

# Nationalism in Russia and Yugoslavia: 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
- Russia allowed to the former Union republics to secede almost without a single shot in 1991, but the disintegration of Yugoslavia was followed by a series of bloody ethnic wars
- How may one explain nationalism in Russian and Yugoslav ethnic republics?
- Should the rise of ethnic nationalism in Russia and Yugoslavia 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?
- Is there any difference in explanation of the roots of nationalism in both communist states?

# 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 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*
- *Yugoslavia: Federal republic – Autonomous Province*

# Model

- I use the Gorenburg's argument about interdependence of cultural and political nationalism. Under special conditions – during political crises – political nationalism will be stronger in those regions with the higher level of cultural 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

# 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 to local elites': creation of quasi-sovereign states on basis of the Union Republics, regional cultural development)
- 5) 1985-2000 (The Perestroika and the crisis of 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



# Yugoslavia

- I split it the entire period of the communist rule in Yugoslavia (1945-1995) in 5 periods:
- *1) 1941-45 (Ethnic Civil war and creation of communist Yugoslavia)*
- *2) 1946-62 (the 'brotherhood and unity' period: creation of new supraethnic identity)*
- *3) 1963-73 (Decentralization and crisis of Yugoslav identity)*
- *4) 1974-1986 (The Decay: transformation into a semi-confederative state)*
- *5) 1987-95 (Political crisis and ethnic wars)*
- I add other factors in my model: a) *formal status*, b) *religion*

# USSR and Yugoslavia

Period	Russia	Yugoslavia
<i>Political nationalism</i>	<p>1917-25</p> <p>The October Revolution and the Civil War (political mobilization)</p>	<p>1941-45</p> <p>The Second World War and creation of Yugoslavia (Ethnic Civil War)</p>
<i>Cultural nationalism</i>	<p>1925-39</p> <p>‘The Affirmative Action Empire’ (state-led nation building)</p>	<p>1946-62</p> <p>Postwar ‘brotherhood and unity’ (creation of new supraethnic Yugoslav identity)</p>
<i>Cultural nationalism</i>	<p>1940-1955</p> <p>Great-power Russian nationalism (Russification campaign)</p>	<p>1963-73</p> <p>Decentralization (Crisis of Yugoslav identity)</p>
<i>Cultural nationalism</i>	<p>1956-1985</p> <p>‘Nativization’, or ‘Trust to local elites’ (creation of quasi-sovereign states on basis of the Union Republics, regional cultural development)</p>	<p>1974-86</p> <p>The decay of multinational Yugoslavia (transformation of Yugoslavia into a semi-confederative state)</p>
<b>Political nationalism</b>	<p>1986-2000</p> <p>The Perestroika and the crisis of Russian state (the collapse of the USSR and political mobilization)</p>	<p>1987-95</p> <p>Political crisis and ethnic wars (the rise of particularistic nationalisms and the disintegration of Yugoslavia)</p>

# Cultural nationalism

- Cultural nationalism is byproduct of government policies, in some cases unintended.
- Both Russia and Yugoslavia were multiethnic communist federations, and nationalities policy was important part of their political agenda. The main goals of the union or the federal government were maintenance of interethnic peace, creation of supraethnic identity (a Soviet or a Yugoslav citizen), and prevention of secession of any republic.
- However, both Soviet and Yugoslav government failed in achieving any of these goals. Why?
- Cultural and political nationalism

# Data and Methods

- How to measure Political nationalism? The D.Treisman's and E.Guiliano's approach: construction of indices on factual basis
- Dataset (57 cases):
- **USSR/ Russia**
  - 14 union republics
  - 21 Russian (autonomous) republics
  - 11 NADs
  - 3 non-Russian autonomous republics (Abkhazia, Nakhichevan' , Nagorny Karagagh)
  - TOTAL: 49 cases
- **Yugoslavia:**
  - 6 federal republics
  - 2 autonomous provinces
  - Total: 8 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

- **USSR/ Russia**

- 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*

# Political nationalism

- **Yugoslavia:**

- In the similar way I compose index of political nationalism of for Yugoslavia in 1987-95 (10 indicators ):
  - *Presidency established (0/1)*
  - *Nationalist paramilitary established (0/1; either short-term existence, or occasional involvement in conflict - 0,5)*
  - *Language law adopted (0/1; no separate law, but Constitution contains language amendments – 0,5)*
  - *Ethnic cleansings (0/1)*
  - *Exclusive status of titular language (0/1)*
  - *Ethnic non-violent protests against Belgrade (0/1)*
  - *Referendum on sovereignty held (0/1)*      *Right to own currency declared (0/1)*
  - *Priority of republican laws (0/1)*      *Independence prior to 1995 (0/1)*

