

Erasmus+ Jean Monnet Network
Peace, War and the World in European Security
Challenges

The Intensive course "Navigating security
in the storming world"



*Securitization of Identity Politics in
Contemporary World (terms, trends,
interpretations)*

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Identity, security, securitization of identity

- The Copenhagen School first introduced the question of identity to international security theory.
- The identity politics was interpreted as the defense of oppressed minorities.
- The new interpretation of identity politics as the activity targeted the creation and legitimation of the nation-state identity. (Semenenko 2017).
- Securitization puts the category of identity in the context of international security while identity politics could be used as a soft power element or foreign policy tool.



The new politics of memory and identity

- Wars of memory
- Wars of monuments
- BLM
- Mnemonic warriors



The securitization of memory politics on the Second World War

- According Gallop data, in 1945 60% Europeans considered that the USSR played a key role in the victory over fascism. In 2015 60% of respondents thought it was the USA. (Soviet storming of Berlin vs. Allied landings in Normandy).
- 70% of Japanese schoolchildren answered that Japan was victim in the II WW.
- The targeted course for re-writing of history and constructing of a new identity in order to legitimate the status of the country in contemporary world.



Victimism of Eastern European countries

- Representation of the countries as the victims of 2 totalitarian regimes – Nazi and Soviet.
- Refusal to regard the Holocaust as central to the memory of the atrocities during the war.
- Demand to equate Nazism and Communism.
- Refusal to admit responsibility for crimes during the war.
- Compensation claim from “Old Europe” which suffered less than Eastern Europe.



Liberty Square in Budapest, Hungary, as visualization of alternative memory politics

- The monument to Soviet soldiers liberators
- The bust of Horthy, Hitler's ally.
- Monuments to the victims of German occupation.
- Human-organized memorial.



Identity and International Relations: China

- “The China dream” became an official slogan in 2012.
- Xi Jinping (2014) declared that to ‘realize the China dream’, the PRC needs to ‘enhance [its] national cultural soft power.’
- The NY analysts called it “a sharp power” of China.
- Xi’s China dream appeals to a combination of traditional China and socialist modernity: especially the China model of development and Confucian civilization.
- The ‘revival of the Chinese nation’ implies the clear goal of ‘making China great again.’
- Opposition to “Cold War era” adversarial, zero-sum thinking and policies, “expansionism,” “hegemonism,” and power politics. The promotion of a “comprehensive, common, and cooperative security” architecture for Asia and the world. (Xi Jinping)



Chinese dream vs. American Dream

- China and the US are involved in a Cold War-style battle of the American dream versus the China dream (publicists).
- The Trump administration [has identified China as](#) a “revisionist power” and “rival” seeking to “shape a world antithetical to U.S. values and interests.”
- The plans of Xi for the "great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" as a global power with certain system of values.
- "China is a formidable authoritarian adversary, methodically strengthening its capabilities to steal intellectual property, repress its own people, bully its neighbors, expand its global reach, and build influence in American society." Joe Biden.



American identity and exceptionalism

- American identity has been based historically upon: “race, ethnicity, religion, culture and ideology” (Huntington, 2004)
- American exceptionalism leads to US foreign policy acting in a missionary fashion; leads the United States to assume that the rest of the world desires the values that the US itself upholds.
- US state representation as the “leader of the West” with corresponding rights and responsibilities is one of the reasons why American public opinion accepts costly military interventions abroad and the active military posture in general.
- Trump “America First” foreign policy gave a sense of order to the United States’ foreign policy universe by rejecting the postwar consensus of extending a globalist ideology.

Political justification of exceptionalism

- Liberals advocate U.S. primacy and NATO expansion as essential for preserving the global institutional order and promoting democracy. As explained by Joe Biden (2020), “No other nation has that capacity.”
- Neoconservatives (neocons) and hegemonic realists defend U.S. military primacy as they view it as an essential foundation of American national security. Neocons go even further than realists by insisting that the United States cannot be fully secure without transforming other states, such as Russia in particular, in the image of American democracy.



American exceptionalism as foreign policy legitimization

- We want our sons and daughters to know that they are the citizens of the most exceptional nation in the history of the world. This is a Marxist doctrine holding that America is a wicked and racist nation (Donald Trump).
- America is back, ready to lead the world... 'America first' — we shouldn't go away from that.”
- Biden now-familiar [call for a more unified Western front](#) against the anti-democratic threats posed by Russia and China. In style: We decide, you follow.



Politization of the Turkish identity

- After 2010 the AKP (Justice and Development Party) drifted away from the EU normative order and overblown its claim to represent the Islamic–Ottoman heritage politically in the region and the world.
- The idea of awakening of the Turks, new caliphate, majestic past.
- New Turkey as a leader of Muslim world in the Middle East.



Hungarian World of Victor Orban

- Orban: Hungary is "one of the most inward-looking societies in Europe."
- Day by day we see the great European countries and nations losing their countries: little by little, from district to district and from city to city. The situation is that those who do not halt immigration at their borders are lost: slowly but surely they are consumed. External forces and international powers want to force all this upon us".
- On the identity politics of Orban: Trapped in our linguistic and cultural bubble, we Hungarians live cut off from the real, enlightened world, and that's why we're so xenophobic and anti-Semitic, and why we love our prime minister, who is, by the way, a "nationalist hatemonger."



Poland is a Christ of the nations!

- Politization of the catholic identity for justification of policy.
- Anti-Russian syndrome in negotiations with EU.
- Union of two EU schismatics (budget bargaining, December 2020)
- Pragmatic orientation towards the USA.



The identity crisis of Russia and search for foreign policy guidelines

- In 2000s Putin began changing Russia's image from great power and an influential center of a multipolar world to one of a European country and full member of the Western community of states.
- His opponents argued that the special place of Russia on the global stage is predetermined by unique Russian identity based on its size, nuclear weapons, necessity to protect long borders, and the sense of being a great power and center of a distinct civilization.
- Munich speech, 2007. Russia is a country with a history that spans more than a thousand years and has practically always used the privilege to carry out an independent foreign policy. We are not going to change this tradition today.
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Geopolitical identity and role of contemporary Russia

- Russia still has no certain domestic identity now. The political culture still be fragmented.
- As the world power Russia is resistant to external influences, it is able to protect itself, strives to pursue independent policy.
- A balanced approach to Russia should avoid partisanship and be based on objective and self-critical expertise. The politically polarizing international transition places an especially high premium on such expertise (Tsygankov Pavel, Tsygankov Andrei) .



Securitization vs. humanization

- Identity is a social construct created by politicians, public intellectuals and civic activists.
- It is changeable.
- Securitization of identity politics reflects the securitization of world policy.
- Pursue of justice entails humanization.
- Paradigms of world development may change.

