

**UNIVERSITY OF TARTU**  
**Faculty of Social Sciences & Education**  
**Centre for Baltic Studies**

**Jonathan Rushbrook**

**Against the Thallasocracy: Fascism and Traditionalism in Alexander Dugin's  
Neo-Eurasianist philosophy**

Master's Thesis for Transatlantic MA Program in East-European Studies

Supervisors: Robert Blobaum, PhD & Heiko Pääbo, PhD

Tartu 2015

## **ABSTRACT**

### **Against the Thallasocracy: Fascism and Traditionalism in Alexander Dugin's Neo-Eurasianist philosophy**

**Jonathan Rushbrook**

This thesis discusses the ideological makeup of the Russian right wing philosopher Alexander Dugin. Tracing Dugin's ideological influences from early Eurasianism, the European New Right and esoteric religious beliefs such as Perennial Traditionalism, the thesis then goes on to place Dugin's body of thought within a larger debate on defining fascism and whether Dugin can be considered a fascist. The thesis emphasizes that Dugin's Neo-Eurasianist imperial project disqualifies him from any typical fascist taxonomy. Instead, Neo-Eurasianism represents a genuinely unique strain of extreme right wing thought that, though shares many similarities with historic fascism, nonetheless cannot be considered fascist due to Dugin's profoundly anti-modern vision and the supranational emphasis of his imperial objectives in which Russia plays a major role - but a role that places the Russian nation in a greater cultural, geographical, and civilizational identity. Ultimately this thesis contests some scholars' interpretations of Dugin's worldview as a fundamentally ethnocentric or even racist Russian nationalism. Rather, this thesis argues that Dugin holds a fundamentally religious understanding of reality that sees nations as manifestations of a spiritual, rather than a biological, essence. Thus it precludes Dugin from any purely biological racism. à la National Socialism.

## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Literature Review.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Theoretical Framework.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Methodology and Sources.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Alexander Dugin’s Political Life and Ideology.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Chapter 2: The Early Eurasainists, Lev Gumilev and the <i>Nouvelle Droite</i>.....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Chapter 3: Anti-Modernism in Traditionalism and Dugin’s Neo-Eurasianism.....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Chapter 4: Neo-Eurasianism: Religious Fundamentalism or Ultrnationalism?.....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1</b>	
<b>Annex 1: Glossary.....</b>	<b>78</b>

## Introduction

This thesis is an attempt at understanding and classifying the ideas of the Russian extreme right wing thinker, Alexander Dugin. The extreme right in Russia is certainly not a monolithic political entity. Ideologies are inherently multi-faceted and sometimes paradoxical. This is a particularly relevant observation when one researches fringe politics. Compared to mainstream politics, fringe political ideologies exist on the peripheries of a community's main discursive stage. While mainstream politics work within a system of accepted political truisms and modes of conduct, such as accepting the legitimacy of the rule of law and the outcome of elections, fringe thinkers often work to overturn and replace those accepted norms. Thus, fringe ideologies on the outskirts of typical political discourse sometimes maintain that the only means of transforming society is through political extremism. This “low” form of peripheral politics is mirrored by a form of “high” peripheral politics. Like the “low” type, “high” peripheral politics maintains that the current system must fundamentally and drastically change. While sometimes participating in a cult of action and violence, thinkers and ideologues of “high” peripheral politics often maintain that the only way to affect true systemic change is to alter the dominant culture and worldview of society's elites. This Gramscian approach is the hallmark of the European *Nouvelle Droite*, or New Right which seeks to overthrow the dominant liberal culture of the modern West and replace it with an Identitarian, often racist, defense of Europe and European culture against what it perceives to be the civilization-killing effects of American culture. Similar but not identical to the ideologues of the *Nouvelle Droite*, such as Alain de Benoist and Tomislav Sunic is the Russian Eurasianist Alexander Dugin, whose body of ideas is the major subject of this work.

Alexander Dugin has recently risen in popularity as a notable thinker among the Russian right. He argues for a “radical centralism” that supports the leadership of Vladimir Putin and calls for the territorial expansion of the Russian Federation.<sup>1</sup> He has admitted to being a follower of Julius Evola, who has himself been described by historians as a fascist apologist and reactionary. Furthermore, Dugin has openly accepted many of the major tenets of the European New Right such as the rejection of liberalism,

---

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Putin vs Putin: Vladimir Putin Viewed From the Right* (United Kingdom: Arktos, 2014), 29.

egalitarianism, and democracy. Along with Dugin's calls for the formation of a greatly enlarged Russian, or Eurasian, empire, he has encouraged the formation of a new European empire, based on "Indo-European, Roman and Greek values."<sup>2</sup> Over the years his activities and collective body of thought have drawn the interest of various scholars of fascism, neo-fascism and the broader New Right movement. Given his known political and philosophical affiliations it has become a recent trend among historians and political scientists to claim that, like many of his ideological allies, Dugin harbors racist and fascist sympathies or at least a sort of Russian supremacist worldview, despite his own arguments to the contrary.

With the recent annexation of Crimea to the Russian Federation and the fighting in eastern Ukraine between Ukrainian military forces and Russian forces and their separatist allies, Neo-Eurasianism has become an increasingly visible ideology to international observers. Dugin himself has hailed the annexation of Crimea as an important but very small victory that will lead to the ousting of American hegemony and liberal values from "Crimea to Lisbon."<sup>3</sup> An ideology that sanctions such rampant expansionism and violence has caught the attention of scholars as well. In the hopes of intellectually discrediting and disarming the violent, anti-liberal and eschatological nature of Neo-Eurasianism, it is important to place Dugin's broad body of ideas within a categorization in order to better define what Dugin is and what he is not. The primary research question of this work, then, is how can we define Alexander Dugin's worldview? More fundamentally, can Neo-Eurasianism be considered a form of fascism native to Russia? Furthermore, is Dugin's Traditionalism and exhortation to preserve the cultural diversity of the world a façade created in order to cover up a fundamentally racist set of ideas? Additionally, how do his ideas differ from historical traditionalists like his personal inspiration, Julius Evola, as well as the broader intellectual currents present within the European and North American New Right?

The major argument of this study is that, contrary to some scholars who argue that Dugin is a fascist and an ethnic Russian nationalist or even a racist, Dugin's avowed perennial Traditionalist worldview is genuine and it precludes his thinking from the modernism present in fascist thought and aesthetics as well as any biological racism.

---

<sup>2</sup> Dugin, *Putin vs Putin*, 309.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Dugin, "Alexander Dugin: Horizons of Our Revolution from Crimea to Lisbon" *Open Revolt* <<http://openrevolt.info/2014/03/07/alexander-dugin-crimea/>>.

Rather, Dugin is a cultural and spiritual imperialist, one who maintains that nationhood is defined, not by race or ethnicity, but by the cultural and spiritual participation of a people in their Traditional faith. Narrating the history of the world and the Russian nation through a fall-redemption myth-symbol complex, he ultimately defines Russians, and other peoples, as physical manifestations of sacred or spiritual ideas. For the Russians, their historic and spiritual destiny is that of a unifier and protector of other particular and smaller peoples. Nonetheless, despite much of the rhetoric of Neo-Eurasianism, the Russian nation is the most indispensable nation in Dugin's supranational project.

The Russian philosopher Alexander Dugin's Neo-Eurasianist movement, like the European New Right, have both been likened to fascist movements. For the purposes of this project, I will be utilizing Roger Griffin's concept of the "fascist minimum" in order to ascertain the possibility of a genuine fascism in Neo-Eurasianism. Griffin maintains that in order for a movement to be considered truly fascist it must meet two fundamental criteria. Firstly, the movement must articulate a belief that the nation must return to a set of sacred values lost since the advent of modernity and be reborn anew. This palingenesis is manifested through an often secular alternative modernism that, while discarding modern values of liberalism, egalitarianism and individualism, nonetheless posits a faith in modernity's technological progress, populism and secularism. The second requirement to meet for a movement or ideology to be considered fascist is a profound ultranationalism that views the betterment of one's nation as the ultimate good. While it is not a necessary prerequisite to being defined as fascist, biological racism has been a facet of some of the most violent and abhorrent fascist regimes such as National Socialist Germany. Given that Dugin's religious ideas have often been likened to the ideas espoused by noted anti-Semites such as Julius Evola and the Ariosophists, I will also examine Dugin's understanding of race in order to ascertain whether or not we can classify Dugin as a racist.

In a literature review, I will explain in detail the major rifts and gaps within the current scholarship on Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism and its relationship to fascism. In general there are two general interpretations among scholars as to Dugin's avowed Traditionalism and worldview. Some academics such as Marlene Laruelle connect Dugin's esoteric writings with the writings of noted Ariosophists such as Guido von List who portrayed Aryan man as a biologically supreme race. Other writers, like the theologian James Heiser, emphasize the eschatological nature of Dugin's writings which

are in full agreement with Traditionalism. Still others, such as Andreas Umland maintain that despite his protestations, Dugin cannot be considered a Traditionalist as his ideas are largely aberrant from much of what can be considered Guénonian Traditionalism. Rather, Umland maintains, Dugin's ideas can best be described as truly fascist. I argue that Heiser's interpretation is closest to reality and that Dugin's Traditionalist writings are not a cloak but are rather genuinely held sentiments, and are shorn of both the modernism and ultranationalism of fascism as well as biological racism.

Given that this project is a multi-disciplinary endeavor I will be drawing from both social science and historical sources. In order to ascertain whether or not Dugin can be considered a fascist, I will be drawing generally from the literature on theories of fascism.

In the Methodology section I will explain how I appraise the level of fascistic thought in Neo-Eurasianism. This will be accomplished through exploring not only Dugin's own body of work, but also examining the work of Traditionalists such as René Guénon (1886 – 1951) and Julius Evola (1898 -1974), both of whom as Dugin notes have been particularly influential on his worldview. Thirdly, by examining contemporary racist thinkers in the New Right I hope to elucidate how Dugin has been seen as a problem to many racist New Rightists today, who have come to view Dugin as a multiculturalist subversive within right-wing politics. By examining all three broad bodies of literature I hope to explain how Dugin, while representing fundamentally violent and dangerous thought, nonetheless perceives the world very differently from what we can consider to be a fascist worldview.

The first chapter of the work provides general background information about Alexander Dugin. Here I will discuss the basic tenets of Dugin's Fourth Political Theory and his anti-modernism. Furthermore, I will discuss his geopolitical goals for the creation of a Eurasian empire.

The second chapter discusses the historic origins of the Eurasianist movement during the Russian Civil War. The early Eurasianists argued for a historiographical interpretation of Russian history as one that transcended East and West by idealizing Russia's historical connections to the Mongolian Empire. Then, the chapter will describe in brief the Cold War era origins of the European New Right and its expansion into North America. Taken together, both of these broad movements represent the general non-Traditional influences on Neo-Eurasianist thought and methods.

Thirdly, I will discuss the historical origins of Perennial Traditionalism and the ideas of René Guénon and Julius Evola. It is impossible to understand Dugin's own worldview without understanding Traditionalism. Consequently, I will discuss Traditionalism's vehement anti-modernism and Dugin's continuation of that strain of thought. This violent anti-modernism will be shown to be fundamentally at odds to the alternative modernity proposed by most palingenetic fascisms.

In the fourth section of the thesis, Dugin's ideas concerning the importance of the Russian nation will be placed in the context of a broader, supranational Eurasian project. Dugin has proposed the unification of much of the Eurasian continent, led by Russia, into a greater Eurasian empire that will facilitate the end of American globalism and consumerism and their replacement with the re-enthronement of Traditional values. Although Russian nationalists and imperialists have historically utilized similar narratives that envision Russia as a uniter of disparate peoples in order to justify Russian expansion at the expense of smaller peoples, this section will emphasize that Dugin's faith in the Perennial Tradition precludes him from this vulgar sense of national enrichment. Rather, Dugin genuinely envisions the Russian nation as an important, but only a part of, a greater whole in which Tradition, not the nation or race, is the highest value. Thus the fourth chapter acts as a negation of Griffin's second prerequisite for a movement or ideology to be fascist: extreme ultranationalism.

The fifth chapter of the thesis discusses the understanding of race and racism in both the Perennial Tradition and Alexander Dugin's thought. Although not a prerequisite to meet the fascist minimum, a discussion of Dugin, Traditionalism and race will hopefully extirpate notions about Nazi influences over Neo-Eurasianism. It is conceivable that Alexander Dugin, given what he has written, has genuinely discounted race as meaningful in identity and has at most applied Evola's ideas of a sort of "spiritual race." As will be seen, Evola did not believe that race was a purely inherent biological trait. Rather, Evola conceived of race as a spiritual characteristic of individuals that could be elevated through station and virtuous living, regardless of ethnicity. Concomitantly, I will place Dugin into the context of a broader internal debate within the New Right, particularly among members of the North American New Right. This debate centers on how they should interpret Alexander Dugin's own body of thought. While there has been no consensus reached, racist thinkers such as Greg Johnson and Michael O'Meara have been adamant that Dugin is a subversive element within the New Right movement and



his doctrine of multi-polarity and his anti-racism make him an enemy, not a friend, of White Nationalism and racist thought. Thus, the chapter demonstrates that Dugin cannot be considered a biological racist à la National Socialism.

Ultimately, the novelty and uniqueness of this project derives from two major sources. By discussing Dugin's relationship to historic fascist ideas I hope to participate in the vibrant discussions being held between various scholars on how we should interpret Dugin's illiberal and violent ideas. I hope to emphasize, as few others have, just how fundamentally Traditionalism colors Dugin's worldview more than anything else. In addition, the novelty of this thesis can be seen in viewing Secondly, by discussing the recent debates within the New Right on Dugin, we bring to bear circumstantial, but no less important, evidence that Dugin's views, despite what some scholars might indicate, are fundamentally not racist.

## Literature Review

Considering the massive body of literature produced by Dugin, scholars have attempted to synthesize his vision in order to fully understand just what his goals truly are. He has repeatedly and clearly stated that the United States' global hegemony must be defeated and that Russia must expand to include much of Eurasia and form an alliance with a pro-Russian Europe. Yet his eclectic intellectual background drawn from the European New Right, interwar esoteric religion, Russian Orthodoxy, and his own mystical Russian messianism has drawn scholars to question just which factors most influence Dugin's worldview, and whether or not he can be considered a fascist. Most scholars accept that Dugin's worldview constitutes a Russo-centric totalitarian program that in the very least has been influenced by the German Conservative Revolutionary movement and a modicum of esoterica. However, a central point of debate dominates the discourse on Alexander Dugin and his philosophy. Specialists are divided on how to interpret Dugin's nationalism. Some scholars such as Marlene Laruelle and Edith Clowes emphasize Dugin's use of arcane themes such as sacred geography as a means of covertly espousing a racist or in the very least a fascistic worldview. Conversely, other scholars such as the theologian James Heiser maintain that Dugin's esoteric language is a manifestation of his fundamentalist religious worldview. Concomitantly, scholars such as Anton Shekhovstov and Andreas Umland have declared that Dugin is fundamentally a fascist who merely utilizes the esoteric language of anti-modern Traditionalism as a way of covering up his more insidious worldview.

This thesis is an attempt at contributing to the following debates by maintaining that, contrary to the ideas proposed by Umland and Shekhovstov, Dugin's Traditionalism is not a cover but is a genuine worldview that he holds. Thus, his antimodernism and supranational project are not manifestations of a philosophical expediency but a non-fascist - yet no less dangerous - ideology. Furthermore In addition to an attempt at contributing to the ongoing debate on Dugin, this work will utilize a source of material that many scholars have not utilized – the writings of the current New Right on Dugin. While it is certainly not a monolithic movement, the New Right has produced a bevy of literature that can help shed light on Dugin and how he views biological race.

## Dugin and Race

One of the key debates centered on Dugin is how one can understand his approach to race. His ideas draw heavily on a fascistic cult of action and violence and his Russian expansionism coupled with conspiracy theories about a millennia-old war between the mercantile West and spiritual East has earned him the reputation among some scholars such as Marlene Laruelle as a racist ultranationalist. Laruelle admits that Dugin's worldview a mixed one and he has espoused often seemingly contradictory ideas. Nonetheless she contends that Dugin's worldview is in many ways colored by the concept of ethnicity and race. Laruelle argues that Dugin has been mainly influenced by the racist aspect of perennial Traditionalism through Julius Evola as well as the theory of ethnogenesis postulated by the revered Soviet scholar Lev Gumilev. She maintains that despite his rhetoric extolling the virtues of a multi-cultural world Dugin is nonetheless a fervent Russian nationalist who envisions a new Russian empire dominated by ethnic Russians.<sup>4</sup>

The first aspect of Dugin's racial identification of nation, according to Laruelle, is his links to Evolian Tradition and sacred geography. She emphasizes the strong correlation between the esoteric proto-and post-Nazi Ariosophy of Guido von List and Jorg von Liebfensfels, and Dugin's own esoteric language. The esoteric racist doctrine of the Ariosophists claimed a racial homeland in the north called Atlantis, Thule, or Hyperborea. This ancient homeland was the birthplace of the racially superior Aryan people who brought culture and civilization to the world starting on the Indian subcontinent. Dugin, according to Laruelle, creates a similar narrative. In his 1991 book, *The Mysteries of Eurasia*, Dugin claims that "the continents have a symbolic significance."<sup>5</sup> For Eurasia Dugin has discovered a northern homeland in Siberia – thus giving the Russians a Nordic identity, something that is essential in a Nazi-inspired discourse.<sup>6</sup> By utilizing esoteric language, Laruelle argues, Dugin merely covers what is in reality a highly racist worldview that sees Russians as a fundamentally Nordic, and superior, people.

Additionally, Laruelle highlights Dugin's intellectual debt to the works of Lev

---

<sup>4</sup> Marlene Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire*, trans. Mischa Gabowitsch (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Press, 2012), 130.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Laruelle *Russian Eurasianism*, 130.

<sup>6</sup> Laruelle *Russian Eurasianism*, 130.

Gumilev, the celebrated Soviet ethnologist.<sup>7</sup> Gumilev's theories, although very controversial in the West, remain a mainstay for many Russian scientists, who adhere to their pseudo-scientific examination of ethnicity. Gumilev posits a deterministic worldview that pits ethnicities against one another. Gumilev's conception of ethnicity is based largely on a "science of history" that maintains that history can be predicted. Furthermore, Gumilev argued that ethnicities were formed over centuries through peoples' interactions with the territory and soil that they inhabited. Ethnic mixing was strictly discouraged as the mixing of ethnicities would lead to the weakening of the biological stock of ethnic groups.<sup>8</sup> Thus Laruelle maintains that despite Dugin's use of esoteric and religious language, he defines the Russian nation fundamentally along ethnic or even racist lines.

Similarly, Edith Clowes' book *Russia on the Edge – Imagined Geographies and Post-Soviet Identity* is another example of scholarship that represents Dugin's Traditionalist rhetoric as largely ephemeral.<sup>9</sup> Clowes notes that Dugin's flowery language of protecting national specificities is largely a cover for a greater Russian project that sees the fulfillment of Russian national interests as the only goal worth pursuing. By Clowes' reckoning, in any neo-Eurasian project the smaller nations inevitably will be swallowed up by its supposed protector, making Dugin's ideas nothing less than "political hypocrisy."<sup>10</sup> This political hypocrisy, according to Clowes, extends to religious hypocrisy. She condemns Dugin's supposed universalism when it comes to generally favorable references to all world religions while simultaneously extolling the virtues of Russia for having Russian Orthodoxy as its official state religion.

Andreas Umland, who is a specialist on the post-communist Russian far right, has written extensively on the Neo-Eurasian phenomenon. In 2007 he maintained that Dugin's worldview was fundamentally Traditionalist arguing, "being framed by the ideas of Evola and other Traditionalists, Dugin sees Orthodoxy as only one of several religions that have preserved the initial 'tradition.'"<sup>11</sup> However, Umland has recently questioned

---

<sup>7</sup> Laruelle *Russian Eurasianism*, 116.

<sup>8</sup> Laruelle *Russian Eurasianism*, 69

<sup>9</sup> Edith Clowes, *Russia on the Edge – Imagined Geographies and Post-Soviet Identity*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 44.

<sup>10</sup> Clowes, *Russia on the Edge*, 63.

<sup>11</sup> Andreas Umland, "Post-Soviet 'Uncivil Society' and the Rise of Alexandr Dugin – A Case Study in Extraparliamentary Radical Right in Contemporary Russia (Ph.D dissertation, Trinity College-Cambridge, 2007), 150.

his own argument that Dugin's worldview is fundamentally colored by his religious worldview. Now Andreas Umland along with Anton Shekhovtsov question the efficacy of calling Dugin a Traditionalist at all. In the article, "Is Alexander Dugin a Traditionalist? Neo-Eurasianism and Perennial Philosophy," Umland and Shekhovtsov counter Mark Sedgwick's argument<sup>12</sup> that Dugin represents a recent, albeit innovative, manifestation of René Guénon's Traditionalist worldview. Umland and Shekhovtsov emphasize the influence of Evola rather than Guénon on Dugin's politics. According to this argument Guénon's Traditionalism was fundamentally based around changing one's own spiritual life in order to transcend modern decadence while Evola's was about changing society at large – often through violent means, thus neither Dugin or Evola represent Guénonian Tradition.<sup>13</sup> Shorn of the label of Traditionalist and its accompanying universalism, Dugin's ideas appear increasingly secular and fascist.

