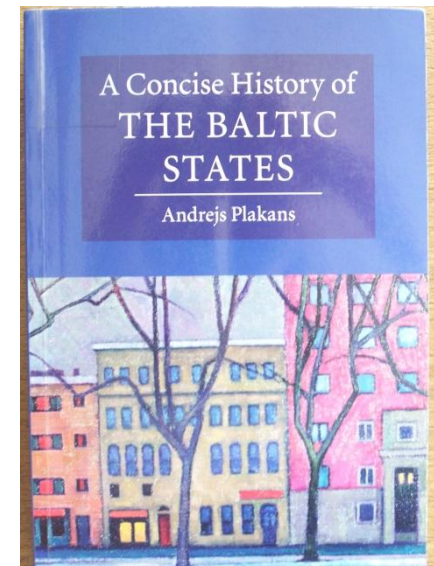
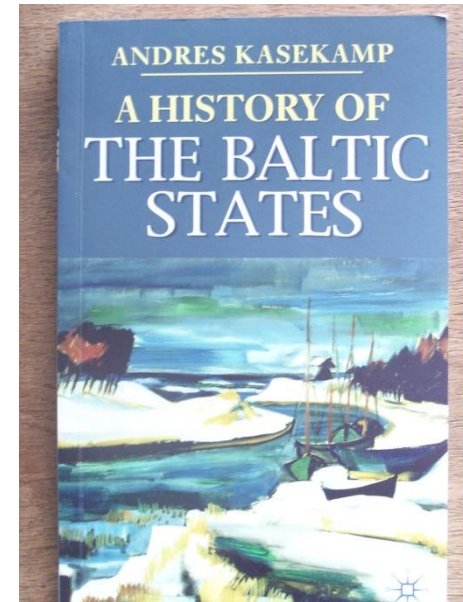


New research on the Baltic states and the Soviet collapse

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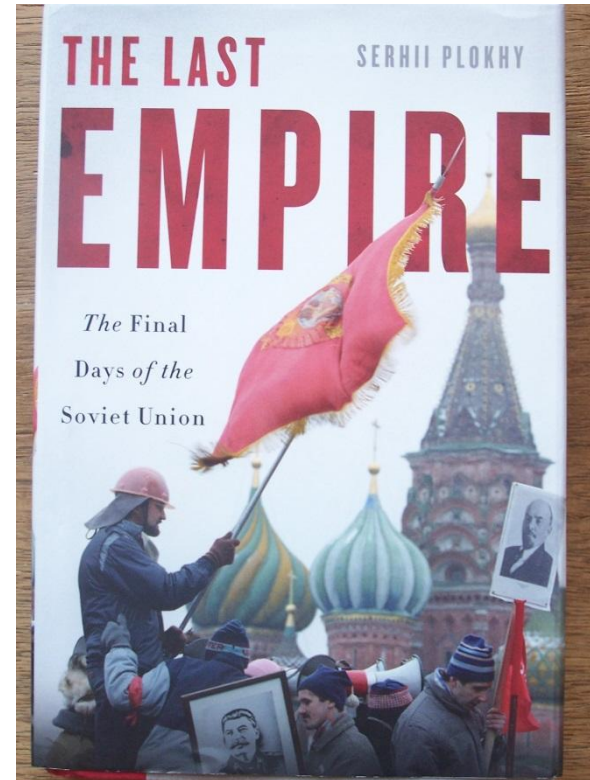
General Histories

- Andres Kasekamp, *A history of the Baltic states* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
 - concise without being superficial
 - good summary of literature
 - useful periodization
- Andrejs Plakans, *A Concise History of the Baltic States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
 - terminology: nationalists as „right wing groups“?