# Political nationalism

- **Yugoslavia:**
- In the similar way I compose index of political nationalism for the period 1941-45 (7 indicators):
- *Constitution adopted (0/1; provisional political program – 0,5)*
- *Anti-Nazi guerilla war (0/1)*
- *Independent nation state proclaimed (0/1; annexed by other state - 0,25)*
- *Own currency printed (0/1)*
- *Independent pro-communist state proclaimed (0/1)*
- *Ethnic cleansings (titulars vs. non-titulars – 0/1; outside titular republic – 0,5)*
- *Ethnic paramilitary established (0/1)*



# Cultural nationalism

- Data limitations (!)
- For Russia and Yugoslavia, 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 three variables

# Cultural nationalism

- **USSR/ Russia**
- 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.

# Cultural nationalism

- **Yugoslavia**
- *Students* - number of students enrolled in higher education. I take data from the official Yugoslav statistical yearbooks. Values are taken for the year 1954/55, 1971/72 and 1986/87.
- *Books circulation* – total circulation of books printed in a particular republic. I take these data from the official Yugoslav statistical yearbooks: years 1962, 1973 and 1986.
- *Magazines circulation* - total circulation of magazines printed in a particular republic. I take these data from the official Yugoslav statistical yearbooks: years 1962, 1970 and 1986.
- Serbs and Croats speak one Serbian-Croatian language, and the main linguistic difference is in use of a particular dialect, and the Latin or the Cyrillic script for writing. Montenegrins and Bosnians speak another dialect of Serbo-Croatian language. Only Slovenian, Macedonian and Albanian languages can be defined as separate languages. Therefore, it is impossible to use variable *Titular language as primary language*.

# 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.
- **USSR/Russia:** 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).
- **Yugoslavia:** Firstly, I assigned values for each status ('0,75' = Autonomous province; '1' = federal republic; '1,1' = independent state). Secondly, all republics were assigned values for each year. Thirdly, I calculated the mean value for each period.
- 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

# Methods

- Structural equation modeling
- I construct Index of Cultural Nationalism as mean of 3 variables
- Not 21, but 49 and 57 cases
- New empirical strategy: run 2 sets of models:
  - a) USSR/ Russia
  - b) USSR/Russia + Yugoslavia