### **Dugin and Tradition**

Other scholars, however, hold that explaining Dugin's nationalism within an ethnic or racist paradigm makes little sense. In his discussion on nationalism in post-communist Russia, Wayne Allensworth argues that Dugin's religious approach bars Dugin from thinking of the Russian nation along ethnic or racial lines. Allensworth suggests that Dugin is attempting to create a new Russian.<sup>14</sup> Appropriating the position of the Russian nation's chief storyteller, Dugin is creating a new narrative of Russian history and destiny that combines the Perennial Tradition with Russian messianism. He underlines the Russian nation's divine mission to unite other cultures around a protective Russian empire. Thus, Allensworth interprets Dugin's definition of nation along religious, albeit esoteric, lines.

The theologian, James Heiser, has produced a recent monograph that examines Dugin's eschatological thought. In "The American Empire Should Be Destroyed" Aleksander Dugin and the Perils of Immanentized Eschatology" Heiser takes Dugin at

---

<sup>12</sup> Mark Sedgwick, *Against the Modern world: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 225.

<sup>13</sup> Andreas Umland and Anton Shekhovtsov, "Is Alexander Dugin a Traditionalist? 'Neo-Eurasianism' and the Perennial Philosophy" *The Russian Review* 68 (October 2008), 676.

<sup>14</sup> Wayne Allensworth, "Dugin and the Eurasian Controversy: Is Eurasianism 'Patriotic?'" in *Russian Nationalism and the National Reassertion of Russia*, ed. Marlene Laruelle (London: Routledge, 2010), 116.

his word that he is indeed a Traditionalist. Heiser likens Dugin's metaphysical outlook as something akin to political religion and maintains that the links between Dugin's Traditionalism and German racial theories are largely superficial. While Dugin makes use of the themes of an ancient pre-historical mythic landmass to the north that spawned a superior people, Heiser emphasizes that Dugin is largely talking about a spiritually superior people who held knowledge of the perennial Tradition. Consequently, Heiser also maintains that Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism is not a racist ideology but fundamentally spiritual and religious.

### **Dugin and Fascism**

Given that Neo-Eurasianism proposes an authoritarian and imperialist program that emphasizes a return to sacred values while disdaining liberalism and egalitarianism, it is unsurprising that many scholars have labeled Dugin a neo-fascist. Indeed, Dugin's association with the ideas of sacred Geography present in Ariosophy and Julius Evola's thought have allowed for scholars such as Laruelle to implicitly draw a line from National Socialist racism to Dugin. Similarly, scholars such as Anton Shekhovtsov have firmly maintained that Dugin is a fascist.<sup>15</sup> Describing Dugin's Neo-Eurasianist imperial project as a "fascist Eurasian Union," he then points to a picture of a meeting between the American anti-Semite and White Nationalist David Duke and Alexander Dugin as implicit proof that both Dugin and Duke share the same worldview.<sup>16</sup> Shekhovtsov rejects Dugin's protestations against both fascism and racism as largely a cover for a fundamentally fascist ideology in a country and world where the language of fascism is barely acceptable. Andreas Umland, who as stated above has come to question Dugin's adherence to Traditionalism, has increasingly spoken of Dugin as an outright fascist. Umland has warned against the increasingly "neo-fascist" intellectual currents present within Moscow State University's sociology department. Arguing that Dugin, as head of the Center for Conservative Studies,

"has repeatedly acknowledged his closeness to the ideas of, among other

---

<sup>15</sup> Anton Shekhovtsov, "Russian Fascist Aleksandr Dugin's dreams of dictatorship in Russia" *Anton Shekhovtsov's Blog*, 27 February, 2014. < <http://anton-shekhovtsov.blogspot.com/2014/02/russian-fascist-aleksandr-dugin-is.html>>.

<sup>16</sup> Shekhovtsov, "Russian Fascist Aleksandr Dugin's dreams of dictatorship in Russia" < <http://anton-shekhovtsov.blogspot.com/2014/02/russian-fascist-aleksandr-dugin-is.html>>.

fascist ideologies, Nazism, and uses the term "conservatism" as a cover for the spread of a revolutionary ultranationalist and neo-imperialist ideology. In recent years, he has built up a network of supporters in Moscow's higher echelons of power and established considerable foreign ties. If his behavior remains unchecked, Dugin could easily use the reputation of Moscow State University for further extension of his reach into Russian society.<sup>17</sup>

Thus for both Umland and Shekhovtsov, Neo-Eurasianism is a fundamentally fascist ideology based on its anti-liberal, anti-egalitarian, totalitarian and expansionist program.

The debates discussed above represent the major points of conflict over how we are to interpret Dugin's philosophical worldview. The present work supports a position close to James Heiser's own understanding of Dugin. Fundamentally, Dugin envisions reality in genuinely religious and eschatological terms. Furthermore, it is accurate to describe Dugin as a Traditionalist. Despite Andreas Umland's contention that Julius Evola represented a major break from Traditionalism, this study maintains that regardless of Evola's difference in tactics from that of Guénon, they both shared fundamentally the exact same world view. For both Guénon and Evola the West was corrupt and dying, modernity and egalitarianism were great societal ills, and the West needed to return to Traditional forms of religious practice in order to save itself. Therefore, Dugin himself should be considered a Traditionalist.

This study also argues that Edith Clowes' interpretation of Dugin as a jingoist Russian nationalist, as well as Marlene Laruelle's argument that Dugin's worldview is heavily colored by Ariosophy and a racist worldview, are both not entirely correct. The present work will argue that despite his anti-liberalism and philosophical association with racial theorists, Dugin genuinely believes in what he says and that it is possible to participate in Evolian Traditionalism and not be a racist. Evola was indeed a racist. However, his racial theories were dominated by a belief in a "race of the spirit" as he saw biological racism as a symptom of decadent and modern scientific reductionism.

The above debates showcase the major lines of discussion concerning Alexander Dugin and his ideas between scholars. While Neo-Eurasianism has only relatively recently become a topic of discussion amongst the scholarly community, it has

---

<sup>17</sup> Andreas Umland, "Fascist Tendencies in Russian Higher Education: The Rise of Aleksandr Dugin and Moscow University's Sociology Faculty" *Opednews.com* 24 August, 2011, <<http://www.opednews.com/articles/Fascist-Tendencies-in-Russ-by-Andreas-Umland-110823-348.html>>.

nonetheless produced several broad arguments about Dugin and his philosophy concerning his links to racist thought, fascism and Perennial Traditionalism. The next section will discuss the broader literature on fascism and how scholars have come to define fascism. It will detail some of the expansive definitions proposed by scholars in the past decades. Secondly, the next section proposes that Roger Griffin's criteria of a "fascist minimum" is the most useful in analyzing a potential fascist organization and thus can be used to examine Alexander Dugin's works in order to ascertain the level of fascistic content in his ideas.



## **Theoretical Framework Taxonomies of Fascism**

Fascism has long been a highly contested term that has been the subject of much scholarly debate. Fascism is a disputed topic because unlike communism or liberalism, which has had time to develop intellectual and theoretical backdrops to their respective broad ideologies, fascism as a form of government existed in practice for a very short period of time during the interwar years. Indeed, some would go so far as to say that fascism, unlike liberalism or communism, inherently lacked any major essential intellectual foundations as it was a fundamentally emotive and reactive political movement that emphasized action over philosophy. Furthermore, many fascist experiments throughout the history of the broad movement exhibited different tendencies. For instance, Nazi Germany exhibited an extreme biological racism and anti-Semitism while Fascist Italy largely viewed race, or *la Razza*, as a cultural rather than biological phenomenon and only belatedly and in slavish emulation of Nazi Germany enacted anti-Semitic laws.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Nazi Germany was perhaps the most “perfected” form of fascism in which traditional elites were almost completely deposed and Nazism permeated almost all of German daily life. Conversely, Fascist Italy was only partially successful in implementing a fascist program. Mussolini had to contend not only with a sometimes recalcitrant Catholic Church but even with the persistence of the Italian monarchy until Mussolini’s dismissal from office.

According to the historian Robert O. Paxton, fascism, unlike communism in which internationalism is more or less a facet of its foundational philosophy, emphasizes a nation’s “cultural particularism” which precludes it from a simple taxonomy.<sup>19</sup> Some scholars, such as Zeev Sternhell, have essentially given up on using the term “fascism” outside of the context of Mussolini’s Italy.<sup>20</sup> For instance Sternhell contends that the centrality of biological racism in National Socialism and the lack of it in Italian Fascism precludes them from being classified as representatives of a generic fascism.<sup>21</sup> Rather, would-be fascisms such as Romania’s Iron Guard movement and the Spanish Falangists

---

<sup>18</sup> Robert O Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), Ebook.

<sup>19</sup> Paxton, *Anatomy*, Ebook.

<sup>20</sup> Zeev Sternhell trans. David Maisel *The Birth of Fascist Ideology: From Cultural Rebellion To Political Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1994), 5.

<sup>21</sup> Sternhell, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology*, 5.

should be understood as unique phenomena unto themselves. On the other hand, other scholars including Roger Griffin, Stanley G. Payne and Robert O. Paxton hold that the problem of a generic fascist definition is not an insurmountable one. They have attempted to establish a “fascist minimum,” a set of criteria that, if met by the investigated political group, would allow scholars to identify them as a genuinely fascist movement. Griffin has argued that a subject ideology meets the fascist minimum if it “...is a political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism.”<sup>22</sup> In other words, an ideology can be considered fascist when it combines a profound belief in the national need for a restoration of sacred values in order to be born anew with an extreme, often messianic and expansionist, nationalism. For the purposes of this study Griffin’s “fascist minimum” will be the means of measuring Neo-Eurasianism’s fascist potential. However, prior to discussing Alexander Dugin’s possible fascism it is essential to discuss more in depth the historiographical and scholarly debate surrounding fascism in order to place Dugin’s body of thought within the broader context of the debate.

Marxist thought has contributed significantly to the debate over fascism. It is no surprise that Marxist ideologues and scholars both have proposed an understanding of fascism that emphasizes class warfare. Marxist historians such as Dave Renton have repeatedly criticized other historians for their lack of emphasis of fascism’s fundamentally capitalist and anti-labor character.<sup>23</sup> Marxist historiography argues that fascist experiments such as in Italy and Germany were in large part a violent reaction of capitalism against the proletariat in order to preempt an increasingly possible communist revolution.<sup>24</sup> This is not to say that fascist movements were necessarily created by the ruling capitalists. Yet, Marxists maintain, fascism cannot come into power or remain in it without the support and funding of capitalists and big businesses. Once in power, fascist movements largely act to the benefit of industrialists or business owners by implementing reactionary laws aimed at restoring hierarchy, curtailing the ability of workers to organize, and violently suppressing all those who oppose them.<sup>25</sup> In a similar vein, the historian Ernst Nolte, although not a Marxist, nonetheless came to

---

<sup>22</sup> Roger Griffin, *The Palingenetic Core of Fascist Ideology*, <<https://www.libraryofsocialscience.com/ideologies/docs/the-palingenetic-core-of-generic-fascist-ideology/index.html>>.

<sup>23</sup> Dave Renton, *Fascism: Theory and Practice* (London: Pluto Press, 1999), 12.

<sup>24</sup> Renton, *Fascism*, 30.

<sup>25</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Marxism* <<https://www.marxists.org/encyclopedia/terms/f/a.htm#fascism>>.

the a parallel conclusion to that of Marxists by arguing that Fascism represented not so much a collection of positive ideas but a collection of negations the first two being anti-Marxism and anti-materialism.<sup>26</sup> According to Nolte, the Jews represented to Hitler and the Nazis a physical manifestation of a “spirit of modernity” whose values including Marxism, consumerism, and rationalism led to total cultural decadence and ennui.<sup>27</sup> Thus the Holocaust enacted by the Nazis represented a penultimate war against modernity and its values.

While the Marxist approach to fascism allows us to view fascism as a continuation of long-standing class struggle, it works to overly simplify fascism and reduce it to a single meaning. The weakness present within a Marxist understanding of fascism is its simplification of fascism into a purely class struggle. It is certainly true that capitalists, particularly industrialists, might have been favorably disposed towards fascists who promised militarization and war and thus profits for many of those who manufactured goods. Yet Marxist historiography cannot account for the sheer popularity of many fascist movements. Nazism, while certainly popular with many industrialists, also drew its support from broad swathes of the population including not only the middle class but also plenty of workers, farmers and unskilled laborers. By reducing fascism to a purely economic understanding, Marxist historiography fails to account for the millions of lower class men and women who favored fascism for different reasons.

Another school of thought concerning the origins of fascism is called the “Weberian approach.”<sup>28</sup> While Marxists hold that capitalism was the essential force behind the rise of fascism, Weberian scholars argue that conservative aristocrats, landowners and traditional military elites facilitated the origins of fascism. They maintain that because countries like Germany, Spain, Italy and even Japan never experienced a genuine liberal-democratic revolution, traditional elites played a very large role in their societies compared to, for example, Great Britain.<sup>29</sup> Pre-industrial elites combined with the petty bourgeois and peasantry, all of whom felt threatened by urbanization and modernization, sought to repel secularism and socialism. Thus through mass conscription, entry into the Great War, and later through the fostering of fascist movements, many elites sought to

---

<sup>26</sup> Ernst Nolte, *The Three Faces of Fascism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), 20-21.

<sup>27</sup> Nolte, *The Three Faces of Fascism* 31.

<sup>28</sup> Kevin Passmore, *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 9.

<sup>29</sup> Passmore, *Fascism*, 10.

crush their domestic enemies in a wave of patriotic zealotry.<sup>30</sup> Weberian scholars, then, view fascism as a fundamentally reactionary movement that sought to replace modern values and life with an idealized past.

The problem with a Weberian account of the origins of fascism, however, is two-fold. Firstly, it places far too much faith in the ability of elites to manipulate the vast majority of the population when an increasing number of the population were literate, had access to at least rudimentary education and at least had some access to contemporary parliamentary politics. Similarly, while fascism can be understood in part as an anti-modern phenomenon it is also true that fascism cannot exist outside of modernity. Indeed, fascism, while often utilizing a language that idealized a distant mythic past, nonetheless more often than not displaced traditional elites and values for new, secular and modern ones that emphasized a new, not traditional, hierarchy.

While Marxists and other scholars have seen a continuation of class warfare or violent anti-modernism in the origins of historic fascism, others have sought to define what constitutes a fascist movement. The historian Emilio Gentile argues that a fascist movement is constituted by a broader appeal to not only anti-Marxism but also anti-capitalism and anti-modernism and its supporters have historically come from throughout the economic spectrum. The following lists Gentile's abridged understanding of what a fascist movement is:

1. A multiclass mass movement that emphasizes national regeneration and militarism;
2. an 'anti-ideological' and pragmatic ideology that is anti-materialist, anti-individualist, anti-liberal, anti-democratic, and anti-Marxist that utilizes mystical myths and symbols;
3. a culture founded on mystical thought and will to power;
4. a totalitarian conception of the primacy of politics;
5. a civil ethic founded on total dedication to the national community, on discipline, virility, comradeship, and the warrior spirit;
6. a single state party;

---

<sup>30</sup> Passmore, *Fascism*, 10.

7. a police apparatus that prevents, controls, and represses dissidence and opposition, even by using organized terror;
8. A cult of the leader;
9. corporative organization of the economy that suppresses trade union liberty;
10. a foreign policy inspired by the myth of national power and greatness, with the goal of imperialist expansion.<sup>31</sup>

Thus Gentile outlines an understanding of fascism as a multi-faceted ideology that is typified not just by a collection of shared negative values. For Gentile, fascism is also a series of positive values including not only extreme nationalism and a vision of national rejuvenation but also a devotion to authoritarian or totalitarian hierarchy, the primacy of politics over economics and the collective over the individual, as well as a cult of violence and militarism.

Gentile's understanding of what constitutes a typical fascist state or ideology is one that can generally be accepted by most scholars. However, a critical point of conflict in our understanding of fascism is its stance on modernity. Just as fascists have historically compromised with conservative elites, if sometimes only temporarily, so too have fascists "compromised" with modernity. An abridged version of Stanley G. Payne's outline of a definition of fascism emphasizes the paradoxically modern and anti-modern nature of fascist ideologies:

#### 1. Ideology and Goals:

- Espousal of an idealist, vitalist, secular and voluntaristic philosophy,
- Creation of a new nationalist authoritarian state not based on traditional principles or models
- Organization of a new highly regulated, multiclass, integrated national economic structure, whether called national corporatist, national socialist, or national syndicalist
- Positive evaluation and use of, or willingness to use violence and war

---

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism 1914-1945* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 5-6.

- The goal of empire, expansion, or a radical change in the nation's relationship with other powers

## 2. The Fascist Negations:

- Anti-liberalism, anti-communism, anti-conservatism

## 3. Style and Organization:

- Attempted mass mobilization with militarization of political relationships and style and with the goal of a mass single party militia
- Emphasis on aesthetic structure of meetings, symbols, and political liturgy, stressing emotional and mystical aspects.<sup>32</sup>

Payne argues that fascism, while rejecting many modern values such as materialism, rationalism, the primacy of economics in understanding human relations, and human rights, nonetheless demonstrates its own modern nature through secularization, the displacement of traditional elites, populism, and the further bureaucratization of the state. Indeed, other scholars have pointed out the modern nature of fascism in not only its administrative actions but also in its aesthetics and worldview. While despairing of contemporary bourgeois values, fascists rarely took inspiration from idealized values within the past. Rather, fascists often attempted to create a new, modern value system that highlighted the powerful and violent capabilities of modern technology and the efficiency of industry.<sup>33</sup> For instance, in Italy Tommaso Emilio Marinetti an early supporter of Fascism, called for a rejection of what he saw of bourgeois decadence and prudery. In its place, Marinetti envisioned a new, palingenetic society in which technology facilitated the growth a militant and zealous cult of the nation.<sup>34</sup> Akin to Marinetti, Ernst Jünger called for the creation of a modern “warrior-worker.”<sup>35</sup> This new class of man would zealously work toward an advanced industrial society which would be totally mobilized towards the needs of the nation and willing to fight at a moment’s notice.

In summation, we can understand a movement or ideology to be fascist at the bare minimum when a palingenetic ideology of national rebirth meets ultranationalism. We

---

<sup>32</sup> Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 7.

<sup>33</sup> Jobst Welge ed. Astradur Eysteinnsson and Vivian Liska "Fascist Modernism" *Modernism*, Vol. 2. (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2007), 550.

<sup>34</sup> Welge, “Fascist Modernism,” 550.

<sup>35</sup> Welge, “Fascist Modernism,” 553.

can also distill other scholars' interpretations of fascism to generalize that typical forms of fascism have often displayed a zealous militarism, expansionism, populism, authoritarianism and modernism while maintaining a hostility towards liberalism, Marxism, rationalism, and bourgeois values. At the same time however, fascism, while calling for a rebirth of the nation, often envisions a completely new nation rather than a restored idealized past. Thus fascist ideologies tend to emphasize a new modern aesthetic of technology, efficiency, apocalyptic violence and a new hierarchy that is ultimately largely disdainful of tradition.

Robert Paxton has raised the important point that fascist ideological programs, insofar as they had ones, prior to coming to power did not always coincide with their policies once they did come to power.<sup>36</sup> It would be, for example, a problematic methodology to attempt to understand Nazism largely through reading the early Nazi speeches, particularly of the Strasser brothers.<sup>37</sup> Yet Dugin is not in power, nor does Vladimir Putin openly support Dugin's worldview. Thus in ascertaining whether or not Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism meets a fascist minimum his body of written ideas are largely the only sources on which to draw from.

The following section of the thesis will outline the sources that have been utilized in order to analyze Neo-Eurasianism. Drawing from the scholarship of both historians and political scientists, it is possible to discern the major debates surrounding Dugin and his movement. Significantly, the thesis also draws on the writings of contemporary New Rightists whose view of Dugin have become increasingly hostile as of late. In addition, the section will explain why Roger Griffin's concept of the "fascist minimum" will be utilized as a tool in order to properly taxonomize Neo-Eurasianism.

---

<sup>36</sup> Paxton, *Anatomy*, Ebook.

<sup>37</sup> Gregor and Otto Strasser were early members of the NSDAP who functioned as the leaders of the left wing of the party. They underscored a virulent anti-capitalism and socialist program that simply did not ultimately represent Nazism in practice. Rather, both brothers and their followers represented a threat to Hitler's control over the party and Otto was expelled from the party in 1930 while Gregor was killed in 1934 during the Night of the Long Knives.

## **Methodology and Sources**

This work was completed for an interdisciplinary purpose. Accordingly it relies on a broad collection of scholarship, both in history and social science. In order to establish a taxonomic understanding of Dugin's thought, this study has drawn from a large pool of secondary references and analytical sources on the various theories of national identity, nationalism, and fascism. Furthermore, in order to engage in the current scholarly debate over Alexander Dugin's fundamental worldview, I also draw on secondary sources that deal with Neo-Eurasianism and its intellectual and ideological ancestors.

