

Uniwersytet Wrocławski
Wydział Nauk Społecznych
Instytut Studiów Międzynarodowych

mgr Michał Włodarczyk

**Dyskurs nacjonalistyczny w polityce Kremla po
aneksji Krymu**

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dr hab. prof. UWr. Larysy Leszczenko
dr. Marcina Koczana

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The aim of this paper is to present Russian nationalistic discourse as a multi-dimensional political, legal and religious phenomenon along with its accompanying propaganda. The growth of nationalistic rhetoric has been observed on the Kremlin since the beginning of Vladimir Putin's third presidential term and the annexation of Crimea is its culmination as well as a threat to international security. That event also marks a time frame of the paper. The Author describes events mainly between the years 2014-2020, to ensure that his work is up-to-date.

Research questions concern a modern way of understanding the idea of nationalism in the Russian Federation and the characteristics of media propaganda related to the crisis in Ukraine. These are important questions in the context of the ongoing information war of Russia and the West. One hypothesis posits that in the Kremlin's nationalistic discourse, it is impossible to distinguish only one paradigm of nationalism due to both primordial and modernistic view on the nation being in use presently there and the official Russian nationalism is a mix of them. The second hypothesis assumes a formal and topical differentiation of the Russian propaganda, depending on the characteristics of its target audience. The supporting hypothesis is a limited role of Euroasian school of thought, particularly that of Alexander Dugin in the current Kremlin's policies.

In the first chapter the Author presents a theoretical review of terms such as a nation and nationalism, presenting their definitions and views of main scholars in this field, particularly the modernistic paradigm as described by Ernest Gellner. This chapter also includes deliberations on Hans Kohn's dichotomy of nationalism as well as its evaluation and criticism.

The second chapter is a brief analysis of Russian philosophy of history related to the national thought and presenting its influence on shaping nationalism in Russia – from myths of the Third Rome, through Fedor Dostoyevski and his Russian-godcarrier to the 20th century Euroasianists and modern heterogenic nationalistic circles.

In the third chapter the Author brings forward Russian media system and the process of gradual nationalisation of media in the Russian Federation from the nineties to the beginnings of the 21st century signifying limits on the freedom of speech and crystallisation of the media structure working as a conveyor belt of Kremlin's interests. It indicates a symbiosis of Russian media and the world of politics.

In the fourth, empirical chapter, the Author analyses concepts tied to propaganda and media studies which are necessary for presentation of results of his research. The research is based on the direct observation of the discourse in the source material – media news focused on Ukraine which have been broadcasted in Russian television since 2014. Four state broadcasting services have been selected, two targeted at the domestic audience – the main Russian channel Channel One and the channel run by the Russian ministry of defence, The Star and two associated with Russian soft power activities – RT and the Polish branch of Sputnik news agency. Moreover, the method of time sample with random selection has been applied, the selected news were the ones published on websites of aforementioned media services in March every year between 2014 and 2019. They were categorised on account of their subject, tone, repetitiveness and authors. Additional source material was the Russian documentary movie *Crimea. The Way Home*. The propaganda techniques that appeared in that movie have also been presented.

The fifth chapter is the Author's report from the participant observation of the 19th World Festival of Youth and Students in Sochi, where the influence of the nationalistic discourse on the course of the event was noticeable. The event was an attempt to spread pro-Russian views among young people from all over the World, future leaders of their communities.

In the last – sixth chapter the Author makes an analysis of the social, institutional (including education), legal and religious aspects of nationalism. It raises questions of radicalisation of law penalising the social criticism of Kremlin's policies, emphasis on patriotic education in schools and the common views of The Kremlin and Russian Orthodox Church.

In the conclusion the Author confirms his hypotheses – his research proves a significant differentiation of ways of conveying information about Ukraine in Russian media depending on whether they are made for the domestic or international audience. There is a prognosis of further development of the nationalistic discourse in Russia in the face of such challenges as foreign economic sanctions and the impasse of the war in Donbass. Areas for possible further research on Russian nationalism and its media propaganda are suggested.