

## ON THE ORIGINS OF PAN-IDEOLOGIES: PAN-HELLENISM

### Abstract

The main focus of the article is the phenomenon of «pan-ideologies». Although the term «pan-ideologies» is not established in the scientific world, most researchers agree that the first supranational integration ideology (pan-ideology, pan-idea) in the history of social and political thought was Pan-Hellenism. The methods of forming the supranational identities, developed by the ideologists of Pan-Hellenism, were later embraced by the ideologists of the following ideological complexes: Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism etc.

**Key words:** Pan-Hellenism, Pan-ideas, Pan-ideologies, macro-nationalism, supranational identity.

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#### Pan-ideologies, pan-ideas or macro-nationalism?

According to the history of many states and nations with a certain degree of cyclicity, the economic success, the general cultural and spiritual rise, the growth of demographic and human resources, is normally followed by the issues of political integration. The search for ideological justification, allowing to assert its primacy among other political actors, otherwise, in the terms of the American political scientist G. Modelski, who considered the cycles of world history as a counteraction to the global players, to transit from a group of «challengers» to the status of a world power<sup>1</sup>, deter-

mined the appearance of supranational integration ideologies which received the denomination of «pan-ideologies» in the history of political thought.

The term «pan-ideology» comes from the Greek word «Πάν», which literally means «all», «everything», «everyone». Supranational ideologies were not unique, but quite common in the history of social-political thought. Thereby, A.A. Grigorieva notes that “the appearance and the development of the pan-ideologies is connected with the actualization of national problems, religious and cultural identity of nations and states, their aspiration for geopolitical growth. The purpose of pan-ideology is, on the one hand, the creation of a supranational state organization on a common ethnic or religious basis, on the other — the solution of exclusively internal, national problems” [11. — P. 9].

However, the term «pan-ideology» is not established in science. There exist different interpretations and approaches to the define the essence of its concept. A.M. Rodriguez in his recent research described pan-ideologies as a supranational

<sup>1</sup> American political scientist George Modelski (1926–1914), based on the long cycles theory in politics, has developed a concept, explaining the history of world politics as a constant battle between state leaders and the challengers, aspiring to occupy the leader’s place. Modelski proposed a special system of criteria, which allowed the states to perform a jump-start in their development and to transfer to the group of leaders. For details, see: [23. — P. 62–82]; [24. — P. 124–142].

ideologies: "Supranational ideologies is the nominal name to such currents of political thought that absolutize the true or illusory unity of social or political macro-groups on a common territorial, racial, ethnic and religious basis" [25. — P. 26; 28. — P. 137]. Haludorov considers pan-ideologies as an "extended understanding of nationalism" or as pan-nationalism. The researcher writes: "Pan-nationalism aimed to create the large-scale political players united on the base of different characteristics" [31. — P. 39]. Russian researcher of nationalism V.S. Malakhov also treats pan-ideologies in the context of the expanded conception of nationalism. The author affirms that "nationalism is, above all, an ideology that legitimizes efforts to integrate or disintegrate states... However, apart from nationalism as an ideology directly related to the real or hypothetical state, there is nationalism as an ideology of politicized identity" [19. — P. 262]. The last notion is Malakhov's determination of pan-ideologies. In his study, Malakhov relies on the work of the famous American researcher of nationalism L. Snyder, who insisted that «pan-ideologies» are the first examples of micro-nationalism [44. — P. 17–65]; [45. — P. 209]. In return, a recent national research indicates that «micro-nationalism is the heir of "ancient" or classical nationalism of the XVIII–early XIX century, in other words, a political program, which determined the formation of a modern nation-states. In this context, it represents the nationalism of "large" or, more precisely, the established nation-states" [27. — P. 24]. It is important to note the point of view of the American political scientist Z. Brzeziński, who uses the term of «supranational regionalism» to characterize the «pan-European» and «pan-Asian» movements. [6. — P. 167]. According to this, the terms «pan-ideologies», «supranational ideologies» and «pan-ideas» will be used as synonyms in the article.