This work is largely an intellectual examination of a thinker's body of thought. In order to ascertain the major components of Neo-Eurasianism and whether or not it can be considered a fascist ideology, it is important to examine much of Alexander Dugin's writings. Thus, in order to measure fascism within Alexander Dugin's proposed worldview this work relies on the utilization of Roger Griffin's concept of the fascist minimum. Griffin's two-pronged approach to defining a movement as fascist is considered by this author to be the best instrument in appraising an extreme right wing movement's fascist tendencies. This is due to the fascist minimum's simultaneous flexibility and rigidity. While scholars such as Payne and Gentile have laid out a truly helpful list of methods and ideas that are typically held to be fascist, they do not explicitly articulate what facets of their taxonomy, if any, constitute the most important in making a movement fascist. Conversely, Griffin's understanding of fascism explicates two broad yet essential factors in making a ideology fascist – a palingenetic worldview combined with ultranationalism.

In establishing the level of palingenetic mythology in Dugin's worldview, this project will investigate in detail Dugin's intellectual lineage. Thus a discussion of early Eurasianism, the European New Right, and most importantly Perennial Traditionalism must be laid out in order to contextualize Dugin's ideas so that they are not presented in a vacuum. Concomitantly, Dugin's writings on the ultimate regression of man from a divinely-ordained natural order of society, as Traditionalism espouses, will further explicate Dugin's yearning for a return to a mythic past. However, while fascists have utilized a similar palingenetic mythology in the past, they have always simultaneously emphasized an alternative modernity emphasizing technological progress, secularism and populism. Dugin, it will be shown, is a determined cultural reactionary who at times even



shuns technology and is vehemently opposed to any form of mass politics. Thus Dugin will be portrayed as a fundamentally anti-modern reactionary.

In ascertaining the level of ultranationalism in Dugin's body of thought two methods will be used. Firstly, by Dugin's stated imperial goals will be discussed in depth. Similar to many fascist movements, Dugin calls for the territorial expansion of his country. Dugin's understanding of what it means to be Russian will be placed in context of Traditionalism which includes a belief in the sacral nature of territory and geography and the different spiritual natures of various peoples based in part on where they live. In the same vein, Julius Evola's and Dugin's writings on race and racism will be explored in order to understand how Traditionalism understands race in order to explicate that for Dugin, a mystical and divine truth, encapsulated in a supranational project is the highest good compared to fascism whose ultranationalism allows only for a secular understanding of a single nation's well-being as the highest good. The level of ultranationalism present in Dugin's body of thought can be measured and assessed, if only circumstantially, through the criticism and reproaches aimed at him by members of the openly racist New Right or White Nationalists. Adherents of the New Right who have expressed openly racist ideas question Dugin's right to be among them. By examining their philosophical grievances with Dugin's claims on race this study can shed light on what truly shapes Dugin's worldview.

The primary sources drawn on for this study include much of Dugin's own work. This comprises Dugin's attempts at theorizing what he calls the "Fourth Political Theory," his work on geopolitics as well as his more esoteric and mystical reflections. Other primary sources include the writings of Traditionalists such as Julius Evola and New Rightists in the aim of placing Dugin accurately within the context of extreme right-wing thought.

Based on the above mentioned research methods and materials, this study attempts to answer the following questions: Is Neo-Eurasianism an example of a new fascist ideology? Does race or biology play a role in Dugin's plans for a supranational Eurasian empire? How are Dugin's ideas and arguments received by the broader New Right community? Ultimately, this work wishes to explain that Alexander Dugin professes a worldview that is profoundly anti-modern, anti-liberal and anti-American. Neo-Eurasianism is a dangerous ideology to world peace. Yet it is not a worldview that can be considered explicitly fascist. Nor, at the same time does Dugin's thought

demonstrably have a place for race or biology as a meaningful factor in the historical development of national identities, despite the accusations that scholars have levelled at Dugin's ideas in the past.

The Theoretical Framework section of this thesis has outlined and detailed the major points of debate on fascist historical fascist movements and how one can define them. This thesis will utilize Roger Griffin's two point criteria in order to ascertain whether or not Dugin's ideas and actions articulate a fundamentally fascist worldview. The first chapter of this thesis briefly discusses the political life of Alexander Dugin and his general political worldview. In it, Dugin's early attempts at infiltrating and influencing dissident post-Soviet groups will be discussed as well as his profoundly anti-liberal philosophy and his geopolitical plans for a new Russian imperialism.

## Chapter 1: Alexander Dugin's Political Life and Ideology

In February, 2014 Kiev, the capital city of Ukraine, was rocked by a series of increasingly violent clashes between protesters and government forces. The source of the conflict was over the refusal of Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich to sign a trade agreement with the European Union that would see Ukraine tied closer economically to Europe and decrease Russian economic influence in Ukraine. Instead, in December 2013 Yanukovich elected to sign a trade agreement with Russia, which included cheap natural gas from the Russian Federation to Ukraine in exchange for providing the Russian navy with warm water ports along the Kerch peninsula.<sup>38</sup> Almost immediately pro-western Kievans began a series of protests against their government's decision. The protests, initially peaceful, quickly became violent as police forces sought to quell the unrest. With no end in sight to the rising tensions and violence, Yanukovich fled the country and a new interim government took control of the Ukrainian state. With the fall of the pro-Russian Ukrainian government and with the support of Putin's Russia, ethnically Russian areas of Ukraine, notably the Crimean peninsula and eastern parts of the country began violently agitating for independence. As we speak, there continues to be something akin to a civil war developing within Ukraine. The Crimean peninsula has been successfully annexed into the Russian Federation and areas with many ethnic Russians have been equipped and sometimes supported by Russian troops.

Despite President Vladimir Putin's repeated declarations that the Russian Federation does not desire to get involved in a foreign country's internal affairs, it is an open secret that Russian troops have armed separatists in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions that have seized parts of Ukraine. Unsurprisingly, Russian ultranationalists such as Vladimir Zhirinovsky have openly called for even further encroachments upon Ukrainian sovereignty. Indeed, Zhirinovsky has gone so far as to threaten the "destruction" of Poland and the Baltic states if the United States and the rest of the West retaliated against Russia's intervention in Ukraine.<sup>39</sup> Like Zhirinovsky, many nationalists view Ukraine, or at least significant parts of its territory, as part of Russia's legitimate

---

<sup>38</sup>Oksana Bashuk Hepburn. "Putin's Meddling in Ukraine Sinister." *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 22, 2014.

<sup>39</sup>Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, "Russia This Week: Zhirinovsky Threatens to 'Wipe Out' Poland, Baltics." *The Interpreter* August 4, <<http://www.interpretermag.com/russia-this-week-roots-of-pro-russian-separatists-in-russianultranationalistgroups/>>.

territory. The foundation of a Ukrainian state in the aftermath of the breakup of the Soviet Union constituted a defeat for the Russian nation and a victory for the West, an eternal enemy in much of Russian nationalist discourse. Ukraine's loss is just one of many injustices that contemporary Russian rightists such as Alexander Dugin hope to redress in their lifetimes – a hope that they have placed in the person of Vladimir Putin.

Dugin has participated in Russian politics in one capacity or another since before the end of Boris Yeltsin's presidency. In 1998 Dugin participated in the *Pamyat* organization, hoping to bring to it his more esoteric explanation of Russian history. However, *Pamyat's* reactionary monarchism and unbridled anti-Semitism reportedly drove Dugin away. After the split, Dugin founded several institutions such as the publishing house Arctogaia Association and became an unofficial advisor to Gennady Zyuganov, the head of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF). Next Dugin attempted to form his own political party. Working with Eduard Limonov he formed the National Bolshevik Party (NBP) which utilized a radical synthesis of both Stalinist and National Socialist symbolism and rhetoric.<sup>40</sup> Directly inspiring Zhirinovskiy's 1994 autobiography *The Last Drive to the South*, Dugin has called for a new Russian empire to expand into the former Soviet Union, northern China, Central Asia and also Eastern Europe. More recently, Alexander Dugin has also created a political party known as the Eurasia Party and the Eurasia Youth Movement. The former, although recognized by the Ministry of Justice of Russia in 2002, has been largely inactive. Conversely, the youth movement has participated in various notorious antisocial activities such as the 2007 trashing of a Holodmar, or the Ukrainian famine that many Ukrainians believe to have been orchestrated under Stalin in 1932-33, exhibition in Moscow.<sup>41</sup> Since the outbreak of War in Ukraine, Ukrainian chapters of the Eurasia Youth Movement have been banned and Dugin himself has been not allowed to enter Ukraine. Until late 2014 Dugin has had a presence in Russian academia as a professor of sociology at Moscow State University and is the Director of the Center for Conservative Studies at MSU. Dugin's position as a faculty member at MSU has recently

---

<sup>40</sup> Anton Barbashin and Hannah Thoburn, "Putin's Brain: Alexander Dugin and the Philosophy Behind Putin's Invasion of Crimea," *Foreign Affairs*, March 31, 2014 <<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141080/anton-barbashin-and-hannah-thoburn/putins-brain>>.

<sup>41</sup> "After Goverla 'Eurasians' Defeated the Holodmar Exhibition" *Ukrainian Truth*, November 17, 2007 <<http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2007/11/17/3320397/>>.

been pulled due to his vocal support for the mass murder of anti-Russian Ukrainians.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore Dugin is a television personality, having participated in political discussions on Russian as well as foreign programs, including one broadcast from Iran. A prolific writer, he has served as advisor to the State Duma and his *Foundations of Geopolitics* has been on the required reading lists of Russian military officer schools. His work has been rumored to have had the ear of Putin himself from time to time.<sup>43</sup>

In his 2001 manifesto of the Eurasianist Movement, Dugin decried a fallen world in which totalitarian uniformity and consumerism are the only hallmarks of the modern life.<sup>44</sup> Additionally angered by the seeming political and ideological apathy of the masses, he wrote, “The majority of political parties and formalized social movements pursue tactical purposes. Practically nowhere can be found an explicit and consequent ideology capable to snatch man from a state of sleepy indifference, to make life worth living.”<sup>45</sup> For Dugin, this philosophical ennui has been largely fostered by the victory of American liberal democracy and Americanization of the cultures of the world, which he describes as an “Atlanticist tsunami.”<sup>46</sup> In addition to what he sees as the death of ideology, Dugin also mourns the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which he regards an unmitigated disaster. According to Dugin, the end of the Soviet Union meant the effective end of organized opposition to globalization and Americanization. However, rather than a restoration of the Soviet Union Dugin proposes a new political union, a Eurasian one. A Eurasianist empire would stretch into territories and countries that neither the Russian Empire nor the Soviet Union had ever ruled over. The Eurasianist movement represents a supranational project that will unite many different religions and ethnic groups into a single empire. On the surface, Dugin’s geopolitical vision appears to be driven by a desire for the maximization of Russian power and influence. To some extent, that is correct. However, pregnant within Dugin’s territorial ambitions for a Eurasianist empire

---

<sup>42</sup> James Heiser, “Invasion of Ukraine Continues; Russian Ideologue Calls for ‘Genocide,’” *The New American* September 4, 2014 <<http://www.thenewamerican.com/world-news/europe/item/19042-invasion-of-ukraine-continues-russian-ideologist-calls-for-genocide>>.

<sup>43</sup> Barbashin and Thoburn, “Putin’s Brain.”

<sup>44</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Eurasia Above All: Manifest of the Eurasist Movement*, <<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://arctogaia.com/public/eng/Manifesto.html>>.

<sup>45</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Eurasia Above All: Manifest of the Eurasist Movement*, <<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://arctogaia.com/public/eng/Manifesto.html>>.

<sup>46</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Eurasia Above All: Manifest of the Eurasist Movement*, <<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://arctogaia.com/public/eng/Manifesto.html>>.

are Traditional ideas of sacred space as well as a new ideological model of identity. The model incorporates ideas of both civilization and the spiritual missions of peoples as constitutive facets of identity. The Eurasianist project ultimately posits a new understanding of Russians by portraying Russia as an important “glue” to a greater Eurasian empire, thus fulfilling its divinely-ordained mission – to be a uniter of peoples.

In Dugin’s popular work, *The Fourth Political Theory*, he proposes that in order to counter the deculturating effects of modernity and globalization, a new ideology must be created. He argues that the modern world has seen the advent of three major ideologies; liberalism, communism, and fascism.<sup>47</sup> Of the three, only liberalism has survived the wars that the competing systems had spawned. He then posits that of the three major ideologies, each one had a primary agent that effectively “moved” history and that all three believed in mono-linear time that was deterministic and utopian.<sup>48</sup> In the case of liberalism, the major historical actor was the individual. Dugin’s views on liberalism are similar to those proposed by the *Nouvelle Droite*. The history of the individual was one of progress and liberation in which the individual is “liberated from all things external to oneself.”<sup>49</sup> This leads to the individual’s renunciation of his God and spiritual upbringing, then his community, his family, and even his gender. In the ideology of liberalism, Dugin fears, lies self-destruction. In the same vein, communism also espoused a belief in the inevitable progress of man. However, communism’s major historical subject was not the individual but class. According to communist discourse class conflict determined human history and it was a scientific reality that eventually a worldwide proletarian revolution would occur and create a utopian, classless society. However, Dugin views communism as a horrible alternative to liberalism because it shares its materialism, scientific determinism, and atheistic spirit.<sup>50</sup> The third ideology, fascism, exemplified by the statism of Fascist Italy and the unfettered biological racism of National Socialism, apparently disgusts Dugin. Dugin rails against racism and the “criminal practice of wiping out entire ethnic groups...” and blames it as the sole cause of the Second World War.<sup>51</sup> Simultaneously he decries the guilt by association experienced by Conservative Revolutionaries and the vilification of their ideas as a form

---

<sup>47</sup> Alexander Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, (London: Arktos, 2012), 55.

<sup>48</sup> Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 55.

<sup>49</sup> Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 37.

<sup>50</sup> Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 38.

<sup>51</sup> Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 44.

of “racism.”<sup>52</sup> Indeed, liberalism, concomitant with a culture of political correctness and an incontrovertible faith in its universalizing mission, represents another form of “racism” for Dugin.

According to Dugin’s Fourth Political Theory, he rejects both communism and fascism as inadequate models to combat what he sees as the sinister destructiveness of liberalism. Instead, Dugin proposes a new historical “subject:” civilization. Advancing the concept of civilization as a historical actor in the modern world, Dugin has effectively created a vehicle and intellectual justification for his Eurasianist project. Admitting that the definition of civilization is highly contested, he posits a challenge to Samuel P. Huntington’s register of civilizations. In his influential work *The Clash of Civilizations*, Huntington argued that there was a Western civilization embodying North America, Canada, Australia and much of Europe, as well as Latin American, African, Islamic, Japanese, Sinic, Hindu, Buddhist and Orthodox civilizations.<sup>53</sup> Dugin asserts that Canada and the United States, along with the United Kingdom, are not part of Western civilization but rather an Atlanticist current within Western civilization along with the United Kingdom.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, Europe is divided between a fundamentally Atlanticist and Continental Europe, the latter wishing closer ties with Russia as well as the loosening of ties with the United States and globalization in general. Similarly, Dugin rejects Huntington’s appraisal of Orthodox civilization, containing much of the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. Rather, Dugin maintains that Orthodox civilization should be understood as a part of a greater Eurasian civilization, including Mongols, Turks, Caucasians, and “a significant proportion of the population professing Islam,” all with shared histories with Russia.<sup>55</sup> In his attempt at devising a political theory to be used to counter globalization, Dugin argues for a civilizational model that sees a much strengthened Russia.

One of the most important works written by Alexander Dugin is *Osnovi Geopolitiki*, or *The Foundations of Geopolitics*. It is a work that articulates in detail Dugin’s territorial basis for the dismantlement of what he sees as American global domination and the rise of a great Eurasian empire united by the Russian nation. In order

---

<sup>52</sup> Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 44.

<sup>53</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 21.

<sup>54</sup> Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 118.

<sup>55</sup> Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 118.

to bring down American global hegemony Dugin proposes a massive alliance that will utilize the resources and manpower of Asia and Europe. Simultaneously, Dugin calls for the support of any American separatist movements, including “Afro-American racists,” in order to destabilize and weaken the United States.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, Dugin maintains that only an extreme redrawing of the world map will ensure the fulfillment of Russia’s spiritual mission and a return to a multi-polar world.

Dugin proposes the formation of several alliance systems between Russia and other partners to ensure the success of the Eurasianist project. Firstly, a Moscow-Berlin axis should be formed. To realize it, Russia would return East Prussia back to Germany which, along with France, would also dominate much of Scandinavia and central and southern Europe.<sup>57</sup> In addition, a similar Moscow-Tokyo alliance, along with India and Vietnam, will ensure the dismemberment of China’s borderlands, as Dugin considers China to be an enemy to any Eurasianist mission. In compensation, China would receive *de facto* hegemony over Southeast Asia excluding Vietnam as well as the Philippines, Indonesia, and Australia. Japan would receive the Kurile Islands back from Russia and be allowed to pursue an imperial policy not unlike that of Imperial Japan during the Second World War.<sup>58</sup> The Pacific islands, and presumably Hawaii too, would fall under Japanese control. The final major alliance proposed by Dugin is one with Islamic Iran which he considers a natural ally of Russia against American cultural imperialism and thus willing to provide naval bases for the Russian navy, allowing it access to the Indian Ocean.<sup>59</sup> Turkey would also be severely weakened with the secession of a Kurdish state but ultimately gain its own hegemony over much of the Arabian Peninsula, Jordan, Iraq, and Syria. Ultimately, the borders of a Eurasian-Russian empire would include not only almost all of the former Soviet Union, but also Mongolia, Tibet, Sinkiang, almost all of the Caucasus, Finland, Poland, and almost all of the Balkans.<sup>60</sup>

Russian imperialists have historically utilized a missionary and evangelical message to justify expansionism. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Russian Empire often maintained that the spread of Russian influence throughout Central and East Asia was necessary to bring the light of Orthodoxy and the just rule of the Tsars

---

<sup>56</sup> Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 118.

<sup>57</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Osnovi Geopolitiki*, <<http://www.my.arcto.ru/public/osnovygeo/>>, Ch. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Dugin, *Osnovi Geopolitiki*, <<http://www.my.arcto.ru/public/osnovygeo/>>, Ch. 4.

<sup>59</sup> Dugin, *Osnovi Geopolitiki*, Ch. 4.

<sup>60</sup> Dugin, *Osnovi Geopolitiki*, Ch. 4.



to the native peoples. When dealing with the Balkan Slavs or the Ottoman Empire the official narrative espoused by Russian authorities was that Russia needed to protect Slavic and Orthodox minorities from the persecutions of non-Orthodox rulers. Similarly, the creation of the Soviet Union led to a change in the justificatory language of Russian expansion, but not its fundamental mission to expand state power. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Putin's Russia has argued for the protection of ethnic Russians in the "near-abroad." In the name of protecting ethnic Russians, the Russian Federation has violently attempted to dismember its neighbors as can be seen in the 2008 war with Georgia and the more recent annexation of Crimea and the support of pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine. However, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the constriction of Russia's borders have meant that pursuing an ethnic justification of expansion is problematic for greater imperial goals. This is because most of the ethnic Russians requiring "protection" are along the borders of Russia and within former Soviet Union republics. Thus, any plans to successfully extend Russia's current borders into former Soviet republics would more than likely require force and a convincing ideological motive. Alexander Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism represents a potentially very useful ideological tool to articulate what he sees as a necessary expansion of Russian territory.

This chapter has briefly discussed some of the highlights of Dugin's political life. From his attempts at influencing the ideas of patriotic groups such as *Pamyat* and his attempts at creating political parties such as the National Bolshevik Party and the more recent Eurasia Party, Dugin has consistently been a voice for the dissident far right for the past two decades. Yet Dugin's philosophical and geopolitical worldview was not created in a vacuum. Indeed, his conception of a Russia that transcends both East and West and is a unifier of peoples is nothing new. The following chapter will discuss both the early Eurasianists of the Russian Civil War era and the European New Right. It will be demonstrated that both movements have exercised a profound influence on Dugin's worldview not only by his own admission but by the similarities that can be seen between his and his intellectual antecedents' ideas. By discussing the two major movements, it is hoped that this project will successfully trace a sort of "intellectual family tree" in which we can ultimately understand Dugin's philosophy of Neo-Eurasianism as simultaneously a continuation of some of the ideas espoused by the early Eurasianists and the New Right but at the same time a departure from it due to his fundamentally Perennial Traditionalist

worldview.

## **Chapter 2: The Early Eurasianists, Lev Gumilev, and the *Nouvelle Droite***

During the Russian Civil War a plethora of constitutive myths flourished not only in Russia proper but also in the Russian émigré community. Indeed the Civil War was in many ways a war between competing constitutive myths. For the Bolsheviks, the meaning of Russia was defined by its war against international capitalism. With the creation of the Soviet Union in 1922 Russia became a nominally equal partner in a union of politically like-minded but linguistically and culturally diverse republics. Generally speaking, prior to Stalin the chief paradigm through which communist discourse was viewed was always that of class. According to the communist narrative, to be Russian was to be part of a larger international proletarian revolution. On the other hand the White movement was deeply divided. Monarchists who fought against the Bolsheviks championed a pre-revolutionary adoration for Tsar and Church. Their Russia was a Russia very similar to the Russia that existed before the First World War. Others wanted a liberalized and democratized Russia and largely viewed Russia as a part of Europe, thus connecting their “imagined nation” to the Enlightenment and Western liberal apostles of free market capitalism. Still others created a completely new approach to Russian history and nationhood.

