

University of Denver

Digital Commons @ DU

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Graduate Studies

1-1-2018

The Foundations of Aleksandr Dugin's Geopolitics: Montage Fascism and Eurasianism as Blowback

Grant Scott Fellows
University of Denver

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd>



Part of the [International Relations Commons](#), [Political Theory Commons](#), and the [Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Fellows, Grant Scott, "The Foundations of Aleksandr Dugin's Geopolitics: Montage Fascism and Eurasianism as Blowback" (2018). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 1516.
<https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd/1516>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Studies at Digital Commons @ DU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ DU. For more information, please contact jennifer.cox@du.edu, dig-commons@du.edu.

The Foundations of Aleksandr Dugin's Geopolitics: Montage Fascism and Eurasianism as Blowback

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of Aleksandr Dugin's *The Foundations of Geopolitics*, of which I have translated important sections into English and these are included as an appendix. Despite the importance of *Foundations of Geopolitics* to Russian strategic thought there has not been a translated edition published in English. This work was published in 1997 and has been quite influential for Russian political and military leadership. I strive to provide context for the setting in which *Foundations of Geopolitics* was created through an analysis of the social and political conditions that existed in Russia while the text was being written, as well as how and why it came to achieve such influence. This is followed by an analysis of the text itself. Finally, I examine the ways in which the strategic precepts offered by Dugin in *Foundations of Geopolitics* have been adopted and employed by the Kremlin in foreign and domestic policy. Additionally, I reveal the direct and indirect links connecting Dugin and his fascist Neo-Eurasianist ideology to the leaders and ideologues of fascist, far-right, xenophobic, and often racist movements. This has created a network of like-minded movements advocating for the reclamation of a traditional identity domestically, but looking to Moscow for international leadership and guidance in foreign policy. The origins of these developments can be traced back to Dugin's *Foundations of Geopolitics*.

Document Type

Thesis

Degree Name

M.A.

Department

Josef Korbel School of International Studies

First Advisor

Alan Gilbert, Ph.D.

Second Advisor

Frederique Chevillot

Third Advisor

Alan Gilbert

Keywords

Aleksandr Dugin, Foundations of geopolitics, Russia

Subject Categories

International Relations | Political Science | Political Theory | Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies

Publication Statement

Copyright held by the author, Grant Scott Fellows. Author may be contacted at fellows.grant@gmail.com. User is responsible for all copyright compliance.

The Foundations of Aleksandr Dugin's Geopolitics:
Montage Fascism and Eurasianism as Blowback

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Josef Korbel School of International Studies

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Grant S. Fellows

November 2018

Advisor: Alan Gilbert

© by Grant S. Fellows 2018

All Rights Reserved

Author: Grant S. Fellows

Title: The Foundations of Aleksandr Dugin's Geopolitics: Montage Fascism and Eurasianism as Blowback

Advisor: Alan Gilbert

Degree Date: November 2018

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of Aleksandr Dugin's *The Foundations of Geopolitics*, of which I have translated important sections into English and these are included as an appendix. Despite the importance of *Foundations of Geopolitics* to Russian strategic thought there has not been a translated edition published in English. This work was published in 1997 and has been quite influential for Russian political and military leadership. I strive to provide context for the setting in which *Foundations of Geopolitics* was created through an analysis of the social and political conditions that existed in Russia while the text was being written, as well as how and why it came to achieve such influence. This is followed by an analysis of the text itself. Finally, I examine the ways in which the strategic precepts offered by Dugin in *Foundations of Geopolitics* have been adopted and employed by the Kremlin in foreign and domestic policy. Additionally, I reveal the direct and indirect links connecting Dugin and his fascist Neo-Eurasianist ideology to the leaders and ideologues of fascist, far-right, xenophobic, and often racist movements. This has created a network of like-minded movements advocating for the reclamation of a traditional identity domestically, but looking to Moscow for international leadership and guidance in foreign policy. The origins of these developments can be traced back to Dugin's *Foundations of Geopolitics*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I must thank my thesis advisor, Distinguished Professor Alan Gilbert, who initially inspired me to write on this topic and provided invaluable help and advice throughout the writing process, as well as constant encouragement and support.

I would also like to thank Distinguished Professor Haider Khan and my committee chair Professor Frédérique Chevillot for their patience and assistance. I owe them both a deep debt of gratitude. Professor Laura Kline at Wayne State University, helped inspire my love of the Russian language and its literature and I thank her as well.

Finally, I owe my grandparents Milton and Eunice Ring, my parents Liz and Neil, my siblings Jill, Matt, and Emma, as well as my extended family a heartfelt thank you. I would not have been able to do this without you. My friends Alex, Ben, Greg, Lizzie, Nikhil, Nick, Peter, Rahul, Ryan, Shawn, Tess, and Zach have all helped me get here in ways great and small and I am beyond grateful for their moral support and good advice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Biography of Dugin Prior to the Collapse of the Soviet Union	8
Chapter 3: <i>Bespredel</i> (Lawlessness) 1989-1999.....	20
Chapter 4: Biography of Dugin after the Collapse of the Soviet Union	30
Chapter 5: Eurasianists versus Atlanticists.....	38
Conservative Revolutionaries	41
Petr Savitsky and Original Eurasianism.....	50
Chapter 6: Pan-Slavism and the Origins of Eurasianism	56
Chapter 7: “A Path to the North,” The Frontier Thesis, and Lessons from the Talassocracy	64
Chapter 8: Dugin on “The Jewish Question”	68
Chapter 9: Dugin’s Road to Influence.....	72
Chapter 10: Blowback and Neo-Eurasianism.....	88
Chapter 11: Inspiration Worldwide and Kremlin Grand Strategy	103
Chapter 12: Conclusion and What Comes After Putin?.....	119
Bibliography.....	126
Appendix: Translation of Selected Sections of <i>Foundations of Geopolitics</i>	136
Section 1: Friedrich Ratzel: The State as a Physical Organism	136
Section 2: Rudolf Kjellen and Fredrick Neumann “Middle Europe”	143
Section 3: Halford Mackinder: The Geographical Pivot of History.....	147
Section 4: Alfred Mahan and “Sea Power”	156
Section 5: Vidal de la Blache— “France vs. Germany”	162
Section 6: Nicholas Spykman “A Revision of Mackinder, the Rimland’s Centrality”	166
Section 7: Karl Haushofer— “the Continental Bloc”	172
section 8: Carl Schmitt—“The Behemoth versus the Leviathan”	178
Section 9: Petr Nikolayevich Savitsky—“Eurasia—the Middle of the Earth”	188
Section 10: Geopolitics as an Instrument of National Politics	199

Part 2, Section 3: Globalism.....	206
Part 4: The Geopolitical Future of Russia, Section 4: The Redistribution of the World	219
Part 5: The Interior Geopolitics of Russia, Section 5: The Threat of the West	223
Part 6: Eurasian Analysis, Section 3: Geopolitical Problems of the Near Abroad.....	229
Book 2, Part 5: The Khazarian Question	232

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Dugin at a Meeting of the National Bolshevik Party, 1996, Moscow.....	1
Figure 2: Anti- Immigration Facebook Ad.....	83
Figure 3: Islamophobic Facebook Ad.....	91
Figure 4: Facebook Ad Appealing to Confederate Sympathizers	83
Figure 5: Anti-Black Lives Matter Movement Facebook Ad	91
Figure 6: Facebook Ad Supporting Bernie Sanders	92
Figure 7: Pro-Black Panthers Facebook Ad	92

Chapter 1: Introduction

«Рукописи не горят»

(Manuscripts Don't Burn)

-Mikhail Bulgakov from *The Master and Margarita*



Figure 1'

¹ From Anton Shekhovtsov's blog: <http://anton-shekhovtsov.blogspot.com/2015/01/aleksandr-dugin-and-syriza-connection.html>

Over the past twenty years, the star of Aleksandr Dugin has rapidly ascended; he has gone from obscurity to serving as a shadowy advisor to Russian political figures and taking the position of the leading ideologues of neo-fascism, not just in Russia, but globally. Dugin has given his ideological framework several names, ‘Eurasianism,’ ‘Fourth Political Theory,’ and ‘National Bolshevism;’ however, these differences are strictly superficial and the ideological principles he espouses in *The Fourth Political Theory* (2009) are consistent with those from his seminal work, *The Foundations of Geopolitics* (1998). *Foundations of Geopolitics* remains untranslated in English, but I have translated important sections to help rectify this. According to John Dunlop, a leading scholar of the Russian far-right:

There probably has not been another book published in Russia during the post-communist period that has exerted an influence on Russian military, police, and statist foreign policy elites comparable to that of Aleksandr Dugin's 1997 neo-fascist treatise, *Foundations of Geopolitics*.²

For a self-proclaimed traditionalist and an Old Believer, Dugin has demonstrated a remarkably adroit use of social media and the internet to make contacts and disseminate his views to all corners of the globe. He has tens of thousands of followers across his social media pages and is linked to prominent neo-Nazis and other racist ultranationalists in the United States, Italy, France, and

² John Dunlop, “Aleksandr Dugin’s Foundations of Geopolitics,” *Demokratizatsiya*, January 31, 2004, <https://tec.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/aleksandr-dugins-foundations-geopolitics>.

elsewhere.³ His think tanks, such as Katheon and the Center for Conservative Studies, are likely to have received some funding from the Russian government and he was employed as the head of the International Studies Department at Moscow State University (MGU), one of the two most prestigious universities in Russia, until he was removed from his position due to an interview he gave where he stated that there are “terrible people” in Ukraine who must be “killed, killed, killed.”⁴ Once the mask of fascism had slipped from Dugin’s ‘Eurasianist,’ façade, the university was left with little choice, but to remove him from his position after a petition with 10,000 signatures, organized by students, was presented to MGU’s rector demanding his dismissal.

