http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article)). With the establishment of the Popular Front of Latvia in 1988, the movement for freedom took a new turn. The Front's popular newsletter was *Atmoda* (Awakening) which played a very crucial role in the drive of freedom movement. The Gandhian principle of non-violence was being discussed in the articles of these newsletters (Chakar 2009: 9). The newsletters of Latvian Popular Fronts became very popular and accessible to most of the people in Latvia.

The news of the events of non-violent mass demonstrations throughout the Baltic states blowout worldwide and attracted the eyes of international media. The key events of 1987-88 are well known in the west, and need not to be described here as of nationalism in the Baltic states. Mass meetings of Latvians and Estonians were reported in Pravda and the media also referred to conferences devoted to the anniversary of the incorporation of the three republics in the Soviet Union. The non-violent public communication enriched through interpretations of mass media. The disclosure of Soviet crimes and atrocities augmented the widespread demand for freedom. More surprising yet were frank reports of demonstrations in the Baltic states on the anniversary of the mass deportation which has taken place in 1941, a few months before the war. *Moskovskie Novosti*

of 4 September 1988 printed a number of interviews concerning the Nazi soviet pact of 1939 and its impact on the Baltic states. The interviews of these people were being discussed by common people and provoked the thoughts of nationalism. The memory politics in newspaper articles heightened the curiosity about the current debates of restoration of freedom of Baltic states.

Balcytiene (2009: 152) argued that the recognition and protection of national languages and national identities has been an instrumental part in the national awakenings through several centuries of the Baltic region. In this phase of national awakening also, Baltic people expressed their will through cultural and historical identities such as folk songs and preservation of historical heritages. With the secret protocols of Molotov-Ribbentrop pact 1939, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union divided the countries of central and Eastern Europe between themselves and three Baltic states were incorporated into the soviet union. The whole phenomena remained unknown till the national awakening in 1980s. The Baltic states underwent a radical social and political transformation. In the public sphere, soviet state was keen on having control over the content and distribution of public information. But in first time in 1987, on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Molotov-Ribbentrop pact a number of copies of secret protocol published and distributed among the people. The truth of the forced annexation of three Baltic states into soviet union disclosed, the print media remain pivotal to criticize the pact and its impact over Baltic states.

In Lithuania also, the print media remained very effective tool to make concern and mobilize the people against the totalitarian rule of Soviet Union. In the year of 1988, the Group of writers and intellectuals sets up Lithuanian Movement for Reconstruction (Sajudis). It started to print its weekly *Atgimimas* (“re-birth” in Lithuanian), which distributed 100,000 copies. This was a large number for a country with a population of 3.4 million (Tracevskis 2010). The newsletters were widely discussing the strategy and programs of non-violent action to enhance this among the common masses. A vitally important role in creating the image of Lithuania as an independent state, both in Lithuania and abroad, was played by

mass media, mostly very favourably disposed towards Lithuanian independence (Miniotaite 1993: 209). In Estonia also the Popular Front of Estonia took the help of print media for leading the successful transformation of freedom movement. People followed the basic techniques of non-violent action discussed by the leaders, while print media inspired and presented the non-violent event before the nation.

The non-violent methods gradually developed comprehensively throughout the three Baltic republics. The printing media became an alternative driving force for the mobilization of Baltic people and it help to develop an ability to remain calm during the mass protests, rallies and marches. The popular fronts and other social and political organizations establishment or expanded the alternative or parallel media to increase the awareness about the appropriateness and effectiveness of non-violent strategies for restoration of freedom. In order to explore the ideal and strategies of non-violence in 1988 and 1989, Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King were discussed in the Latvian National Independence Movement's Neatkarība and the Latvian Popular Front's Atmoda (weekly newsletter). The Front's chairperson DainisĪvāns cited these men aswell as Thoreau and Tolstoy as influential (Chakar 2009: 9). The whole plan of civilian based defence was based on the ideology and principles of these great leaders in the newsletters of national fronts (Miniotaite 1997: 55; Eglitis 1993).

### **The Electronic Media and Singing Revolution**

After annexation of Baltic states into soviet union in 1940s, the electronic media (television channels and radio stations) also faced the same fate just as the print media. The TV Channels and radio stations went on working under the supervision of state authorities. Censorship and control over media subordinated the media activities. The soviet authorities used media as an instrumental to propagate the glorification of communist rule among the common people. In 1986, the policy of glasnost introduced the certain relaxations for the free expression. The purpose of Gorbachev was to energize the state and the party, not to dismantle them. Ashe stated, 'The better informed people are, the more

intelligently they act and the more actively they support the Party” (Shane 1994: 65). In all the Baltic countries, by paying the lip service to the official ideology, the media developed and maintained a tradition of participation in the national opposition to the regime. Creativity (in all its forms: theatre, literary press, songs and dance festivals, etc.) became a substitute for other functions such as political participation. Balcytiene (2009: 155) very rightly observed that despite the careful ideological control, topics such as the preservation of the cultural heritage, the protection of language from Russification, problems with education, and the pollution of the environment were always present during this period.

Growing concern over the free flow of information during glasnost period, inside Soviet borders the new information was reproduced, multiplied, amplified, and disseminated by the technology that had flooded the country. The Baltic nations used their all available media resources to mobilize the people for the national awakening. The non-violent independence movement which started with the environmental and cultural issues later took the political turn in 1987 with start of the singing revolution. Fax machines and photocopiers, video recorders and personal computers outside the government were no longer exotic but a sprawling, living nervous system that linked the Russian political opposition, the republican independence movements, and the burgeoning private sector. Tied informally together, this equipment constituted a network of considerable scale (Shane 1994: 262). This network of electronic media and technology help the people to communicate with each other and in the flow of information about the non-violent activities.

Although there were the development of Radio stations in three Baltic states but during the Nazi and Soviet occupations and annexation Radio broadcasting became a propaganda tool of soviet union. The radio broadcasting change in 1987, they broadcast a wide diversity of speech and music content and see their role as contributing to the development of a plural and democratic culture. While still under the control of the Communist Party in 1988, the media began to be agents of change, joining forces with the Popular Front during the period of the

“singing revolution” from the spring of 1988 to the autumn of 1989 (Hirner 1996: 18). The news were from the nationwide marches and protests to oppose the soviet occupation of Baltic people. For example, the “golden era” for Radio Latvia, as far as many people are concerned, was the Latvian independence drive (*Atmoda*) in the late 1980s and early 1990s. During the days in January 1991 when people set up barricades to protect key government buildings, the radio played a seminal role in helping to organize and manage non-violent resistance (Balcytiene 2009: 153).

People were glued to their radio sets for several days in a row. The airing of radio programs was very effective to disseminate the ideas of non-violence. In a two- or three-month period from April to June 1988, rapidly emerging liberation movements used the media for coverage of meetings, publication of manifestos and declarations, and disclosure of the atrocities committed by the Communist regime. In Latvia on the day of June and August demonstrations, radio Stockholm reported that 6000-7000 had been involved in commemorative activities of various kinds in Riga and that there had been 40 arrests. Such reports were officially denied by the Latvian SSR authorities. Ironically, the extreme security measures imposed in the centre of Riga (Misiūnas and Taagepera 1997: 311). Moreover, TV channels showed the enough courage to make public opinion about the non-violently over thrown the totalitarian regime of Soviet Union. The peaceful demonstrations get the live broadcasting on all TV channels and Radio stations of all the events that led to the upsurge of thousands of Estonia, Latvian and Lithuania for the change of their destiny. TV channels developed as an alternative sphere where free public discourse was cultivated through to mobilize the people.