The Eurasianists were a relatively small and diverse group of Russian émigrés who initially fled to Central Europe and the Balkans after the Bolshevik seizure of power. Led by the geographer and economist Petr Savitsky, the ethnographer Nikolai Trubetzkoy, and the historian George Vernadsky and containing linguists, philosophers and theologians, the Eurasianists were an eclectic mix of intellectuals.<sup>61</sup> Simultaneously revolutionary and conservative and fascinated by Benito Mussolini’s Fascist experiment in Italy, they articulated a complex critique of previous notions of Russian identity while

---

<sup>61</sup> George Vernadsky is an especially important figure in the early Eurasianist movement not least of all because some of his work has been published in English. In 1927 he immigrated to the United States after being offered a position as an assistant professor of history at Yale University. During his life he wrote profusely on Russian history and historiography. In his work he argued that Russia was fundamentally different from the West. Rather like the other Eurasianists, Vernadsky emphasized an Asian component that has always been present in Russian culture and politics. For more information see George Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) and George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

maintaining Russia's "otherness" from Europe.<sup>62</sup> Fundamentally, the Eurasianists posited a romantic territorially-based understanding that theorized that Russian history, as well as Russianness, was defined by the territory it occupied.

Despite their unique approach to Russian history, the movement itself made little impact on contemporary discourse. This was in part because of the movement's factionalism; the Eurasianists were deeply split on their approach to communism and the Bolshevik victory in 1922.<sup>63</sup> Some Eurasianists, devoted Orthodox Christians and critics of rationalism, were deeply skeptical of the atheistic and materialistic worldview espoused by communism. Thus for Trubetzkoy and others of like mind the Soviet Union was an eternal enemy. After the communist victory in the civil war many contemporaries feared that the red menace would spread successfully to the rest of the world. However, when the world revolution did not happen and the Soviet Union adopted the New Economic Policy some Eurasianists started to consider the Bolshevik revolution as not a truly communist one, but a Russian one. Seeing in the New Economic Policy as a more contained version of socialist economics and the Soviet Union as a multi-national state no longer encumbered by centuries of monarchy, many Eurasianists believed that with their influence the Soviet Union might be transformed into a state more suitable to their worldview.<sup>64</sup> Others, more dubious, maintained that the Soviet Union was a manifestation of Russian "Westernism" and needed to be completely done away with. The Eurasianists never posited a comprehensive political platform. Indeed, they were never able to decide as a whole whether or not Eurasianism should remain an academic school of thought or an actual popular movement. Nonetheless, taken as a whole the fractious proponents of Eurasianism proposed a new historical, quasi-religious and territorial myth-symbol complex for Russia.

The relationship between Russia and the east had been largely ambivalent throughout the Imperial period. Central and East Asia were largely seen as a target of territorial and economic expansion for the Russian empire. For the Russian state as well as many conservatives, Russia was culturally closer to Europe than Asia. The

---

<sup>62</sup> Marlene Laruelle, "The Orient in Russian Thought at the Turn of the Century" *Russia Between East and West: Scholarly Debates on Eurasianism*, ed. Dmitry Schlapentokh (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007), 9.

<sup>63</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 23.

<sup>64</sup> Eldar Ismailov and Vladimer Papava, *Rethinking Central Eurasia* (Johns Hopkins University, SAIS, 2010), 21.

historiography of the contemporary Russian state traced its roots largely through Kievan Rus' and Muscovy. Russia was the "Third Rome," heir to the Greek Orthodox cultural and religious tradition. The Eurasianists, however, criticized the emphasis laid on Russia's Byzantine heritage as euro-centric and instead underscored Russia's Eastern heritage through a romanticizing of the Steppe and a historical heritage bequeathed by the Mongols and nomadism. Thus they distanced themselves from Slavophilism and Pan-Slavism, maintaining that non-Russian Slavdom was a part of Europe. They concluded that early Russian history was a meeting between "forest and steppe" – Russian and Turanian.<sup>65</sup>

Eurasianist historiography focuses on the Mongol Yoke period from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. During this period all of the Russian states submitted to and became vassals of the Golden Horde. While other Russians decried this period in Russian history as a great injustice and lauded the heroics of Ivan III of Muscovy for finally ending Russian vassalage, the Eurasianists saw the Golden Horde's dominion as fundamentally healthy. During the period under the "Mongol Yoke," Eurasianists contended that many Russian nobles intermarried with members of the Golden Horde, which served to reawaken Russia's true identity. Sedentary village life, the hallmark of life for many conservatives, was to be replaced by a nomadism of the spirit.<sup>66</sup> With the retreat of the Golden Horde and the collapse of Mongolian hegemony over much of the Eurasian continent, it became the Russian people's mission to reunite much of the Mongol world. Russia's identity as a universal unifier was presumably inherited from its Mongol past. The Mongol Empire at its furthest extent stretched from what is now Manchuria to the Hungarian plains and from southern Siberia to the Himalaya Mountains. Some Eurasianists believed that it was Russia's destiny to rule over a similarly sized space. Russia's geographic position, like that of the Mongol Khanate of Genghis and Kublai Khan, gave it a certain historical predilection for empire building.

However, this new empire that the Russians were destined to build was not to be one that necessarily centered purely on Russian interests. Rather, it was to a universal empire. Indeed, Russia could not exist authentically without empire.<sup>67</sup> The Eurasianists believed that only a country that exhibited a dual nature, being of both the West and the

---

<sup>65</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 41. The term "Turanian," is considered by some an obsolete term. It is largely an ethnic term that refers broadly to those of Turkic and Mongolian descent.

<sup>66</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 41.

<sup>67</sup> Ismailov and Papaca, *Rethinking Central Eurasia*, 21.

East could be one of the successful “centers of the world.”<sup>68</sup> The Mongolian empire justly ruled over much of the Indo-Chinese world and at its height reached the Mediterranean world. Containing Christians, Muslims, Buddhists of varying shades and countless local religions, the realm conquered by Genghis Khan’s was fashioned a “United Empire of Mankind.”<sup>69</sup> Because the Russians were now heir to the Mongol heritage, they too could form a universal empire that included countless nations and religions. This new Eurasian empire, encompassing as it did various peoples and religions, could not take on a single cultural or ethnic identity. Rather, the founding identity for this collective empire was a quasi-religious belief in the Eurasian people’s unity through a common destiny. Russia, being neither fully of the West nor of the East, was the connecting element that fostered a universally just empire.

The Eurasian supranational identity, grounded as it was in a Mongolian and nomadic myth-symbol complex also drew heavily on the belief in the trait-forming abilities of territory and geography on peoples. Furthermore, they generally continued the narrative that the Russian (or Eurasian) world was a third continent – neither wholly European nor Asian. The Eurasianists maintained that geography was the chief means of explaining the unity of a greater Eurasian culture and that there was a fundamentally organic link between a geographic space and a people’s culture. The geographer Petr Savitsky proposed the idea of “topogenesis,” in order to prove scientifically a link between nature and human beings.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore the pseudoscientific Russian discipline of geosophy claimed that human history was not necessarily determined by their environment and geography but rather that geography and human beings had a reciprocal relationship. Eurasianists contended that the soil could expose a hidden meaning of past and future events. The subtle determinism of geosophy and Savitsky’s theory of topogenesis attributed a mystical culture-forming aspect to land that aided in the creation of national identities.

Despite the inability of the Eurasianists to indicate exactly what constituted the borders of Eurasia, Savitsky and other Eurasianists claimed that the natural unity of the Eurasian territory could be scientifically explained. They argued that Eurasia “...is the only country whose flora, fauna, soil, and climate are so perfectly harmonious...” and

---

<sup>68</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 42.

<sup>69</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 42.

<sup>70</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 32.

that it represented as yet an undiscovered natural law.<sup>71</sup> Eurasia was composed of four horizontal botanical strips of land and soil extending from east to west; taiga, tundra, desert and steppe. These strips of land were intersected by three major plains: the Siberian plain, the Turkistan plain and the plain from the White Sea to the Caucasus. This diverse geographic system demanded an array of various methods for humans to sustain themselves be it through sedentary farming, hunting, or herding. Thus the geographic arrangement of Eurasia, according to Eurasianists, was a manifestation Eurasia's universal mission. The Russian steppe was perhaps the most important of the types of land present in Eurasia. The steppe, spanning horizontally along much of Central and East Asia across multiple civilizations, constituted Eurasia's own "horizontal" mission. The sheer scope of this geographic facet of Eurasia proved to the Eurasianists the inherent expansionist character of Russia.

While the early Eurasian supranationalism maintained that Russians and non-Russian Eurasians were a historically-united community of destiny, some Eurasianist scholars also attempted to unite the various peoples of Eurasia through cultural and linguistic approaches. Of the Eurasianists only a few including Trubetzkoy believed that the Russian people were at least somewhat related to the Slavs of the Balkans with their linguistic and religious similarities.<sup>72</sup> Conversely, other Eurasianists emphasized that despite the linguistic links between Russians and other Slavs, non-Russian Slavs belonged mostly to the Romano-Germanic cultural zone. The Russians, on the other hand, were part of a cultural zone that included Finno-Urgic and Turkic peoples. Indeed, the Eurasianists maintained that genetic and racial kinship was irrelevant to understanding identity; rather, what mattered was where a culture or language was originally formed. Thus the theory of topogenesis put forward by Savitsky maintained that geography was essential to understanding the evolution of cultures and languages. The Russians, having developed their language in Eurasia, were exclusively a Eurasian people.

Furthermore, the Eurasian peoples, linked as they were by geography and culture to one another, also exhibited a linguistic unity. The linguist Roman Jakobson used three major criteria to demonstrate a relative linguistic unity among the various Eurasian peoples; tone, correlation of palatalization, and territorial continuity. Eurasia, according

---

<sup>71</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 33.

<sup>72</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 35.

to Jakobson, was an area whose populace all spoke languages that lacked complex tone or palatalization. The various Eurasian languages, admitted Jakobson, might not have originated near one another and might remain diverse, but they were nonetheless evolving toward the same characteristics and shared the same large geographical space.<sup>73</sup> Again, the importance of geography and its effect on language and culture to the early Eurasianists' worldview was paramount.<sup>74</sup>

The early Eurasianists of the interwar period never formed a unified doctrine. They were a collection of like-minded individuals who tended to be religious revolutionaries. They saw Russia as the historically destined unifier of Eurasia and envisioned an empire bereft of traditional monarchy as well as European parliamentary democracy and capitalism. They remained, however, largely devoted to Orthodoxy while paying homage to Eurasia's religious diversity. The Eurasianists proposed something of an authoritarian conception of a new Eurasian state, a diverse empire that represented a communal harmony between different cultures and religions but nonetheless all devoted to a single central government. They articulated a romantic myth-symbol complex containing a cult of diversity defined the Russian nation as a destined unifier of a great empire. Despite their failure to have an effect on the Soviet Union and their dispersal by the end of the Second World War, the early Eurasianists were in part a precursor to Alexander Dugin's own neo-Eurasianist philosophy.

While the Eurasianists posited a largely religious and cultural definition of Russianness, the ethnic theories of Lev Gumilev are an example a purely biological and pseudo-scientific understanding of the Russian nation that is defined purely by a biological determinism and social Darwinism. His work is said by some scholars such as Anton Shekhovtsov to have had a direct influence on the geopolitical theories of Alexander Dugin.<sup>75</sup>

Much of Gumilev's life was marked by political dissidence. From praising anti-Stalinist poetry to being implicated in a terrorist attack on a Leningrad party official, Gumilev was arrested and imprisoned in the forced labor camps of the Gulag system multiple times. Despite his history of arrests, he was able to become one of the most

<sup>73</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 35.

<sup>74</sup> Like Vernadsky, Jakobson eventually immigrated to the United States and continued his academic career. For further information on Jakobson's linguistic research on Slavic languages see Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings VII*, ed. Stephen Rudy (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1985).

<sup>75</sup> Anton Shekhovtsov, "Aleksander Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism: The New Right à la Russe?" *Religious Compass* no. 3 (Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009), 704.

celebrated scholars in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death. Originally a scholar of East Asian history and culture who wrote extensively on the Huns and Mongols, Gumilev eventually developed an interest in broader questions of how societies and ethnicities develop and their relationship with one another. Ultimately, Gumilev developed a theory of history and ethnicity that was said to transcend the humanities, positing that human history could be predicted.<sup>76</sup>

In his book *Ethnogenesis and the Biosphere* Gumilev presented an expansive explanation of how civilizations such as the Mongols, having been seemingly quiet and calm for so long, erupted into a great frenzy of activity, conquering huge swathes of land and ruling other civilizations only to collapse just as suddenly. His answer to this question was what he called "passionarity." This phenomenon, determined largely by natural forces such as the undulation of solar radiation levels, gives great bursts of activity and inspiration to certain peoples depending on where they live on the globe.<sup>77</sup> This passionarity leads to bursts of artistic and architectural achievements as well as to the creation of great empires. Ethnic groups, hitherto seen by outsiders as mostly isolated and unassuming, in a burst of passionarity were able to form complex state systems and advanced military technologies to defeat and conquer their neighbors.<sup>78</sup> Each ethnic group can then be seen as vessels of individuals who are themselves vessels of the ethnic group's potential for passionarity; such individuals include Napoleon Bonaparte, Alexander the Great, and Genghis Khan. The ethnic group, what Gumilev called the "ethnos," then, was a biological and organic entity that could be observed as collective whole. However, individuals and great leaders within the ethnos represent a sort of soul or spirit of the rest of the ethnos and led it to do great things.<sup>79</sup> They are fundamentally unconscious bearers of the ethnos' greater will.

According to Gumilev, it is a scientific reality that each ethnic group has a prescribed lifespan from 1,200 to 1,500 years.<sup>80</sup> Once an ethnic group emerged, it went through a series of pre-determined life stages not unlike the life stages of a human being.

---

<sup>76</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 62.

<sup>77</sup> Alexander Yanov, "The 'Enlightened' Nationalism of Lev Gumilev, *Institute of Modern Russia*, (December, 2012) <<http://imrussia.org/en/society/613>>

<sup>78</sup> "Prominent Russians: Lev Gumilev," *RT Russipedia*, <<http://russiapedia.rt.com/prominent-russians/science-and-technology/lev-gumilev/>>.

<sup>79</sup> "Prominent Russians: Lev Gumilev," *RT Russipedia*, <<http://russiapedia.rt.com/prominent-russians/science-and-technology/lev-gumilev/>>.

<sup>80</sup> "Prominent Russians: Lev Gumilev," *RT Russipedia*, <<http://russiapedia.rt.com/prominent-russians/science-and-technology/lev-gumilev/>>.



Ethnogenesis is divided into several life stages; the first three hundred years of an ethnos' life is its early "childhood." After that, another three hundred years of adolescence characterizes the second stage. Thirdly, the ethnos goes through one hundred and fifty years of conquest. After that, there is six hundred years of consolidation in which the ethnos acquires an ideological foundation and a reliance on technology but dies spiritually and internally. The final two stages of an ethnos' lifespan are characterized by a gradual decline and the extinction of the group or it becoming a sort of "relic" like the Australian aborigines.<sup>81</sup> Thus human history was largely pre-determined by biological and solar factors.

Placing the theory of ethnogenesis into a historical context, Gumilev's historiography resembles that of the interwar Eurasianists. Like the Eurasianists, he saw Russia as a constitutive part of a larger Eurasian identity. He believed that during the sixteenth centuries the Russians, Mongols and Tatars came together to form a larger ethnic group, or a super-ethnos. One thousand years prior to the formation of the Eurasian super-ethnos a Latin-Germanic super-ethnos was formed in Western Europe which came to represent a constant threat to the Eurasian one. While one current in Russian historiography praises Russia for defeating the Mongols and thus saving the rest of Christendom, Gumilev emphasized that it was rather fortuitous that the Mongols had invaded Russia which was then protected and insulated from a Western invasion. Like the early Eurasianists, Gumilev praised the Mongols of the Golden Horde, maintaining that their religious tolerance allowed the Russians to maintain their organic ties with Orthodox Christianity.<sup>82</sup> The Mongol period is described as a healthy symbiotic relationship between the Russians and the Mongols. The period served to protect and strengthen the Russian ethnos. However, according to Gumilev, once the Golden Horde adopted Islam it attached itself to another super-ethnos, an Islamic one. Thus, the Russians became heir to an empire of the Steppes. Marlene Laruelle correctly notes that this represents one of the many contradictions within Gumilev's theory of ethnogenesis.<sup>83</sup> If ethnogenesis is a fundamentally biological process that can be scientifically observed, then how can the inclusion and exclusion of an ethnos into a super-ethnos be based on the assumption of a new faith? Moreover, Gumilev's ideas on the positive results of Russian

---

<sup>81</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 69.

<sup>82</sup> Yanov. <<http://imrussia.org/en/society/613>>.

<sup>83</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Eurasianism*, 72.

mixing with Turks and Mongols throughout history only go so far. Whereas the Eurasianists were content with the idea of Russians having a biological blood tie to Mongols and other Asian peoples, Gumilev stressed the importance of keeping ethnic groups biologically separated and championed endogamy. With interbreeding came the dilution of the gene pool and the ethnos' potential passionarity. This biological sentiment was quite unlike the Eurasianists' own romantic sentiments concerning the relationship between Russia and its neighbors.

Despite the contradictions within his own historiosophy when taking into account his theory of ethnogenesis, Gumilev's conception of Russian nationhood largely resembles that of the Eurasianists. Both espouse a belief that the Russian nation, be it through a community of destiny or a deterministic cultural fusion of Russian and Central Asian ethnic groups, is only authentically realized as part of a larger whole. Both the Eurasianists and Gumilev professed a belief in the supremacy of the organic community over individuals throughout history. In addition, both Eurasianists and Gumilev completely rejected a European identity for Russia, and rather emphasized that Russia was a category unto itself that embraced an Eastern heritage more than a Western one.

Dugin himself has admitted that he owes a debt of gratitude to the Early Eurasianists for much of his own understanding of Eurasia and its historical mission. Dugin argues that the Eurasianists saw both Tsarist and Communist Russia as fundamentally modern and secular. The former emphasized the need to form a secular nationalism during the later years of its existence through the façade of "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality." Whereas Soviet Russia underscored an economic or class understanding of the Russian nation through the proletariat.<sup>84</sup> Both regimes, according to Dugin, merely imitated the West. Conversely, according to Dugin, the early Eurasianists provided a much needed synthetic understanding of the Eurasian community by giving "the highest possible estimation to the multi-national (imperial) nature of the Russian State. They were especially attentive to the Turkish factor. The role of the heritage of Gengis-Khan, trustee of the Tatar statehood assimilated by Moscow in the XVI century, was seen as a decisive turn of Russia to the East, to its origins, to its own values."<sup>85</sup> In an interview with the pro-Dugin North American-based webzine Open Revolt, Dugin argued

---

<sup>84</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Eurasia Above All: Manifest of the Eurasist Movement*, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://arctogaia.com/public/eng/Manifesto.html>.

<sup>85</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Eurasia Above All: Manifest of the Eurasist Movement*, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://arctogaia.com/public/eng/Manifesto.html>.

that the early Eurasianists were the first Russians to understand that the Russian people were defined first by their religion and their connection to a “unity of destiny” with non-Slavic peoples such as Turks, Caucasians, Mongols and the peoples of Siberia.<sup>86</sup> Thus Dugin articulates an understanding of Russia, similar to that of the early Eurasianists, as spanning a wide range of peoples whose unity was based more on geography and a mystical connection than religious or cultural homogeneity.

In approaching both interwar Eurasianism and the theories espoused by Lev Gumilev, it is easy to see the similarities between them and the work of Alexander Dugin. All three espouse a belief in the uniqueness of a communitarian Russia. Furthermore Eurasianism as well as Gumilev and Dugin see the expansion of Russian territory as natural and desirable – even pre-destined. Thirdly, all three see the West, or at least many of the ideas produced there, as a threat to Russia. The main point of divergence between is the question of race. While the Eurasianists and Dugin, as will be discussed later, define the Eurasian community in largely religious or cultural terms, Gumilev unequivocally maintains a racial view of man. Indeed, Gumilev’s historical philosophy can be seen as a case for biological determinism that leaves little room for God or spirituality. Unlike Dugin’s ideas, Gumilev’s theories are scientifically reductionist in their argument that an ethnic group’s actions and history are essentially predetermined by their level of passionarity. Furthermore, while Dugin can be understood as profoundly influenced by the early Eurasianists he also represents an important departure from them in that he is a Traditionalist whose worldview is more esoteric and religious than the early Eurasianists’.