Dugin’s Eurasianism, sometimes referred to as ‘Neo-Eurasianism’, to distinguish it from earlier iterations of Eurasianism, has diverse, and at times contradictory origins. Much like Eisenstein’s original use of montage to stitch together vignettes to produce a powerful message, although for an opposing ideological message, Dugin cuts and stitches together ideas from many sources to produce a whole. There are four significant themes in this ideology. The first a dichotomy between land-based, continental civilization and coastal, seafaring civilizations based in the work of several historical figures, chiefly Alfred Mahan and Halford Mackinder. He stresses the superiority of tellulocratic (land based)

³ Danila Galperovich, “Russian Social Media Sites Have Become Meeting Places for the American Ultra-Right” *VOA Russia*, August 26, 2017.

⁴ Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, “Russia This Week: Dugin Dismissed from Moscow State University?”, *The Interpreter*, June 27, 2014. (Stephenson 2015) (Gessen 2017) (Clover 2017)

civilizations over talassocratic (sea based) ones. For him the former USSR and the Eastern Bloc embody Eurasian, continental civilization, while NATO and the United States are talassocratic 'Atlanticists.' Nations, peoples, and ideas that Dugin views sympathetically are labelled Eurasianist, while all those he opposes are Atlanticist. The second theme lies in the titular Geopolitics, whose foundations, he alleges, can be located in Friedrich Ratzel's theory of Lebensraum, which would become the central idea motivating Nazi expansionist aggression. Under this theme Dugin advocates irredentism and expansionism, particularly to sparsely populated lands in the North and East, in a direct imitation of American Manifest Destiny, acknowledged by Dugin himself. A third is Dugin's selective application of Marx's works and Soviet symbology and imagery to appeal to the many Russian and former Soviet citizens who retain a favorable view of his ideology and nostalgia for the Soviet period. He describes Marx as a Eurasianist and a mystic, advocating for revolution against bourgeoisie, Atlanticist societies. However, Dugin is unconcerned with the plight of workers. He admires Marx for his opposition to the West and revolutionary fervor, but, beyond their enthusiasm for revolution, their ideas are diametrically opposed; Dugin simply appropriates his name and attributes ideas to him that are not present in Marx's works. In *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Dugin distorts the core of Marx's ideology to present his ideas as being in line with Eurasianism, when they are not. Dugin seeks statist control of the means of production, but strictly for the good of the Eurasian "Empire of Many Empires" and its elites, rather than for any improvement in

workers' lives. While Dugin's Eurasianist "internationalism" is authoritarian, fascist, based on elite rule and rooted in ethnic, rather than class identity.

A last feature of Dugin's view is a fascination with the "ethnos," rooted in blood libel (a racist conspiracy that alleges Jews use the blood of Christian children for religious purposes), eugenic racial theories from the early 20th and late 19th centuries and Slavophilia. However, it is important to note that Eurasianism does not endorse a strict, narrow version of ethnic Russian supremacism, but rather portrays the 'Holy Rus' as exemplary Eurasians, not a master race. This strange brew of ideas has produced one of the more influential fascist ideologies of the new millennium.

Dugin's direct influence on the path of policymaking in Russia is difficult to trace, as he has had no formal positions in either the military or government, but vocabulary from *Foundations of Geopolitics* has unquestionably found its way into the highest levels of political and military discourse in Russia. The Kremlin and those trying to curry favor with it have employed the terms and ideas found in *Foundations of Geopolitics* for both national domestic politics and as foreign policy tools over the past two decades. Many of the tactics used in the so-called 'information war' being waged by Russia against electoral institutions and intended to mislead the electorate of voters in the United States and Europe can be traced back to the *Foundations of Geopolitics*. His ideas have been echoed by Putin and others in the Kremlin at times and certain strategic elements have been extracted from his writings. But *Foundations* is not a playbook for the Kremlin by

any means, as many of Dugin's fantasist ideas would be immensely impractical or impossible to achieve. Still, there is no doubt that many of Russia's top military leaders have read or are familiar with *Foundations*, and have been uniquely influenced by it.

It is important to note that *Foundations of Geopolitics* was not written in a vacuum. Dugin's anti-Western thinking was profoundly shaped by his personal experiences during the collapse of the Soviet Union and the social and economic chaos that followed. And he is far from alone in this. There were a number of fundamental problems in the Soviet Union that its collapse exposed, but these were compounded by American policymaking following its disintegration. The Russian economy was devastated by the fundamentally inefficient and unequal reforms that were conducted with the encouragement of American policymakers. The American government was deeply involved with propping up the teetering Yeltsin administration, all while denying Russia entry to NATO, any sort of Marshall Plan that would have helped bridge the gap for Russia's economy between the two systems, and expanding NATO up to Russia's borders despite assurances made by Clinton and Bush that this would not happen. The result was endemic corruption, drastic declines in all health metrics, and political and social instability. Given these experiences, it is quite easy to see how many Russians are predisposed to view the United States as the implacable enemy of Russia, no matter the form of government Russia maintains. Of course, this is just perception,

but opinion polling has shown that is held by many Russians, and it is constantly reinforced by the Kremlin's propaganda machine.

If there is any intellectual or moral merit in *Foundations of Geopolitics*, it is Dugin's rejection of the creeping American monoculture that has been a byproduct of globalization and the neoliberal world order and is profoundly unpopular in many countries and societies across the world. A rise in ultra-nationalism, reactionary politics, and fascism, enabled and promoted by elites in different countries, as a misguided way to reclaim supposedly threatened traditional cultural identities, has been one negative result of neoliberal economics, as well as covert or overt support for authoritarian and corrupt regimes that maintain a neoliberal economic system. Thus, in some respects, the ideas in *Foundations of Geopolitics*, and their reception in Russia and elsewhere can be viewed in Chalmers Johnson's language as blowback. Indeed, the blowback goes deep into American history, as many of the ideas Dugin adopts from Nazi ideologues were originally borrowed from Americans, particularly in regard to racial theories and Frederick Jackson Turner's *Frontier Thesis*, which championed the genocide of the native people of America and a deterministic view of colonial expansion.

Chapter 2: Biography of Dugin Prior to the Collapse of the Soviet Union

Born in Moscow, 1962, Aleksandr Dugin enjoyed a privileged upbringing. There is little information on his father, Geli, who left Dugin's mother, Galina, when he was three. Galina was a doctor and Geli was an officer in the military, although his exact role is unclear. Dugin told British journalist Charles Clover, who has written the definitive English language biography of Dugin, *Black Wind, White Snow: The Rise of Russia's New Nationalism*, that Geli was a general in the GRU (military intelligence), but also that towards the end of his career, he worked for the customs police.⁵ Dunlop writes that he was a colonel, and cites one source also stating that he worked in the GRU.⁶

Regardless of his exact position, per Clover, Dugin's friends are "adamant that his father must have been someone of rank...the family had the accoutrements of prestige—a nice dacha, relatives with nice dachas, and access to opportunities."⁷

⁵ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 157.

⁶ John Dunlop, "Aleksandr Dugin's Foundations of Geopolitics," *Demokratizatsiya*, January 31, 2004, <https://tec.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/aleksandr-dugins-foundations-geopolitics>.

⁷ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 156.

For those Soviet citizens who were born before World War II and grew up during the profound social and economic uncertainty generated by Stalin's purges and collectivization before the war, this was a time of stability and comfort, with families no longer having to share communal housing due to the widespread construction of *khrushchyovkas*. Additionally, although there was not a great variety of food, it was affordable and famines were firmly a feature of the past, healthcare was free, and modern appliances like refrigerators and televisions were now common in middle class households. Clover notes that "Dugin and his generation were the first to grow up with the accoutrements of a normal middle-class lifestyle," however, despite these material comforts, "Soviet life in the 1970s was like America in the 1950s: ideological rigid, materialist, one-dimensional and dull."⁸

Dugin, a precocious teenager with a knack for languages, rebelled outlandishly against this conformity. Clover reports that many of Dugin's close friends and associates from the 1980s remember well their first meetings with him, as he cut a very striking figure:

He sported a well-trimmed goatee beard and a simple pudding-bowl haircut with a straight fringe—an affectation popular in Russian intellectual circles of the time and known as a *skobka* or 'parenthesis' haircut. It evoked the simple and austere style of the medieval peasant, much like the nineteenth-century Slavophiles inhabited St. Petersburg mansions wearing peasant *murmolka caps*. He had an erect bearing and a habit of trilling his 'rs' a little too heavily in a sign of aristocratic affectation; he sometimes accented this

⁸ Ibid, 155.

pose by speaking French. Most impressively, he often wore ‘galife’ trousers—the jodhpur like breeches of a cavalry officer of a century before.⁹

The charismatic young Dugin, who at the time went everywhere with his guitar, made his debut in the ‘schizoid’ underground bohemian scene of Moscow, appearing at the dacha of Sergey Zhigalkin, a translator of Heidegger, where he announced his presence with this song:¹⁰

The fucking end of the Sovdep
Is just around the corner
Two million in the river
Two million in the oven
Our revolvers will not misfire¹¹

When Dugin performed, it was under the name ‘Hans Sievers,’ taken in honor of the former *Reichsgeschäftsfuher*, Wolfram Sievers, the director of the Ahnererbe, which was an organization established by Heinrich Himmler to research paranormal and mystical phenomena. The real Sievers was hanged in 1947 after being found guilty of gruesomely experimenting on concentration camp prisoners at the Nuremberg trials. This loathsome character provided the basis for Dugin’s alter-ego, which Clover describes rather generously, as being “composed of as many antisocial elements as its creator could find—a total and malevolent rebellion,” this rebellion was aimed “not just against the Soviet Union, but against

⁹ Ibid, 158.