In 1989, across the three Baltic states, in a line stretching 430 miles, as many as three million persons demonstrated for freedom and long human chain broadcasted on the national television channels. The people’s power and methods of social and political non-cooperation reached, even in the countryside of three Baltic republics. The people of three Baltic states were singing the national songs

and patriotic poems which had been forbidden during the soviet rule. The songs and poems strengthen the spiritual *satyagraha* when thousands of people were standing peacefully and demanding for the independence from the soviet. It was the best example of civilian based defence where common people participated extensively. The whole Baltic chain were being carefully supervised and promoted by the popular fronts and media. The wave of these peaceful demonstrations reached to the western media also and because of this the Soviet Union felt the international pressure to liberate the Baltic people. Peaceful masses including old, young, women and children exposed the strong faith in non-violent methods that why there were not a single case of violence throughout the protest. Due the active participation of media the non-violent mass communication were so strong that the people were getting all the information through TV channels and Radio airings.

In the 1990, the communist government realized that media activities would bring the upheaval in the USSR. The Red Army troops of red army attacked on the Lithuanian national TV tower in the capital Vilnius in January 1991. The unarmed people protected the TV tower non-violently although the brutal Red Army used the physical force, killing 14 unarmed persons while hundreds got injured. The people were so capable in holding the non-violent resistance that instead of surrendering or issuing a call to arms, Lithuania called on the citizenry to “hold to principles of nonviolent insubordinate resistance and political and social non-cooperation” (Deats 2009: 9). Lithuanian continued their non-violent and peaceful demonstration and saved the nation television tower from the soviet army. The Red Army had to retreat back and Lithuania became the first ofrepublic who proclaimed her independence without fearing about the coercive force of soviet army. This was the victory of non-violent civilian based defence.

The same accidence had happened in Latvia also On January 2, 1991, the Soviets tested this nonviolent defence plan when Black Berets attacked the Press Building in Riga and the Soviet government said that more paratroopers would be sent in order to make sure military conscription was properly carried out. Human



and material barricades would be set up to hinder the Soviets. On the same day, 500,000 people had come together to protest the treatment of Lithuanians and to show that they would not back down (nvdatabase 2009). This was the great assessment of civilian based defence of Lithuanian people. The Latvians responded non-violently with an initial protest rally of 10,000 people in front of the building that housed the Communist Party's Central Committee. In addition, Yeltsin announced an "Appeal to Russian Soldiers" to discourage them from attacking legal institutions in the Baltic states. Despite these actions, hostility remained at a high level for the next eight months with the Black Berets employing their terror tactics in an attempt to provoke a violent Lithuanian reaction. Despite killing six Latvians, these provocations failed (ibid). The unarmed people of Latvia stand non-violently and did not use the violence against the Red Army.

Then the Latvians presented a strong resistance to the conscription by pretending not to speak Russian and by removing or replacing street signs, signposts, house numbers, and place name tablets to confuse the army. This was the implications of non-violent methods at the large scale. On the June 20, 1991, the Latvian Supreme council approved a proposal for the creation of non-violent defence centre to organize non-violent resistance in order to protect Latvia against a rumoured invasion from Moscow. In August 1991, when there was the increased in the soviet troop presence in Latvia especially in the capital Riga the tension reached at new height. The national defence centre distributed the 2000 copies of the guide to non-violent resistance and they encouraged people to set up small centre of non-violent resistance in each of their town. These non-violent resistance centres taught the common people how to use the non-violent methods. Although there was the use of violence and many people had to lose their life in Lithuania and Latvia but in Estonia the restoration of independence remained bloodless.

## Conclusion

Throughout the singing revolution, the effort by the Baltic people to restore the lost freedom through non-violent methods, media and public communication remained at the centre to discuss and to propagate the non-violent Gandhian values among the common people. Estonia Latvia and Lithuania regained their freedom in 1991 from the Soviet Union. Strive for the independence continued till 1991 and at last the power of non-violent action defeated the totalitarianism in Eastern Europe. Mass rallies, speeches and cultural symbols as well as the singing traditions of Baltic people enhanced the idea of Gandhian non-violence. It was the print and electronic media which popularize the ideas of non-violence among the people and lead the whole movement successfully. Through training, dialogue with the authorities in advance, and via the media, they had maintained for weeks that it was going to be a peaceful demonstration. The leaders in three countries were concern enough that the use of violence would be resulted in the bloodbath and the Baltic people do not want to confront with soviet army violently.

Media access is essential for the organization and mobilization of a mass movement and not least a nonviolent liberation movement but media have a special place in the Baltic tradition of nonviolence during the singing revolution. The environment in which Baltic masses start protesting had been very much helpful for the development of the new social service oriented media and dedicated to the dramatic change that led to the demise of communism in Eastern Europe. In the newsletters of national popular fronts of three Baltic states and their action plans employed all Gandhian techniques such as social and political non-cooperation, boycott of soviet goods, civil dis-obedience and *satyagraha* etc. the national centre for the civilian based non-violence defence being set up even in local town to teach the Gandhian ideals. The media made this task very easy by broadcasting the program for strengthening the no-violence. The movie Gandhi was being shown nationwide television to introduce the Gandhian methods of non-violent for the common masses. The media coverage of singing

revolution activities inspired the masses to participate for the national cause in order to throughout the mighty empire of Soviet Union.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

The study was set out to analyze the influence of the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence in the Singing Revolution of Baltic state and to examine the role of mass media and public communication in imparting the knowledge about non-violent ideas and strategies to enhance the non-violent resistance among Baltic masses. The Singing Revolution was the fight for statehood and independence in the three Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, during the late 1980s, in which they achieved independence by using non-violent tactics and strategies from Soviet Union after almost a half century of illegal occupation. It was the national re-awakening during Gorbachev period that led to the emergence of national independence movement in Baltic states in late 1980s. It was the period when civil resistance rendered in three Baltic states to restore their lost sovereignty. Collective non-violent actions of Baltic people and their strong faith in non-violent means rooted out the unjust authorities of Soviet Union from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Although, people of Baltic states drawn non-violent inspiration from different sources such as historical and cultural legacies, non-violent movements in Europe etc. but the influence of Gandhian principles of non-violence philosophy had been fundamental deriving force in the articulation of non-violent methods and strategies of civil resistance or civilian based defence. On the basis of findings, the study reflects that in formulating the non-violent strategies for national liberation Baltic nationalist leaders were aware about Gandhi's strong perception of 'use of violence would be resulted in more violence' and that is why it might not be possible to defeat the Soviet army through violent means. Furthermore, roots of emergence and development of nationalism and inclination towards non-violent methods could be traced in the bitter experience and historical memories under totalitarian rule of Soviet Union.