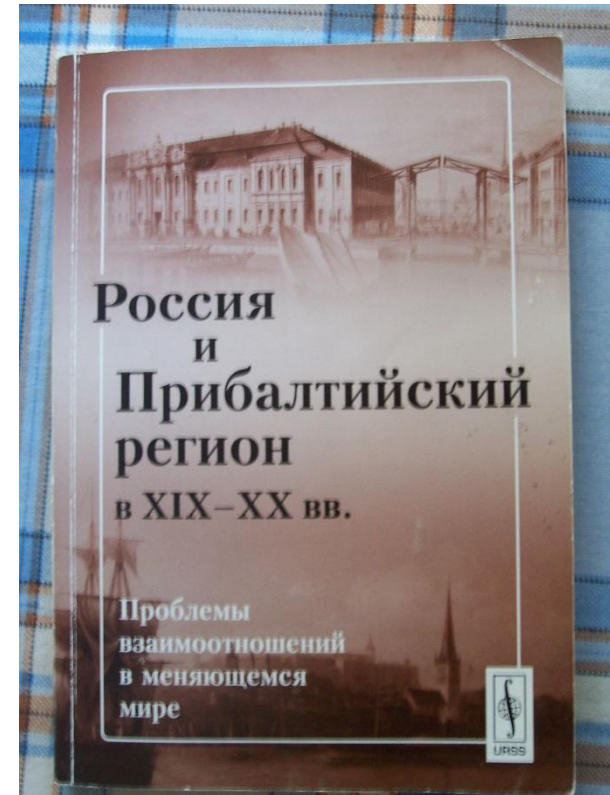


Academic Research

- Serhii, Plokhy, *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (New York: Basic Books, 2014)
 - autopsy of the Soviet collapse from July to December 1991; focus on Russia and Ukraine
 - US interested in preserving the USSR until Nov. 1991, the Baltic states being an exception
 - the personality of Gorbachev



- Renald Simonyan, „Pribaltiki i Raspad SSSR“ in *Rossija i Pribaltiiskii Region v XIX-XX vv. Problemy vsaimootnoshenii v menjajuchemsja mire* (Moskva, 2012).
 - popular myth accusing the Baltic states of Soviet collapse
 - mass demonstrations did not start in the Baltics
 - no demands for independence until late 1989

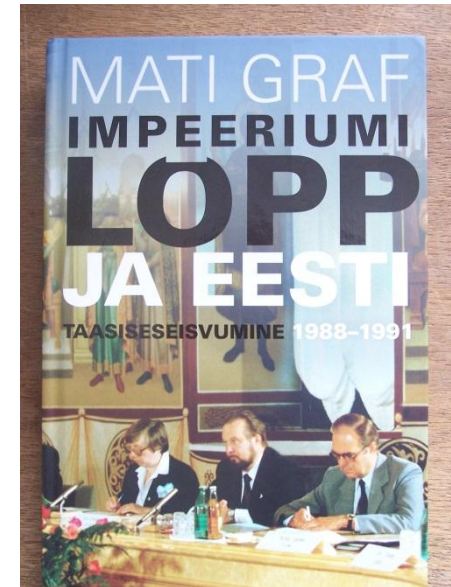


- Alex Pravda, „The Collapse of the Soviet Union“ in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (Cambridge, 2010):
 - internal factors crucial: (1) transformation of the Communist regime, (2) disintegration of the Union
 - Periodization: (1) 1989-90, Baltics and Caucasus; (2) 1990-91, Russia and Ukraine
 - Republican fight for independence merged with Jeltsin’s fight against the centre

...Alex Pravda...

- opportunistic republican leaders jumping on the nationalist bandwagon
- Gorbachev's inertia
- External factors: (1) pressures on economy, (2) opening up to Western influences
 - „The Baltic states occupy a special place“
 - Western case against violence, but...
- the end of the Cold War a factor in the 1991 coup
- does not seem to consider Western non-recognition policy as an important factor

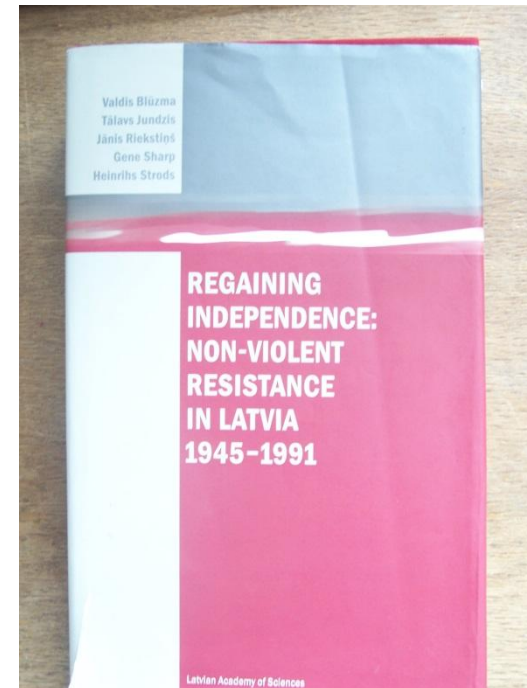
- Mati Graf, *Impeeriumi lõpp ja Eesti taasiseseisvumine 1988-1991* (Tallinn: Argo, 2012)
 - meticulous research
 - focus on the constitutional process of secession
 - Estonian declaration of sovereignty in 1988
 - Question marks:
 - „there were no weighty arguments to preserve the USSR [in August 1991]“
 - Legally, Estonia and Russia „had an equal status“ in August 1991