¹⁰ Dugin is an admirer of Heidegger and has written extensively on him later in his career. He may have been emulating Heidegger’s habit of wearing Bavarian peasant clothing as well.

¹¹ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 154.

convention and public taste.”¹² This depiction makes it seem as if Dugin was just a Soviet Sid Vicious, armored in Nazi imagery, but this belies Dugin’s meaningful embrace and understanding of Nazi ideology. Another song performed by Dugin vividly illustrates this:

Forward men, violent and rude
We are inspired by the swastika in the night
We see how your dead bodies dance the tango in the gas oven
How nice and fresh the roses
As happy and cheerful as the Russian forest
On the last journey on the Via Dolarosa
Goes the SS division¹³

Dugin told Clover in 2005 that this alter-ego and his habit of spouting ‘Heil Hitlers’ regularly in public was motivated by a “shamanistic crisis of self-actualization...I was completely normal in every sense: morally, rationally, psychologically.”¹⁴ Of course, Dugin’s self-diagnosis as ‘normal,’ is highly subjective. But his fondness for the tenets and figures of Nazism and his admiration of its aesthetics and belief in the occult, paranormal, and esoteric persistently emerge in his writings and *Foundations of Geopolitics* is no exception to this weltanschauung. In fact, a great deal of his ideological underpinning was manifested in Hans Sievers—the ahistorical mix of Slavophilia (through his haircut), aristocratic affectations, militarism, and Nazism.

¹² Ibid, 158.

¹³ Ibid, 160.

¹⁴ Ibid, 155.

The crew of bohemian misfits, weirdos, poets, would-be philosophers, and hangers on of all sorts that Dugin enmeshed himself into was led by Evgeny Golovin. Golovin was, according to Arkady Rovner (a member of the circle), “a Moscow-based mystic who joined the circle in the 1960s,” he described Golovin to Clover as a “natural Russian phenomenon—a classic combination of aesthetic snobbishness, esoteric misanthropy, alcoholic inspiration, plus a hot peppering of black fantasy and American horror movies.”¹⁵ Of course, mysticism in of itself is not inherently bad, and there have been mystics who cared deeply about the human condition such as Tolstoy and Gandhi. But there was more to Golovin than just these traits, he was also, according to Clover, “completely obsessed with the Third Reich, seeing in it a monstrous and mystical yin to humanity’s yang...he began to refer to himself as the Fuhrer.”¹⁶ Golovin even “named his followers ‘the Black Order of the SS’ and told them all to wear Nazi paraphernalia. He hung a picture of Hitler on the wall.”¹⁷ “There was nothing anti-Semitic about it,” according to Igor Dudinsky (another member of the circle), “There were lots of Jews at these gatherings. We would all shout ‘Seig Heil’ and ‘Heil Hitler’ and all we meant was ‘down with Soviet power!’”¹⁸ This assertion is ridiculous, as Nazism is and was impossible to separate from its anti-Semitism, but anti-Semitism is like

¹⁵ Ibid, 153.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

any ideology, and Jews themselves can be anti-Semitic, assuming Dudinsky is being truthful about this. The group sought out anything esoteric, occult, and mystical and their interests caromed between any new discovery, particularly when it came to banned topics and authors.

Dugin in particular was greatly influenced by the works of René Guénon, a French philosopher of the twentieth century who espoused ‘traditionalism’ and an idea that all world religions were expressions of a single type of metaphysics. Masha Gessen, in her seminal *The Future is History*, writes that for Dugin and Guénon: “Modernity was the opposite of Tradition,” what “Dugin was seeking could be located only by stripping away all views and things contemporary and working backward. Another word for ‘modern’ might be ‘Western.’”¹⁹ Dugin learned Italian, just so he could translate the works of another great influence, Baron Julius Evola, an Italian aristocrat who worked with the SS, as Mussolini was too moderate for his taste, and he inspired fascist, right-wing terror groups in post-war Italy. He believed in ‘spiritual racism,’ which would divide humanity into castes based on their function in society and that war was a crucible through which humanity could gain a higher form of spiritual existence.²⁰ Dugin would adopt this idea of a purifying war to restore traditional societies in his geopolitics.

¹⁹ Masha Gessen, *The Future is History* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2017), 53.

²⁰ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 159.

Despite his capacity for languages, Dugin received little formal academic training, as he was expelled from the Moscow Civil Aviation Academy after two years.

These 'intellectual' pursuits, his nonconforming circle of friends, and his provocative performances were likely to land Dugin in trouble sooner or later and it happened in 1983 after a performance of 'Fuck the Damned Sovdep' at a small concert. Zhigalkin and Dudinsky, who were in his reactionary circle, both believe Dugin's father tipped off the KGB, who brought him in for interrogation the next day.²¹ Dugin was released after ratting on a man who had given him an archive of *samizdat* (published underground) writings by Mamleev and was released; however, his father was transferred to the customs service, a severe demotion, and never spoke to his son again. According to Clover, this was the climax of a long series of disagreements between father and son, writing that:

According to Dugin's close friend and collaborator Gaidar Dzhemal, Geli Dugin had, on more than one occasion intervened from a high-ranking position in the Soviet state to get his son out of trouble...Geli was Dugin's 'get out of jail free' card, which allowed his son to violate regularly the orthodoxies of Soviet life and get away with it. Undoubtedly this fueled complicated feelings of both entitlement and further resentment at the unfair privilege.²²

This final break with his father meant that Dugin was now on his own, his writings, 'artistic' pursuits, and social circles meant he would not be accepted into

²¹ Ibid, 161.

²² Ibid, 156.

Soviet academia or the political establishment, even if he had desired it, and Dugin worked menial jobs to make ends meet.

Rescuing Dugin from obscurity was Dmitry Vasilyev, the head of the *Pamyat* (Monument) organization. *Pamyat* was founded in 1979 as a relatively apolitical organization devoted to preserving historical monuments, an uncontroversial task, as the Soviet Union by the Brezhnev era had moved away from destroying historical buildings, mainly churches and other religious buildings as well as Tsarist monuments and 'bourgeoisie' architecture. Vasilyev took control of *Pamyat* in 1986, following a heated speech where he absurdly accused "Zionists" of seeking the destruction of architectural landmarks."²³ Under his leadership, *Pamyat* "mutated from a gaggle of intelligentsia curiosities into a crypto-fascist street gang—an agglomeration of football hooligans and middle-class aesthetes."²⁴ This mélange of anti-social elements constituted an organization that "would also be a sort of boot camp for a new generation of nationalist extremists."²⁵ According to Dugin, "It was *Pamyat* that gave birth to all other patriotic movements."²⁶

Pamyat also gave Dugin entrée into the confusing and often contradictory world of perestroika politics. He joined *Pamyat* in 1987 and quickly was appointed to the organization's central board, along with Dzhemal, due to their intellectual

²³ Ibid, 162.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid, 163.

background, which was much more extensive than most members. Pamyat emulated the outfits of the notoriously anti-Semitic Black Hundreds of the Tsarist era and so did their racist ideology, with Vasilyev reading the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* at meetings, railing against Zionist plots to ‘alcoholize’ Russia, and on one occasion, according to Clover, asserting that, “Adolf Eichmann was ‘representative of the Jewish people.’”²⁷ Eichmann was not Jewish and this is a vivid indication of Vasilyev’s derangement.

Pamyat did not gain its power due to the skillful leadership and wisdom of Vasilyev, who was in Dugin’s opinion, “an actor and a schizophrenic,” rather it was a *krysha* (literally, roof, but meaning official protection), likely provided by someone or some group within the KGB that supported Pamyat and its activities.²⁸ According to Clover, Dugin confessed that “Vasilyev said that there was a *krysha* in the central committee. But I don’t know whether it’s true because he did not make me privy to that.”²⁹ The facts remain that Pamyat was the first political organization allowed in the Soviet Union aside from the Communist party and it held the first unsanctioned public rally in Soviet history when 500 people rallied in front of the Kremlin in May 1987, so it must have had some sort of official protection, if not the endorsement, from a relatively powerful figure or figures, likely on the central committee. Clover speculates that nationalists in the ‘Russian

²⁷ Ibid, 164.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

Party,' a group of military and political officials sympathetic to Russian nationalism, "turned a blind eye to Vasilyev, seeing in him a potential ally who was worthy of support."³⁰ This is supported by the fact that "Pamyat mercilessly criticized and harassed the hardliners' opponents such as Alexander Yakovlev, Gorbachev's right-hand man and chief liberal reformer."³¹ Another theory proposed by Clover is that Boris Yeltsin, an insatiably ambitious politician who had just been appointed first secretary of the Moscow Communist Party city committee, was looking for allies wherever he could find them as he sought to climb the ranks of power and challenge Gorbachev. For evidence, Clover notes that Yeltsin had a meeting with Pamyat after their May 1987 demonstration and at the meeting he made a pledge "to reduce the number of *limitchiki* (migrant workers) in Moscow, and to look into registering Pamyat as a society. And it may not be a coincidence that after Yeltsin was forced out by Gorbachev in 1987, Pamyat began to disintegrate."³² Dugin and Dzhemal were expelled from the movement in 1988, due to an internal power struggle in the group when Dugin and Dzhemal sought to replace Vasilyev as leaders of the organization.³³

Pamyat was the first organization protected by elements within the KGB who were preparing a rearguard action to control the democratic process

³⁰ Ibid, 165.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid, 166.