# Results

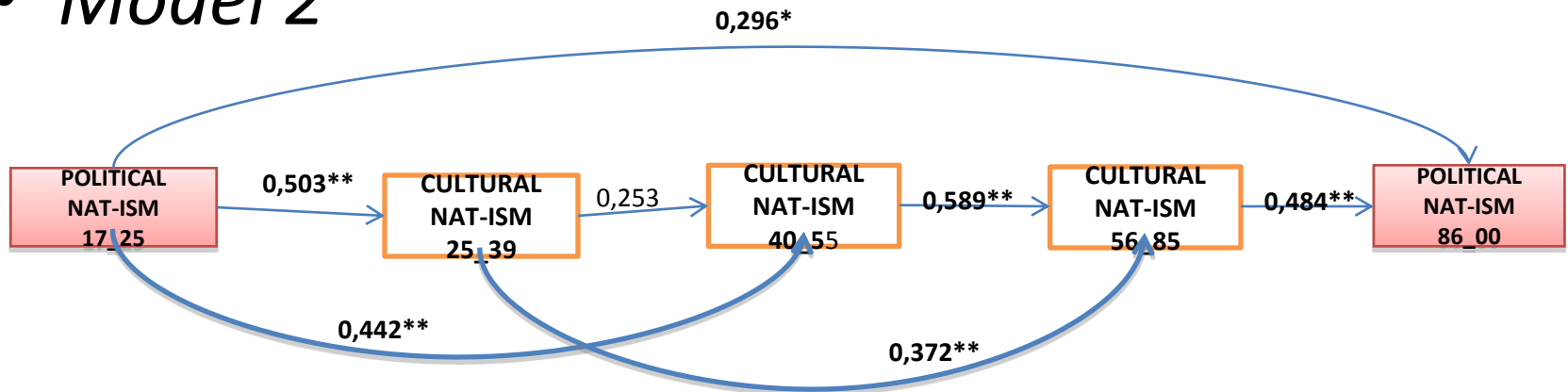
- **USSR/ Russia**
- *Model 1*



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

# Results

- **USSR/ Russia**
- *Model 2*

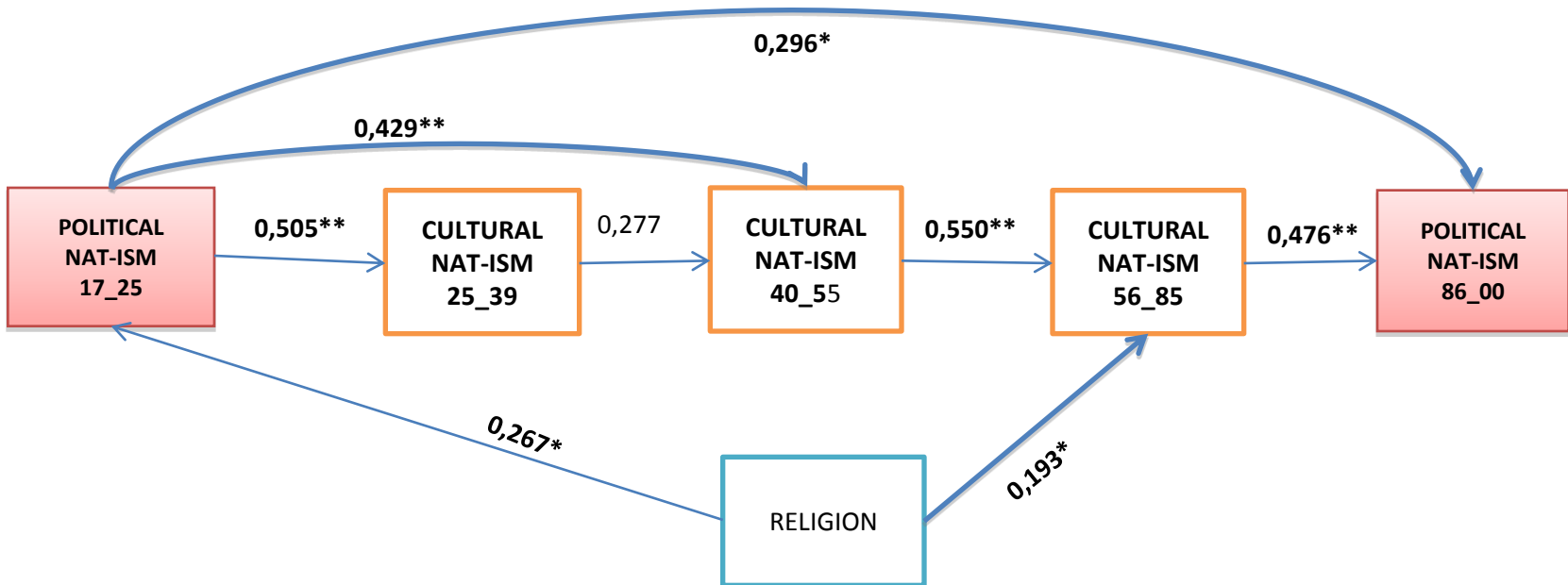


- $\chi^2 = 2.988$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.394$ ,  $CFI = 1.000$ ,  
 $RMSEA = 0.000$ ,  $SRMR = 0.026$



# Results

- **USSR/ Russia**
- *Model 3*



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

# Results

- These models provide some support for my argument: there is relationship between cultural and political nationalism
- There is a radical change between periods 1926-39 and 1940-55
- Religion has some predictive power