In fact, before 1980s, all three Baltic nations had to face the harsh consequences of communist regime of Soviet Union. After the forced annexation in Soviet Union on the basis of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 23 August 1939, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania came under the influence of Soviet Union and lost their statehood. However, the people of three Baltic states resisted illegal occupation of Soviet Union. In all three countries, Baltic partisans and dissident groups, known as the Forest Brothers, waged unsuccessful guerrilla warfare against the Soviet occupation till 1960s. The motive was to regain their nation's lost independence from Soviet Union. The Soviet regime deployed brutal force in retaliation and suppressed the armed resistance of Baltic people. NKVD troops carried out punitive operations across the three Baltic states. They burned farmsteads, they used mortars to destroy buildings, shooting people or burning them alive.

Virtually, the armed resistance that started in 1940s continued almost till 1960s; the main concern of the Soviet army was to suppress the armed anti-Soviet resistance supported by the underground patriotic people and even the local population of Baltic states. Tens of thousands people who supported or participated of the partition groups and freedom fighters were deported to Siberian camps, forcefully arrested and killed. Most of the intellectuals, writers, politicians and artists had been killed or exiled from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. To bring heavy central control over economic, political and social institutions, communist regime of Soviet Union followed the policy of Russification, collectivization and industrialization. Basically, large number of migration of laborers from Soviet Union, introductions of Russian language and culture into social life of Baltic people not only devastated the economic and political structure but also changed the demographic profile of three Baltic nations.

In case of media and public communication, during this period of Soviet regime; it imposed heavy censorship over the news media and other means of public communication to bring them under the control of communist agenda. In the

process of Sovietization of Baltic states new governments subordinating all social and cultural activities, even only those artists and writers allowed to present their works those glorified the system and support the communist ideology. All the publication of books and articles came under the direct control of state authorities. All forms of news media came immediately under the control of the occupiers, and all publications were subjected to censorship. The press had to reflect only the official views of the Communist Party and its ideology.

The totalitarian nature of government imposed censorship over the press and media to conceal the reality of Soviet rule in occupied states in the western eyes. However, this censorship led to the development of the underground and hidden publication activities for opposing the soviet policies. Even Baltic intellectuals tried to form artistic and historical representation within the limits of censorship. At the same time, despite the system of total control, many underground publications of persistence value were published and a kind of semi participatory channel was born in the subdued Baltic countries, namely in the cultural sphere. Moreover, Soviet Union deployed very suppressive form of policies and military force to nip the anti-Soviet elements in the bud from Baltic society. Writers, scholars and even political opponents who were engaged in criticizing and mobilizing anti-Soviet sentiments among Baltic masses brutally tortured and punished, number of them deported to the labour camps in Siberia while so many got exiled.

The news of mass deportations to Siberian camps, use of terror to control the dissident groups and murdering of innocent people remained unwritten or of course, only in the memories of survived people. Historical studies revealed that before Gorbachev era people of all three Baltic states did not have the right to oppose the brutalities of authoritarian regime of Soviet Union. But, in fact, brutal suppression and oppressions of Baltic population resulted into the all-round dissatisfaction and anger in the minds of common people. Virtually, Baltic masses started expressing their dissatisfaction and anger with Soviet regime openly that happened only in mid of the 1980s when Gorbachev came into power and he

introduced the economic and political reforms; *perestroika* and *glasnost* for restoring the stagnated economic structure of USSR. The exiled political leaders, writers and artists all supported from abroad and created an environment for reawakening of Baltic masses.

Due to Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* people got some limited autonomy for criticizing the Soviet policies; it opened up the uprisings of environmentalist protests concerning the highly industrialization of Soviet Union in Baltic region, which polluted the Baltic Sea. However, this phenomenon resulted in the emergence of nationalism for environment protection but it was not adequate time to bring political change that's why Baltic leaders organized secret meetings and published underground magazines to make awakened the common people. The early nationalist movement in the beginning in 1986 in fact was yet, by and large, started with favoring the *perestroika* and *glasnost*. All three Baltic states cooperated with each other; Cooperation between the popular movements of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was based on common goals and common ideology. During environmental protests all three nations strongly supported a course of civil dis-obedience and peaceful measures to oppose the uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources.

The Environmental Protection Club became one of the most influential mass movements in the region. The public reacted immediately, and in response the Environmental Protection Clubs were founded on 28 February 1987 in Latvia and later in Lithuanian and Estonia. Gradually, till 1987 the political leaders started using this space non-violently for economic and political issues but to mobilize Baltic population they communicated their agenda through cultural activities including songs festivals. Gorbachev's policies became instrumental in order to mobilize oppositions, the recognition and protection of national languages, national identities, and cultural traditions. The people resumed the songs festivals and sang the patriotic songs which were banned earlier. Commemorations of historical events, establishment of heritage and cultural societies, and very active

support from mass media culminated this national awakening in non-violent actions of people for national independence.

On the basis of facts and findings it can be stated that during Gorbachev's period, the most important feature of the independence movement was the shift from violent guerrilla warfare to the employment of non-violent strategies in wider political sphere. There are various arguments and reasons to why and from where Baltic people adopted the non-violent methods. Firstly it could be traced on the basis of old cultural, linguistic and civilizational link between Baltic countries and India. Moreover, non-violent methods used by Gandhi in freedom struggle of India indirectly influenced and attracted Baltic leaders to articulate their strategy of non-violence civilian based defence. Secondly, success stories of non-violent methods used by different leaders in different part of world like Martin Luther King in America also inspired Baltic people, but King and Sharp also derived their non-violent strategies and methods by following the footprints of Mahatma Gandhi.

Thirdly some scholars identify that non-violence was rooted in the peace loving cultural of Baltic people and in their strong broadly shared identities. The fourthly, in fact, the memories of crime and terror deployed by Soviet regime created a deep fear in the mind of Baltic people that is why they try to avoid the situation in which heavy destruction might be possible. Baltic people preferred solely over non-violent means to bring gradual political change. Indirectly, they were very much aware about the successful use of non-violent political actions employed in India by Mahatma Gandhi. Fifth and most important immediate reason was the political situation of all three countries of that time. They were not able to have violent confrontations with strong armed forces of Soviet Union. They realized that use of direct violent methods would be resulted in more bloodshed and injuries of civilian people.

Beginning with environmental protests and demonstrations, political leaders and activists utilize this opportunities to arouse cautiousness and the feeling of nationalism among the masses of all three Baltic countries to restore their



independence. The people who had been victim of forced annexation and then Russification, collectivization and industrialization lost not only their independence but social, political and cultural identities also. People from every strata of Baltic society actively supported and participated in the development of national awakening.

Furthermore, Traditional folk songs and artistic presentations became symbolic of nationalism and instrumental for opposition of soviet regime. Political leaders used songs concerts as a platform of public communication and disseminating the non-violent ideas and philosophy of non-violence for peaceful transition without causing any bloodshed. Active participation of mass media and public communication supplemented the non-violent movement and peaceful demonstrations. Closed newspapers and radio stations quickly set up alternative media to train people to participate in active non-violent action of Popular Fronts. Media covered all the social and political events and became the voice of thousands of patriotic groups to express their will for freedom. The role of journalists and political leaders during the mass movements in three Baltic states was to educate, motivate, and mobilize people through non-violent means.