³³ Ibid, 167.

accompanying the collapse of the Soviet system, which was becoming more and more apparent to those in the intelligence services. From behind the scenes, they attempted to create and control different parties from across the political spectrum as a way to restrict and manage any nascent democratic movement. Clover asserts that had Pamyat, “not been led so erratically by an obvious sociopath, Pamyat could ultimately have been registered as an independent party.”³⁴ Instead the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), which was, and is, as liberal and democratic as the Holy Roman Empire was holy and Roman, would be the first party registered. While Vasilyev’s madness was no act, the leader of the LDPR, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, an ex-KGB agent who was expelled from Turkey for espionage in 1970, cynically copied his political persona. Clover notes that Dugin, “an associate of both men, insists that Zhirinovskiy used to listen to tapes of Vasilyev’s speeches and learned his trademark demagogic style from him,” but, Zhirinovskiy’s “insanity is purely for public consumption,” as opposed to Vasilyev’s authentic madness.³⁵ He finished third place in the 1991 Russian presidential elections, and during the 1990s the LDPR at one time held a quarter of the seats in the Duma, making it, according to Clover, “one of the most successful of several joint Communist Party-KGB political projects to anticipate and attempt to control political reform.”³⁶ Presently, the LDPR remains an important controlled

³⁴ Ibid, 170.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid, 171.

opposition party. Some of these political projects, like the LPDR, were designed to win elections; others were designed to avoid them.”³⁷ Political projects helmed by Dugin were to fall into the latter camp.

³⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 3: *Bespredel* (Lawlessness) 1989-1999

It is difficult to overstate the crisis that struck Russian society during this period. Svetlana Stephenson notes that “Russian society went through some of the most drastic poverty and welfare reversals in the world.”³⁸ GDP fell by over 40 percent and industrial production was halved in the five years following the beginning of privatization.³⁹ A vivid indicator of the scale of this crisis is how it affected the most vulnerable—between 1992 and 1995 62 percent of Russian children were living below poverty line.⁴⁰ Hyperinflation ran rampant, destroying the savings of many Russians. The almost complete absence of state governance and erosion of societal norms created an atmosphere that allowed criminal groups to expand and flourish. Competition between groups was fierce and the lack of an effective or independent police force created circumstances where violence spiraled out of control. Acts that once would have been assaults escalated into

³⁸ Svetlana Stephenson, *Gangs of Russia*: (United Nations Development Project n.d.) *From the Streets to the Corridors of Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 48, ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/du/detail.action?docID=3426001>.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ United Nations Development Project, “Human Development Report,” 1997, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/258/hdr_1997_en_complete_nostats.pdf.

murders and firearms became widely available due to the breakdown of the Soviet military.

The crisis was exacerbated by bad American advice and a lack of real assistance. Jeffrey Sachs, the Harvard economist often blamed for many of the economic reforms known as “shock therapy” which crippled governance in Russia and led to vast inequality, noted “that market reforms could not, by themselves, solve deep structural and societal problems, and that large-scale help would be needed from the West.”⁴¹ This help would not be forthcoming, although to his credit at least Sachs recommended it. Writing in 2012, Sachs argued:

My estimate, which became somewhat notorious at the time [Summer 1991], was that the Soviet Union (and later the successor republics) would need an infusion of Western aid (envisioned as grants and highly concessional loans) of around \$30 billion per year over five years, or \$150 billion in total. That is still a number that I would endorse. Alas, nothing like that ever materialized.⁴²

The Soviet political and economic system was stagnant and ideologically moribund, but at least it provided a strong social safety net for population. Still, in an article he wrote for *The Economist* January 13, 1990, Sachs writes:

Eastern countries must reject any lingering ideas about a "third way", such as a chimerical "market socialism" based on public ownership or worker self-management, and go straight for a western-style market economy. Two, Western Europe, for its part, must be ready and eager to work with them, providing debt relief and finances for restructuring, to bring their reformed economies in as part of a unified European market.⁴³

⁴¹ Jeffrey Sachs, “What I Did in Russia,” March 14, 2012, *jeffsachs.org*,

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Jeffrey Sachs, “What Is to Be Done,” *The Economist*, January 13, 1990.

This clearly illustrates Sach's lack of thought, at best, regarding what would happen if radical economic reforms removing all trace of the previous system went ahead without any significant help from Western European countries and the United States.

Stephen Kotkin makes a case that even if substantial American assistance had been forthcoming, it would not have been able to make a significant difference due to the crumbling of Soviet institutions and the atmosphere of near universal corruption combined with the pervasiveness of organized crime. According to Kotkin: "the self-assigned role of the West in 'promoting' but not financing with direct investments Russia's 'transition' had the effect of empowering anti-Western sentiment inside Russia, and anti-Russian sentiment in the West."⁴⁴ The result, per Kotkin, was that "raising expectations wildly proved to be a self-defeating endeavor. Ultimately it was 'reform,' rather than the Soviet inheritance, that took the blame for the country's lingering woes."⁴⁵ This has helped foster Soviet nostalgia in Russia, particularly amongst pensioners and anti-American feelings. Regardless of the economic realities or the potential impossibility of reform of Soviet institutions in a free market system, the perception—created through American hubris—was that "reform," and by extension the West was at fault for the deprivations of the bespredel era.

⁴⁴ Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 183.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 184.

Seymour Hersh wrote about this presciently in 1994, quoting an anonymous senior administration official involved in denuclearization efforts, “there is little to be optimistic about in Russia.” He adds:

Hopefully, we will not repeat the 1930s in Germany...You have a contracting empire. The bulk of people are doing worse under freedom than ever before. People forget how primitive Russia is—it’s Third World. Russians are dreaming about indoor plumbing, having a little car, not living with their parents. They can now travel. But they have no money. They can now vote. But for whom? They can now say what they want. But so what? They’re not better off.⁴⁶

The slow, gradual, but incremental increases in standard of living that citizens enjoyed under the Soviet Union had not just ended, but they had been definitively reversed.

In the absence of governance, street gangs and criminal organizations stepped into the void. Several key aspects mark the second transformation of these quasi-entrepreneurial gangs into true autonomous-ruling regimes, as they had still not become sufficiently enmeshed in national and regional power structures. The entrance of gang leaders into the oligarch class shifted that. Signaling a trend across Russia as a whole, gang membership became increasingly stratified. In a gang, a percentage of all profits were deposited in the gang’s general fund, known as an *obschak*. As *obschaks* grew in size, gang leadership began to invest in legitimate and semi-legitimate businesses, often at cut-rate levels due the lack of existing wealth during privatization. Leaders and their lieutenants obtained

⁴⁶ Seymour Hersh, “The Wild East,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1994, <https://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/94jun/hersh2.htm>.

positions at all levels of all political office and in different branches in the civil service. These positions were obtained through *blat* (Russian slang for reciprocal favors) and bribery—one member of the 29th Kompleks, a powerful gang in Kazan, recounted that roughly 30 percent of *obschak* spending outside of investment, went into bribes and “public relations,” 30 percent went towards assisting imprisoned members, 30 percent was spent on pay for civilian employees or contracts for non-gang criminal work, such as contract killings, and the final 10 percent was spent on assets like cars, phones, and guns.⁴⁷ This system allowed gang leadership to enter elite society and accumulate political power, wealth, and prestige, while rank and file gang members at the street level received fewer opportunities for advancement as the privatization window closed. Unlike the *vory* (professional criminals who abided by a code dating back decades), who shunned contact with non-criminals, these groups became entangled in their local communities and provided some employment, protection, and social services (charitable giving that was accounted for under “public relations”) and in return they were tolerated by residents, who viewed them as a “necessary evil” and preferable to *bespredel*.⁴⁸

Because of the lack of governance from national or local institutions, across Russia *gruppirovki* (organized criminal groups) stepped in to provide a variety of

⁴⁷ Stephenson, Svetlana, *Gangs of Russia : From the Streets to the Corridors of Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/du/detail.action?docID=3426001>, 98.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 155.

forms of extralegal governance, albeit often in a predatory fashion. Unlike in other societies where organized crime became comparatively pervasive, for example the mafia throughout much of the modern history of Calabria and Sicily or the cartels in 1980s Colombia and contemporary Mexico, in Russia organized crime organizations infiltrated structures and institutions originating in state socialism.

This is significant, because the organs of state socialism influenced life at every level of social activity and had a great impact on daily life through the provision of social services, direction of the economy, and control of the military. When these structures were debilitated by the Soviet Union's collapse and privatization, the public lost trust in them and contracts became impossible to enforce. In this vacuum, the *gruppировки* emerged as defenders of the legitimacy of certain contracts due to their participation in more legitimate business activity. Businesses accepted *kryshy* with gangs to protect themselves both from the gang offering protection and that gang's rivals. The gangs also provided loans to businesses and individuals, but all these services came with the cost of increased dependency on the gang for dispute resolution and other matters. Stephenson asserts that in these circumstances, "generally, the capacity of organized gangs to appropriate resources derives less from demand for their protection than from their ability to establish their own systems of domination."⁴⁹ In many cases, these "systems of domination" were the only form of governance in the *bespredel* of the

⁴⁹ Ibid, 73.

1990s and in some areas, they were indistinguishable from state systems or more powerful than them locally, especially in some smaller regional municipalities. Similarly, in accordance with the ideas of Helmke and Levitsky, the influence of the “substitutive informal institutions” of the gangs waned as formal institutions grew in strength.⁵⁰ As organized crime groups became more enmeshed in state power structures, they grew less visible at the street level; however, they had a strong influence on how law enforcement organizations and legal institutions operated and often infiltrated these institutions themselves.