One of the first political scientists who made references to the appearance

of pan-ideas was the classic of the German school of geopolitics Karl Haushofer (1869–1946), who devoted to this theme his article «Pan-idea in Geopolitics» (Geopolitik der pan-Idea), published in 1931. Haushofer explains that «the compelling experience of geography and history suggests that all ideas that proclaim large purposes (pan-ideas) encompassing entire nations, tend instinctively to be implemented and then to be developed and expanded..».[32. — P. 85]. He supposed that during the whole history, "humanity has often dwell in many of its undertakings on the way from the community or tribal group organization through the public (national) state to the dream of the joint development of all known lands of the planetary union..».[32. — P. 85]. Advocating the fact contrary to the common opinion that the pan-ideas once appearing, stay very viable, Haushofer, however, empathizes that pan-ideas should englobe only those ideas that «rise above sheer aggressive and exploitative ideas, had a cultural mission (Kultursendungen) and were actually addressed to all, and not only to the establishment ladder" [32. — P. 86].

However, according to the currently popular opinion in science, the first supranational ideology (pan-ideology) becomes Pan-Hellenism. It is in the works of Greek thinkers and orators that takes place the true conceptual design of the ideology that laid the foundation of the idea of the universal unification of all Greek politicians and the construction of a common national identity<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The term "identity" originates in the psychology of personality and the social psychology, where it refers to an integral image that a person forms about himself, comparing himself with other individuals. Special attention is paid to this problem in the works of the American psychologist E. Erickson [39]. National identity in this study is understood as formed on the basis of established features of national culture, ethnic characteristics, customs, beliefs, myths, moral imperatives vision of peoples themselves among other nations. [9]; [10. — P. 3–16]; [43].

### **Pan-Hellenism is the first supranational integration ideology in the history of the political science and thought**

The origin of the ideas of Pan-Hellenism falls on the interval between the V and IV century BC. This period in the history of the Greek city-states is characterized by a deep crisis in the relations of the city-states that provoked the decline of some of them. The formation of the ideology of Pan-Hellenism was accelerated by the disintegration of one of the largest political unions — Athenian Maritime League (478–404 BCE), which increased the risk of military intervention from Persia and Carthage. In addition, the strengthening of Sparta after its victory in the Peloponnesian war (431–404 BCE) and the inclusion in its zone of influence of a number of democratic politicians, increased the feeling of anxiety in some Greek thinkers. The expansion of the ideas of Pan-Hellenism, especially in Greek literature, becomes a kind of response to the current socio-political situation in Greece. It is the search for ways to overcome the crisis that has become an accelerator provoking the emergence of concepts that justify the need of ethno-cultural consolidation of Greek city-states [21. — P. 18–26]. The key point which, according to the ideologists of Pan-Hellenism, were able to end the civil disturbances and the crisis, were the idea to have a common “enemy”. As I.V. Melanchenko wrote: “the structure-forming components of the emerging Pan-Hellenic ideology was the historical and cultural unity of the Greeks, the need of political unification of the Greeks to fight the external enemy — the Persians”<sup>1</sup> [20. — P. 97].

<sup>1</sup> The same fact is pointed out by I.V. Allenova, because according to the ideologists of Pan-Hellenism, “a victorious war with an external enemy is capable, as in the heroic times of the Greco-Persian wars, of rallying the Hellenes and of giving them a new impetus to the ordering of internal life, overcoming social conflicts and political struggle”. [1. — P. 63].

It must be also noted that the formation of Pan-Hellenism in the public consciousness dichotomy “friend-enemy” was a truly innovative approach, which has repeatedly introduced in the subsequent integration conceptions. In many ways, any pan-ideologies couldn’t dispense with this connecting element<sup>2</sup>. As the history shows, negative representation in the formation of public opinion has had a much greater effect and has become a central part of many ideological structures. Like the German political scientist Carl Schmitt (1888–1965), who defined the politics exclusively as a confrontation between “Friends” and “enemies”<sup>3</sup>, the creators of the pan-ideologies have fully perceived the factor of “common enemy”, first appeared in Pan-Hellenism, as a fundamental element of their conceptions.

