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**NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA
IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA:
SKINHEAD AND NASHI MOVEMENTS**

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CHAPTER I.

The Meaning of Nationalism and Xenophobia

The term nationalism is a term that belongs to modernity. Its political and social meaning goes back to the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder and the French counter-revolutionary cleric, the Abbé Augustin de Barruel, at the end of the 18th century². Throughout the nineteenth century, the terms nationalism and xenophobia were rarely utilised.

The concept of nationalism was first embraced as a sense of belonging to a nation because of a social integration process, in which individuals share common cultural backgrounds and traditions. This phenomenon is mostly cultural but can also assume political forms.³

In English, the first use of the term “nationalism” was in 1836, and it appeared to be theological, the doctrine that a certain nation is divinely elected. Later, it was associated with national egotism. However, adjectives like “nationality” and “nationalness”, which allude to national zeal or individuality, were more commonly used.⁴

Over the centuries, nationalism has undergone several changes, its traditional character being found in the fact that the past has made its presence felt frequently. Nationalism requires an analysis that begins with the historical process of the formation of the state, a process that assumes that nationalism stems from the concept of the nation.

² Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism*, USA: Polity Press, 2010, p. 5.

³ John Plamenatz, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man*, London: Clarendon Press, 1976, pp.23-36.

⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism. Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. I, London: Routledge, p. 5.

Up until the French Revolution, the political and social unity consolidated around empires, fiefdoms, and tribal affiliation (in this century, European nations began to determine the political boundaries based on ethnic traditions and loyalties). After the French Revolution, the idea of a nation gained new connotations, one of which belonged to Emmanuel Sieyès in a book published in 1789, where nationalism is interpreted as the totality of persons who have common laws and are represented under the same legislature.⁵ Due to the Industrial Revolution, an integrated, nation-encompassing economy emerged and a national public sphere, where British people began to mobilise on a state-wide scale, rather than just in the smaller units of their province, town, or family.⁶ The early emergence of a popular patriotic nationalism took place in the mid-18th century and was actively promoted by the British government and by the writers and intellectuals of the time.⁷ For example, national symbols, anthems, myths, and flags were constructed by nationalists and widely adopted. The best example is the Union Jack, which was adopted in 1801 as a national symbol.⁸

The political convulsions of the late 18th century associated with the American and French revolutions massively augmented the widespread appeal of patriotic nationalism.⁹ Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power further established nationalism when he invaded much of Europe. Napoleon used this opportunity to spread revolutionary ideas, resulting in much of the 19th-century European Nationalism.¹⁰

Throughout the last two centuries, leaders used a series of strategies to unify groups under one nation-state, and after these strategies, to incorporate these groups under one nation-state. These groups developed national symbols, a common identity, and expressions of loyalty for their leaders, all of which brought a strong nationalist wave. For example, the eagle was a symbol of power in ancient Rome that was resurrected with

⁵ Emmanuele Sieyès, *Qué es el Tercer Estado? precedido de Ensayo sobre los privilegios*, Madrid: Alianza, p. 92.

⁶ Michael Mann, *The rise of classes and nation-state 1760-1914*, Vol.II, Los Angeles: University of California, 2012, pp. 92-94.

⁷ Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism. A cultural history, 1740-1830*, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997.

⁸ Nick Groom, *The Union Jack: The Story of Briths Flag*, London: Atlantic Books, 2007.

⁹ Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*, London: Routledge, 2003, p. 116.

¹⁰ Alexander Motyl, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, San Diego: Academic Press, 2001.

Christian meaning into used by both Germany and the United States. Another example, Nazi Germany was inspired by the ancient Hindu swastika. While the original symbol originally meant “good luck” (and in parts of India, continues to mean this today), the German Nazi Party changed both the direction of the symbol and the meaning to represent inaccurate notions of a perfect Germanic/Aryan bloodline. Nazi Germany also focused oppression and violence on non-Aryan German people (e.g., Jews) and demanded loyalty to the Nazi party and their leader. Also, the French Revolution used symbols such as the tricolour flag of red, blue, and white, which represented Paris and the country of France as a whole. They also used a red hat known as the liberty cap, which denoted unity and allegiance to a new regime.¹¹ The liberty hat was also worn by Marianne, a female symbol of the revolution and new France. I have given some examples to highlight a few nations that have embraced the term “nationalism” and the symbols that represent the nation.

