

Nationalism in the USSR: comparative and historical perspective

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Introduction

- 1990-s: collapse of communist federations: USSR, Yugoslavia (and the Czechoslovakia)
- Rise of nationalist movements, separatism and ethnic violence
- How may one explain nationalism in former Soviet ethnic republics?
- Should the rise of ethnic nationalism in the USSR be treated as a kind of deviation, related solely to the crisis and the collapse of the communist state, or it could be regarded as much deeper phenomenon?

Theory

- Great Debate in literature on Nationalism: primordialism vs. modernism
- I use modernist approach. Nationalism was invented in the Modern Time
- B. Anderson and E. Gellner. Education, science and technology are keys to emergence of nationalism.
- Miroslav Hroch: Nations emerge because of national movements. National movements emerge because of existence of national intellectuals.

Cultural nationalism and Political nationalism

- David Laitin. Nationalism – is a privilege of rich societies
- Only rich societies may afford to invest/ spend resources in inventing/ maintaining/ spreading traditions, customs and beliefs
- Dmitrii Gorenburg. Two ‘Nationalisms’: political nationalism and cultural nationalism

Cultural nationalism and Political nationalism

- *Cultural nationalism* is defined as support of the titular (national) official language, the expansion of its teaching in schools, introduction of a greater or lesser degree requirements / incentives to learn the titular language representatives of non-titular nation
- *Political nationalism* (separatism) may be defined as demand for declaration of national sovereignty and recognition of the right to national self-determination – up to secession

Cultural nationalism

- Keith Darden (2013): effect of pre-Soviet schooling in Ukraine on anti-Soviet insurgency
- David Laitin – language standardization and language rationalization
- Roger Brubaker – ‘nation-shaping nationalism’: salience of cultural issues
- To sum up, these studies stress importance of language and education

Cultural nationalism and Political nationalism

- Gorenburg: the strength and success of national movements (political nationalism) in the Russian regions in the 1990-s depended on the degree of development of ethnic institutions during the Soviet period. How?
- Ethnic institutions lead to emergence of national educated class/ intellectuals (*intelligentsia*), who become the driving force of political mobilization
- Intellectuals participating in educational process create social networks among young people whom they teach in universities
- Cultural and educational organizations provide essential resources on initial phase of political mobilization
- The level of ethnic institutions' development depended on the Union policies which were based on the status of the region in the official Soviet national-administrative hierarchy: the higher is the status, the more resources were allowed to spend on ethnic institutions development
- *USSR: Union SSR – Autonomous SSR – Autonomous oblast – National Autonomous District*

Cultural nationalism

- Cultural nationalism is byproduct of government policies, in some cases unintended.
- The Soviet Union was a multiethnic communist federation, and nationalities policy was an important part of its political agenda. The main goals of the union government were maintenance of interethnic peace, creation of supraethnic identity (a Soviet citizen), and prevention of secession of any republic.
- However, Soviet government failed in achieving any of these goals.

Model

- I use the Gorenburg's argument about interdependence of cultural and political nationalism.
- **Cultural nationalism → ethnic institutions → intelligentsia → ethnic movements → political nationalism**
- Does cultural nationalism affect political nationalism?
- What predicts the higher level of cultural nationalism?
- Comparative historical approach. I expect path-dependency effect: present political nationalism is predicted by developments in the past
- DV – political nationalism in the late 1980-s and 1990-s
- IV – cultural nationalism in previous periods

USSR/ Russia

- I split it the entire period of the Soviet rule (1917-1991) in 5 periods:.
- 1) 1917-25 (The October Revolution and the Civil War);
- 2) 1925-40 ('The Affirmative Action Empire': state-led nation-building);
- 3) 1940-1955 (Great-power Russian nationalism)
- 4) 1955-1985 ('Nativization', or 'Trust the local elites': creation of quasi-sovereign states on basis of the Union Republics, regional cultural development)
- 5) 1985-2000 (The Perestroika, collapse of the USSR and the crisis of the new Russian state)

- I add other factors in my model: a) *formal status*, b) *religion*
- Formal status – as in official Soviet hierarchy
- Religion – as primordial factor