This combination of norms and strategies coalesced into a nebulous code of conduct referred to as *poniatiia* (understanding). As the translation implies, *poniatiia* is not a formal written code, but rather is socially learned and is taken for granted by those who abide by it. *Poniatiia* promotes a set of norms, many of which overlap with those of the earlier street level territorial elites and the vory. Self-control, in-group loyalty, obedience to the leader and *avtorietity* (senior gang leadership), misogyny, xenophobia, and the right to a private life outside of the group are some of the most prominent of these norms. For gang members and their dependents, *poniatiia* promotes a “Weberian patrimonial alliance,” where,

⁵⁰ Gretchen Helmke, and Steven Levitsky. *Informal Institutions And Democracy*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/du/reader.action?ppg=27&docID=3318293&tm=1541526918940>, 16.

“like ancient and early medieval warrior coalitions, the gang is a male militant tribal alliance that is cement by quasi-kinship obligations and loyalties.”⁵¹

The norms of poniatiiia have a great deal of overlap with ‘traditionalist’ values that Dugin would set out in *Foundations of Geopolitics*. Indeed, many of his sponsors and patrons throughout this decade have close ties to these organized crime groups, as do many Russian oligarchs and senior politicians. Close ties were curated by intelligence agents and the leaders of the gruppirovki. Pamyat was the first organization to publicly appeal to ‘us vs. them’ sentiments and it easy to see how this mentality climbs geopolitical levels. Poniatiiia relies on this mentality, as does, at the international level, racist ultra-nationalism, and at the global level, the planetary dualism of Eurasianism reflects this mindset as well. It should be no surprise that the ideology of Pamyat shared many of its characteristics with street gangs, although with an emphasis on overt fascism and anti-Semitism, and many of its members came from that section of society. Similarly, misogyny and a rejection of tolerance towards homosexuality is a core aspect of this ideology.

These experiences have made many Russian more willing to sacrifice individual freedoms for stability—the appeal of authoritarianism. This is borne out in public opinion data. Today, popular Russian nationalism shares many normative values with poniatiiia. In a Levada survey on attitudes towards migrants 67 percent

⁵¹ Stephenson, Svetlana, *Gangs of Russia : From the Streets to the Corridors of Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/du/detail.action?docID=3426001,178>.

of respondents felt the government should do more to limit immigration.⁵² Views differed regarding specific migrants, with 48 percent of respondents stating they were neutral towards migrants from the Central Asian Republics and 38 percent felt negatively, with only ten percent responding that they sympathized with them.⁵³ There were similar responses for migrants from Transcaucasia and the North Caucasus Republics, but attitudes were much more positive towards from ethnically Russian regions.⁵⁴ Patriotism has risen under Putin, with 77 percent agreeing that they were definitely or probably proud of Russia in April, 2017.⁵⁵ This is in stark contrast to the 48 percent who indicated the same responses in March, 2006.⁵⁶ Relatedly, 75 percent responded that they were very proud or somewhat proud to be a Russian citizen, in comparison with the 60 percent who responded in that fashion in August, 2004.⁵⁷ Of course, such patriotic sentiments do not necessarily mean support for fascism or racist ultra-nationalism, but do reflect a general resurgence in national pride that was missing in the 1990s. As this resurgence has taken place under an authoritarian government that promotes a

⁵² Levada Center, "Attitudes Towards Migrants," May 29, 2017, <https://www.levada.ru/en/2017/05/29/attitudes-toward-migrants/>.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Levada Center, "National Pride," May 29, 2017, <https://www.levada.ru/en/2017/05/29/national-pride/>

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

worldview that often aligns with the norms of poniatia, it provides fertile soil for militaristic, fascist ideologies like Eurasianism.

Chapter 4: Biography of Dugin after the Collapse of the Soviet Union

With the KGB and elements within the central committee sponsoring organizations for ideological renewal of the Communist Party and authoritarian alternatives across the political spectrum, it is important to note Dugin's activities during this period and the extent of possible support from state elements. For Dugin, this period of time was full of opportunities, but he bitterly regretted the destruction of the Soviet Union. Dugin reflected to Clover on his participation in the crowd supporting the attempted coup in 1991 against Yeltsin, who had become the President of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic, "I understood that for the first time I am for the Soviet Union, just as it was about to die, I loved it."⁵⁸ The works of Lev Gumilyev, who would also be an influence on *Foundations of Geopolitics*, enjoyed incredible popularity during this period and the term 'Eurasianism' was pervasive in Russian political discourse. Dugin explained the zeitgeist of the time: "The model of Soviet self-knowledge had broken...The society had lost its orientation. Everyone understood the necessity of change, but this

⁵⁸ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 196.

feeling was vague and no one knew what direction it would come from.”⁵⁹ In 1990, Clover reports that the central committee funded a journal known as *Continent Russia*, with Dugin and Igor Dudinsky, his old friend from his bohemian Nazi days, as the editors.⁶⁰ However, *Continent Russia* failed to reach a wide audience and the central committee lost interest in it. More successful were two books published with suspiciously large runs of 100,000 each: *The Way of the Absolute*, devoted to the traditionalist theories of Julius Evola and *The Metaphysics of the Gospel*, in which according to Clover, Dugin “called for a restoration of a medieval Byzantine social hierarchy, served by elite priest and warrior castes,” which mimics Evola’s spiritual racism.⁶¹ With the money earned, Dugin travelled to Europe to meet with far-right intellectuals and activists. Clover speculates on who provided the patronage for Dugin’s travels:

Perhaps it was the project of a solitary romantic...more likely it was done with help from elements of the state that had an established track record, at precisely this time, of sponsoring right-wing ideological experiments.⁶²

In Europe, the first thinker he met with was Alain de Benoist, a French writer who was a leading figure of the Nouvelle Droite. The Nouvelle Droite has been categorized as an attempt at keeping the flame of fascism alive on the continent, but also as for its anti-capitalist ideology that seeks to preserve

⁵⁹ Ibid, 173-4.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 173.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid, 174.

‘traditionalism,’ the rejection of modernism and materialism, and a plurality of cultures in the face of cultural homogenization as a result of globalization. Another facet of its ideology is the advocacy for empire as the alternative to the nation state. These sentiments would be reflected in *Foundations of Geopolitics*. Clover writes that, “among the thinkers most quoted by the New Right are quite a few ex-Nazis: philosopher Martin Heidegger, legal theorist Carl Schmitt, esoteric author Julius Evola, and scholar of ‘geopolitics’ Karl Haushofer.”⁶³ All of these Nazi intellectuals (none were truly “ex” Nazis in their worldviews) are huge influences in *Foundations of Geopolitics* as well. Dugin met with other extreme figures like Robert Steuckers, the Belgian publisher *Vouloir* magazine, which supported apartheid and a ‘Greater Serbia.’⁶⁴ The defense of ‘Greater Serbia’ against NATO would become a cause célèbre for Dugin and other Slavophilic Russians in the coming years. Jean-Francois Thiriart, a National Bolshevik who advocated for a European empire stretching from Vladivostok to Dublin was another extremist who Dugin sought out to meet.⁶⁵ Dugin would include this theory in *Foundations of Geopolitics* and attribute it to Thiriart. In Paris, he also finally met in person his literary idol Yury Mamleev, the founder of the Yuzhinsky group that Dugin had flamboyantly participated in, and through him was introduced to Alexander Prokhanov, a writer and propagandist who was nicknamed “The Nightingale of the

⁶³ Ibid, 178.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 179.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

General Staff,' due to his close friendship with top Red Army Generals.⁶⁶

Prokhanov was deeply involved in the military's efforts to cultivate deeper ties to nationalist, racist ultranationalist, and fascist groups.

According to Clover, following the series of retreats and missteps that marked the collapse of the Soviet Union, "the lesson learned by the army was that they could not trust their political masters."⁶⁷ They began casting for new allies and Prokhanov helped them forge closer links to reactionary groups. These groups had failed rather disastrously in open elections, for the most part, and per Clover, "the lesson the nationalists drew was that, faced with inevitable democratic political reforms, the only way they could triumph was through non-democratic means."⁶⁸ 'Nationalist' is too soft a descriptor for many of these groups, as some were overtly racist and expressed a fascist ideology and worldview. One of the more immediate results of these forces converging during a time of state weakness was the attempted coup of August 1991, which failed rather ridiculously due to the incompetence of the plotters and prompted Dugin's belated paean to the USSR. This coup was led by Soviet hardliners, the same 'Yesterday Forever' forces mentioned by Yakovlev and potentially orchestrated, and certainly supported by Prokhanov.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 182.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 184.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Here Dugin's conspiratorial worldview and actual American skullduggery intersect. Seymour Hersh wrote in the *Atlantic* in the 1994 that:

In early spring of 1991, well before the August coup attempt, the Bush Administration learned of the plotting against Mikhail Gorbachev and turned to Yeltsin as a possible alternative leader. Over the next few months U.S. intelligence agencies were assigned to help Yeltsin, then the President of Russia, improve his personal and communications security. When the coup finally took place, President Bush ordered that essential communications intelligence be provided to Yeltsin—over the bitter protests of the National Security Agency, which is responsible for such top-secret intercepts. This help enabled Yeltsin to emerge from the crisis a triumphant hero. The transfer of intelligence was conducted under stringent secrecy and the House and Senate intelligence committees were not formally notified—as is required by law.⁶⁹

Similarly, Clover notes Yeltsin, “seemed to have been informed in real time of all communications the GKChP plotters had passed between one another.”⁷⁰

Following the coup's failure, which likely would have occurred anyways do the amateurishness of the plot, Dugin was appointed to a lectureship of the Soviet Academy of the General Staff (now the Russian Academy of the General Staff) in 1992. It was led by General Igor Rodionov, and Clover notes, “the Academy was the premier officer-training establishment for the Soviet (now Russian) army, but for Rodionov it had been a humiliating demotion.”⁷¹ Rodionov, a decorated soldier, had been shuffled off to the Academy after an incident in Tbilisi where troops under his command killed 21 pro-democracy protestors in 1989, one of the

⁶⁹ Seymour Hersh, “The Wild East,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1994, <https://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/94jun/hersh2.htm>.