## Chapter 2.1: The European New Right

On May 21, 2013 the French right-wing historian Dominique Venner committed suicide. In the midst of around 1,500 other people in and around the Notre Dame Cathedral, he shot himself at its altar. A determined opponent to the recent legalization of gay marriage and a vehement activist against the influx of non-European immigrants to France, Venner believed that only through a violent and shocking display could he

---

<sup>86</sup> Alexander Dugin, “Orthodox Eurasianism: Alexander Dugin” *Open Revolt*, September 1, 2014 <<http://openrevolt.info/2014/09/01/alexander-dugin-orthodox-eurasianism/>>.

awaken the French masses from their apathy.<sup>87</sup> A historian and political activist, Venner worked with Alain de Benoist along with other members of the far right. The shocking suicide led to an outpour of sentiment from politicians and thinkers of the right. Marine Le Pen, the leader of the *Front Nationale*, a socially conservative and nationalist party, and the rightist academic Bruno Gollnisch expressed their deepest sympathies. Less than twenty-four hours after Venner's suicide, however, the feminist group Femen staged a mock suicide at the cathedral; a topless demonstration with "may fascists rest in hell" written on their chests.<sup>88</sup>

Venner's suicide represents only one instance of a call to action that has resonated in much of the post-war right. Disparaging of liberal democracy and decrying what they see as the homogenization of particular European identities, members of the far right throughout the Western world have been calling for a complete transformation of the global order. Against American global hegemony, consumerism and multiculturalism they propose a multi-polar world that would mean the end of American cultural and political influence. Despite a generally agreed-upon platform of what they are against, the contemporary far right is deeply fragmented. Some on the far right are no more than isolated would-be terrorists who maintain that the only way to affect real change is through violent action against the state, political opponents, and immigrants. Others such as the Greek political party Golden Dawn utilize Nazi paraphernalia such as the swastika and Hitler salute to shock spectators. Still others, however, follow a more cautious and long-term approach to competing for political power. Described by many observers as the New Right, this group is composed of academics and intellectuals who are critics of liberalism and modernity. Inspired by the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, they have appropriated his approach to gaining power by attempting to participate in a new type of politics. While many political and interest groups attempt to gain power through elections or even sometimes force, the New Right maintains that the only way to affect real change is by gaining cultural hegemony by changing the values of elites through educational and media institutions. Thus the European New Right's fundamental strategy is borrowed from the left.

---

<sup>87</sup> Christian Fraser, "France Reacts to Dominique Venner's 'Shock' Gesture," *BBC News* May 27, 2013 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22628159>.

<sup>88</sup> Kim Wilsher, "Femen Protester Stages Mock Suicide at Notre Dame Cathedral," *The Guardian* May 22 2013 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/22/femen-mock-suicide-notre-dame>.

One of the most important intellectual organs of the New Right is the *Groupement de Recherche et d'Etudes pour la Civilisation Européenne* or the Research and Study Group for European Civilization (GRECE). Founded in 1968 by the writer and journalist Alain de Benoist, it is a religious and nationalist think tank that has been the most important venue for far right discourse for the past half century. Founded by forty individuals from separate nationalist and dissident groups, GRECE formed a discourse that has challenged contemporary accepted political and social norms and formed a stage upon which other like-minded rightists could participate through their journals *Éléments* and *Nouvelle École*. Intellectuals of the European New Right have for the past decades participated in multiple conferences and debates, platforms in which intellectuals from different countries can participate. As early as 1992, Alexander Dugin and Alain de Benoist have had a cordial relationship. While never always in full agreement with Benoist, Dugin's own journal was clearly inspired by Benoist's *Éléments*.

One of the means by which the European New Right has sought to overturn what it perceives to be the apathy of European peoples concerning globalization and the loss of individual cultures' particularities is through spiritual revival. However, while many of the far right, particularly the reactionary right, have usually championed Christianity as Europe's traditional religion, many New Rightists denounce Christianity as one of the chief problems of contemporary Western society. Rather, many among the New Right look to the revival of ancient European paganism with its vitalism and cult of masculinity as one of the only means of restoring Europe's sense of self. The New Right's hostility towards Christianity can be explained by examining its historiosophy, how it emplots European history and how it conceptualizes time.

According to the New Right the natural religion of the European peoples is paganism. Various tribes worshipped different gods and practiced different rites. Nonetheless, all the pre-Christian tribal religions shared a reverence for nature, heroism, and believed that "life has no purpose other than itself."<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, they believed in the cyclical nature of time and peoples; like the seasons peoples and eras go through an endless cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. The numerous European pagan practices prior to the advent of Christianity, then, contained a cult of action and a morality system that allowed for shades of grey rather than absolute criteria in appraising right and wrong.

---

<sup>89</sup> O'Meara, *New Culture, New Right*, 130.

Truth to the pagan was not a universal truth, and what was good and what was evil was not an objective reality, but subjective and dependent on many variables. Furthermore, the gods of a particular tribe or nation were just that; theirs. European pagans had no use for evangelical missions or holy wars. Accordingly, the New Right asserts, paganism was given to more nuance than Christianity is, and Europe's traditional religions were thus more open-minded and tolerant of other peoples and ways of life.

The New Right argues that truth and morality were subjective ideas to European pagans, and it was not necessary to reify those concepts. However, how one conducted oneself was not subjective. No matter what the circumstance the pre-Christian pagan always valued honor, loyalty, and heroism and disparaged cowardice.<sup>90</sup> Figures such as Alain de Benoist contend that paganism was a religion of works, not one of faith. Even with the introduction of Christianity the European peoples were only converted after a combination of bribery, torture, and trickery. Ultimately, the only way that Christianity could take hold in Europe was through adaptation to the European situation, depicting Christ not as a fallen god but focused on the resurrected aspect of Christ, seeing him as a god of victory.<sup>91</sup>

Just like Nietzsche, Alain de Benoist sees Christianity's more or less dominance of European culture as nothing less than "catastrophic."<sup>92</sup> For him, it is the cause of the unrealistic egalitarian universalism seen in both Marxism and liberalism that has led to the deracination and slow death of European civilization. Christianity, an oriental "desert religion" was and remains an alien religion opposed to the vitality and life-affirming spirituality of European forest dwellers. Christianity represents nothing less than the complete dismantlement of the European spirit and is ultimately a totalitarian doctrine. New Rightists maintain that Christianity's disastrous consequences can be seen throughout European history all the way to the mass murders and gulag system of the Soviet Union. Christianity's conceptualization of time and history, that existence had a definite starting point and a fixed, divinely determined end point has doomed the European peoples to a false sense of reality. Mono-linear time, as opposed to pagan ideas of cyclical time, then, creates a narrative of progress which maintains that eventually the whole world will be led into a utopia; Christ's millennial reign. In addition to its

---

<sup>90</sup> O'Meara, *New Culture, New Right*, 130.

<sup>91</sup> O'Meara, *New Culture, New Right*, 126.

<sup>92</sup> Alain de Benoist, *On Being a Pagan* (Atlanta: Ultra, 2005), 1.

opposition to Christianity's sense of progress and time, the New Right argues against Christianity's metaphysical dualism. Maintaining that European paganism valued diversity through its variety of tribal deities and its lack of evangelical spirit, the New Right claims that Christianity changed the way Europeans thought about reality. Christianity introduced a stringent definition of the truth; questions of morality were seen in shades of black and white with seldom any nuance.<sup>93</sup> By cutting themselves off from their pagan roots, Christian Europeans began to believe in the equality of all souls before God, and similarly, believed in an evangelizing mission to convert all souls to a one true God.<sup>94</sup> This "Bolshevism of Antiquity," according to the New Right, would later be secularized and utilized for other universal missions.<sup>95</sup>

The New Right has created a historical narrative that holds the advent of Christianity and its direct epistemological effects on the formation of modern ideologies such as liberalism and Marxism as directly responsible for what it sees as the slow death of particularism today. In short, they argue that the Late Middle Ages was the last time traditional pagan virtues held any real influence on European civilization. During this period, the pagan ideals of a warrior king, honor and loyalty were still ensconced in the popular ideals of chivalry and divinely ordained kingship. However, the Reformation marked the final blow to European paganism. With the rise of first Lutheranism and then other forms of Protestantism, Christianity as a whole unwittingly let loose the floodgates to skepticism, which led to the necessity to tolerate individual interpretations of the Bible, spiritual ennui and finally secularism. This secularism manifested itself initially as a new societal focus on science. Renaissance humanism gave way to an increasingly rationalistic approach to the world. The natural world then became "...measured, analyzed and rendered into the language of mathematics."<sup>96</sup> Eventually, rationalism was utilized as a universal model to be applied to society and the state. Rationalism became a part of the discourse of revolutionaries of what would later be known as the "left," which sought overturn centuries-old traditions and hierarchies.

Since the seventeenth century, according to the New Right, science and rationalism have effectively replaced spiritual values and tradition as the legitimizing ideas behind authority and statehood. The rise of capitalism, intellectually justified by

---

<sup>93</sup> David Miller, *The New Polytheism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 7.

<sup>94</sup> Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality*, 112.

<sup>95</sup> Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality*, 112.

<sup>96</sup> O'Meara *New Culture, New Right*, 13.

Protestantism and rationalism, combined with further religious dissolution and the centralizing tendencies of monarchs to create new societies. The new model of the state was created in order to maximize administrative efficiency and economic profit, regardless of a culturally-specific common good. This secular rationalism was manifested in the liberalism of the eighteenth century and the French revolution. Positing a secular universalism, liberalism and later Marxism declared their materialistic doctrines to be universally applicable and historically determined.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, the false narrative of eternal progress present in liberalism and Marxism both foster a culture of “liberation,” which according to the New Right, strives towards ever-more spurious “liberations.” Starting with an emancipation from God or the divine, liberalism has created a culture in which ethnic, cultural, and gender identities, once considered natural and inherent to the individual, are easily taken up and discarded at will in the name of a postmodern cult of individualism.

The New Right, embodied in GRECE, is also deeply critical of contemporary conceptions of democracy. In place of what they see as an American-centric idea of democracy that is used as a universal model, they argue for a diversity of government types, maintaining that different peoples require different forms of government. In *The Problem of Democracy*, Benoist argues for an ethnic understanding of the history of democracy. He maintains that democratic tendencies among pre-modern peoples such as Athenian Greeks and Norse Icelanders were founded upon a common rootedness. Citizenship and participation in politics was a manifestation of their belonging to a common homeland and sharing a common background, thus endowing them with common interests.<sup>98</sup> In essence, there was a “cultural cohesion” in Athens and other city-states.<sup>99</sup> Sharing common interests, values, myths, histories and a shared homeland, the peoples of the Greek city-states were able to effectively administer themselves democratically while still respecting hierarchy and tradition. In contrast, the modern democratic process is organized around atomized individuals selfishly competing for personal interests with no regard for the greater community.<sup>100</sup> Indeed, contemporary European countries such as France and the United Kingdom, inundated as they are with foreign immigrants no longer represent societies for which the first iteration of

---

<sup>97</sup> O’Meara *New Culture, New Right*, 12.

<sup>98</sup> Alain de Benoist, *The Problems of Democracy* (London: Arktos, 2011), 28.

<sup>99</sup> Benoist, *The Problems of Democracy*, 28.

<sup>100</sup> Benoist, *The Problems of Democracy*, 27.



democracy was meant for.

Seeing in Europe a crisis of identity and a threat to its survival, the European New Right has created a fundamentally new identity and myth-symbol complex to articulate a European identity. Opposed to what they see as the universalism of Christianity that has manifested itself in virtually all left-wing projects, GRECE has created a pre-Christian myth-symbol complex that extolls the virtues of a diverse European paganism. Utilizing mostly Norse mythological symbols, images of Odin, ravens, and runes have become an important component of the New Right's call for Europeans to revert back to their ancestral roots.<sup>101</sup> Paradoxically, the New Right has utilized a narrative of pre-Christian Europe's religious diversity to unite culturally disparate peoples into a supra-national identity. Furthermore, the GRECE articulates a fall-redemption narrative that details an idealized pagan Europe that has been duped or forced into accepting culture-killing Christianity and its inevitably totalitarian ideologies of Marxism and liberalism. Embodied by the rootless and mercantile United States, Europe has been subjected to a slow spiritual and ethnic death. Only through the revitalization of its sense of self through pagan spirituality and an appreciation of their common history can European peoples unite under a federal system that defends their particularities against the vagaries of modernity.

Today the New Right is not only represented by GRECE members but a diverse group of thinkers largely in Europe as well as North America. Communicating through online webzines, podcasts and journals, they all share a deep distrust of modern society and American hegemony as well as a profound dislike of multiculturalism. While some such as Benoist call for a resurrection of Europe's Pagan past, others are more comfortable remaining with Christianity. Still others like Alexander Dugin, inspired by the extreme anti-modernism of Julius Evola and other Traditionalists, have turned to the reactionary doctrine of Traditionalism in an attempt to exorcise the modern demons of contemporary Western society.

On the surface, Neo-Eurasianism as espoused by Dugin is another example of Russian nationalist nostalgia. For some, the Russian Empire of the nineteenth century and

---

<sup>101</sup> This is particularly true in the case of the more vulgar White Power movements in the United States and Europe. Wotanism, a religion espoused by members of the white terrorist group The Order such as David Lane have repackaged Norse polytheism as a whites-only religion. For a summary of the more militant American version of the New Right's mythological myth-symbol complex see Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) and Ron McVan, *Creed of Iron* (Creative Space Publishing, 2012).

before represented a golden age of traditional Russian values. For others, the Soviet Union was the ideal guarantor of Soviet, and thus Russian, great power status. Dugin is indeed nostalgic. However, while Dugin truly mourns the dissolution of the Soviet Empire, likening Russia to Germany right after the First World War, his expansionist project utilizes neither Tsarist nor Soviet symbols.<sup>102</sup> Rather, Dugin mourns the tragedy of what he sees as a truly global loss. Modernity and liberalism, he argues, have deprived humanity of its connection to the sacred, and have stripped many cultures of their natural, divinely-ordained traditions, religions, and hierarchies. His ideas are fundamentally grounded in a genuine belief in a Perennial Tradition as articulated by René Guénon and Julius Evola.

The above analysis represents a sort of intellectual genealogy in which Dugin's major secular influences, the early Eurasianist movement and the *Nouvelle Droite*, are discussed in order to place Dugin within a broader century-long anti-liberal context. The following chapter will emphasize how Neo-Eurasianism, while sharing both movements' anti-liberal and anti-democratic and supranational tendencies, also represents a departure from both the strict Orthodoxy espoused by the early Eurasianists and the pagan vitalism argued for an esoteric Traditionalism. In addition, the following chapter will engage the scholarly debate over Dugin and his alleged fascism by discussing whether Dugin meets the first criteria of a fascist minimum – that of a palingenetic mythic core. Scholars such as Andres Umland and Anton Shekhovtsov have argued that Dugin must be understood as a fascist first and foremost. His religious, mystical and fundamentally anti-modern language is ultimately more or less a façade to protect his more unpopular ideas. Upon initial observation the conclusion drawn by Umland and others does make sense. Fascism has historically often utilized esoteric and mystical symbolism and ideas in order to harken back to a long-forgotten idealized past. So too does the Perennial Traditionalism that Dugin, it will be demonstrated, partakes in. Traditionalists such as Julius Evola and, undoubtedly Dugin, see in fascist movements potential allies who, sharing the same hostilities towards democracy, liberalism, egalitarianism and consumerism, might yet be instilled with true Traditional values. Julius Evola, a contemporary to both Italian Fascism and National Socialism was eventually deeply disappointed by both movements.

---

<sup>102</sup> John B. Dunlop, "Alexander Dugin's Foundations of Geopolitics" in *The Fourth Political Theory: Beyond Left and Right but Against the Center* <<http://www.4pt.su/en/content/aleksandr-dugin%E2%80%99s-foundations-geopolitics>>.

While National Socialism might have utilized esoteric symbols and ideas as a means of inspiring the masses during rallies and articulating a justification for Aryan world hegemony, National Socialism emphasized modern values and tactics such as secularism, technology, and populism. Conversely, Traditionalism and Traditionalists, such as the late Julius Evola and currently Alexander Dugin, have repeatedly condemned fascism, particularly National Socialism, for its (pseudo-)scientific biological determinism, secularism and reliance on technology and new forms of authority rather than traditional ones such as clerics and aristocrats who – according to Tradition – still maintain a thin connection to the sacred hierarchies of an imagined past.

### **Chapter 3: Anti-Modernism in the Perennial Traditionalism and Dugin’s Neo-Eurasianism: Palingenesis or Reaction?**

In order to measure whether or not Dugin’s worldview meets the first criteria of the fascist minimum – a palingenetic mythic core – we must explore his fundamental religious worldview. Perennial Traditionalism is a religious philosophy that maintains that most of the world’s religions share a single universal truth which is the foundation for all religious knowledge. As a worldview that allows for diverse representations of that truth, it can be said to characterize many religious and political dissidents of the twentieth century who saw in modernity a universal fall from grace. The origins of the idea of a Perennial Tradition can be traced to the Renaissance era. Martin Sedgwick’s work, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*, points out that the term *philosophia perennis* (Perennial Philosophy) was used in 1540 by a Catholic scholar to explain one of the main ideas proposed by Marsilio Ficino.<sup>103</sup> Ficino believed that the revival of Plato and his ideas as an object of discussion was a gift from God to offer philosophical arguments for Christianity. Ficino, then, elevated Plato beside Christianity as having equal authority as both were “lawful” religions.<sup>104</sup>

According to Ficino, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Judaism and native pagan

---

<sup>103</sup> Mark Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 23.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

religions all shared a spiritual lineage dating back to a foundational spiritual truth.<sup>105</sup> This spiritual truth was founded on the alleged discovery of theological writings supposedly written by Hermes Trismegistus, a mythical ancient pagan thought to be a contemporary of Moses. Trismegistus also supposedly practiced a belief in a universal truth as well as alchemy, which further helped Ficino popularize his belief in a perennial philosophy.<sup>106</sup> His writings, later discovered to be forgeries, were translated by Ficino. They provided a means of religious syncretism; the rites of paganism, Jewish Kabbalah, and later Islam and Hinduism were practiced by religious Traditionalists who saw them all as expressions of a larger universal and divine truth. Traditionalism as a syncretic religious belief has survived in various forms through secret societies and occult ideologies into the twenty first-century.

In an interview on May 17, 2014 with Open Revolt a North American-based organization that supports Alexander Dugin's Fourth Political Theory, Dugin explained his intellectual background;

“...In my early youth I was deeply inspired by Traditionalism of Rene Guenon and Julius Evola. That was my definitive choice of camp – on the side of sacred Tradition against the modern (and post-modern) world. This choice and all consequences are still there in the present. I firmly stand for spiritual and religious values against actual decadent materialist and perverted culture. Traditionalism was and rests central as the philosophic focus of all my later developments.”<sup>107</sup>

René Guénon was the first major Traditionalist thinker of the first half of the twentieth century. An Indologist who sought to prove Hinduism's Traditional origins, Guénon was deeply pessimistic about the course of Western civilization. Modernity, Guénon argued, postulated a false narrative of progress that was typified by democracy and Marxism. However according to Guénon the modern age was actually a dark age of humanity – what Hindus called the *Kali Yuga*.<sup>108</sup> Guénon believed that prior to the advent of modernity and its hedonistic individualism individuals and society were closer to a universal god through a society's local religious tradition. Correct, divinely-ordained traditions of hierarchy, proper gender relations, and humility were established. Modernity

---

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>106</sup> James Heiser “*The American Empire Should Be Destroyed*”: Alexander Dugin and the Perils of Immanentized Eschatology (Fort Wayne: Repristination Press, 2014), 19.

<sup>107</sup> “The Long Path: An Interview with Alexander Dugin, *Open Revolt*, <<http://openrevolt.info/2014/05/17/alexander-dugin-interview/>>.

<sup>108</sup> Sedgwick, 24.

with its secularism and emphasis on rationalism and egalitarianism had effectively severed much of humanity's connection to the divine. He stressed the "initiatic" potential of Traditionalism.<sup>109</sup> Only through the proper initiation of an individual into Tradition, drawing on rituals and doctrine that still maintained a fragment of the Perennial Tradition, could an individual begin to find his way back to the divine. However, Western society, being the birthplace of modernity, was also the least likely to recover spiritual authenticity – particularly due to Christianity having been largely subjugated by modernity. Rather, Guénon called on Eastern religions, whose connection to the Perennial Tradition had as of yet not been sullied by modern rationalism to bring salvation to the West and save Western civilization.<sup>110</sup> Although he eventually converted to Sufi Islam and lived out his life in Egypt, Guénon for a time believed that Hinduism was the religion through which the West could rediscover its connection to Tradition.

Especially appealing to Guénon and later, Julius Evola, was the strict hierarchical nature of Hinduism. Julius Evola was a philosopher who also dabbled in magic and alchemy which he considered a Traditional pre-modern science.<sup>111</sup> Evola envisioned a largely mythic pre-Christian Europe in a world in which authority and the divine were indivisible. In his famous work, *Revolt Against the Modern World*, Evola claimed that kingship and aristocracy were divinely sanctioned and necessary for any society to function. A tribal chief or king's central role was to be a conduit to the divine and thus his "primary and essential function consisted in performing those ritual and sacrificial actions that constituted the center of gravity of all life..."<sup>112</sup> For such a king, Traditional life was a global reality: From the Far Eastern concept of "the son of Heaven" to the deification of Roman emperors and the pre-modern Christian belief in divine kingship, authority was enshrined as a natural and sacred facet of human relations. A king or ruler was also a high priest and functioned as a conduit to the celestial. Thus for Evola authority had a metaphysical nature and temporal power proceeded from its spiritual authority.<sup>113</sup>

Although Evola eventually became an advocate for Europe's return to its own

---

<sup>109</sup> Sedgwick, 25.

<sup>110</sup> Sedgwick, 25.

<sup>111</sup> Sedgwick, 103.

<sup>112</sup> Julius Evola, *Revolt Against the Modern World*, trans. Guido Stucco (Rochester: Inner Traditions International, 1995), 11.