- Juhan Värk, „Venemaa positiivse hõlvamise poliitika ja teiste välispoliitiliste liinide mõjud Eesti Vene suhetele aastail 1991-2011“ (Doktoritöö: Tallinna Tehnikaülikool, 2011)
 - unique for its chronology of Estonian-Russian relations; but also very polemical
 - The program of positive engagement was based on flawed assumptions
 - Estonian diplomacy was idealistic, whereas the Russians were very pragmatic from the start
 - Shift in the Russian political forces; A. Kozyrev

Dissidents and peaceful resistance

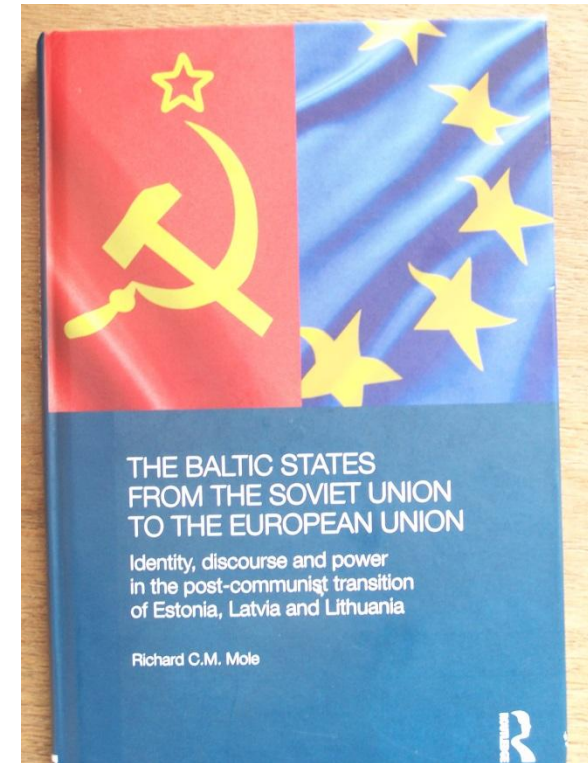
- *Regaining independence: non-violent resistance in Latvia 1945-1991* (Riga: Latvian Academy of Sciences, 2009)
 - „Powerful opposition groups“ in the Latvian CP since 1953
 - we realised that „Great Russian chauvinism“ is a policy which has been carefully thought out by the CPSU leadership (1972)
 - During perestroika, republican leadership passive
 - since spring 1988, opposition in regime’s official bodies



Identities, minorities and foreign policy

- Timofey Agarin, *A cat's lick: democratisation and minority communities in the post-Soviet Baltic* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2010)
 - important for understanding the origins and make-up of Russian-speaking minorities
 - different expectations from the Soviet regime
 - Soviet nationalities policies logically empowered titulars and disempowered non-titulars

- Richard C. M. Mole, *The Baltic States: from Soviet Union to the European Union: identity, discourse and power in the post-communist transition of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania* (London; New York: Routledge, c2012)
 - Uses social constructivism to discuss the formation of foreign policy
 - Three key foreign policy issues:
 - (1) withdrawal of Soviet troops,
 - (2) border negotiations,
 - (3) Polish-Lithuanian treaty of friendship



...Richard Mole...