All these elements that make up the phenomenon of nationalism conceptualise different theories¹²:

1. Nationalism as an ideology, viewed from the perspective of the form of social, political, and territorial organisation.
2. Nationalism in the form of ideology focuses on the processes of strengthening nations.
3. Nationalism is an attitude or form of identity incorporating cultural and political feelings.

According to the historian, Anthony D. Smith the nationalism has five meanings:¹³

1. A process of formation, or growth, of nations.
2. A sentiment or consciousness of belonging to the nation.
3. A language and symbolism of the nation.
4. A social and political movement on behalf of the nation.
5. A doctrine and/or ideology of the nation, both general and particular.

¹¹ <https://study.com/learn/lesson/nationalism-history-overview-examples.html>, accessed 27.02.2023.

¹² Christophe Jaffrelot, *For a theory of nationalism*, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales SciencesPo, 2013, p. 31

¹³ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism. Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol.I, London: Routledge, pp.5-6.

The five aspects of nationalism point out the *formation of a nation, the national consciousness, the language and symbols of a nation, the social and political movement, and the image of nationalism as doctrine and/or ideology*. These meanings reveal the specific processes and features of nationalism. The meanings nevertheless presuppose a considerable amount of national sentiment concerning their country and, of course, their leader. Based on the principle of soil and soul, that is, in my opinion, a strong attachment that presupposes a close connection with the place where the individual was born and grew up, the ancestral earth. All these meanings of the concept of nationalism are related to everything about the past of a nation. An organised group or movement could show a high degree of national sentiment, possess national symbols, myths, and share a common language. On the other hand, a nationalist group or movement will come with the creation of their “nationalist world” as a reaction against the change that is taking place in society (a reaction against globalization) through historical research, songs, cultural journals, literature, activities, national flags that resonates with the historical past (the flag of the Russian Imperial Movement, inspired by Imperial Russia’s flag). The most important part of this symbolism is proper names (a distinct feature of the nationalist movement), which are chosen from the past to express the nation’s distinctiveness, heroism, and sense of destiny, to resonate these qualities among the members.¹⁴ For example, a skinhead is a teenager of a subculture characterised by their hair cut off and heavy boots, seen as aggressive. These meanings presented by Anthony Smith place the nation at the centre of the nationalist ideology and unify the nation under one political authority. As I mentioned, over time nationalism has taken on different forms and meanings depending on each region, of course, where it was promoted by the leaders of the respective nation/region. It is therefore difficult to say that the nationalist movements have been subjected to a single model. Once the nationalist ideology has manifested itself in a certain group and has consolidated itself as part of the political discourse, one can speak of a

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 7.

nationalist movement.¹⁵ In the specialised literature, we can find a fairly large number of forms that nationalism has used over time. Hans Kohn's classification is the most relevant; thus, we can talk about 9 types of nationalism: Jacobin, liberal (Risorgimento), integral, traditional (conservative), civic, ethnic, Western-Eastern, economic, and extremist.

1. Jacobin nationalism was during the French Revolution, and its name was attributed by members affiliated with the Jacobin Club: Robespierre, Louis de Saint-Just¹⁶, etc. Its purpose was to extend the principles of the French Revolution, the main characteristics of this trend being: intolerance of internal opposition, militarism, and implicitly the use of force to achieve its purpose, confidence, and effectiveness of its mission, of frequent application of force, and religious fanaticism.
2. Liberal nationalism (Risorgimento) emerged in the Enlightenment period and was promoted by Giuseppe Mazzini, also considered to have inspired the "Young Italy" movement. At this stage, the principle of self-determination and the place of the individual in the national context were promoted, which involved the realisation of a connection between the individual and the national perspective. In the 19th century, the nationalist movements of that period wanted to create a national state based on the principles governing society, embedded in a common interest of those who live and live on the same territory delimited by political boundaries.
3. Integral nationalism appeared in the 20th century. And some of the peculiarities of this current are the influence of fascist and Russian Bolshevism. For a better understanding of this type of nationalism, it is necessary to consider the following factors: the militaristic spirit, the feeling of superiority generated by success and the third one results

¹⁵ Ömer Senan Arslaner, "Reviewing the Theories of Nationalism: Historicizing, Classifying and Inquiring the Conceptualization", *Lectio Socialis*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2022, p. 7.