<sup>113</sup> Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), ch. 3. Ebook.

pagan beliefs, the syncretic nature of Traditionalism allowed him to draw heavily on other religions, particularly Hinduism. In early Hinduism, Evola saw a society in which caste, hierarchy, religious rites and natural forms of authority were supreme over individualism and materialism. Invoking what he saw as a mythical, masculine and sacred tradition, Hinduism was one of the few religions remaining that had kept a measure of its Traditional truth. Furthermore, like many non-monotheist religions Hinduism approached time as cyclical. For Evola, existence and civilizations go through endless cycles of birth, growth, aging, death and rebirth. Accordingly, just like Guénon, Evola saw the modern world as going through a stage of *Kali Yuga*, in which discord, chaos, and vice reign supreme.

Evola was a contemporary of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini who preached a mystical ideology that combined a doctrine of political elitism, masculine aristocracy, and Perennial Traditionalism.<sup>114</sup> An early supporter of both Italian Fascism and National Socialism, he nonetheless grew weary of both ideologies. This was because Evola ultimately believed that while fascism and National Socialism made important strides in reinvigorating Europe with a cult of action, neither ideology fostered a truly Traditional spirituality. Rather, both movements were far too populist and, despite the apparent attempts by the Nazi Reich to form a new elite class of warriors such as the SS, did not do enough to foster a truly aristocratic principle.<sup>115</sup>

Like Evola, Dugin fears that contemporary society exists in the *Kali Yuga*. In his 2001 manifesto of the Eurasianist Movement, Dugin decried a fallen world in which totalitarian uniformity and consumerism are the only hallmarks of the modern life.<sup>116</sup> Additionally angered by the seeming political and ideological apathy of the masses, he wrote, “The majority of political parties and formalized social movements pursue tactical purposes. Practically nowhere can be found an explicit and consequent ideology capable to snatch man from a state of sleepy indifference, to make life worth living.”<sup>117</sup>

It is initially self-evident that Alexander Dugin’s body of thought certainly

---

<sup>114</sup> Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and their Influence on Nazi Ideology* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 190.

<sup>115</sup> Sedgwick, 107.

<sup>116</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Eurasia Above All: Manifest of the Eurasist Movement*, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://arctogaia.com/public/eng/Manifesto.html>>.

<sup>117</sup> Alexander Dugin, *Eurasia Above All: Manifest of the Eurasist Movement*, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://arctogaia.com/public/eng/Manifesto.html>>.

represents, in the least, fascistic tendencies. After all Dugin is a vehement opponent of liberalism, egalitarianism and consumerism. He has repeatedly supported Vladimir Putin and his repressive tactics in the hopes that Putin will lay the foundation for an internationally resurgent Russia. It has also been thoroughly demonstrated that Dugin is anything but a pacifist and is very willing to engage in war, particularly with the United States, if it leads to the formation of a Eurasian empire. Dugin's plans for imperial expansion positively dwarf even the most ambitious plans of Nazi expansion and *Lebensraum*. Indeed, Dugin's hatred of what he sees as the morally decaying effects of American hegemony matches closely with Nazism's obsessive hatred of Jews and their paranoia over Jewish and Bolshevik infiltration.

Yet in applying Griffin's fascist minimum to Dugin's case it can only be concluded that Neo-Eurasianism, while certainly sharing many traits with historical cases of fascism, is not necessarily a fascist doctrine. As this work has demonstrated, Dugin, like many fascists, yearns for a complete reconstruction of state, culture and society. However, while fascism has ultimately emphasized a fundamentally alternative modern vision of a new state, Dugin's worldview, characterized as it is by Evola and Tradition, is utterly anti-modern. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany were both characterized by a fondness for industry, efficiency and bureaucracy. The reigning aesthetic was one that emphasized youth, vigor, productivity and technological progress. Conversely, Dugin is deeply ambivalent toward any narrative of progress and even modern technology.

In his *The Fourth Political Theory* Dugin describes an isolated community of Old Believers who live in the Ural Mountains. Here, these "fundamental conservatives" avoid seemingly trivial affectations such as wearing plaid.<sup>118</sup> In addition, they only use torches and candles for lighting for electrical lighting is "the light of Lucifer."<sup>119</sup> They also scorn the eating of boiled buckwheat or the drinking of tea and coffee as "sinful."<sup>120</sup> Dugin urges the reader not to consider these practices outdated or odd, but rather understand that their antagonism toward modern values is so complete that they will also spurn the use of modernity's concomitant technological marvels. For these Old Believers rightly see that "...time is regress, and modern men are a sacrificial offering to the

---

<sup>118</sup> Dugin, *Fourth Political Theory*, 90.

<sup>119</sup> Dugin, *Fourth Political Theory*, 90.

<sup>120</sup> Dugin, *Fourth Political Theory*, 90.

devil.”<sup>121</sup> For Dugin, then, it is completely acceptable and even desirable to not only reject modernity and any narrative of progress but to even participate in traditionalist religious communities that enforce this worldview. Dugin’s anti-modernism is anathema to fascism’s vitalist cult of technology and action which, while against certain aspects of modernity such as what they would describe as consumerism, hedonism and individualism, nonetheless allowed for an alternative vision of modernity which allowed technological and social innovation. On the contrary, Dugin’s anti-modernism seems to be a holistic critique of any form of modernism that allows for any narrative of progress, social and/or technological, that would lead man further away from Tradition. Thus while both fascism and Neo-Eurasianism can be said to be palingenetic, the former desires an alternative modernity, while the latter completely rejects modernity in all its forms.

This section has argued for a complication of our understanding of Dugin’s fascistic tendencies. While Neo-Eurasianism is similar to fascism in that it does call for a major social, cultural and national rebirth and utilizes a certain idealized myth about the past, fascism ultimately proposed an alternative modernity rather than a completely anti-modern project. Conversely, Dugin questions not only democracy, egalitarianism, and consumerism of modernity but also the secularism, populism, and even the technological vitalism present in fascism as well. Thus his fundamental anti-modernism precludes him from the palingenetic alternative modernity present in fascism. The following chapter continues the argument for a nuanced understanding of Neo-Eurasianism’s alleged fascism by discussing whether or not it meets the second criteria for Griffin’s fascist minimum – that of ultranationalism. For Dugin, the philosophical ennui of contemporary man has been largely fostered by the victory of American liberal democracy and Americanization of the cultures of the world, which he describes as an “Atlanticist tsunami.”<sup>122</sup> In addition to what he sees as the death of ideology, Dugin also mourns the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which he regards as an unmitigated disaster. The end of the Soviet Union meant the effective end of organized opposition to globalization and Americanization. However, rather than a restoration of the Soviet Union Dugin proposes a new political union, a Eurasian one. A Eurasianist empire would stretch into territories and countries that neither the Russian Empire nor the Soviet Union had ever ruled over. The Eurasianist

---

<sup>121</sup> Dugin, *Fourth Political Theory*, 90.

<sup>122</sup> Dugin, *Fourth Political Theory*, 90.



movement represents a supranational project that will unite many different religions and ethnic groups into a single empire. On the surface, Dugin's geopolitical vision appears to be driven by a desire for the maximization of Russian power and influence. To some extent, that is correct. However, pregnant within Dugin's territorial ambitions for a Eurasianist empire are Traditional ideas of sacred space as well as a new ideological model of identity. The model incorporates ideas of both civilization and the spiritual missions of peoples as constitutive facets of identity. The Eurasianist project ultimately posits a conception of Russia by portraying Russia as an important "glue" to a greater Eurasian empire, thus fulfilling its divinely-ordained mission – to be a uniter of peoples.

#### **Chapter 4: Neo-Eurasianism: Religious Fundamentalism or Ultrationalism?**

In regards to the second criteria of Griffin's fascist minimum, ultrationalism, Dugin's approach to nation is complex. As has been demonstrated, Dugin clearly desires Russia to create a massive empire that would exceed the territorial extent of the Soviet Union. However, just as Traditionalism has colored Dugin's understanding of modernity, so too has it influenced his understanding of nation. While Italian fascism viewed *la Razza* in largely cultural terms, Italian Fascism nonetheless took for granted the fact that Italians were to be the main beneficiaries of a fascist state. Indeed, while Italian Fascism was not explicitly racist in its doctrine, this did not stop Fascist Italy from deporting Slovenes to a concentration camp on the island of Rab nor exacting even harsher revenge against recalcitrant African natives.<sup>123</sup> Even more explicitly than fascism in Italy, German National Socialism viewed the welfare of the German nation as the penultimate goal to strive toward. No other nation, particularly Jews, were permitted to block Germany's national destiny to become a continental hegemon. In short, fascist thought argues that one's nation and the state ruling and administering that nation represent the highest value.

In opposition, Dugin proposes an understanding of the Russian nation that allows for its importance but only insofar as it is a spiritual liberator of Eurasia and the fomenter of a greater identity. Indeed, like the European New Right which proposes a new, supranational model of identity that transcends any extreme pride in a single nation, Neo-Eurasianism calls for the formation of a completely new new geopolitical entity and identity. Concomitantly, Dugin's proposed neo-Eurasian identity is one based on spirituality and Traditional thought. Dugin sees the Russian nation as a potential spark to unite Eurasian civilization into a greater empire that, after defeating the United States, will then attempt to return to Traditional hierarchy and value systems. For Dugin Traditional spirituality is the highest value. Given this, it is impossible to define Dugin as an ultrationalist like historical fascists.

Scholars such as Marlene Lauelle and Edith Clowes have argued for a more ethnic or even racial understanding of Dugin's type of nationalism. He does, after all, maintain that Russians are perhaps the most important part of any Eurasianist project and utilizes much of the same language that interwar German racists and Aryan supremacists used.

---

<sup>123</sup> Pamela Ballinger, *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 138.

However, it is imperative to place Dugin's ideas within his religious worldview. Dugin's religious outlook is the most important part of his intellectual makeup. It separates him from the primarily Orthodox early Eurasianists and Gumilev's racial and biological conception of nationhood and other forms of Russian nationalism. Instead, Dugin approaches nationhood through a mystical prism that posits that nations are defined by participation in a culture's traditional religion and sacred geography. His Traditionalist worldview can be seen in what he calls *The Fourth Political Theory* and his mystical geopolitical theories.

Dugin's arguments for a civilizational model of history discussed in his *The Fourth Political Theory* are not purely made for the strengthening of Russian national power. Rather, his definition of the Russian nation and its role within a greater Eurasian civilization are determined by his esoteric belief in the Perennial Tradition. Dugin's definition of Russian nationhood is fundamentally spiritual. Indeed, Dugin has often repeated his disagreement with racism and the notion of race itself. Rather, he posits that the Russian nation is and must be defined as a spiritually-rooted people practicing Orthodoxy as it remains one of the few Christian traditions that have held on to some Traditional truth. He argues, "Russians should realize that they are Orthodox in the first place."<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, Russians, like all other nations, are represented by angels. According to Dugin's Traditionalism, these "national angels" determine the character of individual nations and are representatives of "God's thought."<sup>125</sup> Russia is depicted as an "integration angel;" a divine unifying essence that collects other national angels into a "universal imperial" project that protects the individuality of each of the angels.<sup>126</sup> Conversely, the Anglo-Saxon West opposes it with its own type of angel called "mammon," a god of greed.<sup>127</sup> Thus utilizing a Traditional myth-symbol complex grounded in esoteric theology and Orthodoxy, Dugin is attempting to create a new identity for the Russian nation based on Traditional, not ethnic criteria.

Taken as a whole, Dugin's blueprint for a Eurasian empire could lead to nothing but enormous amounts of strife and bloodshed as the map is redrawn and empires are carved out. It is a fundamental manifestation of an apocalyptic worldview that sees an

---

<sup>124</sup> Dunlop, *Alexander Dugin's Foundations of Geopolitics*, <<http://www.4pt.su/en/content/aleksandr-dugin%E2%80%99s-foundations-geopolitics>>.

<sup>125</sup> Heiser, 61.

<sup>126</sup> Heiser, 61.

<sup>127</sup> Heiser, 62.

inevitable armed conflict between two spiritual forces, one represented by Western mercantilism, individualism and rationalism and the other by Eastern spirituality, rootedness, and organic community. Thus, while Dugin's *Foundations of Geopolitics* is a cynical and dangerous manifesto, it is also a representation of his own mystical Traditional worldview embodied by how he and other Traditionalists have understood the sacred nature of geography.

In Traditionalism and other esoteric belief systems, geography has often conveyed important symbolic and spiritual meanings. Accordingly, the location of a space often bore a transcendent essence that manifested itself in the land's occupants. Julius Evola in particular articulated a vision of history according to sacred space. Indeed, it is Evola's ideas and their espousal by Alexander Dugin that have caused scholars such as Laruelle to see a racist component in Dugin's body of thought. Evola applied similar ideas similar to those of the vehemently racist and anti-Semitic Ariosophists of the interwar period in Germany. Typified by individuals such as Guido von List and Lanz von Liebenfels, Ariosophists combined esoteric mysticism and racism to articulate their version of world history. In brief, many Ariosophists believed, in some way or another, in the divinity of Aryan man and that the Aryan people had recently been subjected to racial miscegenation and moral decay through the advent of effeminizing democracy.<sup>128</sup> Many of them believed that the Aryan people originated in lands to the far north, sometimes called Thule or Hyperborea. Before being poisoned by modern democracy, the Aryans had brought culture to the world and a natural order based on racial castes.<sup>129</sup>

Evola maintained that during a remote prehistoric golden age, a great northern Arctic homeland of wise people had once existed known as Hyperborea. A "spiritual disaster" led to a major tilt in the Earth's axis, which forced the Hyperborean people to flee. They left for North America and northern Siberia, and later to a now lost continent of Atlantis in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, eventually spreading to South America and places in Africa, and Asia; thus peoples who carried on a "Northern" spirituality existed all around the globe. A key aspect of Evola's Traditionalist thought was his conception of "Northern" and "Southern" spiritual features in the various peoples of the world. "Northern" peoples tended to embody a religious, masculine and Traditional understanding of nature. Conversely, "Southern" spirituality, associated with the moon

---

<sup>128</sup> Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism*, 157.

<sup>129</sup> Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism*, 157.

and femininity, was largely decadent, materialistic and democratic.<sup>130</sup> However, this was not an entirely ethnic distinction; “Southern” peoples could embrace a “Northern” spirituality and vice versa.

Dugin has also utilized the image of Hyperborea in his writings. His publishing house, Arctogaia is named after a mythic Arctic continent inspired by the imagery of the interwar Ariosophists.<sup>131</sup> However, like Evola, he analyzes the Hyperborean myth through a Traditionalist viewpoint. Nevertheless Dugin has also argued for a spiritual understanding of geography. He maintains that ultimately the secrets of the universe can be unlocked by engaging in Traditional sciences. In his essay *From Sacred Geography to Geopolitics*, Dugin describes his geopolitical “science” as a necessarily modern rendition of a Traditional science, sacred geography. Just as alchemy, a sacred art used in Traditional rituals, has become desacralized through chemistry, so too has modern geopolitics become a profane study that does not grasp the essential spiritual struggle that exists in the modern world.<sup>132</sup> He characterizes this struggle as an ancient struggle between the Thalassocracy and Tellurocracy. The former, according to Dugin, can be identified today by its practice of a “southern” spirituality. It is exemplified by modern liberalism, rationalism, individualism, consumerism and metropolitanism, and is embodied by the United States and its allies. Conversely, the Tellurocracy can be identified by its rootedness, spirituality and religion, community, and hierarchy and is embodied by most of the Eurasian peoples, in particular the Russians who are heirs to the spiritual truths passed down from Hyperborea.<sup>133</sup> The sacred meaning of the cardinal direction of where a civilization is located also helps determine its character. As the United States is Western, it is a “country of death” in which the sun, symbolic of Perennial Tradition, goes to set.<sup>134</sup> On the other hand, the East is “the Land of the Spirit,” an “Eden” where the sun ascends.<sup>135</sup>

Alexander Dugin’s beliefs about sacred geography and lost continents are truly bizarre. However, they are a manifestation of how deeply embedded his belief in the Perennial Tradition is. While Laruelle is correct to point out that Evola and Dugin both use a similar type of narrative to that of the Ariosophists, it is important to remember that

<sup>130</sup> Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, chapter 3, Ebook.

<sup>131</sup> Heiser, 53.

<sup>132</sup> Alexander Dugin, *From Sacred Geography to Geopolitics*, < <http://evrazia.info/article/416>>.

<sup>133</sup> Dugin, *From Sacred Geography to Geopolitics*, < <http://evrazia.info/article/416>>.

<sup>134</sup> Dugin, *From Sacred Geography to Geopolitics*, < <http://evrazia.info/article/416>>.

<sup>135</sup> Dugin, *From Sacred Geography to Geopolitics*, < <http://evrazia.info/article/416>>.

Dugin and Evola approach the idea of Hyperborea through a specifically spiritual, not biological, prism. As Nicholas Goodrick points out, “Evola tended to see ‘spirituality’ as the prior determinant of a culture rather than its ethnic, racial population.”<sup>136</sup> Thus, when Evola speaks of Hyperborea he is appraising it as a prehistorical font of spiritual wisdom and Tradition, not the homeland of a biologically superior race. In the same vein, Dugin uses the idea of Hyperborea in his myth-symbol complex not to denote Russia and its “Northern-ness” as the Aryan heirs to racial supermen, but rather as the heirs to a primordial Perennial Tradition.

This chapter has argued that it is possible to interpret Dugin’s imperial project as a fundamentally Traditional and spiritual project and that he is genuinely earnest when he calls for a Eurasian empire that will support and protect the rights of all the traditional peoples and religions within its borders. Thus, it can be said that Neo-Eurasianism does not meet the second criteria of a fascist minimum because it is not ultranationalist as it sees the strengthening of Russia as good but only insofar as it facilitates the elevation of other peoples into a larger supranational identity. Indeed, the following chapter will demonstrate that it is for this reason that Dugin has repeatedly come under attack by contemporary New Rightists and American white nationalists who have hitherto seen Dugin as a racial ally against multiculturalism, liberalism, and globalization. Contrary to some New Rightists who are simultaneously avowed Traditionalists and racists, Dugin has repeatedly argued against biological race as a meaningful factor in understanding culture, politics or history. The contemporary New Right is not a monolith. Rather, it is a conglomeration of groups and individual thinkers who engage in a Gramscian strategy of metapolitics. They generally agree on an anti-American, anti-egalitarian, and anti-materialist outlook on the world. Furthermore, they propose an “Identitarian” project aimed at protecting individual ethnic cultures from cultural homogenization.<sup>137</sup> Yet the movement is rife with internal conflicts, ranging from how they should adjust their metapolitical strategy over time to what the world would look like if the New Right actually gained the cultural hegemony it pursues. Furthermore, the New Right can largely be considered racist, or in the very least as a philosophy that believes race is a biologically important, even supreme, factor in understanding human society. However,

---

<sup>136</sup> Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, Chapter 3. Ebook.

<sup>137</sup> Alain de Benoist and Charles Champetier, “Manifesto For a European Renaissance,” appendix II in *Against Democracy and Equality* (London: Arktos, 2011), 228.

recently some thinkers, including Benoist himself, have come under fire for doctrinal impurity, particularly by American New Rightists. Furthermore, by discussing the debates present within New Right discourse, we can more fully grasp Dugin's own stance on race by examining the criticisms levelled at him by open biological racists.

### **Chapter 5: Dugin, Race and the Racist New Right**

It is important to briefly take note of the similarities between the New Right and historical fascism and National Socialism. It is essential to again emphasize that the movement represents a very broad umbrella of dissident rightists who do not necessarily agree on much. While participating in a general anti-liberal and anti-egalitarian metapolitical conflict, New Rightists can be neo-fascists, National Socialists, monarchists and believers in a democratic White or European republic. In the same vein, the movement is represented by socialists, corporatists, free market capitalists and even anarchists. Thus it is difficult to declare that all New Rightists can be understood as more or less neo-Nazis. That being said, the memory of Hitler and the Third Reich remains strong to many New Rightists and particularly racist White Nationalist webzines such as Counter-Currents and Alternative Right.<sup>138</sup> Many of its members such as Greg Johnson have demonstrated a nostalgia for Hitler and have claimed that Hitler was right and that Jews remain the ultimate menace to Europe and European peoples.<sup>139</sup> In addition, Hitler is described by Johnson as a man who utilized totalitarianism only because he himself was fighting Jewish totalitarianism – that is, the Soviet Union and Bolsheviks. This approach to Hitler has been similarly utilized by much of the New Right. . In the same vein race has played a very important role in many New Rightists worldview over the years. For the likes of Michael O'Meara, Greg Johnson and Guillaume Faye biological race can be considered the major constitutive part of identity and Hitler's struggle was a just race war between White Europe and Jewish domination. Indeed, one could argue that the fundamental difference between much of the racist core of the New Right and

---

<sup>138</sup> [www.counter-currents.com](http://www.counter-currents.com) and [alternative-right.blogspot.com](http://alternative-right.blogspot.com) represent perhaps some of the more popular Anglophone American-based metapolitical webzines in which various authors argue for "White survival" and the end of Jewish domination of the country.

<sup>139</sup> Greg Johnson, "The Burden of Hitler, 2013" *Counter Currents* < <http://www.counter-currents.com/2013/04/the-burden-of-hitler-2013/>>.

National Socialism is one of methodology; the former sought to attain power through violence, political terror and participation within the political system, while the latter seeks to ultimately attain cultural hegemony and dominate public discourse. Outliers who do not agree with the racist core of the New Right such as Alexander Dugin and Alain de Benoist himself have been attacked by various New Rightists for their lack of racial solidarity over the years and have even been considered *agent provocateurs*.