Basically, it was the mass media and public communication technics which played a very significant role in awakening the Baltic people toward the atrocities and illegal annexation of three Baltic states by soviet union. Moreover, Baltic press, TV channels and Radio stations all mass media resources became an integral partner of the Singing Revolution. From the first mass demonstrations in summer of 1988 in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Baltic question continued to capture the interest of international press and television. Even, for strengthening the nonviolent resistance among Baltic people and to teach them Gandhian methods of peaceful opposition, civil disobedience and non-violence, the movie 'Gandhi' was shown alternatively on nationwide television. The movie 'Gandhi' which covers about all non-violent political protests of Mahatma Gandhi (from South Africa to Indian freedom struggle), created a deep psychological influence over the mind of Baltic population to follow the non-

violent path. Baltic leaders found it an easy way for propagating and disseminating the Gandhian principles of non-violence among the Baltic masses. Therefore, mass media remained a very effective tool and became a venue to discuss and propagate the non-violent Gandhian values among the common people. Consequently, throughout the Singing Revolution, Gandhi and King had been main inspiring figure for mobilizing the non-violent mass rallies and demonstrations, and during public meetings. The very important development in the year of 1988 was the formation of National Popular Fronts in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. These popular fronts formulated non-violent and peaceful agenda for organizing public meetings and mass rallies to resist totalitarian communist regime. The non-violent character of demonstrations and its success to make pressure over the communist rule inspired the people at large scale for getting maximum autonomy. For instance, The Lithuanian movement for restructuring or simply Sajudis, quickly became main focal point of the emerging groups and was the engine that drove social and political change in the republic of Lithuania. Simultaneously, the Popular Front of Estonia and Lithuania organized the non-violent public meetings, demonstrations and mass rallies. Gandhi and Martin Luther King were discussed in *Neatkarība* (independence) and *Atmoda* (awakening), the publications of Latvian National Independence Movement and the Latvian Popular Front respectively.

Very interesting and soulful event for the manifestation of Gandhian non-violent resistance in three Baltic states was the 'Baltic Way' the formation of human chain from Tallinn, through Riga to Vilnius on 23 August 1989 on the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact- two million people in which almost two million people participated. The "Baltic Chain" took the nations' aspirations and will of people for freedom to the front pages of the world's newspapers. The events of non-violent awakening were frequently accompanied by patriotic songs-sung by participants themselves. The singing of nationalistic songs became an instrument for reducing tension and stress, encouraging the participant and moreover, psychologically disarming the opponents. The singing of patriotic songs was very similar to Gandhian method of prayer that he used to sing

to strengthen the spiritual and moral aspects of Satyagrahis. This human gathering demonstrated the strong will and aspirations of large number of people. Moreover, the interesting fact is that soviet authorities did not dare to use force against the non-violent singing people.

Following Gandhian way of social and political non-cooperation, on the Eve of New Year, Lithuanian people also adopted the same methods of boycott and non-cooperation like the boycott of dairy products (controlled by the state monopoly) and the refusal to pay increased taxes. Till 1989, the influence of non-violent non-cooperation was so deep that the Lithuanian youths boycotted conscription and burned their conscription cards. A large number of individual citizens repeatedly accepted personal risk to oppose superior coercive force. Over one hundred Lithuanian veterans of the Soviet army returned their medals and awards. Some public organizations, unions, and societies, including the Lithuanian Communist Party, ended their relationships with Moscow. The whole idea behind this non-cooperation was Gandhi's practical strategy of non-cooperation as he stated no government could exist for a single moment if masses pull out their supports. The entire event of opposition and non-cooperation with Soviet Union was the manifestation of Gandhian principle of *satyagraha* although it was in different form and was deployed in different situation but to achieve the similar ends.

Another incident that became a litmus test of non-violent political action in all three Baltic nations was during situations of political crises in 1991. In the elections of 1990, popular fronts got the majority support and formed their governments. In March 1990, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet under direct control of Sajudis formally declared independence; later Estonia and Latvia also showed the intentions for independent governments. In this stage of Baltic independence, there were direct confrontations between Baltic masses and Moscow's Red Army. Soviet regime used brutal force to put down the opposition and to maintain the totalitarian control over Baltic states. In Lithuania in 1991, Soviet Union sends their troops in Vilnius on the pretext that the republic had slipped

into chaos. In answer of this military force, Lithuanian people organized the civilian based defence and never tried to make any kind of violent attempt against the soviet troops. A large number of unarmed and non-violent Lithuanians made a defence barricades for protecting the broadcasting TV tower.

On 13 January, KGB troops killed 14 non-violent participant and hundreds of them injured. This day was memorized as 'bloody Sunday' in the history of Lithuania. Instead of surrendering or issuing a call to arms, Lithuanian government called on the citizenry to "Hold to principles of nonviolent civil resistance and political and social non-cooperation". Government of Lithuania made the appeal to its supporters to behave peacefully at all times, even in response of violent provocations of Soviet army. The act of non-violent civil resistance of Lithuanian people undermined the Soviet capacity to control non-violent masses. In August 1991, Lithuania restored her sovereignty and was officially recognized as an independent nation.

In case of Latvia, in the elections of 1990, for the supreme council of Latvian SSR, under the Soviet election law, this allowed participation of all residents, including ethnic Russians and other immigrants in which LTF gained absolute majority. A large number of Latvian collected to surround the building of the supreme council and defended it without violence – although there were a few minor physical interactions. The USSR tried to suppress the independence movements through threats, decrees and economic boycotts. Although the transition period was relatively peaceful but ordinary citizens experienced quite a bit panic and concern about their security and well-being. Moreover, the radical forces within the CPSU, the Soviet military and the Latvian Communist Party decided to use force against the peaceful demonstrations. On the January 20th, the same units attacked Latvia's Ministry of interior. In the ensuing firefight, five people were killed and twelve others wounded.

Although, in 1991, the transition of soviet rule to self-rule of people was bloodless in Estonia but in Lithuania and Latvia many activists had to be victim of aggression of totalitarian rule of Soviet Union and lost their life during

participation active non-violent civilian defence. But, it's an interesting observation that the people of these republics very successfully express the soul power or power of non-violence and did not embroil in the counter violent attacks of Soviet Union. At last, in 1991, they were successfully overthrown the soviet regime from the Baltic land. The entire struggle for independence of Baltic nations Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was a unique phenomenon in the history of non-violent political movements. Baltic masses very actively and enthusiastically participated in non-violent demonstration even without caring about the cost of their lives.

It is interesting to note that the environment in which Baltic masses start protesting had been very much helpful for the development of the new social service oriented media fully dedicated to overthrow the totalitarian Soviet regime. In the newsletters of national popular fronts of three Baltic states and in their action plans, they manifested and employed all Gandhian techniques such as social and political non-cooperation, boycott of Soviet goods, civil disobedience and civilian based defence etc. the national center for the civilian based non-violence defence being set up even in local town to teach the Gandhian ideals. The electronic media made this task very easy by broadcasting the program for strengthening the no-violence. The Singing revolution proved the effectiveness of non-violent political action and success of Gandhian principles in 20<sup>th</sup> century in Europe.

The study began with two hypotheses which are produced here from first chapter. The study has also sought to know whether these hypotheses are proved or null.

1. Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy and practice of non-violence and non-cooperation was one of the dominant influences in shaping the ideas, principles and strategies of Singing Revolution of Baltic States.
2. The Baltic media and public communication acted as forum for discourse on Gandhian principles and experience for educating and enhancing non-violent resistance of people.

