



Martin Institute NEWS

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Singing Revolutions, Latvian Independence and Beyond

"Demonstrators in Riga, Latvia in 1993 carry placards asking Russians to leave Latvia."



The 1989-1990 revolution in Latvia was a peaceful one, grounded in the tradition of nonviolence. Indeed, the drive to Latvian independence has become known as the Singing Revolution, since mass demonstrations were combined with national songfests. The interweaving of methods of nonviolence, and the reassertion and reawakening of Latvian national identity rooted in cultural values, provides a positive and hopeful antidote to outbreaks of violence elsewhere in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, whether in Chechnya or the former Yugoslavia.

The peaceful revolution in Latvia used blockades, and passive resistance. If attacked by Soviet troops, citizens along with the local police and militia were willing to bear the consequences of nonviolent resistance against overwhelming odds. Similarly, both civilians and local militia united against attempts to subvert the newly independent government with the use of nonviolence and noncooperation in August, 1991, during the coup attempt in the Soviet Union. Fortunately the coup failed, and Latvia subsequently received international recognition as an independent country. The successful use of nonviolent techniques was in part due to

the lack of a militaristic tradition in Latvia's history, which sets it apart from most of its neighbors in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Role of History and Culture

The history of Latvia has been shaped by the powerful forces of Germanic and Slavic expansion. For all practical purposes, Latvia was under German domination for 700 years. Although there were long intervals of Polish, Swedish, and Tsarist rule, the basic infrastructure remained in German hands until Latvians declared independence in 1918.

Latvian history, unlike that of the rest of Europe, is not marked with images of historical battles and famous generals protecting or liberating "local natives" from foreign enemies. In the Balkans grievances are rooted in old battles, and military mythology. By contrast, the history of the Baltics is one of submission, serfdom, and control by outsiders. Latvia's past does not provide an historical consciousness for appealing to military solutions to contemporary prob-

INSIDE

Singing Revolutions, Latvian Independence and Beyond	1
Borah Schedules Program on Population	3
Acknowledgment of Donors	4
Symposium Examines Korea's Prospects	5
Soviet Economist Speaks at UI	5
Director's Corner	6
Donation Form	7
Mission Statement	8

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lems.

Despite the predominant historical Germanic influence, the last five decades of Soviet rule greatly transformed Latvian society. In 1940, the Soviet Union annexed three Baltic nations with ancient roots but with very young national identities in the modern sense. Latvian culture, however, has survived years of attempts to eradicate it either directly by ethnic cleansing, by economic incentives, by periodic suppression of the Latvian language, or by means of benign neglect.

The New Latvian State

The new or reawakened Latvian state faced a number of critical issues. A critical task was getting Russian troops to leave. With independence, the Russian troops did not simply pack up and leave. Almost three years passed since Russia recognized the independence of Latvia, and before the troops withdrew.

In the beginning of 1994 there remained 10,000 Russian troops compared to about 2,000 Latvian ones. These Russian troops later withdrew in August, 1994. The negotiations for Russian troop withdrawal required the involvement of the United Nations Secretary General, the European Ministers and representatives of various organizations. The United States showed its interest with visits by the Secretary of State, and an historic visit to Riga on July 6, 1994, by President Clinton, the first United States President to visit Latvia.

Current Issues

The role of culture and the rise of nationalism throughout the former Soviet Union and Europe represent an extension of the forces that contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union. In Latvia the ongoing conflict between Latvians and ethnic Russians is a peaceful one. Again, the Baltics present a contrast to the Balkans and to other areas where these conflicts between groups have resulted in violence and military confrontations.

It is extremely unlikely that there will be any systematic violence between the various groups in Latvia unless initiated by outside forces. Latvia is, in this sense, the polar opposite of the former Yugoslavia, where ethnic hatreds and tensions have erupted into violence.

In 1935 Latvians made up 77 and Rus-

sians 9 percent of the population. In 1989 Latvians comprised 52 and Russians 34 percent. Geographically Latvians had become a minority in all major cities. The almost minority status of Latvians is from immigration of Russians and other Slavic groups after World War II. In addition to the buildup of Soviet military forces in Latvia and the retirement of officers, relatively low-skilled workers were brought in to man new industrial enterprises. Aside from any deliberate colonization or Russification programs, the location and attractiveness of the physical environment and the higher living standards in Latvia and the Baltic States increasingly served as an additional inducement to immigration.