Another factor that formed the basis of the ideology of Pan-Hellenism, which was reproduced in the later supranational projects, was the creation of a common “myth” about the victory of the Greeks in the war with the Persians (500–449 BCE). These were the military successes of the Greeks that put an end to the military expansion of the Persian Empire in Attica, which served as the basis for the assertion of the myth of the superiority of the Greeks over other barbarian peoples. The formation of political myths as the most important factor determining cultural identity was written by the famous Romanian Mircea

<sup>2</sup> Many researchers paid attention to the role played by negative representation during the formation of national or supranational identity, especially in crises, destabilization of society, changings in the social structure. Thus, V.A. Achkasov warns that “the discourse of national and ethnic elites, as a rule, aims to the implementation of the strategy of positive self-presentation of their community and the negative presentation of “significant Others”, which are needed to strengthen their legitimacy and to achieve a positive self-assessment of the group”. [5. — P. 106–107].

<sup>3</sup> Karl Schmitt wrote that “any opposition — religious, economic, or ethnic — becomes the opposite of political if it is strong enough to effectively divide people into groups of friends and enemies”. [37. — P. 61–62]. The same about Carl Schmitt, see: [8. — P. 337–340].

Eliade (1907–1986) in the middle of the last century. In his opinion, the creation of a common political mythology, historical memory is the key point, without which it is impossible to build the concept of the nation. For more information, see: [38.]; [34. — P. 147–151]; [33. — P. 386–392]; [35]; [36. — P. 240–244].

Despite the prevailing disunity of the Greek city-states, as well as the fact that not all areas of the Hellenic world focused its foreign policy on an Alliance with each other, the ideology of Pan-Hellenism has quickly become popular in the Greek world. It is impossible to disagree with O.A.Frantsuzova, who argues that, despite the political difficulties in uniting the Greeks, the ideas of national solidarity were based on the national consciousness and supported by common language, spiritual culture, Greek holidays (Olympic games) and shrines (for example, the Delphic oracle was worshiped in the whole Greek world). In addition, all the Greeks attached a lot of importance to the idea of their exclusivity, opposing Pan-Hellenes (residents of all Greece) to foreign nations — barbarians [30. — P. 79].

The main tool of the expand of a new ideology is, first of all, Greek literature. It is believed that one of the first who turned to the subject of Pan-Hellenism, was Aristophanes (about 444–386 BCE), Athenian writer, who skillfully reflected in his comedies the views of his time. Pan-hellenic appeals are heard in such works of Aristophanes, as “Peace” [4. — P. 302–376], “Lysistrata” [3. — P. 473–544], “The Acharnians” [2. — P. 5–71]. Referring to the glorious past of Greece, Aristophanes encourages all Greeks, like their ancestors, to unite in the face of a common enemy. The leading role in the unification of the Greeks, “implementing of the Pan-Hellenic program, the first part being the reconciliation of the Greeks, while the second is closely connected with the cultivation of hostility to the barbarians” [20. — P. 99], had to lie on the shoulders of the two main political centers — Athens and Sparta, on

whose policies depended prosperity and peace in the Greek world.

At this time a particular importance in promoting Pan-Hellenism acquire speeches of famous rhetoricians Gorgias (c. 480–380 BCE) and Lysias (c. 445–380 BCE). Thus, a special symbolism had the speech of Gorgias, pronounced at the Greek holiday — the Olympic games of 392 BCE. According to the Greek tradition, it was during the Olympic Games that the most significant political statements were made, so there is no coincidence that Gorgias decided to call for unity in Olympia<sup>1</sup>. Similar calls a few years later were addressed to the Greeks by Lysias who reminded at the Olympic games of 388 BCE about the importance of unification in the fight against a common enemy, and in this case with the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius the Elder (431–367 BCE) [18. — P. 283–285].