After description and examinations of facts, findings and evidences explained throughout chapters of this study, it could be stated that all hypotheses are found positive and valid. However, this study was completed within some limitations. The study was completed with the help of primary and secondary resources available online and or in Indian libraries and also by followingsome interviews of Baltic scholars. Nonetheless, the study requires further research and investigation and collection of original documents published by different political and social organization having discussions and stories of Gandhian non-violent principles during the Singing Revolution.

## References

(\* indicates the primary resources)

- Aggarwal, S. and Gupta, V. (2001), *Handbook of Journalism and Mass Communication*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Andrew, C. F. (1931), *Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story*, New York: Macmillan Company.
- \*Anuuskas, Arvydas (2001), *The Anti-Soviet Resistance in the Baltic States*, Vilnius: Akreta publishers.
- Arendt, Hannah (1970), *On Violence*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Arjakas, Kulo (2005), "Half a Century in the Soviet Union" in Janis Skapars (eds.) *The Baltic Way to Freedom: Non-violent struggle of the Baltic State in a global context*, Riga: ZeltaGrauds.
- Atack, I. (2012), *Non-violence in Political Theory*, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press Ltd.
- Auer, M.R. (1998), "Environmentalism and Estonia's independence movement", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 26(4):659-676.
- \*BBC, News Letter (1988), "Latvia cries freedom from Moscow", [online: web] Accessed on 02/09/2012 URL: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/9/newsid\\_](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/9/newsid_)
- Balcytiene, A. (2009), "Small can also be Multicultural: Rediscovering Baltic Media Characteristics in a Mixed Model", Paper to be presented on 21-25 May at Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Chicago: USA.
- Balčytienė, A. (2012), *Culture as a Guide in Theoretical Explorations of Baltic Media*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bandyopadhyaya, Shaker (2004), *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman.

- Bari, S. A. (1971), *Gandhi's Doctrine of Civil Resistance*, New Delhi: Kalamkar Prakashan.
- Beissinger, M. R. (2009), "The Intersection of Ethnic Nationalism and People Power Tactics in the Baltic States, 1987-91." in Adam Roberts and Timothy G. Ash (eds.) *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, Imogen (2003), "Central and South-Eastern Europe: 2003", in Imogen, Bell (eds.) *Regional Survey of the World*, London: Europa Publications.
- Berend, Tibor (2010), *Europe since 1980*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Björkman, L. B. (2007), "The Cultural Roots of Estonia's Successful Transition: How Historical Legacies Shaped the 1990s", *East European Politics and Societies*, 21(2): 316–347.
- Bildt, C. (1994), "The Baltic Litmus Test", *Foreign Affairs*, 73(5): 72-85.
- Chandra, Bipin et al. (1989), *India's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi: Penguin Publisher
- Bhattacharyya, Buddhadeva (1969), *Evolution of the Political Philosophy of Gandhi*, Calcutta: Calcutta Book House.
- Bondurant (1988), *Conquest of violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Borman, William (1986), *Gandhi and Non-Violence*, Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Bose, Anima (1981), "A Gandhian Perspective on Peace", *Journal of Peace Research*, XVIII (2): 159-164.
- Brown, J. M. (1977), *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, J. M. (2011), "Gandhi as a Nationalist Leader, 1915-1948", in Brown and Parel (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Budryte, D. (2005), *Taming Nationalism: Political Community Building in the Post-Soviet Baltic states*, England: Ashgate Publishing Company.



- Bugajski, J. (2002), *Political Parties of Eastern Europe: A Guide to Politics in the Post- communist Era*, USA: Center for Strategic International Studies.
- Carter and Turnock (2002), *Environmental Problems in East-Central Europe*, New York: Routledge Publication.
- \*Chakars, Janis (2009), "The Singing Revolution, Baltic Nonviolence, and Mass Communication", *AABS Baltic Studies Newsletter*, 27(1): 3-4.
- Chandra (2010), *History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- Charpentier, Jarl (1926), "The Original Home of the Indo-Europeans: Two Lectures Delivered at the School of Oriental Studies, London, on 10th and 17th June 1925", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 4 (1): 147-170.
- \*Chatterji, S. K. (1968), *Balts and Aryans: In Their Indo-European Background*, Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
- \*Ciganovs, Juris (2006), "The Resistance Movement Against the Soviet Regime in Latvia Between 1940 and 1941", in Arvydas Anušauskas (eds.) *The Anti-Soviet resistance in the Baltic States*, Vilnius: Genocide and Resistance Research Center of Lithuania.
- Byrski, Maria K. (2008), "Indian and Oriental Studies in a Euro-Indian Perspective for the 21st Century", *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia*, 9(2):11-18.
- Chakrabarty, Bidyut (1997), "Mahatma at the Grassroots: The Praxis of Nonviolence", *Gandhi Marg*, 19(3): 325-340.
- Clemens, C. (2001), *The Baltic transformed: complexity theory and European security*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- \*Commission of the Historians of Latvia(2005), Selected Research of the "The Hidden and Forbidden History of Latvia under the Soviet and Nazi Occupations 1950-1991", Volume 14. [Online: web] accessed on 26/04/2013, URL:<http://www.president.lv/images/modules/items/PDF/item>.
- Dalton, D.(1969), Gandhi: Ideology and Authority, *Modern Asian Studies*, 3(4): 377-393.
- Dalton, D. (1999), *Gandhi's Power: Nonviolence in Action*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Dasa, Ratan (2005), *The Global Vision of Mahatma Gandhi*, New Delhi: Sarup and Sons Publication.
- Datta, D.M. (1968), *The philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta press.
- \*Daumantas, J. (1988), *Fighters for Freedom: Lithuanian Partisans versus U.S.S.R.*, Toronto: the Lithuanian Canadian Committee for Human Rights Report.
- Dayal, L.(1998), *State and the People: Political history of Government of India*, New Delhi: Mittal Publication.
- Deats,R. (2009), *Active Nonviolence across the World*, New York: New City Press.
- Dhawan, G. N. (1946), *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*, Bombay: The Popular Book Depot.
- Dodge, Theodore (1998), *Gustavus Adolphus*, New York: Da Capo Press.
- Drago, Antonino (2012),“Defining and Interpreting Non-Violent Political Revolutions”, *Gandhi Marg*, 34(1): 87.
- Du Tuit, B. M. (1996), “Mahatma Gandhi and South Africa”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 34(4):643-660.
- Eglitis, O. (1993), *Nonviolent Action in the Liberation of Latvia*, Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution.
- Elletson and Rosner (2006), *Baltic Independence and Russian Energy Policy*, United Kingdom: GMB Publishing Ltd.
- \*Estonia.eu: An official gateway to Estonia “Estonia's return to independence 1987–1991” [online: web] accessed on 24/03/2013 URL: <http://estonia.eu/about-estonia/history/estonias-history.html>.
- \*Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011), “Estonia and India”, [Online: web] Viewed on 25 June 2012 URL: <http://www.vm.ee/?q=en/node/>.
- Gandhi, Leela (2008), “Sprites of Non-Violence”, *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 10(2): 158-172.
- \*Gandhi (1923), “My Path”, non-violence in peace and war, vol. (1): 27.