Of Latvia's 2.7 million people, currently about 800,000 do not have automatic citizenship rights. Most of these non-citizens are post-1940 settlers of the Soviet era. About 500,000 of these people born in Latvia could become citizens by the year 2000. The other 300,000 people would be in limbo, subject to quotas expected to allow about 2,000 persons to be naturalized a year.

Ethnic Conflict and the Future of Latvia?

Many Latvians may wish that people who came after 1945 simply leave the country, to be repatriated to Russia, Ukraine, or Belorussia. This is highly unlikely, since there is no apparent desire by these people to leave, and no international support for such repatriation.

A Latvian fear is that giving these non-citizens the vote could create a pro-Russian fifth column which might try to restore Russian as the official language, get membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States, or provide a future excuse for Moscow to invade the country. However, not giving people citizenship might create instability as well. If these non-citizens are continually seen as colonists and former occupiers, chances are they will be more likely to turn to Moscow for assistance.

A positive transformation of the economy and society in Latvia is more likely to occur in Latvia and the other two Baltic countries of Estonia and Lithuania. This is based on promise and early performance. A 1994 report by the United Nations which rated 173 countries found that the only Eastern European country which had a higher "human development" ranking than the three Baltic countries is the Czech Republic,

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ranked 27th. Latvia ranked 30th (Canada was ranked #1).

Latvia provides a potential counterpoint to the air of pessimism which hovers over much of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. An unsuccessful transformation in Latvia has implications far beyond its own borders.

The Baltic countries, small and historically a crossroads, remain vulnerable. Yet Latvian security cannot be based on repelling or stalling larger hostile forces. To do so is to indulge in illusion, and perhaps pro-

mote future political instability.

Latvia's security, and that of its Baltic neighbors, depends on political and ethnic stability, diplomacy, and building upon the courage demonstrated during the recent independence movement. Failure to achieve such stability in the Baltics, where prospects appear the brightest, would be a bad omen indeed. Success would provide a small demonstration that nonviolence and patience do pay off. For that, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania bear both watching and support.

The author, Dr. Gundars Rudzitis, is a UI Professor of Geography and a Martin Institute Fellow. A native Latvian himself, he has traveled in and studied that country for a number of years.

Borah Schedules Program on Population

On April 12 and 13, 1995 the William E. Borah Outlawry of War Foundation will be sponsoring their annual symposium dealing with causes of war and conditions necessary to preserve peace. This year's topic is "Population: Peace & Conflict" and features two panels of experts who will discuss the environmental, social, economic and political challenges associated with rapid world population growth, the relationship between population pressures and conflict, and possible avenues for positive change.

The first evening, Wednesday April 12, the speakers will be:

- Dr. Joel Cohen, Laboratory of Populations, Rockefeller University
- Dr. Nazli Choucri, Professor of Political Science, M.I.T.
- Mr. Hal Kane, Worldwatch Institute
- Mr. Robert Kaplan, Contributing Editor, *Atlantic Monthly*.

Speakers on Thursday, April 13, are:

- Dr. Jacqueline Kasun, Professor of Economics, Humboldt State University
- Mr. Stirling Scruggs, United Nations Population Fund
- Ms. Julie Silber-Urquilla, Zero Population Growth
- Mr. Earl Kellogg, Winrock International

The program, to be held at 7:00 p.m. each evening in the University Auditorium at the University of Idaho, promises to be exciting and eye-opening. We hope those of you in the Moscow area will join us to explore this important topic.

Acknowledgment of Donors

"...you've got to know how important you are and the difference you can make."

The following corporation has helped support the Martin Institute by matching the gifts of its employees.
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We would like to acknowledge and thank the many individuals who have made donations to the Martin Institute for Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution during the past year. Without their continuing support, the many activities mentioned in the issues of this newsletter would not be possible. Gifts acknowledged below are those received during the period July 1, 1993 to June 30, 1994.

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Symposium Examines Korea's Prospects

"Political processes now under way in South Korea will lead to the country's democratization..."

