Contents

List of illustrations	X
Acknowledgments	xiv
Introduction, colonialism in comouflage	1
Introduction: colonialism in camouflage	1
Historical coordinates 2	
The postcolonial question and Soviet area studies 4	
Terminological distinctions: postcolonial, coloniality, colonial discourse 5	
Modernity and coloniality as constitutive of each other 8	
National nostalgia in the colonial era: modernity and	
the mythical fullness of the past 9	
Who is the colonizer? Who the colonized? 11	
Return to binary socialism? 12	
Colonialism in camouflage 13	
Society and its subalterns 16	
Postcolonial studies as an umbrella term 18	
Chapter-by-chapter outline 20	
Methodological theses about the Soviet empire	30
Empire is neither a category of subjective perception nor	
a substantial entity 30	
Empire is not a fixed entity but a developing formation 34	
Empire manufactures consent through systemic violence 36	
The imperial situation generates a distinction between 'us' and 'them' 40	
Empires use colonial strategies of rule 43	
Empire fails to link pedagogical narratives and performative	
singularities 48	
Conclusion 52	

The location of knowledge: Soviet area studies facing the postcolonial question

Controversies around Soviet nationalities and the 'colonial question' 60

The first buds of postcolonial Soviet studies 62
Imagined futures for Soviet area studies 64
Creative differences and the location of knowledge 66
Affective thinking and scholarly attunements 71

3 Can a modern nation-state be colonized? Reformulating the framework of postcolonial studies

The Soviet colonial question and the 1960s 85
Imperialism versus communism: postcolonial studies and the Soviet sphere 86

Colonization or occupation? 88

Limitations of the critical discourse of Soviet colonization in the Baltics 92

From occupation to colonialism 96

4 Modernity with a smiley face: Soviet modernity, Soviet coloniality

Modernization and decolonization: aspirations for economic self-determination in the Soviet Western borderlands 108 Discourses and practices: the entangled questions of modernity and coloniality 110

Immanuel Kant, the Enlightenment, and Soviet modernity 111
Coloniality and modernity as constitutive of each other 115
Soviet modernity, Soviet coloniality, and the Baltic borderlands 118
Baltic national modernity in the Soviet colonial era 123
Soviet subaltern modernity 129
Predetermined modernities 133

5 Colonial layers and hybridization of the past: layers of national modernity in the Baltics

Peasant Ivan recovers from his illness 142

Early layers of colonial rule in the Baltics 144

The kindly tsar and the wicked Baltic Germans: a double-layered colonialism 145

Colonial mirrors 147

Peasant Ivan commandeers his lost property: the Soviet colonial era begins 149

Layers of decolonial dissensus: the song power 150

	Layers of decolonial moods in fiction: from modern earnestness to	
	Layers of decolonial mode postcolonial laughter 159 postcolonial laughter 159 1 for authenticity to colonial hybridity: creating	
	the search for authorities	
	Coviet folk Culture	
	Decolonial rock 166	
	Jacobanizing laughter: deconstructing	
6	From colonial fear to decolonizing laughter: deconstructing	
U	the colonial binarisms of us and	172
	1-mirad'	1/2
	and 'the colonized Cultural imaginaries and discursive normativities: rumors	
	and stereotypes 173	
	From colonial vampirism to a distinction between 'us' and	
	'them' as a foundational cultural structure 176	
	'Colonizer' as a structural position 180	
	'Colonizer' as a discursive position 181	
	Colonizer as a function within a colonial matrix 184	
	Colonizer as a position prescribed by the colonized 185	
	Orientalism faces colonialism, or Baltic feelings of superiority 186	
	Settlers, differences, and the refuse of empire 187	
	Power contending with laughter: military education in a Soviet classroom 187	
	Jewish outcasts in Estonian universities 192	
	The Cinderella Game with Soviet authorities 193	
7	Cultural imaginaries and everyday materialities: living in	
	a Soviet home	204
	Identity and the imaginary coherence of the self 206	
	Home in the cultural imaginaries: national nostalgia and cultural trauma 208	
	Prewar individual homes 210	
	Soviet prefabricated homes—signifiers of Soviet modernity 213	
	prejabricated homes in cultural imaginaries 216	
	The Fra individual dwellings 221	
	From coloniality to singularity 226	
8	Consequences	
	Consequences: everyday dissensus and the end of empire	232
	Postcotomat phase? 241	
	Bibliography	
	Index	244
		268