USSR: periods of nationalism

Political nationalism	<i>1917-25</i> The October Revolution and the Civil War (political mobilization)
Cultural nationalism	<i>1925-39</i> 'The Affirmative Action Empire' (state-led nation building)
Cultural nationalism	<i>1940-1955</i> Great-power Russian nationalism (Russification campaign)
Cultural nationalism	<i>1956-1985</i> 'Nativization', or 'Trust the local elites' (creation of quasi-sovereign states on basis of the Union Republics, regional cultural development)
Political nationalism	<i>1986-2000</i> The Perestroika and the crisis of Russian state (the collapse of the USSR and political mobilization)

Data and Methods

- How to measure Political nationalism? The D.Treisman's and E.Guiliano's approach: construction of indices on factual basis
- Dataset (49 cases):
- **USSR/ Russia**
 - 14 union republics
 - 21 Russian (autonomous) republics
 - 11 NADs
 - 3 non-Russian autonomous republics (Abkhazia, Nakhichevan' , Nagorny Karagagh)
 - TOTAL: 49 cases

Data and methods

- How to measure Political nationalism? The D.Treisman's and E.Guiliano's approach: construction of indices on factual basis
 - **USSR/ Russia**
- I use 14-16 indicators (0/1 value) to construct index of political nationalism in USSR/Russia **in the 1990-s:**
 - *Declaration of sovereignty*
 - *Language law adopted*
 - *Rejection to sign the Federal Treaty in 1992*
 - *Constitution adopted before 2000*
 - *Including right for secession?*
 - *Boycott of the 1993 April referendum*
 - *Refusal to send soldiers in Russian army*
 - *Priority right on national resources claimed*
 - *Rejection to sign Union Treaty in 1991*
 - *Territorial claims (inside and outside)*
 - *Ethnic cleansings/ pogroms*
 - *Presidency established*
 - *Exclusiveness of titular language*
 - *Referendum on sovereignty held*
 - *Constitution adopted before 1993?*
 - *Priority of republican laws*
 - *Boycott of 1993 October referendum*
 - *Formal administrative status raised*
 - *Right to own currency declared*
 - *Boycott of the April 1991 referendum*
 - *Creation of ethnic paramilitary*
 - *Referendum on sovereignty - before Aug. 1991*
- Then I converted these data in "0 – 1" scale (mean value).

Political nationalism

- In the similar way I compose index of political nationalism for 1917-25. I use 9 indicators:
 - *Declaration of sovereignty*
 - *Uprising (single event, against the Reds or the Whites; small scale uprising – 0,5)*
 - *Rebellion movement (long lasting guerilla)*
 - *Occupation by the Whites*
 - *Constitution adopted (provisional political program – 0,5)*
 - *Soviet republic proclaimed (from below, not from above; as part of broader state only parts were included in this state – 0,5)*
 - *Independent state declared (non-Soviet)*
 - *Constituent convention held (ethnic convention with broad powers and goals – 0,5)*
 - *Own currency printed*

Cultural nationalism

- Data limitations (!)
- *Indirect measurement* of cultural nationalism: I measure potential influence of 'intelligentsia' via items that are associated with jobs for intellectuals: books, language, students
- I construct index of **cultural nationalism** for 3 periods; in Russian cases the 1925-39, 1940-55, and 1956-85 periods, and Yugoslav case the 1946-62, 1963-73 and 1974-86 periods.
- The index consists of 3 variables

Cultural nationalism

- I construct *Index of cultural nationalism* for 3 periods: 1925-40, 1940-55, 1955-85. We use three variables. I use one value for the entire period. Due to the lack of data in some cases I count values for late 1950-s (1956, 1958 or 1959) for period 1940-55
- *Books in native language* – books circulation in ethnic republics per capita. I take these data from the official Soviet statistics. We take data from the Soviet State statistics Committee.
- *Titular language as primary language* – share of titular population in region multiplied on the share of titular population who claimed their native language as their primary language. We use these data from the Soviet statistics, the census data – 1926/39, 1959 and 1970/79.
- *Students* - number of titular students per 1000 people in region. I use these data from the official Soviet statistics. Data are taken for year of republic's origin, 1934, 1950, 1966; 1975/76.
- *Index of cultural nationalism*: mean of these 3 variables mentioned above. We use this variable as dependent variable. Also we tried to build index by measurement model. All variables correlate each other.