Political processes now under way in South Korea will lead to the country's democratization, an audience at Washington State University was told on February 10 by David Bell, professor of government at Eastern Washington University.

Bell spoke at the Korea Today and Tomorrow Symposium, sponsored by the Martin Institute, the University of Idaho, Washington State University, the WSU Korean Student Association, the Palouse Korean Presbyterian Church of Pullman, and the Jim and Leona Elder Peace Action Foundation.

UI Provost John Yost spoke on "Cooperation in Internationalizing Education: The Opportunity of Two Land-grant Universities." WSU President Samuel Smith reviewed the history of the first Korea Today and Tomorrow Conference, held at WSU in 1987. Other speakers and their topics:

- Hae Soon Lee, consul general of the Republic of Korea, Seattle, "The Korean Economy Today and Tomorrow."
- Paul H. Shin, professor of history at Shoreline Community College, Seattle, "The South-North Dialogue in Korea About Nuclear Arms."
- Gordon Anderson, Secretary-general, Professors World Peace Academy, St. Paul, MN., "The Traditional Korean Family in the Modern World."
- Jin Won-Doornink, WSU Social and Economic Research Center social scientist, "Gender Roles Within Korean Society."
- Woody Ahn, president, Wenatchee Community College, "The Importance of International Education."

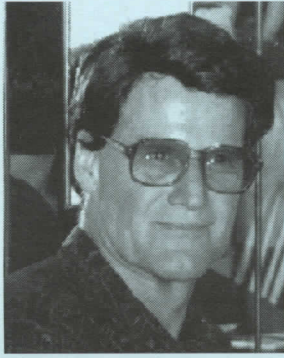
Clifton Anderson, a Martin Institute Fellow, served as moderator. The Symposium was attended by 185 persons. Anderson, Won-Doornink, and UI professor of Agricultural extension Don Harter organized the event.

Soviet Economist Speaks at UI

Dr. Alexander Lotov from the Russian Academy of Science delivered the lecture "Computer-based Collaborative Decision Support in Environmental Decision Making, with current examples from Russia" on the UI campus on December 1, 1994. The lecture was sponsored by the Martin Institute and was organized by Dr. Piotr Jankowski of the UI Department of Geography.

During the talk Dr. Lotov introduced the principles of a collaborative, multicriteria decision-making methodology of Reachable Sets and the computer software developed at the Russian Academy of Science that implements this methodology. He also presented several examples of applying the Reachable Sets methodology to solving water quality management problems in Russia. The lecture was attended by a mixture of faculty and students, with approximately 20 participants in the audience.

Director's Corner



This feature will take a somewhat different form in this issue as I explain some of the new efforts and directions the Martin Institute is taking since I arrived in Idaho last summer. I'll use this column to summarize some of the main areas of change and to show you where we are heading in the future.

One area of progress within the Martin Institute involves committee structure — the formation of committees (made up of Fellows and Senior Fellows) for the purposes of Fellows support and promotions (Committee 1), Institute activities (Committee 2), and Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) expansion (Committee 3).

Committee 1 has arranged for a number of "Distinguished Associates" to be affiliated with the Martin Institute. Currently, these include: Dr. Dina Zinnes of the University of Illinois, Dr. Walter Isard of Cornell University, Dr. Jacek Kugler of the Claremont Graduate School, Dr. Steven Brams of New York University, Dr. Marc Kilgour of Wilfrid Laurier University, Dr. Harvey Starr of the University of South Carolina, Dr. Stuart Bremmer of SUNY-Binghamton, Dr. Alex Mintz of Texas A & M, Dr. Rudolph Rummel of the University of Hawaii, and Dr. Mahendra Kumar of the University of Delhi (India).

In addition, Committee 1 and our Board of Deans has approved the new category of "Senior Fellow" in addition to the previously existing "Fellow" status. Our current Senior Fellows are: Dr. Ray Dacey (Dept. of Business), Mr. Kenneth Gallant (College of Law), Dr. Nicholas Gier (Dept. of Philosophy), Dr. Joel Hamilton (Dept. of Agricultural Economics), Dr. Merle Lefkoff (Lefkoff & Assoc., Santa Fe, NM), Dr. Jay O'Laughlin (College of Forestry), and Dr. Daniel Zirker (Dept. of Political Science). The current Martin Institute Fellows are: Mr. Clifton Anderson (College of Agriculture), Dr. Lisa Carlson (Dept. of Political Science), Dr. Dale Graden (Dept. of History), Dr. Douglas Lind (Dept. of Philosophy), Dr. Alwyn Rouyer (Dept. of Political Science), Dr. Gundars Rudzitis (Dept. of Geography), and Dr. Richard Spence (Dept. of History).