# Results

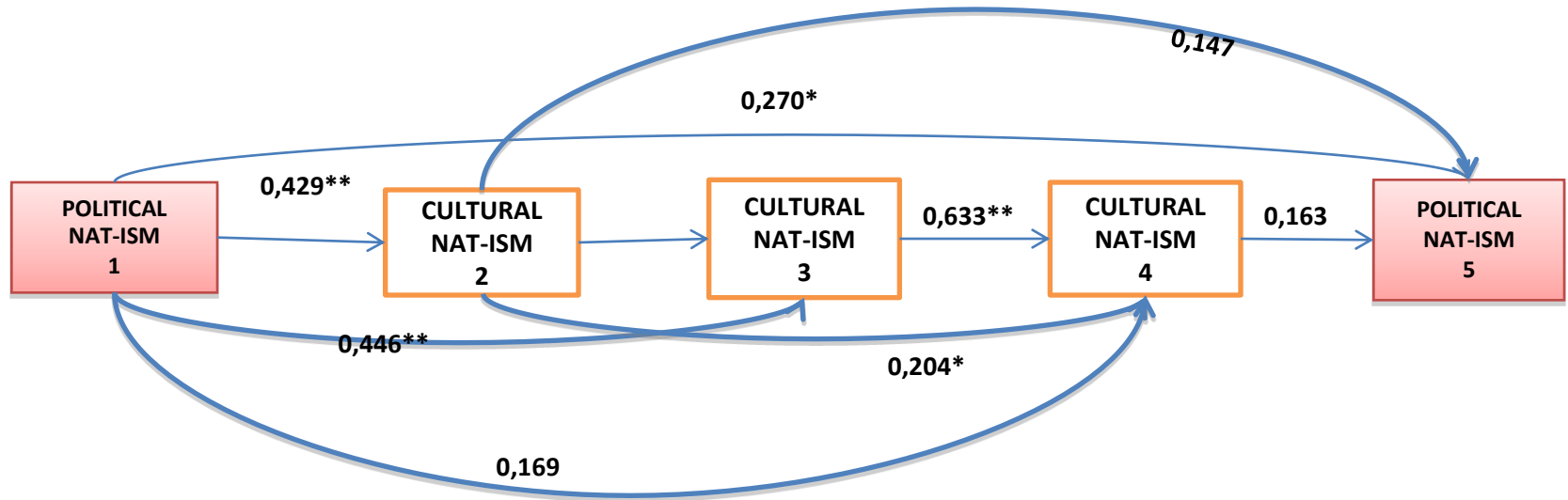
- USSR/Russia + Yugoslavia
- Model 4



- $\chi^2 = 31.11$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ,  $CFI = 0.768$ ,  
 $RMSEA = 0.271$ ,  $SRMR = 0.174$

# Results

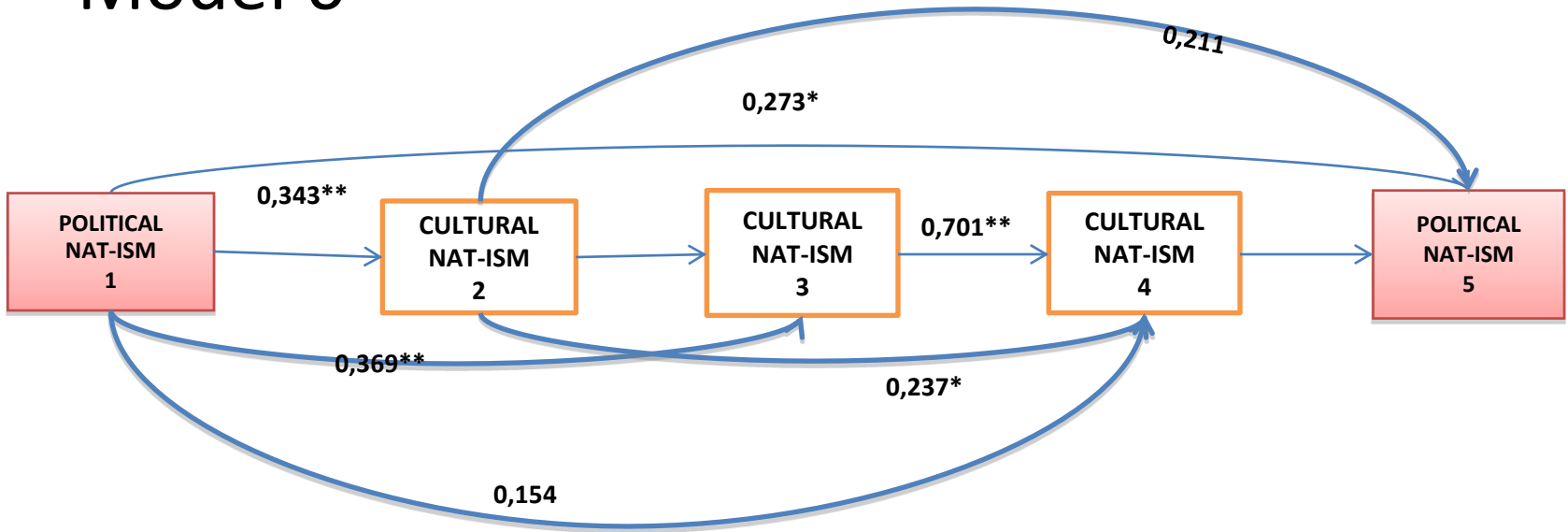
- **USSR/Russia + Yugoslavia**
- *Model 5*