Independent variables

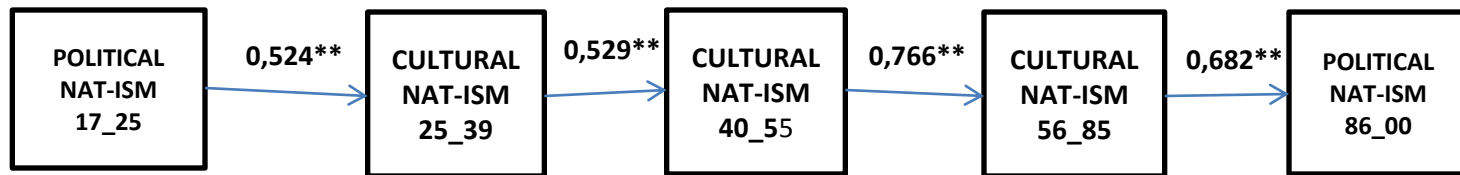
- Formal status – status of ethnic region in the official Soviet/Yugoslav administrative hierarchy. Each region was given mean value of its' formal status for each period. This value was calculated in three steps.
- This value was calculated in three steps. Each status was given its code (0 = no separate region; 0,25 = district in non-ethnic region; 0,5 = national district in autonomous republic, autonomous oblast; 0,75 = Autonomous republic; 1 = Union republic; 1,1 = independent state).
- Non-orthodox religion – variable for religion of titular nation in ethnic republic. This indicator may help to control the possible primordialist explanation for development of nationalism. I code '0' for orthodoxy, '1' – for all others.

Methods

- Main argument – *Cultural nationalism predicts political nationalism*
- Cultural nationalism is predicted by republics' formal status, informal status and religion
- Structural equation modeling
- 49 cases: 14 union republics, 21 autonomous republics within the RSFSR, 3 autonomous regions outside the RSFSR, 11 NAD

Results

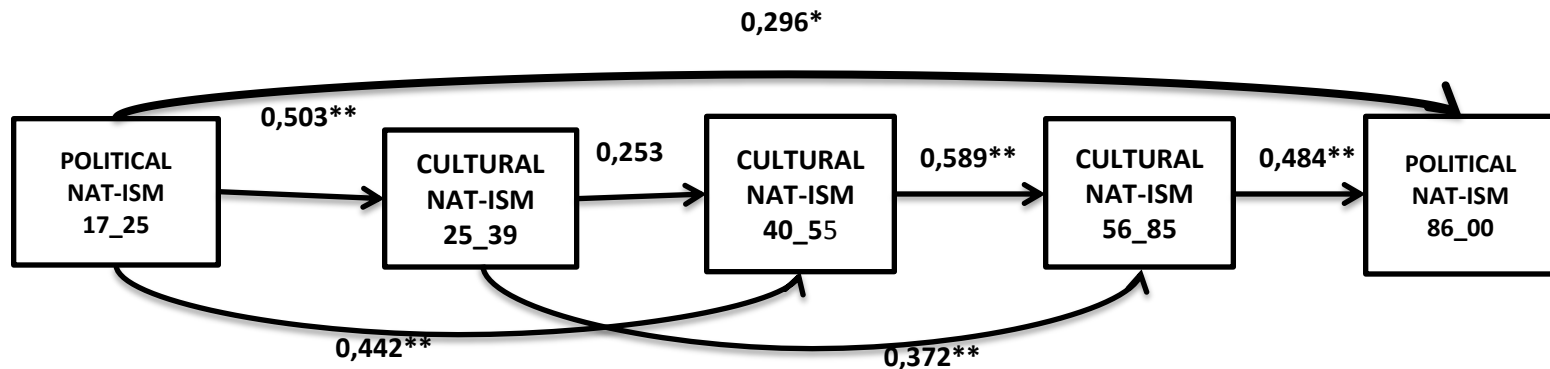
- *Model 1*



- $\chi^2 = 30.83$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.000$, $CFI = 0.776$, $RMSEA = 0.291$, $SRMR = 0.165$