⁷⁰ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 197.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 201.

bloodiest events during the USSR's collapse. Embittered by his demotion, Rodionov began to favor nationalist, far-right sentiments, and Clover asserts that as a result the academy: "became a hive of opposition to the government of Boris Yeltsin and liberal reformers—a bastion of hardcore reactionary zeal that supported Dugin's work and nourished him with strategic insights," while Dugin, "fed generals with the new thinking of the European extreme right."⁷² Dugin's rapid transformation from outsider to insider had now begun in earnest, and Clover argues "within the space of a vertiginous three years he had gone from being a maladjusted fringe radical and member of a banned political organization to lecturing at the heart of the former USSR's security establishment."⁷³ As Dugin had ingratiated himself with Rodionov, he was well positioned to take advantage when Rodionov was named defense minister in 1996 and served until 1997 as part of a resurgence in fortunes for the old guard of the Soviet defense establishment. According to Clover, Rodionov was "the hardliner's hardliner."⁷⁴ Dunlop observes that, "it may be significant that Dugin's Foundations of Geopolitics was written during the time that Rodionov was serving as defense minister."⁷⁵

⁷² Ibid, 202.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Charles Clover, "The Unlikely Origins of Russia's Manifest Destiny," *Foreign Policy*, July 27, 2016, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/27/geopolitics-russia-mackinder-eurasia-heartland-dugin-ukraine-urasianism-manifest-destiny-putin/>

⁷⁵ John Dunlop, "Aleksandr Dugin's Foundations of Geopolitics," *Demokratizatsiya*, January 31, 2004, <https://tec.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/aleksandr-dugins-foundations-geopolitics>.

Dugin, a political parvenu, was himself amazed by the swiftness of the changes to his fortunes during this period, reflecting that, “I had no social status, it was incredible to think they saw me as an equal, or could learn something for me,” but he realized, “they were utterly lost, they had no concept of the enemy, they needed to know who the enemy was.”⁷⁶ If there is one thing consistent in Dugin’s writings it is the identification of the enemy—the Atlanticists. This would be the focus of his first major work, ostensibly co-written with General Klokov of the Academy of the General Staff, *Foundations of Geopolitics*. On its release, it became somewhat of a national phenomenon with a wide print run and achieved a status as “one of the more influential works of the post-communist period.”⁷⁷ Clover reports it “sold out in four editions.”⁷⁸ More importantly, *Foundations of Geopolitics* reached the people most likely to shape and implement Russian strategy—Russia’s officer corps and senior military leadership. Clover reported in 2016 that *Foundations of Geopolitics* continued to be taught at the General Staff Academy and other military universities in Russia.⁷⁹ For his hardliner patrons, *Foundations of Geopolitics* provided intellectual justification for their statist and

⁷⁶ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 202.

⁷⁷ John Dunlop, “Aleksandr Dugin’s Foundations of Geopolitics,” *Demokratizatsiya*, January 31, 2004, <https://tec.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/aleksandr-dugins-foundations-geopolitics>.

⁷⁸ Charles Clover, “The Unlikely Origins of Russia’s Manifest Destiny,” *Foreign Policy*, July 27, 2016, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/27/geopolitics-russia-mackinder-eurasia-heartland-dugin-ukraine-urasianism-manifest-destiny-putin/>

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

expansionary tendencies, and Dugin's ideas were eagerly received by the 'yesterday forever' forces.

Chapter 5: Eurasianists versus Atlanticists

A rather obscure English politician and academic from the first half of the twentieth century, Halford Mackinder, provided an ideological basis for Dugin's worldview. In *The Geopolitical Axis of History*, Mackinder, divides the world into civilizational types categorized by their location in the Heartland, the Inner Crescent, or the Outer Crescent. The Outer Crescent is best represented by Great Britain and later the United States, nations that have relied on their navies and are defined by their coastal characteristics. These nations economically rely on commerce. The Heartland, which according to Mackinder, stretches from Moscow to Paris, is continental, and economic activity is reliant upon the land and a close connection to the soil. The Heartland is location of the 'geographical pivot of history.' The Inner Crescent generally is composed of the lands that lie between the Outer Crescent and the Heartland and include Western and Southern Europe, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent. According to Dugin, government type is determined by location:

The ‘outer crescent’ is liberal democracy; ‘the geographical pivot of history’ is non-democratic authoritarianism; the inner crescent is an intermediate model—a combination of both ideological systems.⁸⁰

According to Dugin, the qualities of Heartland civilization are incarnate in the Russian territory and people. The result is a Manichean dualism, in which the Atlanticist mission throughout history has been to keep down Eurasia. Dugin writes:

It is not hard to understand why exactly Mackinder established in Anglo-Saxon geopolitics, which in half a century would be the United States and NATO, this essential tendency: to impede in any way capable the very possibility of the creation of a Eurasian Bloc—established through a union of Russia and Germany—a geopolitical reinforcing of the heartland and its expansion. The West’s sustained Russophobia in the twentieth century is not just ideological, but also geopolitical in character. Still, taking into account Mackinder’s connection between civilizational types and these geopolitical characteristics, or other forces, one could acquire a formula for which geopolitical terminology is easily translated into ideological terminology.⁸¹

Here, it is also important to note Dugin’s belief in the translatability between ideology and geopolitics, effectively resulting in no separation between the two. For him, ideology is determined by geopolitics, and geopolitics are determined by ideology.

Lebensraum and Raumsinn

This deterministic approach is especially evident in Dugin’s embrace of the concept of *Lebensraum*. *Lebensraum* or “Living Space,” was conceptualized by

⁸⁰ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Arctogaia, 1997, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018.

⁸¹ Ibid.

Friedrich Ratzel, who Dugin celebrates as the “father of geopolitics.”⁸² Dugin writes that in his work, *Anthro-Geography*, Ratzel elucidated his fundamental idea:

“There is a connection between the evolution of peoples and demographics with physical geographic data; the influence that physical terrain has on a people’s culture, political development, and so on.”⁸³ Ratzel considers states to function similarly to biological organisms, growing, living, and dying according to their natural merits in a manner similar to survival of the fittest in Darwinian evolution.

Accordingly, Dugin writes:

Ratzel’s ‘organic’ approach is in relation to its space (Raum). This ‘space’ brings over a cardinal material category in a new quality, becoming the ‘Living Sphere,’ ‘Living Space’ (Lebensraum), in a ‘Geobiological Environment.’” A state gains Lebensraum by naturally obeying what Ratzel terms the ‘laws of expansion,’ the most significant of which is that ‘the state expands by consuming and absorbing units of lesser political significance.’⁸⁴

This removes any notion of ethics from international relations, with all states simply striving to achieve maximal Lebensraum. This term would be taught to Hitler by Karl Haushofer personally during his visits to Hitler and his student Hess while they were imprisoned in Landsberg. Haushofer is also a major influence on Dugin and will be discussed in more detail later.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

In tandem with Lebensraum is the concept of Raumsinn. A more nebulous concept, Raumsinn is related to a special connection between people and land.

Dugin observes:

For him [Ratzel], it was important to establish a conceptual instrument for advocating awareness of the history of the state and nation and their relationship to the land. In practice, he sought the awakening of 'Raumsinn' (the spirit of the land), among the leaders of Germany, who regarded geopolitics as a dry academic discipline merely representing abstraction.⁸⁵

Dugin views as necessary the awakening of Raumsinn in the Eurasian peoples, particularly the 'Holy Rus,' and his personal goal is to provoke this latent Raumsinn. Ratzel would die long before the rise of the Third Reich, but his ideas—and their continuation under his student Rudolf Kjellen—would have great influence over two of its more famous geopoliticians—Karl Haushofer and Carl Schmitt.

Conservative Revolutionaries

For Dugin, conservative has the connotation of allegiance to absolute power and the defense of religion at the expense of individual rights, rather than the traditional American conservatism of small government and respect for habeas corpus, the rule of law, and property and individual rights. The works of Friedrich Ratzel and his student Rudolf Kjellen, as well as Mackinder's heartland theory, were the primary influences on the geopolitical writings and worldview of Karl Haushofer. Haushofer was an army officer who served as the military attaché to

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Japan from 1908-1910 and was a capable officer on both the Western and Eastern fronts in World War I. Afterwards he became the director of the institute for geopolitics at the University of Munich, where Rudolf Hess became his disciple.

Dugin does reference this connection, remarking:

Through his student Rudolf Hess, he met Hitler right after he was imprisoned following his failed putsch. It is an unconfirmed historical opinion that Haushofer played a part in writing sections of “Mein Kampf” relating to geopolitics. But, a conceptual analysis shows a significant difference between Haushofer’s geopolitical outlook and Hitler’s simplistic, racist and propagandistic passages.⁸⁶

However, it is a fact that, after the Beer Hall Putsch, Haushofer regularly visited Hess and Hitler in Landsberg Prison. During summer and fall 1924, Haushofer spent many Wednesdays conducting seminars for the two failed putschists. Hitler later claimed that: “Landsberg was my university [education] at state expense.”⁸⁷ Given the timing, and Hitler’s respect for Haushofer, it is unlikely that Haushofer’s lessons had no impact on the content of *Mein Kampf*. Haushofer had a deep respect for Japanese culture and did not share Nazi racism against Asian peoples, but, despite his wife’s Jewish heritage, which would cause problems for his career as Nazi racial policies deepened, and his refusal to divorce her, he was an avowed anti-Semite.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Holger H. Herwig, *The Demon of Geopolitics: How Karl Haushofer "Educated" Hitler and Hess* (Lanham [etc.]: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 90.