The final design of the ideology of Pan-Hellenism occurs in the writings of prominent Athenian rhetoric Isocrates (436–338 BCE), the “father of Pan-Hellenism”. Being a student of Gorgias, Isocrates develops the ideas of his predecessors about the need of ethno-cultural and political consolidation of the Hellenes. Already in his early speech “Praise for Helen” (in other translations “About Helen”. — V.A.) (384 BCE) Isocrates suggests that the Greeks should remember the time of the Trojan war, when all the city-states joined their forces to fight against the barbarians [13. — P. 200–213]. Pan-hellenism gets its conceptual completeness in the speeches of Isocrates “Panegyricus” (380 BCE) [12. — P. 46–80] and “Philip” (346 BCE) [14. — P. 81–109], dedicated to the Macedonian king Philip (382–336 BCE). The main idea of Isocrates that he believed

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the speech of Gorgias at the Olympic games, has not survived. However, the content is known to us through the narration of Filostrato, the admirer of the Gorgias’ legacy (170–247). In addition, the work of Russian researchers of ancient literature allows to conclude that the speech belongs to Gorgias and is authentic in its semantic content. [26. — P. 169–172]; [22. — P. 60–105]; [29].

would unite all Greek city-states is the call for a Pan-Hellenic campaign against the primordial enemies — the Persians [30. — P. 79]. As noted foreign researchers of Isocrates, especially E. Meyer, J. Beloch and P. Cloche, the political significance of the speeches of the Athenian orator was obvious, that is why the speech of Isocrates became a kind of quintessence of Pan-Hellenic views [42. — P. 335–336]; [40. — P. 371; 378–379]; [41. — P. 39–95].

The ideology of Pan-Hellenism was also developed in the works of the Greek historian Xenophon (c. 430–356 BCE), who, like other ideologists of Pan-Hellenism, encouraged the Greeks to unite, however, under the power unique monarch. Pan-hellenism motives appear in such works as “Heiro, the Tyrant” (about 360 BCE) [15. — P. 39–62] “Greek History” (c. 356 BCE) [16] and “Education of Cyrus” (in other translations “The Cyropaedia”. — V.A.) (c. 362 BCE) [17]. It can be assumed that the political ideal of Xenophon was the unification of the Greek city-states under the power of Sparta, which would contribute to the strengthening of the entire Hellenic world.

Many researchers tend to believe that the Pan-Hellenism program had its final shaping during the reign of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), who without being a Greek could unite under his rule all the territories of the Greek world [1. — P. 66]; [30. — P. 79]. Nevertheless, a number of researchers express another opinion. For example, I.V. Melanchenko, points out the original utopian character of Pan-Hellenistic projects: “Despite the widespread ideas of Pan-Hellenism — both among ordinary citizens (according to the plays of Aristophanes) and the intellectual elite — these ideas are not embodied in a specific political program and did not become a platform for the unification of the Hellenes. Obviously, the tradition of the city-state particularism was stron-

ger than the idea of the need of unity” [20. — P. 107]. However, in our opinion, the fact that the ideas of Pan-Hellenism in one form or in another have found a real embodiment in the policy of Alexander the Great, and we may indicate that this ideology has had some impact on the formation of the socio-political agenda, which allows us to talk about it as the first coherent attempt to create an integrative supranational idea.

### Instead of conclusion

Later, the ideas of Pan-Hellenism about the construction of supranational identities through language, culture and general “political mythology” formed the basis for the formation of such ideological and theoretical complexes as Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, etc<sup>1</sup>. In fact, the mechanisms of identity creation experienced in Ancient Greece, are used in modern political practice. This is especially relevant in the context of the “wars of memory” that have engulfed the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, where the process of nation-building has not yet been completed. The attempts to create a myth of their own historical past, that would consolidate the young nation by opposing them to their external “enemies”, by constructing “their”, “national” history, literature, political myths and symbols, all these processes are nothing but a “well forgotten” recipes of the past. However, if the appearance of pan-ideologies has always been a reaction either to an external threat and a way to repel it, or an attempt to legitimize claims to a new, higher geopolitical status, then the question about the nature of the ideological searches and “wars of memory” in modern countries of Central and Eastern Europe, remains extremely controversial.

<sup>1</sup> For more details: [7]

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