¹⁶ Lauren Cottle "Jacobins in the French Revolution", *European History Study Guide*, <https://study.com/academy/lesson/who-were-the-jacobins-definition-history.html> accessed on 28.02.2023.

from the very range of operations and propagandistic instruments that Jacobin and liberal nationalism have used to unify national states.¹⁷

4. Traditional nationalism (conservative) appeared as a reaction to the French Revolution and rationalism, as an expression of a return to the ancient traditions that formed nations. The same culture, the same ideals, and sacred values are considered the essence of traditionalist nationalism.¹⁸
5. Civic nationalism combines two principles, that of individual self-determination and national self-determination, but amplifies the idea that nationalism involves several authorities and laws that are the source of equality and rights. Civic nationalism proposes a type of society in which the values, culture, aspirations, and ideas of the nation contribute to the intensification of national sentiment.
6. Ethnic nationalism promotes the ethnic community, the will of the people, folk traditions, and customs (ballads, myths). Cultural and collective identity is the central point of this ideology, highlighted and harnessed by the glorious past. From an ethnic perspective, only folk traditions and customs constituted what is now a nation. In this category, traditions and mythologies are considered the moral physiognomy of the community.
7. Western-Eastern nationalism, in Hans Kohn's view, Western nationalism promoted the idea of rationality specific to England, France, and America. German nationalism was aimed at identifying Germany as an independent state. Different from other ideologies, the doctrine of the German people promoted the exclusive and privileged history of Germany, the most beautiful of all, and with the right to dominate the others.¹⁹
8. Economic nationalism, this type of nationalism combines many forms depending on political or national influences, which explains that

¹⁷ Dan Dungaciu, *Elita interbelică: Sociologia românească în context european*. București: Mica Valahie, 2003, p. 154.

¹⁸ Kiley Bickford, *Nationalism in the French Revolution of 1789*, Doctoral Thesis, Honors College, Maine, 2014, p. 9.

¹⁹ Krzysztof Jaskułowski, "Western (civic) versus Eastern (ethnic) Nationalism. The Origins and Critique of the Dichotomy", *Polish Sociology Review*, Vol.3, No.10, 2010, pp.291-292.

disseminating this current by trying to encourage the governments of certain countries to maximise the welfare of citizens.²⁰

9. Extremist nationalism is divided between a nazi and a fascist perspective. One of the principles of this type of nationalism is that of the superhuman competing with the Other.

Here, society is divided into four categories:

1. Society and the masses need guidance.
2. Society needs an elite that distinguishes itself from the rest of the masses by heroism and sacrificial capacity to promote and preserve purely nationalist principles.
3. Society needs a leader who has the authority to guide the masses.²¹

Extremist nationalism is divided between the perspective of the masses and the perspective of the elite. As I presented above, there are too many kinds of nationalism. It is often said that nationalism has no ideology to speak of, let alone a doctrine. It is only a bundle of inchoate sentiments, elaborated by florid rhetoric.²² Nationalist ideologies have well-defined goals of collective self-rule, a territorial and cultural programme for achieving these ends.²³ There are certainly different kinds of nationalism: Jacobin, liberal, integral, traditional, civic, ethnic, economic, and so on. But all of these are for one purpose: the pursuit of nationhood. These elements mark out nationalism from other kinds of movements and ideologies.²⁴ Nationalism has gone through the most extreme forms, which, of course, have attracted the attempts of nations to defend their territories, their status as citizens, and the superiority of their race.

The other term, “xenophobia,” is relatively new, as the term nationalism appeared in the late 18th century. But there are some examples of xenophobic sentiment in Ancient Greece (denigration of barbarians and the belief that the Greek culture and people were superior to all others), also

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 292.

²¹ Bernard Baertschi & Kevin Mulligan, *Naționalismele*, București: Nemira, 2010, p. 35.

²² Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism*, USA: Polity Press, 2010, p. 24.

²³ Ibidem, pp.24-25.

²⁴ Aislinn Bronwyn McCann, “Civic Culture: Scotland’s Struggle for its Political Interests”, Virginia, 2017, p. 13.