- $\chi^2 = 1.01$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = 0.315$ ,  $CFI = 1.000$ ,  $RMSEA = 0.013$ ,  $SRMR = 0.041$

# Results

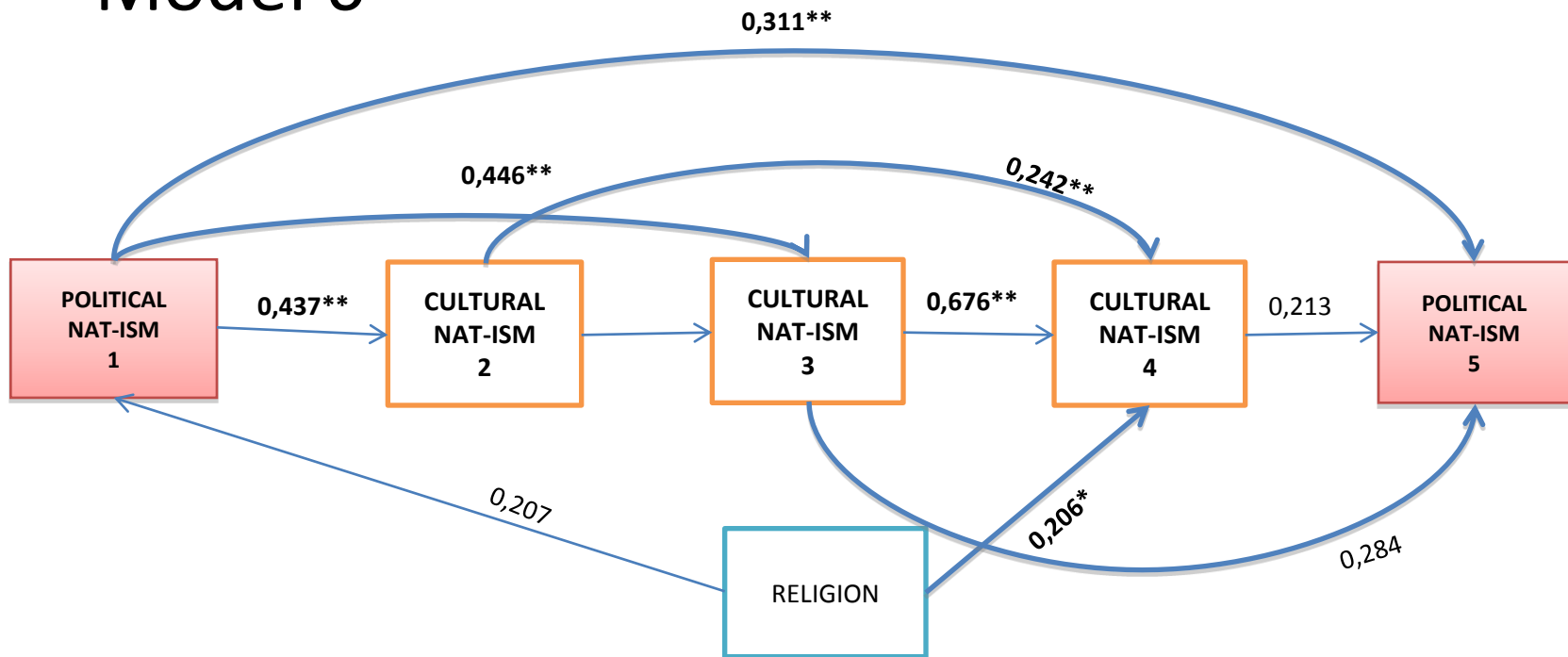
- USSR/ Russia + Yugoslavia
- Model 6



- $\chi^2 = 1.89$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = 0.389$ ,  $CFI = 1.000$ ,  $RMSEA = 0.000$ ,  $SRMR = 0.043$

# Results

- USSR/ Russia + Yugoslavia
- Model 6



- $\chi^2 = 6.316$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p = 0.389$ ,  $CFI = 0.997$ ,  $RMSEA = 0.030$ ,  $SRMR = 0.056$

# Conclusion

- Inclusion of Yugoslav regions changes model. Cultural nationalism is not so predictive for political nationalism
- (From historical perspective) In Yugoslavia, political nationalism is predicted by earlier political nationalism
- Perhaps, USSR/ Russia and Yugoslavia present two different patterns of the relationship between political and cultural nationalism

- **THANK YOU!**