Results

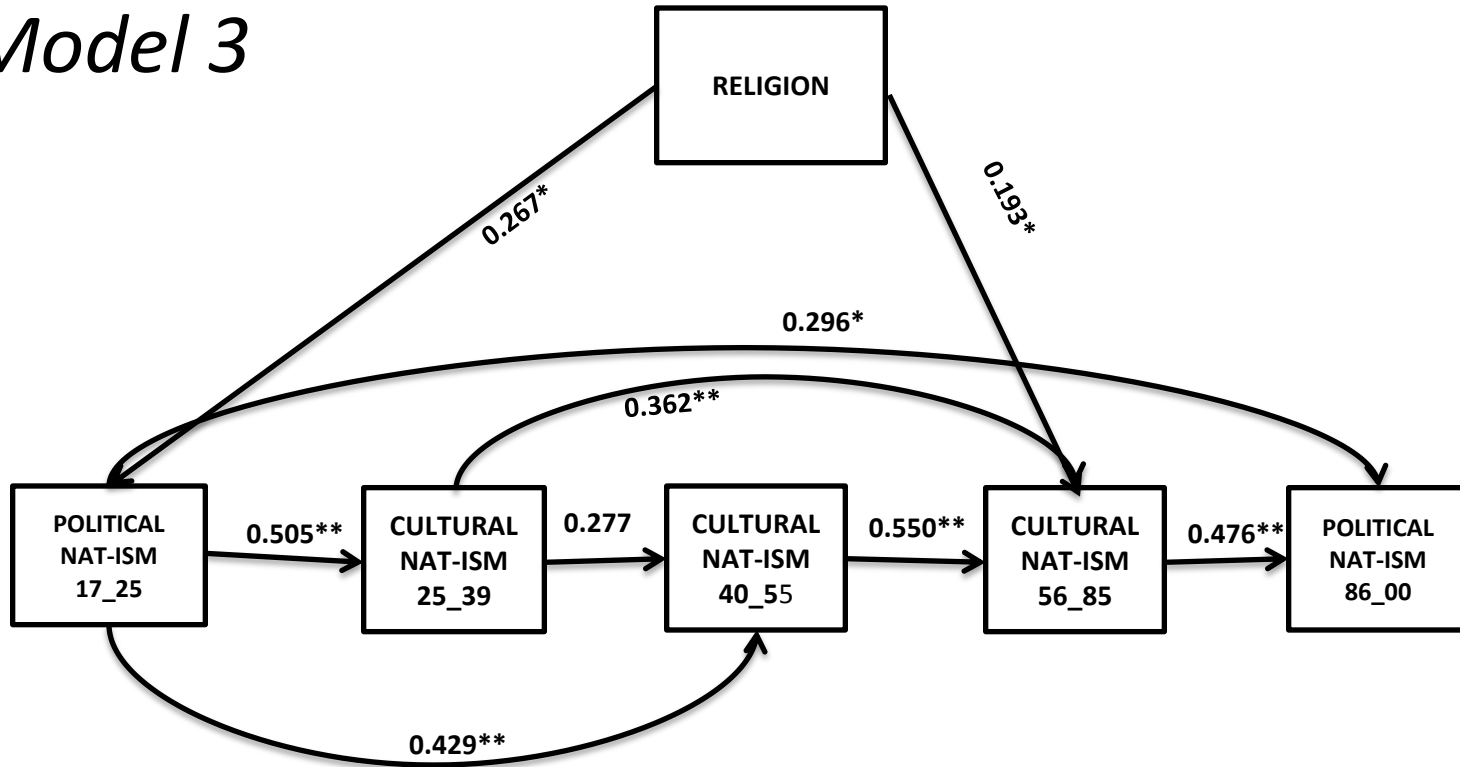
- *Model 2*



- $\chi^2 = 2.988$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.394$, $CFI = 1.000$, $RMSEA = 0.000$, $SRMR = 0.026$

