

**Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies
School of International Studies, JNU**

Course	: Ph.D
Course Title	: Politics and Society in the Baltic States
Course Type	: Optional
Course Teacher	: Dr. Usha K. B.
Credit	: Four
Course Code	: SE 605
Semester	: Monsoon Semester
Contact Hours	: Two per week

Course Objectives:

The course under study includes three former Soviet Baltic Republics: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The course aims to study the social and political systems in the Baltic states. It deals with the multidimensional systemic transition and the corresponding structural developments in the Baltic societies. The course discusses the history of socio-cultural and political developments in the Baltic states during the Tzarist and Soviet periods to better understand the current transition. The role of cultural institutions such as language, literature, educational system, family, religious organizations and customary practices, and media and law is significant in the past and present systemic transition of nearly two decades. It explores the role that class, gender, race, religion, ethnicity and nationalism play in the Baltic societies' political, cultural and social life. It looks into the Baltic states' security perceptions and foreign policies with particular reference to Russia, EU, US, post-Soviet states, India and intra-Baltic relations. The course follows an interdisciplinary approach and draws theoretical insights from sociology, political science, international politics, history, economics, philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, etc., as the context of discussion requires.

Learning Outcomes:

The **expected outcomes of the course** are opportunities for students to acquire knowledge of key historical events, understand the processes of social, political and economic transformation in the Baltic region, and learn methodologies, techniques,

interdisciplinary interaction and basic competencies required for conducting a Ph.D. research.

Evaluation Methods

Class performance, Assignments, Seminars, Mid-session examination (50%) End Semester Exam (50%)

Course Content

1. Historical Setting

- Baltic Nationalities, Ethnic, Linguistic, Cultural and Religious Diversities
- Social, Political, Economic and Cultural Policies of the Russian Empire towards the Baltic States
- The Baltic States in the Interwar Period
- Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Second World War and Invasions
- German Holocaust and Soviet Occupation
- The Baltic States as Soviet Republics
- Soviet Social, Political, Economic and Cultural Policies toward the Baltic Republics
- Representation of the Baltic States in Soviet Institutions, Communist Party and Leadership
- Perestroika and Glasnost, the Baltic Discontent and Struggle for Independence (Singing Revolution)
- Soviet Disintegration and Restoration of Independence

2. Systemic Transition

- Nation Building, Democratic Transition and Transformation
- Structural Reforms and Neoliberal Policies: Political, Economic, Social and Cultural
- Civil Society and Transnational Networks
- External Influences: Globalization, Europeanization, Democratization, Terrorism, International Institutions, etc
- Social Consequences of Neoliberal Reforms

3. Identity Issues and Political Pluralism

- Formation of Independent National Identity
- Memory, History and Politics
- Nationalism, Ethnicity and Minorities
- Citizenship and Migration
- Class, Gender and Conflict

- New Social Movements
- 4. Security Perceptions and Foreign Policies**
- Geopolitical Position of the Baltic States
 - Baltic States' Security Perceptions and European Integration
 - The Baltic States in Euro-Atlantic Security Structure and NATO's Eastward Expansion
 - Foreign and Security Policies
 - Energy and Environmental Security Issues
 - Relations of the Baltic States with the US, Russia, European Union, Post-Soviet States, Nordic countries, Britain and India
 - Relations among the Baltic States

Select Reading List

Books:

Alexander, Swettenham John. (1953), *The Tragedy of the Baltic States: A Report Compiled from Official Documents and Eyewitnesses' Stories*, London: Hollis and Carter

Allworth, Edward, (ed.) (1977), *Nationality Group Survival in Multi-Ethnic States: Shifting Support Patterns in the Soviet Baltic Region*, New York, N.Y.: Praeger

Auers, Daunis., (2015), *Comparative Politics and Government of the Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the 21st Century*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chinn, Jeff and Robert Kaiser, (1996), *Russians as the New Minority: Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Soviet Successor States*, Oxford: Westview Press

Duvold, Kjetil., Sten Berglund and Joakim Ekman, (2020), *Political Culture in the Baltic States: Between National and European Integration*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan

Gerner, Kristian. and Stefan Hedlund, (2018), *The Baltic States and the End of the Soviet Empire*, London: Routledge.

Grigas, Agnia. (2013), *The Politics of Energy and Memory between the Baltic States and Russia*, London: Routledge.

Hiden, John and Patrick Salmon, (1991), *The Baltic Nations and Europe. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the Twentieth Century*, London and New York: Longman

Jeffries, Ian, (2004), *The Countries of Former Soviet Union at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century*, London: Routledge

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- Kelertas, Violeta, (2006), *Baltic Post Colonialism*, Amsterdam: Radopi
- Kiernan, Brendan, (1993), *The End of Soviet Politics: Elections, Legislatures, and the Demise of the Communist Party*, Oxford: Westview Press
- Laitin, David D., (1995), *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Nationality in Estonia and Bashkortostan*, Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde
- Lieven, Anatol, (1993), *The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania: The Path to Independence*, London: Yale University Press
- Meleshevich, Andrey A. eds., (2007), *Party Systems in Post- Soviet Countries: A Study of Political Institutionalization in the Baltic States, Russia, and Ukraine*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mole, Richard. (2009), *Baltic States from Soviet Union to European Union*, London: Routledge
- Norris, Harry. (2009), *Islam in the Baltic: Europe's Early Muslim Communities*, I B. Tauris
- Page, Stanley W., (1959), *The Formation of the Baltic States: A Study of the Effects of Great Power Politics upon the Emergence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia*, (Harvard Historical Monographs XXXIX.), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Plakans, Andrejs., (2011), *A Concise History of the Baltic States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, David J., (2001), *Estonia: Independence and European Integration*, London & New York: Routledge
- Smith, Graham, (ed.), (1996), *The Baltic States*, New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.
- Sraders, Sandis., (2021), *Small Baltic States and the Euro-Atlantic Security Community*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan
- Thaden, Edward C., (1981), *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Vizulis, Izidors, (1990), *The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, the Baltic Case*, Praeger Publishers
- Zins, H., (1972), *England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era*, trans. H. C. Stevens, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Articles:

- Aboltinš, Reinis, (2022), "Energy and Climate Policy: Driving Factors Affecting the Future of LNG in Latvia" in Kari Liuhto ed., (2022), *The Future of Energy Consumption, Security and Natural Gas: LNG in the Baltic Sea region*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 245-274

Aidukaite, Jolanta , (2006), The formation of social insurance institutions of the Baltic States in the post-socialist era *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16: 259 - 270

Asland, Aadne, (2002), “Citizenship Status and Social Exclusion in Estonia and Latvia”, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 33(1): 57-77

Bennich-Björkman, Li, (2007), “The Cultural Roots of Estonia's Successful Transition: How Historical Legacies Shaped the 1990s”, *East European Politics & Societies*, 21(2): 316-347

Bengtsson, Rikard, (2000), “Towards a Stable Peace in the Baltic Sea Region?”, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 35: 355 – 388

Brüggemann, Karsten & Kasekamp, Andres (2008) “The Politics of History and the: War of Monuments in Estonia”, *Nationalities Papers*, 36 (3): 425-448.

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Crowther, William E. and Irmina Matonyte, (2007), “Parliamentary Elites as a Democratic Thermometer: Estonia, Lithuania and Moldova Compared”, *Communist and Post Communist Studies*, 40: 281-299

Davoliūtė, Violeta., (2018), “We Are All Deportees.” The Trauma of Displacement and the Consolidation of National Identity during the Popular Movement in Lithuania”, in Violeta Davoliūtė, Tomas Balkelis ds., (2018), *Narratives of Exile and Identity Soviet Deportation Memoirs from the Baltic States*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 119-146

Karklins, Rasma., (2021) Integration in Latvia: a success story?, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 52:3, 455-470

Koresaar, Ene and Kirsti Joesalu (2020), “From Museum as Memorial to Memory Museum: On the Transformation of Estonian Museum of Occupations”, in Stephen M. Norris, ed., (2020), *Museums of Communism: new memory sites in central and eastern Europe*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

Galbreath , David J., (2006), “Latvian Foreign Policy after Enlargement Continuity and Change”, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 41(4): 443-46

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Jakštas, Tadas., (2022), “The Klaipeda LNG Terminal and Its Impact on the Baltic States’ Gas Market”, Kari Liuhto ed., (2022), *The Future of Energy Consumption*,

Security and Natural Gas: LNG in the Baltic Sea region, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 221-244.

Johnson, Hank, (1992), "The Comparative Study of Nationalism: Six Pivotal Themes from the Baltic States", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 23(2): 95-104

Kaskla, Edgar, (2003), "The National Woman: Constructing Gender Roles in Estonia", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 34(3): 298-312

Kirss, Tiina, (2003), "Introduction; Perspectives on women in the Baltic Countries", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 34(3)

Klumbytė, Neringa and Kristina Šliavaitė (2021) "Sovereignty and political belonging in post-Soviet Lithuania: ethnicity, migration, and historical justice," *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 52:3, 437-454

Kolstoe, Paul, (1996), "The new Russian Diaspora - an identity of its own? Possible identity trajectories for Russians in the former Soviet republics", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19(3)

Knudsen, Olav F., (1993), "The Foreign Policies of the Baltic States: Interwar Years and Restoration", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 28: 47-72

Lazdiņa, Sanita and Heiko F. Marten., (2019), in Sanita Lazdiņa and Heiko F. Marten eds., (2019), *Multilingualism in the Baltic States Societal Discourses and Contact Phenomena*, London: Palgrave Mcmillan.

Luhiste, Kadri, (2006), "Explaining Trust in Political Institutions: Some Illustrations from the Baltic States", *Communist and Post Communist Studies*, 39: 475-496

Mälksoo, Maria, (2006), "From Existential Politics towards Normal Politics? The Baltic States in the Enlarged Europe", *Security Dialogue*, 37: 275 – 297

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Morozov, Viatcheslav, (2004) "Russia in the Baltic Sea Region Desecuritization or Deregionalization?", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 39(3): 317-331

Nikitina, Yulia (2014) "Russia and the Baltic states: problematizing the Soviet legacy discourse", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 42:1, 1-7

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Park, Asura, (2005), “Baltic Foreign Policy Making Establishments in the 1990s: Influential Institutions and Individual actors” *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 36(2):178-208

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----- (2017), “India-Lithuania Cultural Interactions: A Contemporary Perspective”, *IUP Journal of International Relations*, XI(1): 27-51

----- (2014), “Social Consequences of Neoliberal Economic Crisis and Austerity Policy in Baltic States”, *International Studies* (Sage), January-October 51(1-4): 72-100

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Vello, Pettai and Marcus Kreuzer, (1998), “Party Politics in the Baltic States: Social Bases and Institutional Context”, *East European Politics and Societies*, 13: 148 - 189.

Velmet, Aro., (2018), “Breaking the Silence? Contradiction and Consistency in Representing Victimhood in Baltic Museums of Occupations”, in Violeta Davoliūtė, Tomas Balkelis ds., (2018), *Narratives of Exile and Identity Soviet Deportation Memoirs from the Baltic States*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 175-204

Voronov, V.V., Ruza, O.P., Stasane, J. (2020), “Multidimensional poverty in the Baltic States in the EU context: theoretical and practical aspects,” *Baltic Region*, 12(3): 72-88.