- \*Gandhi, M. K.(1939) Harijan 17/06/1939.
- \*Gandhi, M. K. (1939), Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule, Ahmadabad, India: Navajivan Publication.
- \*Gandhi, M. K. (1940), Collective Work of Mahatma Gandhi vol. (1-16): 316.
- \*Gandhi, M. K., (1948), Mazhab aur Dharam, collected speech of M.K. Gandhi.
- \*Gandhi, M. K. (1950), *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press.
- \*Gandhi, M. K.,(1951), The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, vol. (6): 112.
- \*Gandhi, M. K., (1951), Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, vol. (10): 249.
- \*Gandhi, M. K. (1951), "Towards non-violent socialism", edited by Bharatan Kumarappa, Ahmedabad: Navajivan press.
- \*Gandhi, M. K. (1955), My religion; compiled and edited by Bharatan Kumarappa, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publication.
- \*Gandhi, M. K. (1958), The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. (29): 92.
- Gandhi, M. K. (1958), *An Autobiography or the story of my Experiments with Truth*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publication.
- Gandhi, M. K.(1964), The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, vol. (13): 234.
- \*Gandhi, M.K. (1968), *The Law of Love*, Bombay: BharathiyaVidyaBhawan.
- \*Gandhi, M. K. (1988), *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi: index of subjects*, New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, and Govt. of India.
- Gerstein and Kirkpatrick (2006), *Counseling of Psychology and Non-violent Action: Independence for Tibet*, USA: Sage Publication.
- Ginkel, J. (2002), "Identity Construction In Latvia's "Singing Revolution: Why Inter-Ethnic Conflict Failed To Occur", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 30(3): 403-433.
- Godrej, Farah (2006), "Nonviolence and Gandhi's Truth: A Method for Moral and Political Arbitration", *The Review of Politics*, 68(2): 287-317.

- Godrej, Farah (2011), *Gandhi's Corporeal Nonviolence: Ascetics, Warriors, and Ecological Citizenship*, *Mortara Working Paper 2011-14*, Georgetown University.
- Grachev, A. S. (2008), *Gorbachev's Gamble: Soviet Foreign Policy and the End of the Cold War*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Grüber, K. (1997), "The Contemporary Ethno nationalist Renaissance in Europe and Its Implications for a Theory of Nationalism", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 3(4): 128-151.
- Gupta, V. S. (2001), "Mahatma Gandhi and Mass Media", *Journalist Gandhi* [online: web] accessed on 23/09/2013 URL: [http://www.mkgandhi.org/mass\\_media](http://www.mkgandhi.org/mass_media).
- Haug, M. (2005), "Estonia" in Richard C. Frucht (eds.) *Eastern Europe: An Introduction to the People, Lands, and Culture*, California: ABC CLIO.
- Hallin and Mancini (2012), *Comparing Media Systems beyond the Western World*, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Halvey, Robeerts (2004), *On Strategic Non-violent Conflict: Thinking About the Fundamentals*, USA: The Albert Einstein Institution.
- Hiden and Salmon (1994), *The Baltic Nations and Europe*, England: Longman Publishers.
- Hobsbawm and Kertzer (1992), "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today", *Anthropology Today*, 8(1): 3-8.
- Housden and Smith (2011), *Forgotten Pages in Baltic History: Diversity and Inclusion*, New York: Rodopi Publication.
- Huntington, P. (1993), "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3): 22-49.
- Ignatius, Jesudasan (1987), *A Gandhian Theology of Liberation*, Gujarat: Ananda Sahitya Prakashan.
- Jahanbegloo (2013), *Gandhian movements*, London: Harvard University Press.
- Joseph, S. K. (2010), *Gandhian Approach to Peace and Non-violence*, Wardha: Institute of Gandhian Studies.

- Kalneite, Sandra (2005), "Unity of Baltic States and Its Impact and Its Importance for the National Awakening", in Janis Skapars (eds.) *The Baltic Way to Freedom: Non-violent struggle of the Baltic State in a global context*, Riga: Zelta Grauds.
- Kaplan, R. and Baldauf, R.(eds.) (2007), *Language Planning and Policy in Europe: The Baltic States, Ireland and Italy*, Vol. 3, United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Kasekamp, A. (1999), "Radical Right-Wing Movements in the North-East Baltic", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34(4): 587-600.
- Kasekamp, A. (2010), *A History of the Baltic States*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kaszeta, D. J. (1988),"Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation 1940-1952", *Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 34(3).
- \*Kelam, Tunne (1989), Estonian's 'Independence Day' speech, 1989. In August 1988 Kelam became a founding member of the Estonian National Independence Party (ERSP, Eesti Rahvusliku Sõltumatuse Partei), the first non-Communist political party on the territory of the Soviet Union.
- \*King, M.L. (1986), "My Pilgrimage to Nonviolence", in M. Washington (eds.) *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, United Kingdom: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd.
- \*King, M.L. (1986), "The Current Crisis in Race Relations," in M. Washington (eds.) *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd.
- \*King, M. L. (1999), "Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.", *The Power of Nonviolent Action*, Paris: Culture of Peace Series, UNESCO Publishing.
- Kirby, David (1995), *The Baltic World 1772-1993*, New York: Longman Publishing House.
- Kuettner, Al (2006), *March to a Promised Land: The Civil Rights Files of a White Reporter, 1952-1968*, Virginia: Capital Books Publishers.
- Kurtz, Lester (eds.) (2008), *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict*, Vol. 1, London: Elsevier Academic Press.

- Kurtz, (2009), "The Indian Independence Struggle (1930 – 1931)", at International Center on Nonviolent Conflict [Online: Web] Accessed on 23/05/2013, URL: <http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org>.
- \*Kule, Maija (2005), "Self-Confidence, the Idea of Freedom and Non-Violent Resistance of the Baltic Nations", in Skapars, Janis (eds.) *The Baltic Way to Freedom: Non-violent struggle of the Baltic State in a global context*, Riga: Zelta Grauds.
- Kurlansky, Mark (2007), *Nonviolence: Twenty-Five Lessons from the History of a Dangerous Idea*, New York: Random House Publishing Group.
- \*Laar, Mart (1992), *War in the Woods: Estonia's Struggle for Survival, 1944-1956*, Translated by TiinaEts, Washington, USA: Compass Publication.
- Lane, Thomas (2001), *Lithuania: Stepping Westward*, London: Rutledge publication.
- \*Latvia, European Journalism Centre, [Online: web] accessed on 06/04/2013  
URL: [www.ejc.net/media\\_landscape/article](http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article).
- Lauck and Kreegipuu (2007), "The 1940 Soviet Coup-d'État in the Estonian Communist Press: Constructing History to Reshape Collective Memory", *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 4(4): 42-64.
- Lauck and Hoyer (2008), "Restructuring Journalism after Censorship: Generational Shifts and Professional Ambiguities among Journalists after Changes in the Political Systems", *Central European Journal of Communication*, (1): 5-22.
- Lauristin and Vihalemm (2002), "The Transformation of Estonian Society and Media: 1987-2001", in Peeter Vihalemm (eds.), *Baltic Media in Transition*, Tartu: Tartu University Press.
- Lazda, Mara (2009), Reconsidering Nationalism: The Baltic Case of Latvia in 1989, *International Journal of Political Cultural Sociology*(22):517–536.
- Lejins and Bleiere (1996), *The Baltic States: Search for Security*, Riga: Latvian Institute of International Affairs.
- \*Liauškiene, Asta Skaisgiryte, (2011), Vice-Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, "Lithuania: A hub in the Centre of Europe", Lecture Delivered to mark the Twenty Years of Indo-Lithuanian Diplomatic Relations, 11 November, 2011, [Online: web]

Accessed [http://icwadelhi.info/index.php?option=com\\_seyret&Itemid=0&task=videodirectlink&id=16](http://icwadelhi.info/index.php?option=com_seyret&Itemid=0&task=videodirectlink&id=16)

Liekis, D. (2010), 1939: The Year that Changed Everything in Lithuania's History, New York: Hadopi publication.