Dugin offers an apologetic description of Haushofer's life and works to sugarcoat them to a Russian public and military justifiably proud of their defeat of Germany in the Great Patriotic War and cognizant of the horrific sacrifices that were made to achieve it. He tries to distinguish Haushofer's geopolitics from the genocidal geopolitics of Hitler and Himmler. Dugin glosses over Haushofer's role in popularizing the term *Lebensraum* and does not mention Haushofer's own racist beliefs (or his wife's ancestry). Instead, he emphasizes Haushofer's advocacy for a "New Eurasian Order," which would be led by a "joint civilizational effort of two continental powers—Russia and Germany" to "structure continental space around the World Island so as to completely remove itself from under the influence of 'Sea Powers.'"⁸⁸ Haushofer did indeed promote a Berlin-Rome-Moscow-Tokyo axis; however, this is belied somewhat by his star pupil Hess's quixotic attempt to secure a peace with the United Kingdom via parachute.

Dugin rationalizes Haushofer's employment of the term *Lebensraum* as not necessitating an expansion into Russian lands, but rather offers an explanation that: "the expansion of German *Lebensraum* was planned by Haushofer, not for the sake of colonizing Russian lands, but for the taming of gigantic unsettled Asiatic spaces and the reorganization of the land of eastern Europe."⁸⁹ He explains that despite Haushofer's theoretical support for a Moscow-Berlin alliance:

⁸⁸ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Arctogaia, 1997, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

In practice, everything did not wash out so cleanly. The purely scientific logic of Haushofer, logically led to the necessity of a ‘continental bloc’ with Moscow, collided with the majority of other tendencies and qualities inherent in the German national establishment. It was the strictly racist outlook of history, which infected Hitler himself. This outlook considered racial affinities to be the most important factors, not geographical or geopolitical qualities. The Anglo-Saxon peoples—England and the USA—were viewed in this case as the natural allies of the Germans because they were closer ethnically. Slavs and especially non-white Eurasian peoples were turned into racial enemies.⁹⁰

As a result, Nazi Germany missed an opportunity for creating the continental bloc, per Dugin, because “National-Socialist racism fell into direct contradiction with geopolitics, or more precisely, implicitly nudging Germans to their inverse, anti-Eurasian, talassocratic strategy.”⁹¹

Despite Haushofer’s preference for a continental bloc led by Germany, but with a friendly orientation towards Japan and the Soviet Union, he acquiesced to and endorsed the prevailing Nazi ideology. Although not the founder of the SS and creator of the Thule society he has alleged to have been, he is guilty of actively participating and aiding the Nazi regime as his ideas of imperial conquest based on deterministic geopolitics were a pillar of Nazi foreign policy and ideology.

Haushofer’s own family became a victim of the Nazi regime—his son Albrecht was executed for participation in a plot against Hitler’s life in 1944, Haushofer was imprisoned, and in 1946 he and his wife committed suicide. In the

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

last words of his suicide note Haushofer confessed: “I want to be forgotten and forgotten.”⁹² Alas, with his resurrection by Dugin his wish remains not granted.

The Chief Counsel for the American Government at the Nuremberg Trials, Sidney Alderman alleged:

Haushofer was Hitler’s intellectual godfather... his was a driving dynamic plan for the conquest of the heartland of Eurasia and for domination of the world by the conquest of that heartland...Really, Hitler was largely only a symbol and rabble-rousing mouthpiece. The intellectual content of which he was the symbol was the doctrine of Haushofer.⁹³

Alderman overstated Haushofer’s personal role in the Nazi regime and many of his ideas were rooted in the work of earlier writers on geopolitics, but his writings were indeed influential and provided intellectual support for the Nazi regime and Hitler himself. Additionally, they were a key part of Hitler’s doctrine that justified the slaughter of millions in their expansionary drives for Lebensraum.

In his book *Today’s World* (1934), Haushofer urged his fellow Germans to “set their course” after that of their “God-given fuhrer.”⁹⁴ Herbert Holwig, a recent biographer of Haushofer’s, summarizes Haushofer’s role in the creation of Nazi ideology as, “the ultimate tragedy of Karl Haushofer’s life was that, in the words of Albrecht, he ‘broke away the seal’ to the Aladdin’s lamp of geopolitics for Hess and

⁹² Holger H. Herwig, *The Demon of Geopolitics: How Karl Haushofer "Educated" Hitler and Hess* (Lanham [etc.]: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 197.

⁹³ Holger H. Herwig, “Geopolitik: Haushofer, Hitler and Lebensraum,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 1999, 22:2-3, 218-241 (Minca 2013) (Herwig, *Geopolitik: Haushofer, Hitler and Lebensraum* 1999).

⁹⁴ Holger H. Herwig, *The Demon of Geopolitics: How Karl Haushofer "Educated" Hitler and Hess* (Lanham [etc.]: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 206.

Hitler and then ‘let the demon soar into the world.’”⁹⁵ The suffering inflicted on the world based on Haushofer’s theories far exceeded that of Haushofer and his family. Dugin shares Haushofer’s vision of a world determined by Raum composed of large states, while also purportedly emphasizing that this worldview is based on geographical, rather than racial principles. Despite Dugin’s pretense of a Eurasian empire with room for different ethnic groups and religions, his desire to “kill, kill, kill” in Ukraine suggests that not all will really be welcome.

It can be reasonably inferred that Dugin would have, until the attack on the Soviet Union, like Haushofer, “lauded every move that Hitler made, celebrated every triumph,” especially the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which briefly provided a culmination of his proposed continental bloc.⁹⁶ Illustrating this, Dugin argues that:

Naturally, Hitler’s Austrian Catholic, anti-communist, slavophobia—despite attempts by some of the more historically responsible conservative revolutionaries and geopoliticians [likely referring to Haushofer and Schmitt]—caused Germany to lose its historical place as a result of its nightmarish defeat, inflicted by the forces of the ‘eternal union.’⁹⁷

Dugin attempts similar intellectual gymnastics to produce cognitive dissonance to quarantine what he views as the positive ideas of Nazi thinkers from the realities of the Nazi campaign against the Soviet Union. Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) was a legal scholar who had a long, prolific body of work that was often

⁹⁵ Ibid, 217.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Arctogaia, 1997, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018.

devoted to justifying statist authoritarianism and expansionist geopolitics. Dugin excuses his deep ties to the Nazi regime by explaining:

Like many conservative revolutionaries, he had a double-natured relationship with the National Socialist regime. In one sense, there is no doubt his theories appear in Nazi ideology, his books “Political Theology” and “Political Concepts” were used especially successfully, in them Schmitt openly criticized liberal rights and ‘the rule of law.’⁹⁸

These so-called conservative revolutionaries like Schmitt inevitably became Nazis upon Hitler’s rise to power or helped him on his way beforehand. Schmitt’s writings often functioned as legal rationalizations for Nazi policymaking. Dugin seeks to obscure the Nazi roots of Schmitt’s reasoning in a summation of Schmitt’s work:

All of Schmitt’s concepts were based on the fundamental idea of ‘peoples’ rights’ (volksrechte), which he distinguished from ‘human rights’ under liberal theory. His understanding emphasized that a people have rights to cultural sovereignty so as to preserve its spiritual, historical, and political identity.⁹⁹

Dugin continues this positive interpretation, submitting that:

Such an approach was characteristic of some National Socialists, considering this ideology universal and applicable to all the peoples of the Earth. But, the dominant line of thought was Pan-Germanism, rooted in a chauvinistic and narrow nationalistic outlook. Therefore, with his theory of ‘peoples’ rights,’ Schmitt was subjected to harsh criticisms, especially by the ideologues of the SS.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Although it is true that Schmitt was “virulently attacked by the SS for his relative distance from *volkish* ideology,” Schmitt’s involvement in the Nazi regime was much deeper than Dugin makes it out to be and his views on geographical space were not strictly distinct from racist Nazi ideology.¹⁰¹ A World War I veteran who was a professor of law at the University of Bonn, Schmitt curried favor with the Nazi regime after he joined the party in May 1933 and he followed the advice he was given by Martin Heidegger, who told him to “join the revolution.”¹⁰² By November, he was serving as the President of the National Socialist Jurists Association and became a favorite of Herman Goehring.¹⁰³ Although purportedly concerned with *grossraum* (great spaces), Schmitt justified the racism underpinning Nazism in his writings during this period and enthusiastically embraced its racist ideology. Barnes and Minca note:

According to Schmitt, racial homogeneity (*Artgleichheit*) ‘made judicial decision determinate,’ as both judges and the people were part of an overall ‘concrete order’ preserved by the Führer. There was complete identification of the people with the leader because they were of the same substance. ‘Species sameness’ was “a substitute for the categories of identity and representation.”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Trevor J. Barnes (Rowan n.d.), and Claudio Minca. "Nazi Spatial Theory: The Dark Geographies of Carl Schmitt and Walter Christaller." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103, no. 3 (2013): 669-87.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

After the Night of the Long Knives he published an article defending Hitler titled “The Leader Protects the Law,” and he ended a 1936 speech at a conference, which he convened, on Judaism in Jurisprudence “(Das Judentum in der Rechtswissenschaft) in Berlin with the words: “By fending off the Jew, I struggle for the work of the Lord.”¹⁰⁵ So Dugin’s assertion that Schmitt’s beliefs were inconsistent with mainstream Nazi racism is simply false.