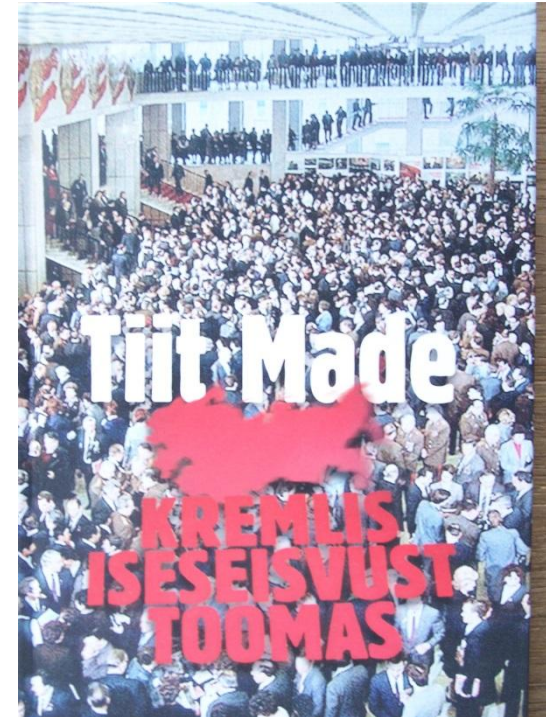
- Three periods:
 - national reawakening and mobilization, 1986-1988-
leading role LATVIA
 - the creation of popular movements, 1988-1990 –ESTONIA
 - broad-based institutional support for secession, 1990-1991
–LITHUANIA
- overview of the dynamics of the relations between
Russia and the three Baltic states after 1991
 - Lithuania being more conciliatory toward Russia;
 - Latvia making concessions in the background of
international pressure;
 - Estonia reluctantly following suit

Criticism

- Theoretically neat... but history not as neat as one would wish:
 - Seems to treat national identities as unchanging and undisputed constructs
 - in fact, there were different groups with different agendas in foreign policy
 - not the most reliable guide on some aspects
 - applies norms and standards to the Baltic states that were not even universally accepted in Western Europe at the time

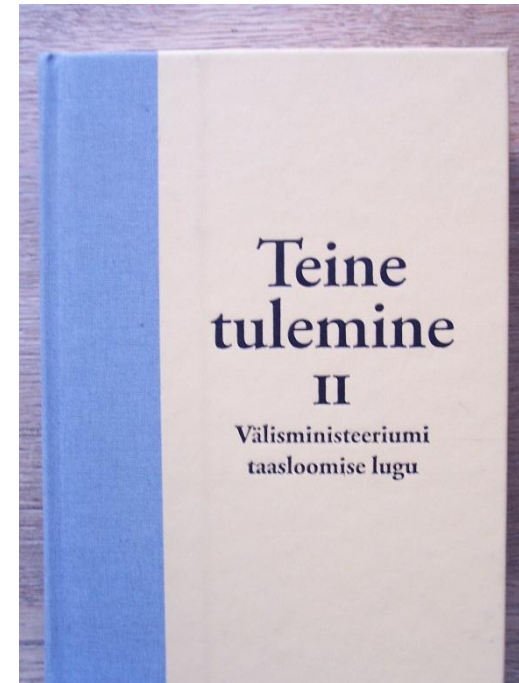
Popular Histories

- Tiit Made, *Kremlis iseseisvust toomas* (Tallinn: Argo, 2011)
 - Focuses on the activities of Estonian deputies in the Soviet Congress of Peoples' deputies 1989-91
 - Includes a large number of recollections
- Marko Mihkelson, *Venemaa: valguses ja varjus* (Tallinn, 2010)
 - sees Estonian-Russian points of view as essentially incompatible



Memoirs

- Eeva Eek-Pajuste (toim.), *Teine tulemine, II: välisministeeriumi taasloomise lugu* (Tallinn, 2008)
- Two groups within the Foreign Ministry:
 - L. Meri and the Pro Patria
 - restoration of pre-1939 republic
 - members of the former Soviet establishment:
 - Russian democrats wanted co-operation, but were disappointed at the Estonian restorationist agenda



...memoirs...

- Hindrek Meri, *Tagasivaateid veerevast vagunist* (Tallinn, 2010)
 - insider's view of the Estonian planning committee
 - Gorbachev's visit in 1987 a turning point
 - the impossibility of reforming the Soviet system with the old bureaucracy

..memoirs..

- Bruno Saul, *Meie aeg* [our time], I-III (2006-2014)
 - „prime minster“ from 1984-1988
 - exhibitionist
 - interesting source for anyone interested in the national communist elites



an international brotherhood