\*"Lithuania and India –same language root and more...,"vil News, 5 April 2011, [online:web] Viewed on 12 August 2012(<http://vilnews.com/?p=1471>).

Lueker, Z. L. (2007), *Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa taken From Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice*, [Online Web] Accessed on 07/02/2013, URL:<http://www.sagepub.com/ritzerintro/study/materials>

Magstadt, Thomas (1989), "Gorbachev and Glasnost—a New Soviet Order Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy," *Cato Policy Analysis*, (177).

Magstadt, Thomas (2012), *Understanding Politics: Ideas, Institutions and Issues*, United State of America: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Matthew, R. A. (1998), "Environmentalism and Estonia's Independence Movement", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 26(4): 659-676.

\*Mehta, Vijay (2010), "Peace-Building in an Unstable World" Lecture delivered at Third International Nonviolence Leadership Training Camp, 5th to 7th February 2010. [Online: Web] URL: [www.actionforunrenewal.org.uk](http://www.actionforunrenewal.org.uk).

Mendela, Nelson (1995), "Gandhi: the Prisoner", in B. R. Nanda (eds.), *Mahatma Gandhi: 125 Years*, New Delhi: Indian Council for Race Relations.

Miniotaite, G. (1990), "Civil Dis-obedience: Justice against Legality", *The Acorn Journal of the Gandhi-King Society*, 5(2): 21-23.

\*Miniotaite, G. (2002), *Nonviolent Resistance in Lithuania: A Story of Peaceful Liberation*, Boston: Albert Einstein institute.

Misiunas and Taagepera (1993), *Baltic States: Year of Dependence 1940-1990*, California: University of California Press.

Muiznieks, R. (1995), "The Influence of the Baltic Popular Movements on the Process of Soviet Disintegration", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47(1): 3-25.

- Neimanis, G. (1997), *The Collapse of Soviet Empire: A View from Riga*, USA: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Nepstad, S. E. (2011), *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- \*Nollendorfs and Celle, et al. (2005), *The Three Occupations of Latvia 1940-1991: Soviet and Nazi Take-Overs and Their Consequences*, Riga: Occupation Museum Foundation.
- \*Non-violent Data Base (2009), 'Estonians campaign for independence' (The Singing Revolution), 1987-1991. [Online: Web] accessed on 12/09/2012, URL: <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/estonians-campaign-independence-singing-revolution-1987-1991#>.
- \*Non-violent Data Base (2009), 'Latvians campaign for independence' (The Singing Revolution), 1987-1991. [Online: Web] accessed on 12/09/2012, URL: <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/estonians-campaign-independence-singing-revolution-1987-1991#>.
- \*Non-violent Data Base (2009), 'Lithuanians campaign for independence' (The Singing Revolution), 1987-1991. [Online: Web] accessed on 12/09/2012, URL: <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/estonians-campaign-independence-singing-revolution-1987-1991#>.
- O'Connor, K. (2003), *The History of the Baltic States*, London: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Pabriks and Purs (2001), *Latvia: The Challenges of Change*, New York: Routledge Publication.
- Pandikattu (2001), *The Meaning of Mahatma for Millions*, Washington: Council for Research in Values and Ethics.
- Pantham, Thomas (1983), "Thinking with Mahatma Gandhi: Beyond Liberal Democracy", *Political Theory*, 11(2): 165-188.
- Parekh, Bhikhu (1989), *Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination*, Houndmills: Macmillan Press.
- Parekh, Bhikhu (1989), *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: an analysis of Gandhi's political discourse*, New Delhi: Sage publication.



- Parekh, Bhikhu (2001), *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction*, New York: Oxford University Press:
- Parkin (2012), "Narrative, Speech, and Action: Gandhi's Satyagraha and the Constant Becoming of Truth", *Berkeley Undergraduate Journal*, 25(2): 72-81.
- Pasrich, Ashu (2010), *Rediscovering Gandhi: Gandhi on State Power and Politics*, New Delhi: Concept Publication.
- Parrott, Andrew (2002), "The Baltic States from 1914 to 1923: The First World War and the Wars of Independence", *Baltic Defence Review* 8(2): 131-158.
- \*Pilgrim, R. (1995), *A Short History of the Republic of Estonia*, [Online: web] Accessed on 03/01/02
- URL: [http://www.balticsww.com/eurovision\\_soviet\\_union.htm](http://www.balticsww.com/eurovision_soviet_union.htm).
- Plakans, A. (2011), *A Concise History of the Baltic States*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Presser, Brandon, et al. (2009), "Baltic History" in *Estonia Latvia & Lithuania (Multi Country Guide)*, [online web], accessed on 20/03/2013,
- URL: <http://shop.lonelyplanet.com/europe/estonia-latvia-and-lithuania-travel-guide-6/estonia-latvia-lithuania-estonia-chapter-6/>
- \*Radhakrishnan, S. (1957), *Mahatma Gandhi*, Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House.
- Ramachandran and Mahadevan (1968), *Nonviolence after Gandhi: A Study of Martin Luther King Jr.*, New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation.
- Ramanna, Murthi(1958), *Non-violence in Politics: A study of Gandhian techniques and thinking*, Delhi: Frank Bros publication.
- Rauch, G. (1974), *A History of Soviet Russia*, New York: Praeger Publication.
- Rauch, G. (1995), *The Baltic States: The Years of Independence: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 1917-1940*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Raun U. (1997), *The Consolidation of Democracy in East-Central Europe*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Rausing, Sigrid (2004), *History, Memory, and Identity in Post-Soviet Estonia*, New York Oxford: University Press.
- Reddi, Narasimha (2009), *Effective Public Relations and Media Strategy*, New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Ltd.
- Reddy and Gandhi (1993), *Gandhi and South Africa 1914-48*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.
- \*Regional Survey of the World (1999), *Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States: 1999*, London: Europa Publications.
- Rinkevicius (2001), "Attitude and Values of the Lithuanian Green Movement in the Period of Transition", *Filosofija Sociologija*, (1): 72-73.
- Roberts, A. (1991), *Civil Resistance in the East European and Soviet Revolutions*, Boston: Einstein Institution Monograph Series (4).
- Roberts and Ash (2009), *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, USA: Oxford University Press.
- Roucek, Joseph (1949), "The Geopolitics of the Baltic States", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 8(2): 171-175.
- Rothfels, Hans (1944), "The Baltic Provinces: Some Historic Aspects and Perspectives," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, (IV): 117-46.
- Ruklis, Kaspars (2010), *Baltic Media Environments: Integrated or Divided?* Latvia, Vidzeme University [Online: Web] accessed on 12/09/2012, URL: <http://revistas.ua.pt/index.php/prisma.com/article/viewFile/648/pdf>
- \*Sarv and Varju (2006), "Survey of Occupation Regimes" in *The White Book: Losses Inflicted on the Estonian Nation by Occupation Regimes, 1940-1991*, Estonian State Commission Report on Examination of the Policies of Repression.
- Satyanarayana, Y. V. (2010), *Ethics: Theory and Practice*, New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley (India).
- \*Save Your People, and Bless Your Heritage, a site for Baltic heritage preservation, [Online Web] accessed on 23/02/2013

URL: [http://www.saveyourheritage.com/history\\_of\\_baltic\\_states.htm](http://www.saveyourheritage.com/history_of_baltic_states.htm).