Results

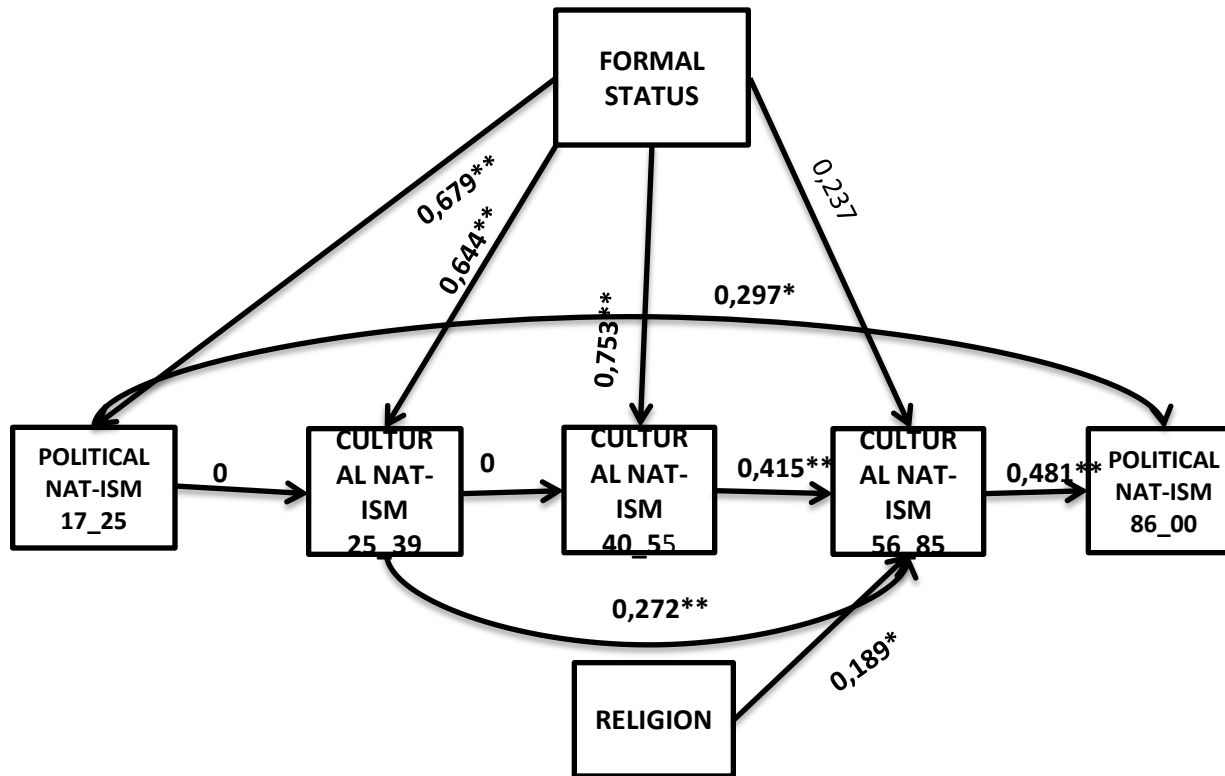
- Model 3



$\chi^2 = 4.523$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.606$, $CFI = 1.000$, $RMSEA = 0.000$, $SRMR = 0.046$

Results

- Model 4



- $\chi^2 = 6.87$, $df = 11$, $p = 0.81$, $CFI = 1.000$, $RMSEA = 0.000$, $SRMR = 0.047$

Results

- These models provide some support for my argument: there is the relationship between cultural and political nationalism
- Cultural nationalism predicts political nationalism
- There is a radical change between periods 1926-39 and 1940-55
- The most important period is 1956-85
- Religion has some predictive power

Conclusion

- **Three main contributions:**
- 1) Methodological contribution for studying nationalism: not 'pure' historical or survey-based. 'Quantification' of history
- 2) My results challenge the concept of cultural autonomy as a solution for multiethnic states. Latent cultural nationalism led to the rise of political nationalism
- 3) Statistical testing of the break in the Soviet nationalities policy under Stalin

- **THANK YOU!**