In *New Culture, New Right* the White Nationalist Michael O'Meara decries what he considers to be a blatant step backwards in the movement's metapolitical struggle. Up until 1998, GRECE emphatically opposed any attempts by the authorities to confer legal status to North African immigrants as a separate legal category on the grounds that this action would threaten France's identity.<sup>140</sup> However, GRECE reversed course by adopting a more "communitarian" approach which favored the public recognition of non-French communities in order to facilitate the survival of the non-French immigrants' culture.<sup>141</sup> Thus, according to O'Meara, began a series of intellectual retreats in which the French *Nouvelle Droite* began to exchange its original attempts at gaining cultural hegemony by diluting its ideas in favor of a much humbler mission of simply "interpreting" the present.<sup>142</sup> By not continuing with the call for the expulsion of the non-European immigrants, according to the more determined New Rightists, Benoist and GRECE essentially gave up much of their racial nationalism for a "communitarian qualified multiculturalism."<sup>143</sup>

Correspondingly, Guillaume Faye wrote his book *Why We Fight* as a reaction to what he saw as the weakening resolve of GRECE.<sup>144</sup> In the work, Faye rails against the "system friendly" intellectuals of the right who only claim to have the best interests of the white race in mind.<sup>145</sup> He goes on to argue that the contemporary decadence of the French government, which he characterizes as a "multi-racialist mafia," will lead to "genetic ruin" for all of Europe.<sup>146</sup>

Despite Dugin's protestations of good faith towards similarly-minded New

---

<sup>140</sup> O'Meara, *New Culture, New Right*, 104.

<sup>141</sup> O'Meara, *New Culture, New Right*, 104.

<sup>142</sup> O'Meara, *New Culture, New Right*, 105.

<sup>143</sup> O'Meara, *New Culture, New Right*, 105.

<sup>144</sup> Guillaume Faye, *Why We Fight: Manifesto of the European Resistance*, trans. Michael O'Meara (London: Arktos, 2011), 12.

<sup>145</sup> Faye, *Why We Fight*, 12.

<sup>146</sup> Faye, *Why We Fight*, 20.



Rightists, others within the movement do not consider him a member. In an interview with Open Revolt, Dugin argued that while he accepts White Nationalists only as common short-term allies against unipolarity and liberalism, he recognizes differences of opinion with them:

“More than this, I can’t defend Whites when they are in opposition to non-Whites because, being White and Indo-European myself, I recognize the differences of other ethnic groups as being a natural thing, and do not believe in any hierarchy among peoples, because there is not and cannot be any common, universal measure by which to measure and compare the various forms of ethnic societies or their value systems.”<sup>147</sup>

In the article, “The Magic Disillusion of a Nationalist Intellectual,” Dugin talks about what he calls the “myth of the solidarity of a single white race.”<sup>148</sup> In it he described the belief in a single, unitary white or Aryan race as a “utopia that could only lead to the Holocaust of the Jews...” as well as the Slavs.<sup>149</sup> He continues,

“The remains of the Third Reich are a basis for this miserable, contradictory and completely false conception. The Anglo-Saxon world is one sociopolitical and cultural reality. The inhabitants of Central Europe are something different. The Eastern world of Orthodox Christianity and Slavs is a third reality. I am certain that many non-white peoples of Eurasia are a thousandfold closer to us in spirit and culture than Americans. In this question I am 100% affirmative with the visions of [Lev] Gumilev.”<sup>150</sup>

With this statement Dugin not only asserts that race is not a meaningful factor in categorizing peoples but also proposes an ethno-cultural interpretation of Gumilev’s theories, rather than a biological one. Yet again, Dugin attacked race as a defining factor in national identity during a lecture in which he characterized race as a “social construct.”<sup>151</sup> Dugin has also called for the end of “chauvinism, Eurocentrism,

---

<sup>147</sup> “Alexander Dugin on ‘White Nationalism’ and Other Potential Allies in the Global Revolution,” *Open Revolt!*, <<http://openrevolt.info/2013/05/19/alexander-dugin-on-white-nationalism-and-other-potential-allies-in-the-global-revolution/>>

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Alexander Dugin, “Alexander Dugin (Introduction by Mark Sleboda) Identitär Idé 4 / Identitarian Ideas 4” Youtube Video, posted by Tankesmedjan Motpol September 12, 2012, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7X-o\\_ndhSVA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7X-o_ndhSVA).

universalism, racism, [and] xenophobia...<sup>152</sup> Despite his protestations against racism, he nonetheless considers himself an ally to the New Right and believes that the New Right à la Benoist is more or less consistent with his own fourth political theory.<sup>153</sup>

Dugin's declarations that race is an unimportant or even non-existent factor when assessing identity has proven troublesome for many other New Rightists. For some this may be linked in Dugin's overt links to Traditionalism. It is of course true that Traditionalism and Julius Evola have been an important intellectual inspiration for racist thinkers. The recently deceased Jonathan Bowden, a self-described Nietzschean, in a talk hosted by members of the New Right in London on June 5, 2010 lectured on the importance of Evola's thought on the contemporary New Right.<sup>154</sup> Bowden argues that Evola and Tradition have been instrumental in infusing the New Right with a spiritual and intellectual backbone that has allowed the New Right to "ride the tiger" of modernity.<sup>155</sup> However, Bowden warns that Traditionalism, placed in the wrong hands, could lead to a dangerous "...sort of universalism at times or a neo-liberalism occasionally where *all* cultures are of value, where *all* are 'interesting,' where *all* are slightly interchangeable."<sup>156</sup> In other words, Bowden warns that Traditionalism has the potential to be read as a pro-multicultural worldview. In a similar fashion, Guillaume Faye, an avowed reader of Evola, also warned against Tradition. Faye urges caution against "Evolianism," which taken too far, "turns away from practical, tangible issues," presumably the Identitarian struggle.<sup>157</sup>

This hostility towards Evola has its roots in history. Furthermore, Evola was deeply disappointed with Nazism's biological determinism and racism. Indeed, an important note must be made concerning Evola, the history of Nazism and the subject of race. Evola certainly espoused a fundamentally anti-Semitic worldview. However, an essential distinction that must be made is that Evola was principally against what he called "Semitic thought."<sup>158</sup> That is ideas such as egalitarianism, materialism, and

---

<sup>152</sup> Dugin, *Putin vs Putin*, 310.

<sup>153</sup> Dugin, *Putin vs Putin*, 310.

<sup>154</sup> Jonathan Bowden, "Jonathan Bowden – Julius Evola: The World's Most Right-Wing Thinker" Youtube Video, posted by TheArmenianNation June 11, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4YqKf3v2aPs>.

<sup>155</sup> "Ride the tiger" is the title of one of Julius Evola's later works in which, having given up on affecting any real change in modern spiritual decadence, he instead discusses how one who is Traditionally-minded could cope with living in modern times. Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Jonathan Bowden, "Jonathan Bowden – Julius Evola, Youtube Video.

<sup>157</sup> Guillaume Faye, *Why We Fight*, 32.

<sup>158</sup> A. James Gregor, *Mussolini's Intellectuals: Fascist Social and Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton

secularism entertained by many Jews as well as those who had a similar “Semitic” mentality. Countering the “Semitic” mentality was an “Aryan” mindset that valued honor, loyalty, hierarchy and tradition. Race to Evola was not the biological or ethnic substance of a group of people, but rather was a spiritual phenomenon. While ethnic groups carried a “memory” of a spiritual race, there was nothing inherently noble or superior about an Aryan man. Rather, only by adopting the values of an Aryan mindset could someone become an Aryan. Simply because a man came from Nordic stock did not necessarily mean he was “Aryan” of spirit.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, he scoffed at the idea that a contemporary German street sweeper would consider himself better than an African king purely on the basis of his white skin.<sup>160</sup> Indeed, Jews could be spiritually superior to many non-Jews. While Hitler’s definition of Aryan largely included those only of a Germanic ethnic background, Evola maintained that Hitler himself was not Aryan as he was a demagogue and populist.<sup>161</sup> Hitler’s populist National Socialist movement was “proletarianized” and accepted only a “completely plebeian” concept of race.<sup>162</sup> Opposed to ethnic anti-Semitism, Evola argued that the primary indicator of human character was not racial or genetic makeup, but rather a person’s spiritual life and outlook.<sup>163</sup> Therefore in Evola’s writings an “Aryan” or “Jew” should not be understood as purely biological entities, “but as categories denoting ‘typical attitudes which were not necessarily present in all individuals of Aryan or Jewish blood.’”<sup>164</sup> This is not to say that Evola’s ideas were not deeply wrong, but his distinction between spiritual and biological race allows for the possibility for someone like Dugin to read Evola’s ideas on race as primarily religious and otherworldly, rather than biological.

Various authors of the New Right have directly targeted Dugin as an enemy of the movement over the subject of race. The online webzine *Counter-Currents* has been a gathering place of mostly Anglophone New Rightists to publish articles about race, culture, politics, and religion since 2010. Headed by its editor-in-chief, Greg Johnson, *Counter-Currents* describes itself as having taken its intellectual cues from the anti-modernism of René Guénon and the ethnic and racial nationalism of the European New

---

University Press, 2005), Ebook.

<sup>159</sup> Gregor, *Mussolini’s Intellectuals*, Ebook.

<sup>160</sup> Julius Evola, *Notes on the Third Reich* trans. Christian Koph (London: Arktos, 2013), Ebook.

<sup>161</sup> Evola, *Notes on the Third Reich*.

<sup>162</sup> Evola, *Notes on the Third Reich*.

<sup>163</sup> Sedgwick, 107.

<sup>164</sup> Quoted in *Ibid*.

Right.<sup>165</sup> *Counter-Currents* and similar North American New Right metapolitical organs have provided mouthpieces to New Right intellectuals who claim Dugin is not truly an ally of theirs or is at least only minimally connected to the broader New Right ideology.

In the article “Dugin Contra Racism,” Giuliano Adriano Malvicini maintains that Dugin is not a racist but a postmodern moral relativist. Malvicini complains that Dugin’s “incessant denunciations of racism” are aimed purely at the West without regard to the racism present in other parts of the world.<sup>166</sup> Additionally, Malvicini argues that Dugin’s arguments against National Socialism in his *The Fourth Political Theory* are fundamentally flawed as he accepts the dominant, and (Malvicini maintains) wrong, liberal narrative that German National Socialism was fundamentally against other races. Absurdly, Malvicini says, National Socialism was simply pro-German.<sup>167</sup>

Some New Rightists have changed their opinion of Dugin and his ideas over time. In 2004, Michael O’Meara described Dugin as a “Russian Identitarian” who shared the same worldview as himself.<sup>168</sup> However, in an article written in 2013, O’Meara presents Dugin as a thinker who is “difficult to pigeonhole” but nonetheless antithetical to the New Right project. Despite the anti-egalitarianist and anti-materialist spirit of much of Dugin’s work, O’Meara is completely against Dugin’s Eurasian geopolitical goals and what they seem to represent – multi-culturalism.<sup>169</sup> O’Meara argues that, despite Dugin’s claims that a Eurasian empire under Russia would protect the individual cultures of various ethnic groups, O’Meara contends that this ethnopluralism would only lead to another, slightly more localized “anti-cultural” form of multi-culturalism in which Jews, Muslims, Turks, Mongols, and Slavs would live together.<sup>170</sup> Thus Dugin’s Eurasianist project is not unlike the communitarian concessions made by Benoist over immigration. Indeed, O’Meara goes so far to argue that the likes of Benoist and Dugin and their “miscegenating principles of global cosmopolitanism,” are dangerous to both the New Right and Europe.<sup>171</sup> According to thinkers like O’Meara, Dugin’s Eurasianism “mixes

---

<sup>165</sup> “About Counter-Currents Publishing and the North American New Right,” *Counter-Currents*, <<http://www.counter-currents.com/north-american-new-right/>>.

<sup>166</sup> Giuliano Adriano Malvicini, “Dugin Contra Racism,” *Counter-Currents*, September, 2014, <<http://www.counter-currents.com/2014/09/dugin-contra-racism/>>.

<sup>167</sup> Malvicini, “Dugin Contra Racism,” *Counter-Currents*.

<sup>168</sup> O’Meara, *New Culture, New Right*, 110.

<sup>169</sup> Michael O’Meara, “The Third Political Theory” *Counter-Currents*, April, 2013, <<http://www.counter-currents.com/2013/04/the-third-political-theory/>>.

<sup>170</sup> O’Meara, “The Third Political Theory” *Counter-Currents*.

<sup>171</sup> O’Meara, “The Third Political Theory,” *Counter-Currents*.

white and yellow” and is anathema to any ethno-nationalist project.<sup>172</sup>

Greg Johnson has also come out to attack Alexander Dugin’s writings. Contrary to many other New Rightists who hope for the economic as well as political unification into a more or less federalized white Europe, Johnson anticipates that a victorious New Right will oversee the creation of dozens of smaller states. These white ethno-states, determined by plebiscite, would be based on ethnic, cultural, and religious factors.<sup>173</sup> He describes Dugin’s Neo-Eurasianist project as fundamentally against smaller, white, nationalities. Instead, Johnson views it as more or less a ploy to resurrect the Soviet Union in territory, if not necessarily in its constitutive spirit.<sup>174</sup> Similarly, according to Johnson, Dugin’s call for multi-polarity is just another form of hegemony, leading, if successful, to the creation of a multi-racial empire that is more concerned with state power than advancing ethnic, that is, white, concerns.

Although the New Right has not proposed a united, very specific geopolitical project, some have suggested plans like that of Greg Johnson, in which Europeans and European-Americans form small, ethnically and culturally homogenous states that rely on the larger countries such as France or the United Kingdom with nuclear deterrents to protect the smaller white states.<sup>175</sup> Other, perhaps the majority, foresee the formation of a somewhat loosely administered but united European empire. Guillaume Faye, for instance, calls for the formation of an all-white empire of “Euro-Siberia” that would stretch from Iceland to Siberia.<sup>176</sup> Yet Alexander Dugin’s Neo-Eurasianist project seems to fly in the face of these members of the New Right. Contrary to any all-white supranational project proposed by other New Rightists, Dugin’s Neo-Eurasian empire would include the direct annexation of Mongolia into Russia proper. Furthermore, Eurasia’s expansion into northern and western China would certainly lead to a larger non-European Chinese and Central Asian population within Russia. In addition, in exchange for the territorial enlargement of Dugin’s Eurasia at the expense of China, China would be granted suzerainty over the majority white country of Australia.<sup>177</sup>

---

<sup>172</sup> O’Meara, “The Third Political Theory,” *Counter-Currents*.

<sup>173</sup> Greg Johnson, *Old Right vs. New Right* (San Francisco: Counter-Currents Publishing Ltd., 2013), Ebook.

<sup>174</sup> Greg Johnson, “Americanism: A Cautionary Tale,” *Counter-Currents*, November, 2013, <<http://www.counter-currents.com/2013/11/north-americanism-a-cautionary-tale/>>.

<sup>175</sup> Greg Johnson, “Grandiose Nationalism,” *Counter-Currents*, February, 2015, <<http://www.counter-currents.com/2015/02/grandiose-nationalism/>>

<sup>176</sup> Faye, *Why We Fight*, 141.

<sup>177</sup> Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, <<http://www.my.arcto.ru/public/osnovygeo/>>, Ch. 4.

This chapter has argued that given Dugin's open discussion on how he envisions a Eurasian empire, it is not likely that he has the goal of creating a racially homogenous community of nations in mind. Rather, it seems far more likely that Dugin truly does not see biological race as a meaningful constitutive part of any form of identity. Indeed, as this study has demonstrated, the overt lack of racism in Dugin's thinking has caused some within the New Right to question his presence in the movement altogether. Furthermore, the demonstrable lack of ultranationalism in Neo-Eurasianism, in which the welfare of the Russian nation is viewed as the highest good, further disqualifies Dugin from the second requirement of Griffin's fascist minimum.

## Conclusion

As recently as October, 2014, Alexander Dugin was scheduled to participate in a conference in Budapest, Hungary hosted by the National Policy Institute, an American New Right think tank. Here Dugin, along with Greg Johnson and others of the New Right were planning on delivering talks and lectures on the state of the movement. However, in late September, the Hungarian government banned the conference from taking place.<sup>178</sup> In response, Alexander Dugin instead posted a Youtube video of the lecture that he would have given, had the conference taken place. In the video, Dugin rehashes much of what he has already articulated in his theoretical works on the Fourth Political Theory. He argues that the New Right must reject all forms of racism, which he argues is an Anglo-Saxon creation and includes biological racism, eurocentrism and the “racist” universality of liberalism and Marxism. At the same time he maintained that there is not one universal humanity but a collection of various humanities defined by “civilization.”<sup>179</sup> Thus Europe and Eurasia, based on different civilizational models, should remain allies to fight against their common enemy, the United States’ global hegemony, but should respect one another’s civilizational differences. These civilizations, however, are not just cultural or political but also fundamentally spiritual. As has been discussed, these civilizations, like religions, are manifestations of various facets of a far distant divine truth. Thus Dugin signals once again that a collective civilizational and Traditional worldview animates and gives meaning to national and supranational identities, not biological race or ethnicity.

Given his repeated declarations of anti-racism and a disbelief in biological race, it is curious that he seems to remain an accepted member of the New Right despite an increasing number of protests against him within the ranks. Part of this can be explained by the fact that, even if Dugin is not a racist, as many are now realizing, he still represents a popular anti-liberal academic within Russia whose views nonetheless share an anti-egalitarianism and anti-Americanism similar to that of the rest of the New Right. Concomitantly, a Eurasianist Russia, even if not sharing the biological racism shared by

---

<sup>178</sup> Sándor Pintér, “Minister of Interior Bans Racist Conference, *Website of the Hungarian Government*, September 29, 2014, <<http://www.kormany.hu/en/ministry-of-interior/news/minister-of-interior-bans-racist-conference>>

<sup>179</sup> Alexander Dugin “From 3 political theories toward 4-th one,” Youtube video. October 5, 2014. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cpzxw2u1C8Q#t=1442>>.

many within the New Right, would nonetheless constitute a powerful enemy against American global power.

This project has dealt almost entirely with the ideas espoused by Alexander Dugin. Our understanding of his true intentions have been limited due to the fact that he holds no political office nor is his ideology of Neo-Eurasianism officially a part of Putin's program. As it stands, Dugin himself has remained ambivalent on measuring the amount of real impact his ideas have had on Russian politics. On one hand he has proudly pointed out the fact that his *Foundations of Geopolitics* remains a popular book for many Russian officers and policy makers. Dugin has gone so far to contend that his ideas have influenced Vladimir Putin.<sup>180</sup> On the other hand, he has also claimed that Putin is ultimately a political pragmatist and has little time for ideology.<sup>181</sup> Thus, while Dugin has repeatedly argued that Putin stands the best chance of successfully countering global American hegemony and creating a greater Russian empire, he also worries that Putin's pragmatism and lack of philosophical convictions will only lead Russia towards a slow but definite slide into liberal democracy.<sup>182</sup> As of late, Dugin's rhetoric has been somewhat radicalized. As was stated in the first chapter, Dugin has called for the annihilation and "genocide" of Ukrainian dissidents. On August 23, 2014 Dugin posted an inflammatory note on the Russian-language equivalent of Facebook, VKontakte. Dugin railed, "Ukraine should be cleared of the idiots. Genocide of the cretins is suggested. The evil cretins are closed to the Voice of the Logos, and deadly with all their incredible stupidity. I do not believe that these are Ukrainians. Ukrainians are beautiful Slavic people. This kind of appeared out of manholes as a bastard race."<sup>183</sup> While the word "genotsid" denotes genocide and is certainly indicative of an extremely violent mentality, it also important to note that Dugin does not call for wholesale genocide. Rather, Dugin attacks specifically Ukrainian "cretins" who, according to him, serve their Atlanticist and American masters.<sup>184</sup> Indeed, Dugin has frequently expounded a belief, popular among Russian rightists and conservatives, that the ousting of Yanukovich was a

---

<sup>180</sup> Dugin, *Putin vs Putin*, 27.

<sup>181</sup> Dugin, *Putin vs Putin*, 235.

<sup>182</sup> Dugin, *Putin vs Putin*, 289.

<sup>183</sup> Heiser, *The New American*, <<http://www.thenewamerican.com/world-news/europe/item/19042-invasion-of-ukraine-continues-russian-ideologist-calls-for-genocide>>.

<sup>184</sup> Dugin, Alexander. "Alexander Dugin: Eurasia in the Netwar Eurasian Networks in the Eve of 2015" *Open Revolt* <<http://openrevolt.info/2014/12/17/alexander-dugin-eurasia-in-the-netwar-eurasian-networks-in-the-eve-of-2015/>>.



calculated move spearheaded by the United States in order to expand its influence further and further towards Russia.<sup>185</sup> Nevertheless, Dugin's recent violent outburst against Ukrainians could be a manifestation of a more radical and disingenuous train of thought that is not present in much of his writings. It is possible that eventually Neo-Eurasianism will reveal itself to be genuinely fascist and Dugin's multiculturalist language proven to be just a façade. However, it is my contention that at this time most of the evidence, as discussed above, points to Dugin being an earnest Traditionalist who is genuinely against genocide.