Besides dealing with naming of Senior Fellows and Fellows, Committee 1 also deals with research support for various Fellows and Senior Fellows. The following research projects are being supported this year:

- Ray Dacey for presentation of papers at the Peace Science Society and two other organizations;
- Alwyn Rouyer for study of the "Issue of Water in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict";
- Gundars Rudzitis for study of "Models of Development and Social-Environmental Transformation in Latvia";
- Nicholas Gier for study on the "Virtue of Non-violence: from Gautama to Gandhi";
- Daniel Zirker for study of "The Metamorphosis of Military Tutelage in Brazil";
- Kenneth Gallant for participation in the U.N. World Summit on Social Development;
- Clifton Anderson for organizing a panel at the National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution.

Committee 2 has sponsored three programs since December. The first was the talk by Dr. Alexander Lotov (details in previous article), the second was a presentation by Dr. Steve Daniels of Oregon State University on a "Collaborative Learning Approach to Natural Resource Dispute Resolution," and the third was the Symposium on Korea discussed elsewhere in this newsletter. In addition, Committee 2 gave two research awards to graduate students whose projects were peace-related: to Susan Raines for her research on "Resolving Environmental Conflicts in the Former Soviet Union and Russia", and to Gary Sombke for his project on "Negotiation Techniques and the Resolution of Regional Conflicts".

Committee 3 has been primarily involved with the hiring of a new ADR / Mediation Coordinator for the Institute. Over thirty completed applications were received and the search committee is interviewing candidates with the hope of having an individual in place by some time in April.

I have met a number of times with these committees and have been pleased with the professional attitudes of the committee members. I particularly wish to thank Ray Dacey (Chair of Committee 1) and Gundars Rudzitis (Chair of Committee 2) for their fine work.

Another project of particular interest to me is the construction of a Data Archives (over a thousand empirical indicators on the international system) which is moving along smoothly. The data, which consists of statistical information from all over the world concerning such things as per capita income, ethnic groups, cultural traits, grievances, episodes of protests, etc., should be in the operational mode by this summer. The Martin Archives will be critical in servicing those who wish to pursue empirical research in connection with the Martin Institute. It will also include data for studies of the ADR process as the Martin Institute expands its services in this area. This will facilitate understanding of the ADR process to make it more effective. The Martin Institute will offer full programming support for those wishing to use the Archives for information or research.

Throughout the Fall I have also been conducting a number of videotaped interviews with Institute founder Dr. Boyd Martin, dealing with his philosophy, background and interests, the origins of the Martin Institute, analyses of World War II, the Cold War and current events. These interviews will form the basis of a Martin Institute information video and the whole series will be available in the future as the Martin Chronicles.

It is my hope that the Martin Institute ADR services will be fully operational by next spring. Peter Hoff, a third year law student, has been working with me to create a list of 30-50 individuals who wish to cooperate in various ADR activities with the Institute, and also in creating a list of potential "clients" who might like to use these ADR services. A plan in this regard should be placed before our Board of Deans by this summer.

We will keep you informed in future newsletters about the progress of these and other projects as we move into this exciting new phase of Martin Institute development!

Jack E. Vincent

Yes, I would like to help the Martin Institute grow!

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The Martin Institute for Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution is a multi-disciplinary center at the University of Idaho, founded in the belief that war and violence are neither necessary nor inevitable. Its purposes are to encourage education and research to advance peace at all levels, and also to resolve local and regional conflicts with alternatives to confrontation and litigation. Institute scholars seek to understand the major causes of disputes and violence and to provide information, training and assistance for the resolution of conflicts. The institute brings together scholars, students and present and future leaders to develop the knowledge needed for the ongoing and new challenges of establishing peace as a basis for long-range social and economic progress.



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