

Antonio Gramsci
(1891-1937):

Hegemony and
culture

T&F p32

Political discourse is the battle for cultural hegemony:

- define the assumptions of political life
- define the self and other
- create a “banal” nationalism (ie create a culture that implicitly supports the hegemonic normative beliefs of the nation and state)
- occurs not only at the scale of the state, but across many scales

Central & Eastern Europe ethnic nationalism

- Why ethnic? How does the region differ from western Europe?
 - Nation before state; state before nation
 - Cultural hegemony
 - Self-determination
 - Nationalism against the state

Identity and Nationalism in the Russian Federation

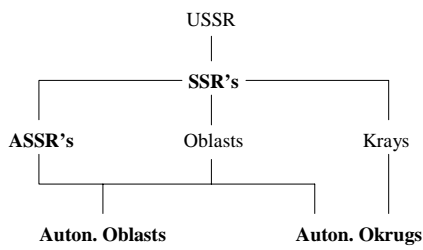
Soviet Identity:

Russian language and high culture, but multi-ethnic
- civic nationalism focused on the state

Ethnic/national identity:

Over 100 recognized non-Russian ethnicities with varying
degrees of territorial autonomy

Soviet Nationalities Policy



Lenin's plan and rationale behind nationalities policy

Territorial break up of USSR – along borders of SSR's

- arbitrary borders
- created so as NOT to be congruent with the nation
- for the most part not based on any historical borders

→ Russia's borders reflect a loss of territory and not a historical state

What is Russia? What is Russian?

Several problematic issues:

1. Confusion over symbols and their meanings
 - Complex state tradition
 - Russians' feelings of loss
 - Identity that is less clearly defined than that of non-Russians
2. Can all Soviet groups be citizens of Russia? (Matrioshka Nationalism)
3. Are all religions permissible?
4. Does Russia need a unique state ideology?
5. Is Russia compatible with the West
6. Territorial integrity

Four Paradigms of Russian Nationalism

1. Westernizing Nationalism
 - Civic, present borders, neg. communism, modernize
2. Nativism
 - Ethnic, *sobornost'*, add Belarus, E. Ukraine, N. Kazakhstan, West spiritually inferior, strong state
3. Eurasianism
 - Civic, add all Slavic lands of FSU, West is different
4. Extreme National Patriotism (fascist)
 - Ethnic, all of FSU, West is foe, authoritarian state

Nationalism in Ukraine

- Rapidly shifting identities (Russian → Ukrainian)
- Civic
- Oppositional model of identity
 - Ukraine is core of Europe (territory)
 - Russians are lazy (other)
