Ala Svet, PhD researcher Department of History and International Relations Free International University of Moldova

February 2008

Article Review

Rogers Brubaker, 1996: Rethinking nationhood: nation as institutionalized form, practical category, contingent event. In: Rogers Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe. Cambridge University Press, 13-22

Rogers Brubaker in this work attempts to separate the general notion of what constitutes a nation and the idea of nationalism. He sees a nation in a practical light, as real entities, as communities, as substantial, enduring collectivities. (p.13) He analyses the developments in social theory to undermine the treatment of groups as real entities envoking to realist understanding of groupness, the structuralist approach of groupness and postmodernist theoretical sensibility emphasizes the erosion of fixed forms and clear boundaries. I think groupness in itself is offensive and group identity helps the individual members cooperate to achieve their purposes. If at the beginning of Moldovan nation-building Russian-speaking population in Moldova didn't represent a mobilized group, in the eastern part, Transnistrian region they were more cooperative and created a strong unity, solidary group in the process of separate state-building.

Brubaker asks to differentiate between the normal conceptions of nation as a category of practice, not a category of analysis. He believes that nationalism only comes alive when political elites stir up the fervor and fears of the population. His question is not what a nation is but how is nationhood as a political and cultural form instituonalized within and among states? What makes the nation-envoking, nation-invoking efforts of political entrepreneurs more or less likely to succeed? (p.16) These questions can be applied in our project and case studies for the nation-building processes in South-Eastern Europe. Thus, the role of political elites and politization of ethnicity become a source of power legitimization and identity formation which strength negative stereotypes about each other and embarrass the dialog between two banks of Dniester River.

According to Brubaker, in the processes of nation and state-building nations become to be as solidarity groups, as a base of collective actions and solidarity groups survived despite the Soviet regimes. Regime institutionalizes territorial nationhood and ethnic nationality as fundamental social categories, it created a political field supremely conductive to nationalism. He argues that nationhood and nationalism in the post-Soviet regions flourish today largely because of the Soviet regime's policies. Although anti-

nationalist, those policies were anything but antinational. Far from ruthlessly suppressing nationhood, the Soviet regime pervasively institutionalized it. The regime repressed nationalism, but at the same time, "it went further than other states before or since in institutionalizing territorial nationhood and ethnic nationality as fundamental social categories. In doing so, it inadvertently created a political field conducive to nationalism.(p.17) On the one hand it carved up into more national territories as the homeland with own territory, name, constitution, legislature, administrative staffs, institutions. On the other hand the regime divided the citizenry into a set of exhaustive and mutually exclusive ethnic nationalities (p. 18).

Over the course of seventy years, the political paradox at the heart of the Soviet system produced heterogeneous results. Each national group experienced the Soviet period differently. In the Republic of Moldova Moldovan nation was mobilized and united in their aspirations to be an independent state with own history, culture and language when in Transnistrian region people ascribed themselves to the Soviet Union and tried to save the Soviet regime on this territory. Specific of Transnistria is a representation the past, the Soviet Union regime as a glorious one.

This book addresses the distinctive forms and dynamic of latter nationalisms in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, those that have emerged in the wake of the nationalization of political space. So Brubaker's work is relevant for our project both of conceptual and methodological considerations.