Scott, Shane (1994), *Dismantling Utopia: How Information Ended the Soviet Union*, Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publisher.

Sharp, Gene (1960), *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power: Three Case Histories*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press.

Sharp, Gene (1973), *The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Vol. 2: The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.

Sharp, Gene (1979), *Gandhi as a Political Strategist, with Essays on Ethics and Politics*, Massachusetts: Porter Sargent.

Sharp and Paulson (2005), *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th century practice and 21st century Potential*, Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.

Sharp, Gene (2007), "Gandhi's Answer: Neither Peace or War but Non-violent Struggle", in Anand Sharma (eds.) *Gandhian Way: peace non-violence and empowerment*, New Delhi: Academic Foundation.

Sharp and Jenkins (2011), *Sharp's Dictionary of Power and Struggle Language of Civil Resistance in Conflicts*, Boston: Oxford University Press.

Shelley, Louise (1996), *Policing Soviet society: the evolution of state control*, New York: Routledge Publication.

Shoup, Brian (2008), *Conflict and Cooperation in Multi-Ethnic States: Institutional Incentives, myths and counter balancing*, New York: Routledge Publication.

Simmons, M. K. (1996), *Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization: Yearbook*, Netherland: Kluwer Law International.

Singh, Amar (2003), *Religion in Politics: Gandhian Perspective in Present context*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication.

Skapars, Janis (2005), *The Baltic Way to Freedom, Non-violent struggle of the Baltic States in a global context*, Riga: Zelta Gaudas publication.

Šmidchens, G. (2007), "National Heroic Narratives in the Baltics as a Source for Nonviolent Political Action", *Slavic Review*, 66(3): 484-508.

Smith, Graham (1996), *The Baltic States*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

- Smith, D.J. (2012), "A History of the Baltic States", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 64(2): 372-373.
- \*Sontag and Beddie (1948), *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939-1941*, Documents from the archives of the German foreign office, published by U. S. Government printing office [Online: Web] accessed on 20/12/2013, URL: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/addsepro.htm>.
- Spilsbury and Spilsbury (2012), *Countries around the world: Estonia*, London: Capstone Global Library Ltd.
- \*Sruoginis, L. (1997), *Lithuania: In Her Own Words, an Anthology of Contemporary Lithuanian Writing*, Vilnius: Tyto Alba Press.
- Statiev, Alexander (2010), *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stepien, Jacob (2011), "The Comparative Analysis of the Thoughts of "Solidarnosc" and the Indian national congress" in A. Latusek, (eds.) *Towards Freedom: Ideas of Solidarity in Comparison with the thought of Indian national congress*, Krakow: Project Orient publishing House.
- Sterner, Thomas (1994), *Economic Policies for Sustainable Development*, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic publishers.
- Taagepera, R. (1986), Citizens' Peace Movement in the Soviet Baltic Republics, *Journal of Peace Research*, 23(2): 183-192.
- Taagepera, R. (1983), *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940-1980*, University California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles
- Taagepera, R. (2009), "The Struggle for Baltic History", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 40(4): 451-464.
- \*Taavana (2011), "The Velvet Revolution: A Peaceful End to Communism in Czechoslovakia", [Online Web] Accessed on 08/02/2013,  
URL: [http://www.tavaana.org/nu\\_upload/Velvet\\_Revolution\\_En\\_PDF.pdf](http://www.tavaana.org/nu_upload/Velvet_Revolution_En_PDF.pdf).
- \*The Latvian National Commission for UNESCO (2009), "The Baltic Way Human Chain Linking Three States in Their Drive for Freedom". Presentation prepared for the 20th Anniversary of the Baltic Way, in 2009.

- \*Tusty, James Ja Maureen, (2006), *The Singing Revolution Film*, DVD, Estonia: Mountain View Productions.
- Tolstoy, Leo (1909), A Letter to A Hindu: The Subjection of India-Its Cause and Cure, [Online: Web] accessed on 28/2/2013, URL:  
[http://www.nonresistance.org/docs\\_pdf/Tolstoy/Correspondence\\_with\\_Gandhi](http://www.nonresistance.org/docs_pdf/Tolstoy/Correspondence_with_Gandhi)
- Tracevskis, Rokas (2010), "20 Years Later: Lithuania", *Global Journalist*, Missouri School of Journalism, [Online: Web] accessed on 18/05/2013, URL:  
<http://www.globaljournalist.org/stories/2010/04/13/20-years-later-lithuania>.
- Ulfelder, J. (2004), "Baltic Protest in the Gorbachev Era: Movement Content and Dynamics", *The Global Review of Ethno politics*, 3(3-4): 23-43.
- \*UNO (2007), The International Day of Non-Violence is marked on 2 October, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, [Online: Web] access on 08/09/ 2012, URL:<http://www.un.org/en/events/nonviolenceday/index.shtml>
- \*UNESCO (2000) Recalling its resolution 52/15 proclaiming the year 2000 the 'International Year for the Culture of Peace' and its resolution 53/25 proclaiming the period 2001-2010 as the 'International Decade for a Culture [Online: Web] Accessed on 10/ 09/2012,  
 URL: <http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/2000.htm>
- Usha, K. B. (2012), "The Evolving Relations between India and Baltic States", *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review*, (27): 83-109.
- Vardys V. Stanley and Judith B. Sedaitis (1997), *Lithuanian: The Rebel Nation*, USA: West View Press.
- Veemaa, Jaanus (2010), "Contextualizing 'Baltic Unity' in Estonian Post-Soviet Territorial Policies", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 41(1): 73-90.
- Vihalemm, Peeter (2003), "Changing Media in a Changing Society", *Demokratizatsiya, the Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, 11(4): 587-600.
- Vihalemm, Peeter (2006), "Media Use in Estonia: Trends and Patterns", *Nordicom Review*, 27 (1): 17-29.

- \*Vestokas, Romas, *Singing Revolution in Lithuania: Documentary* (DVD), Vilnius: Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation
- Virkkunen, J. (1999), "The politics of identity: Ethnicity, minority and nationalism in Soviet Estonia", *Geo Journal*, (48): 83–89.
- Weber, T. (1991), *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics*, New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation.
- Weber, T. (2001), "Gandhian Philosophy, Conflict Resolution Theory and Practical Approaches to Negotiation", *Journal of Peace Research*, 38(4): 493–513.
- Wetting, Gerhard (2005), "The Hitler-Stalin Pact in the Light of Historical Evidence and Portrayal" in Janis Skapars (eds.) *The Baltic Way to Freedom: Non-violent struggle of the Baltic State in a global context*, Riga: ZeltaGrauds.
- Zembergs, Viesturs (1980), "Demography and Russification in the Baltic States: The Case of Latvia", *Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 26(4).
- Ziemele, I.(2001), *Baltic Yearbook of International Law*, Netherlands: Kluwer press.