It goes without saying that regardless of Dugin's stance on race and whether or not he can be considered a fascist Neo-Eurasianism is a genuinely dangerous doctrine to world peace and is a threat to international stability. For the likes of the Russian philosopher and radical rightist Alexander Dugin, a successful outcome for Russia in Ukraine is hopefully just a small segment of a much larger geopolitical project. While Neo-Eurasianism and the Fourth Political Theory remain largely a part of fringe political discourse, it is not impossible that it will not gain traction with both elites and common Russian citizens in the future. Given that Dugin's geopolitical and illiberal worldview virtually demands a global war against the United States and its allies, one can only hope that Dugin's fears come true.

In conclusion, Dugin does not wholly meet the criteria of a fascist minimum. This is not to say that Neo-Eurasianism represents any less of a dangerous ideology to international peace or liberal democracy. Dugin's philosophy certainly shares the "fascist negations" that include anti-egalitarianism, anti-democracy and anti-liberalism. Neo-Eurasianism also shares a similar palingenetic worldview to that of fascist movements. However, while fascism's national rebirth is an alternative form of modernity that emphasizes some aspects of modernity and discards others, Dugin's anti-modernity is profoundly reactionary. Correspondingly, while a central tenet of fascism is ultranationalism and extreme pride in a single nation, Dugin proposes a supranational project that would place the Russian nation along with numerous other peoples in a larger empire. While it is true that historically Russian imperialists have often utilized a messianic narrative in order to "liberate" their smaller neighbors, it is important to remember that for a follower of Traditionalism, as Dugin surely is, religious truth, not

---

<sup>185</sup> Alexander Dugin, "Alexander Dugin: The Crimean Way" *Open Revolt* <<http://openrevolt.info/2014/04/09/alexander-dugin-the-crimean-way/>>.

nation, is the most important value to strive toward. Russia, in short, is an important facet of Dugin's project, but it is not an end in itself.

This study has also argued against interpreting Alexander Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism as a more or less ethnic or racist, fascist blueprint. Despite his membership within the New Right it is important to note that even its founder, Alain de Benoist, has come under attack for doctrinal impurities when it came to discussions of race and "white survival." One of the major problems with contemporary academic discussion of Dugin and the New Right is a tendency to characterize the project as something of a monolith rather than a deeply fragmented conglomeration of similar yet competing sub-ideologies. Dugin shares the anti-Americanism, anti-democratic and anti-liberal tendencies of the New Right. He, along with the New Right, are intellectual heirs of Traditional thought and the Conservative Revolution to one degree or another. Yet Dugin has repeatedly articulated a fundamentally different view of identity than the New Right and fascism.

Dugin has offered many protestations against biological racism. His geopolitical visions seem to discount race or ethnicity and elevate cultural, historical and spiritual factors in his Eurasian project. Furthermore he has espoused a Traditional worldview that discounts biological race. Dugin's worldview is colored by something else. His ideology is not grounded upon racial or ethnic notions of identity, despite his fascistic leanings. Rather, Dugin's ideology is grounded in the esoteric belief in a Perennial Tradition of which Orthodox Christianity and other Eurasian traditional religions represent facets of a single divine truth. Combining a myth-symbol complex utilizing a mixture of Traditionalist belief in Russia's messianic need to unify and protect other peoples with Orthodoxy and a reverence for Russia's simpler past, Dugin has created a new identity for the Russian nation; that of the divinely-inspired unifying force to bring Russia and the rest of the world not to Orthodoxy, but to the Perennial Tradition.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Aksakov, Ivan. "A Slavophile Statement." *Readings in Russian Civilization: Imperial Russia*.

Ed. Thomas Riha. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Benoist, Alain de. *On Being a Pagan*. Atlanta: Ultra, 2005.

Benoist, Alain de. *The Problems of Democracy*. London: Arktos, 2011.

Bowden, Jonathan. "Jonathan Bowden – Julius Evola: The World's Most Right-Wing Thinker." Youtube Video. Posted by TheArmenianNation. June 11, 2013.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4YqKf3v2aPs>.

Danilevsky, Nikolai. "The Slav Role in World Civilization." *Readings in Russian Civilization: Imperial Russia*. Ed., Thomas Riha. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Dugin, Alexander. "Alexander Dugin." Introduction by Mark Sleboda. *Identitär Idé 4 Identitarian*

Ideas 4. Youtube Video. Posted by [Tankesmedjan Motpol](#). September 12, 2012.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7X-o\\_ndhSVA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7X-o_ndhSVA).

Dugin, Alexander. "Alexander Dugin: The Crimean Way" *Open Revolt*

<http://openrevolt.info/2014/04/09/alexander-dugin-the-crimean-way/>.

Dugin, Alexander. "Alexander Dugin: Eurasia in the Netwar Eurasian Networks in the Eve

of 2015" *Open Revolt*. <http://openrevolt.info/2014/12/17/alexander-dugin-eurasia-in-the-netwar-eurasian-networks-in-the-eve-of-2015/>.

Dugin, Alexander. "Alexander Dugin: We Do Not Call You" *Open Revolt*.

<http://openrevolt.info/2015/02/13/alexander-dugin-we-did-not-call-you/>.

Dugin, Alexander. "Alexander Dugin: Towards Laocracy" *Open Revolt*.

<http://openrevolt.info/2014/07/28/alexander-dugin-towards-laocracy/>

Dugin, Alexander. *Eurasia Above All: Manifest of the Eurasianst Movement*.

<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://arctogaia.com/public/eng/Manifesto.html>.

Dugin, Alexander. *The Fourth Political Theory*. London: Arktos, 2012.

- Dugin, Alexander. "From 3 political theories toward 4-th one," Youtube video. October 5, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cpzxw2u1C8Q#t=1442>.
- Dugin, Alexander. *From Sacred Geography to Geopolitics*. <http://evrazia.info/article/416>.
- Dugin, Alexander. "Interview With Alexander Dugin" *Counter-Currents*. February, 2012. <http://www.counter-currents.com/2012/07/interview-with-alexander-dugin/>.
- Dugin, Alexander. "The Mission of Julius Evola" *Open Revolt*. <http://openrevolt.info/2011/10/27/the-mission-of-julius-evola/>.
- Dugin, Alexander. *Osnovi Geopolitiki*. <http://www.my.arcto.ru/public/osnovygeo/>
- Dugin, Alexander. *Putin vs Putin: Vladimir Putin Viewed From the Right*. London: Arktos, 2014.
- Evola, Julius. *Revolt Against the Modern World*. Trans. Guido Stucco. Rochester: Inner Traditions International, 1995.
- Evola, Julius. *Notes on the Third Reich*. Trans. E. Christian Koph. London: Arktos, 2013.
- Evola, Julius. *Fascism Viewed From the Right*. Trans. E. Christian Koph. London: Arktos 2013.
- Faye, Guillame. *Why We Fight: Manifesto of the European Resistance*. Trans. Michael O'Meara. London: Arktos, 2011.
- Jakobson, Roman. *Selected Writings VII*, ed. Stephen Rudy. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1985.
- Johnson, Greg. *Old Right vs. New Right*. San Francisco: Counter-Currents Publishing Ltd., 2013.
- Johnson, Greg. "Americanism: A Cautionary Tale." *Counter-Currents*. November, 2013. <http://www.counter-currents.com/2013/11/north-americanism-a-cautionary-tale/>.
- Johnson, Greg. "Grandiose Nationalism," *Counter-Currents*. February, 2015. <http://www.counter-currents.com/2015/02/grandiose-nationalism/>.
- Johnson, Greg. "The Burden of Hitler, 2013," *Counter-Currents*. April, 2015. <http://www.counter-currents.com/2013/04/the-burden-of-hitler-2013/>.
- Malvicini, Giuliano Adriano. "Dugin Contra Racism." *Counter-Currents*. September, 2014. <http://www.counter-currents.com/2014/09/dugin-contra-racism/>.
- Marsden, Victor trans. *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. Austin: RiverCrest

- Publishing, 2011.
- McVan, Ron. *Creed of Iron*. Creative Space Publishing, 2012.
- O'Meara, Michael. *New Culture, New Right: Anti-Liberalism in Postmodern Europe*. London: Arktos, 2013.
- O'Meara, Michael. "The Third Political Theory." *Counter-Currents*. April, 2013. <http://www.counter-currents.com/2013/04/the-third-political-theory/>.
- Pipes, Richard trans. *Karamzin's Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia*. Cambridge Massachusetts: 1959.
- Pintér, Sándor. "Minister of Interior Bans Racist Conference." Website of the Hungarian Government. September 29, 2014. <http://www.kormany.hu/en/ministry-of-interior/news/minister-of-interior-bans-racist-conference>.
- Pobedonostsev, Konstantin. "The Falsehood of Democracy." Readings In Russian Civilization: Imperial Russia. Ed. Thomas Riha. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Pobedonostsev, Konstantin. *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*. London: 1898.
- Schmitt, Carl. *The Concept of the Political*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Schmitt, Carl. *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986.
- Spengler, Oswald. *The Decline of the West*, vol 1. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.
- Stolypin, Peter. "We Need a Great Russia." *Readings in Russian Civilization: Imperial Russia*. Ed. Thomas Riha. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Sunic, Tomislav. *Against Democracy and Equality*. London: Arktos, 2011.
- Vernadsky, George. *The Mongols and Russia*. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Vernadsky, George. *Kievan Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Vernadsky, George. *A History of Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

### Secondary Sources

- Allensworth, Wayne. *The Russian Question: Nationalism, Modernization and Post-Communist Russia*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998.
- Allensworth, Wayne. ed. Marlene Laruelle, "Dugin and the Eurasian Controversy: Is Eurasianism 'Patriotic?'" *Russian Nationalism and the National Reassertion of*

- Russia*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2010.
- Anderson, Bacon. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Bacon, Edwin ed., Evans, Alfred B., Henry, Laura A. Henry, and McIntosh Sundstrom, Lisa.
- “The Church and Civil Society in Russia,” *Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment*. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.
- Ballinger, Pamela. *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Barghorn, Frederick. *Soviet Russian Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Baron, Salo W. *The Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1964.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Clowes, Edith. *Russia on the Edge – Imagined Geographies and Post-Soviet Identity*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Dunlop, John. *The Faces of Contemporary Russian Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Dunlop John B. “Alexander Dugin’s Foundations of Geopolitics.” *The Fourth Political Theory: Beyond Left and Right but Against the Center*.  
<http://www.4pt.su/en/content/aleksandr-dugin%E2%80%99s-foundations-geopolitics>.
- Ellis, Jane. *The Russian Orthodox Church: A contemporary History* London: Publisher, 1986.
- Fishman, Joshua. “Social Theory and Ethnography: Neglected Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity in Eastern Europe.” *Ethnic Diversity and Conflict in Eastern Europe*. Ed. P. Sugar. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1980.
- Freeze, Gregory. *The Parish Clergy in Nineteenth-Century Russia: Crisis, Reform, Counter-Reform*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Gardell, Mattias. *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Integrative Revolution*. London: Fontana, 1973.
- Gellner, Ernst. *Thought and Change*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.

- Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and their Influence on Nazi Ideology*. New York: New York University Press, 1992.
- Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.
- Gregor, James A. *Mussolini's Intellectuals: Fascist Social and Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Griffin, Roger. *The Palingenetic Core of Fascist Ideology*.  
<<https://www.libraryofsocialscience.com/ideologies/docs/the-palingenetic-core-of-generic-fascist-ideology/index.html>>.
- Heiser, James. "Invasion of Ukraine Continues; Russian Ideologue Calls for 'Genocide,'" *The New American* September 4, 2014 <<http://www.thenewamerican.com/world-news/europe/item/19042-invasion-of-ukraine-continues-russian-ideologist-calls-for-genocide>>.
- Heiser, James. *"The American Empire Should Be Destroyed": Alexander Dugin and the Perils of Immanentized Eschatology*. Fort Wayne: Repristination Press, 2014.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terrence. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hoffman, Stefani and Mendelsohn, Ezra ed. *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Huntington, Samuel P. *Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.
- Ismailov Eldar and Papava, Vladimer. *Rethinking Central Eurasia*. Johns Hopkins University, SAIS, 2010.
- Klier, John D. and Lambroza, Shlomo ed. *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Korey, William. *Russian Antisemitism, Pamyat, and the Demonology of Zionism*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Lacqueur, Walter. *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993.

- Lacquer, Walter. *Russia and Germany*. New York: Place of publication, 1987.
- Laruelle, Marlene ed. *Russian Nationalism and the National Reassertion of Russia*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Laruelle, Marlene. *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Laruelle, Marlene. *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire*. Trans. Mischa Gabowitsch. Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Press, 2012.
- Laruelle, Marlene. "The Orient in Russian Thought at the Turn of the Century." *Russia Between East and West: Scholarly Debates on Eurasianism*. Ed. Dmitry Schlapentokh. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007.
- Miller, David. *The New Polytheism*. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.
- Nolte, Ernst. *The Three Faces of Fascism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.
- Passmore, Kevin. *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Paxton, Robert O. *The Anatomy of Fascism*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.
- Payne, Stanley G. *A History of Fascism 1914-1945*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- Renton, Dave. *Fascism: Theory and Practice*. London: Pluto Press, 1999.
- Rawson, Don C. *Russian Rightists and the Revolution of 1905*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Rogger, Hans and Weber, Eugen, ed., "Russia." *The European Right: A Historical Profile*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- Rogger, Hans. *Jewish Policies and Right Wing Politics in Imperial Russia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Rogger, Hans. *Russia in the Age of Modernisation and Revolution 1881-1917*. London: Longman, 1983.
- Rossmann, Vadim. *Russian Intellectual Anti-Semitism in the Post-Communist Era*. University of Nebraska Press, 2002.
- Shenfield, Stephen D. *Russian Fascism: Traditions, Tendencies, and Movements*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.



- Sedgwick, Mark. *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. *The Decline of Imperial Russia 1855-1914*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962.
- Shekhovtsov, Anton. "Aleksander Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism: The New Right *à la Russe?*" *Religious Compass* no. 3. Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009.
- Shekhovtsov, "Russian Fascist Aleksandr Dugin's dreams of dictatorship in Russia" *Anton Shekhovtsov's Blog*, 27 February, 2014  
<http://anton-shekhovtsov.blogspot.com/2014/02/russian-fascist-aleksandr-dugin-is.html>
- Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010.
- Smith, Anthony D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Stephan, John J. *The Russian Fascists*. New York: Publisher, 1978.
- Sternhell, Zeev trans. David Maisel. *The Birth of Fascist Ideology: From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1994.
- Umland, Andreas. "Post-Soviet 'Uncivil Society' and the Rise of Alexandr Dugin – A Case Study in Extraparliamentary Radical Right in Contemporary Russia. Ph.D dissertation, Trinity College-Cambridge, 2007.
- Umland, Andreas and Shekhovtsov, Anton. "Is Alexander Dugin a Traditionalist? 'Neo-Eurasianism' and the Perennial Philosophy." *The Russian Review* 68 (October 2008)
- Umut Ozkirimli. *Theories of Nationalism: A critical Introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Welge, Jobst ed. Astradur Eysteinnsson and Vivian Liska. "Fascist Modernism," *Modernism*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2007.
- Yanov, Alexander. "The 'Enlightened' Nationalism of Lev Gumilev. *Institute of Modern*

*Russia* December, 2012. <http://imrussia.org/en/society/613>.

## **Annex 1: Glossary**

**Ariosophy** – Also known as Armanism, Ariosophy is a term used to describe the racist and esoteric writings of mystics such as Guido von List (1848 – 1919) and Jorg Lanz von Liebensfels (1874 – 1954). Ariosophy can be understood as a broad philosophy that maintained that Aryans, or Nordic peoples, are scientifically and/or spiritually superior beings to non-Aryans, particularly Jews. Ariosophy maintained that Aryan man originated in a fantastical northern continent known sometimes as Atlantis, Hyperborea or Thule. Organizing themselves in small lodges in Austria during the late nineteenth century and continuing into the interwar years, Ariosophists were fascinated with Germanic paganism and runes, seeing in the ancient practices of their Germanic ancestors a means of revitalizing modern Aryans. Ariosophy has been likened to a proto-Nazi ideology as its esoteric and mystical understanding of history combined to color much of the symbolism and eugenics policies of Nazism.

**Conservative Revolution** – The Conservative Revolution was a dissident rightist intellectual movement that originated during the Weimar Republic. While opposed to what it saw as the moral decadence of modern bourgeois values and the rising communist tide as the Nazis, Conservative Revolutionary thinkers such as Oswald Spengler (1880 – 1936) and Arthur Moeller van den Bruck (1876 – 1925) were also skeptical of the populism and demagoguery present in Nazism and other fascist movements. Conservative Revolutionaries tended to argue for a “Prussian” socialism in which traditional elites were restored but the nation would be united under an authoritarian ruler through revolutionary means. Unlike National Socialism, the Conservative Revolution espoused a cultural rather than biological anti-Semitism and a deep distrust of what they considered to be vulgar mass politics.

**Fascism** – A radical and extreme political ideology that combines a belief in the need for national rebirth, a renewal of cultural values and fervent ultranationalism. Typified by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, fascist movements have historically emphasized a vehement disdain for liberalism, Marxism, materialism, modernity and traditional elites. At the same time, fascism has often represented a modern reaction to modernity by further centralizing the state, displacing traditional elites, secularizing politics and culture, and introducing (pseudo-)scientific understandings of race.

**Identitarianism** – is a philosophical understanding of reality that holds that

cultural and/or racial identity and its preservation are of the utmost importance. Originating in Cold War Europe, the term has become synonymous with the ideas espoused by Alain de Benoist and other members of the European New Right.

**Modernity** – For the purposes of this work, modernity is defined as the cultural and social value system that has existed since the advent of the Enlightenment in the Western World. These values include rationalism over mysticism, science and materialism over spirituality, economics over politics, and the importance of individual identity over organic communities. These values have become antithetical to New Right thinkers such as Alain de Benoist, Alexander Dugin and others who see modernity not as a positive, progressive step towards something better but a backwards slide into hedonist consumerism.

**Palingenesis** – is a concept of rebirth utilized in philosophy, theology, biology and politics. For the purposes of this project, Palingenesis is understood as the first part of Roger Griffin’s concept of the “fascist minimum” – the prerequisites necessary for a movement or ideology to be considered fascist. In this sense, palingenesis is defined as a belief in the fundamental need for a national society to undergo a complete rebirth in order to cast off decadent values and in order to be reinvigorated with a cult of action, masculinity and hierarchy. Although utilizing a fundamentally anti-modern palingenetic vision, fascist movements have always ultimately created, or attempted to create, a fundamentally new and modern society in which liberalism, egalitarianism, individualism, and consumerism are repressed but other modern values such as a faith in technology, secularism, and new rather than traditional political and cultural leaders.

**Particularism** – is a term often utilized by Alexander Dugin and like-minded thinkers who argue that the United States and its alleged global military-cultural hegemony threatens the individuality of various particular cultures and peoples. Particularism, then, is a call to preserve the individual characteristics of culturally distinct peoples, small and large, against what is considered to be the homogenizing effects of modern American consumerist and decadent culture.

**Perennial Tradition** – The Perennial Tradition, also known as Guénonian Traditionalism or simply Traditionalism, is the esoteric religious belief that virtually all the world’s religions were once combined into a universal divine truth. This truth was encapsulated in a divinely-ordained human hierarchy in which the priest-king acted as a natural intercessor between inferior castes and the divine. However, with time and

especially with the advent of modernity, sacred traditional values and practices such as traditional hierarchy and gender roles were inverted thus leading man only further away from the divine. Popularized by the mystic-scholars René Guénon (1886 – 1951) and Julius Evola (1898 – 1974), Traditionalism is a pessimistic anti-modern (see: modernity) worldview that holds that Western society, indeed most of mankind, is in spiritual and moral decline. Traditionalism maintains that only through initiation in one of the religious paths that still have some connection to the primordial divine, such as Hinduism or a form of paganism, or through radical political, social and cultural reconstruction can man be reconnected with the natural, divinely-ordained order. Traditionalism maintains that there is no higher value than the participation in Traditional religions. Today, Alexander Dugin is perhaps one of the most known practitioners of Traditionalism.

**Sacred Geography** – A belief in the sacral nature of geographical space is present within the writings of both Ariosophists and Traditionalists. For instance, both Ariosophy and Tradition argue that during some primordial past a group of pure beings who held sacred wisdom lived in a far northern continent and later travelled and settled throughout the rest of the planet. However, unlike Ariosophists who claim that these settlers were racially and genetically superior Aryans, Traditionalists maintain that these beings were simply spiritually superior due to their advanced knowledge of the natural and divinely-ordained hierarchy that they then bestowed to the rest of humanity. The similarities between Ariosophist and Traditionalist definitions of sacred geography have led some scholars to conflate the two.

**Ultranationalism** – The Second prerequisite of Roger Griffin’s “fascist minimum,” ultranationalism in a movement is exemplified by an extreme pride and faith in one’s nation. Furthermore, ultranationalism is typified by a belief that one’s nation and its welfare represent the highest good for an individual or community to strive for.

**White Nationalism** – A nationalist project that wishes to see the creation of either a large empire or collection of small states based on the premise that all racially white, or native European, peoples should live together. This term has frequently been utilized by White Power terrorists such as members of the violent group The Order as well as right wing thinkers such as Greg Johnson.