Dugin particularly admires Schmitt’s conception of *grossraum*. Barnes and Minca describe how Schmitt advocated for “the new international legal order based on *Großraum*...to replace the principle of the equality of sovereign states with a hierarchy of *Reichs*, or empires, based on culture, space, and ideology.”¹⁰⁶ “Schmitt’s *Reich* would in practice include German-speaking peoples, and therefore linked to the substantial presence of a *Volk*, it was not necessarily dependent on the *Blut und Boden* elements of mainstream racialized discourses;” however, like similar apologies made for Haushofer, this rationale advocated for empire building and was certainly not mutually exclusive with volkish notions. After the war, an unrepentant Schmitt (he refused denazification and was considered for trial at Nuremberg), expanded on his *grossraum* concept through his development of “nomoses.” The *nomos* “a fundamental ‘unity of space and law, order and orientation” and is the “original spatial order” and he sets the *nomos* of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Trevor J. Barnes and Claudio Minca, “Nazi Spatial Theory: The Dark Geographies of Carl Schmitt and Walter Christaller, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 103, no. 13, 2013.

the earth, based on traditionalism, Christian eschatology, and continentalism against the nomos of the sea, rooted in capitalism, materialism, liberalism, and the secular.¹⁰⁷ Dugin endorses these theories, as they perfectly fit his view of a dualistic world. Particularly consistent with Dugin's fascist Neo-Eurasianism is Schmitt's notion of "*Großraum* as the elementary building block for an anti-cosmopolitan, anti-universal organization of the international order based on a plurality of coexisting *Großräume*, each one under the leadership of one imperial nation."¹⁰⁸

This is identical to Dugin's characterization of Eurasia as an empire of many empires. For Schmitt:

Pan-regions are meant to provide guarantees against the homogenization of the world into a liberal flatland—essential for the maintenance of difference and pluralism, indeed, essential for the very possibility of the political, the friend/enemy distinction, encased in mutually exclusive regional blocs.¹⁰⁹

This dichotomy of friend/enemy is essential in Dugin's ideology. Dugin repeatedly emphasizes these aspects of Schmitt's oeuvre, while omitting his anti-Slavic racism and unflinching support for Nazi policies, including the invasion of the Soviet Union, for the purpose of resettling and reordering empty space to expand the German Reich.

Petr Savitsky and Original Eurasianism

¹⁰⁷ Claudio Minca and Rory Rowan, "The Question of Space in Carl Schmitt," *Progress in Human Geography*, 39, no. 3, 2014, <https://doi-org.du.idm.oclc.org/10.1177/02F0309132513517989>.

¹⁰⁸ Benno Teschke, *The Oxford Handbook of Carl Schmitt*, "Carl Schmitt's Concepts of War: A Categorical Failure," April 2014, doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199916931.013.021.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

A final major inspiration for Dugin among the men he considers to be the founders of geopolitics is Petr Savitsky, an aristocrat, although from the landed gentry of Chernigov, in what is now Ukraine, rather than one of the great noble families of Imperial Russia. He studied geography and soil sciences at St. Petersburg Polytechnic University and became the star pupil of Petr Struve. During the Russian Civil War, Struve briefly served as foreign minister for Wrangel's government, with Savitsky as his deputy, and they fled to Bulgaria following the collapse of White Russian forces. He corresponded with Prince Nikolai Trubetsky and the two became leaders in the first Eurasianist movement. Clover writes that the pair were motivated to symbolically rehabilitate the time period of Mongol conquest as a necessary and positive step for Russia to develop its own distinct identity, for Savitsky, "there was no contradiction in celebrating both Mongol heritage and the Orthodox Church as unique essences of Russian civilization."¹¹⁰ Similarly, Savitsky came to appreciate the importance of the Russia Revolution and viewed it as a key moment in history. In a 1921 letter to Struve which ended their relationship, he wrote: "Changing the economic policy of Bolshevism is a condition for the life of Russia. Keeping its political apparatus is the condition for the strength of the country."¹¹¹ Internal disputes within the Eurasianist movement led to it fading away, with some of the more enthusiastic

¹¹⁰ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 53.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 51.

proponents returning to the Soviet Union only to be caught up in Stalin's purges, while Trubetskoy grew tired of the movement and devoted himself to work in linguistics. Many in the movement had actually worked covertly for the Soviet government, although they too, for the most part, were killed when they returned to the USSR.

Savitsky supported the Soviet Union during the war, despite his reservations about the Bolsheviks, but was relatively unaffected by the war despite living in Prague under Nazi occupation. However, once Soviet troops occupied Prague he was taken to Moscow, interrogated in the notorious Lubyanka, and then sent to work camp in Central Russia. He returned to Prague in 1955 having been released as a result of Khrushchev's ascent to power. Despite living mostly in obscurity and suffering from poor health, he would inspire another former gulag prisoner, a man who would eventually introduce Dugin to Eurasianism and receive a degree of fame and influence only as the Soviet Union was breaking apart—the son of Anna Akhmatova (although he despised living in her shadow), Lev Gumilyev. He adopted Savitsky's ideas to his own work of inventing historical narratives for ancient nomadic tribes like the Scythians and the Xiongnu to form a Eurasianist ideology similar to Savitsky's Turanism. He believed that Eurasia is dependent on a natural alliance and affinity between Slavic and Turkic peoples. Gumilyev also crafted some rather fantastic ideas on the influence of cosmic rays in creating civilizations and motivating their expansion. He termed this notion metaphysical notion 'passionarity', which Dugin has adapted. Dugin calls

Gumilyev “one of the great modern Russian historians and ethnographers” in *Foundations*.¹¹²

For Dugin, Savitsky follows in the tradition of the German Organicist school of geopolitics. As evidence, he cites Savitsky writing in “The Geopolitical Organization of Russia” that “the social-political environment and its territory should merge into a single whole of geographical individualism or landscape.”¹¹³ However, there were stark differences between the German geopolitical writers and Savitsky. For one, Savitsky was not interested in union with Germany and considered the Teutonic Knights one of the great enemies of historical Eurasian people. Savitsky’s Eurasianism was not explicitly militaristic either, for instance, in “The Geographical and the Geopolitical,” Savitsky writes:

The purpose of the Eurasian peoples is to, by their example, carry the other peoples of the world down this path. Then will the ethnographic ties by which a number of Eurasian peoples are connected to some non-Eurasian nations become useful for ecumenical affairs. These include the Indo-European connections of the Russians, the Persian and Iranian relations of the Eurasian Turks, and those points of contact existing between the Eurasian Mongols and the peoples of East Asia. All of these will come to benefit the construction of a new, organic culture for the ‘Old’ World, which is (we believe) still young and carries in its womb a grand future.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Arctogaia, 1997, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Petr Savitsky, “The Geographical and Geopolitical Foundations of Eurasianism,” 1933, Translated by Jafe Arnold, October 10, 2016, <https://Eurasianist-archive.com/2016/10/10/the-geographical-and-geopolitical-foundations-of-eurasianism/>

Thus, for Savitsky Eurasianism is an internal goal for those living in Russian territory to achieve and that “Modern Russia, absorbing this tradition, must resolutely and irrevocably abandon violence and war, the old methods of unification belonging to gone and overcome epochs.”¹¹⁵ Savitsky argues that rather than conquest, “in the modern period, the cause is one of cultural creativity, inspiration, insight, and cooperation.”¹¹⁶ This is a stark difference in tone from Haushofer’s militaristic ideas. However, it must be noted that Savitsky’s ideas were highly illiberal and he was opposed to democratic forms of government, but he was not as explicitly expansionist as Schmitt and Haushofer. Savitsky’s ideal form of governance, according to Dugin, was an “ideocracy,” which he defines as:

Ideocracy—a term which unites all forms of undemocratic illiberal forms of rule, based in non-materialists and non-utilitarian motivations. Savitsky consciously avoided refining this notion, which is incarnate in a theocratic sobornost, and in populist monarchs, and in nationalist dictators, and in states of the Soviet type. The breadth of the term corresponds to the purely geopolitical horizon of Eurasia, which covers vast historical and geographical expanse. This was an attempt to more closely describe the continent’s intuitive will.¹¹⁷

Dugin includes Savitsky’s ideas of cultural synthesis, writing that in “Savitsky’s geopolitical ideas, Russia is understood not as a national state, but as a special type of civilization, established on the basis of several factors—Slavic-Aryan

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Arctogaia, 1997, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018.

Culture, Turkic nomadism, and the Orthodox tradition.”¹¹⁸ Dugin argues that Savitsky’s concepts indicate “the intuitive feeling of all inhabitants of the ‘geographical pivot of history’ towards geopolitical unity,” which, “acquires a new language, “syntheticism,’ not able to be reduced to inadequate, fragmented, analytical concerns, of Western rationalism” and that “in this way Savitsky carried on the Russian-intellectual tradition always gravitating towards ideas of ‘wholeness,’ ‘sobornost,’ ‘unity,’ and etc.”¹¹⁹ This urge to create a holistic, unified theory for geopolitics is Dugin’s motivation in *Foundations of Geopolitics*. To bridge the cognitive dissonance produced by his admiration for Nazi thinkers and the original Eurasianists, Dugin proposes a maxim that:

The closer the viewpoint of the German continentalists is to the Russian Eurasianists, the greater the Ostorientierung [openness to the East, a term of Haushofer’s], the more logical and consistent are their doctrines, effectiveness in political projects, and their establishment on a geopolitical basis.¹²⁰

The Neo-Eurasianism of Alexander Dugin can similarly be viewed as a fusion between the statist, imperial, determinative, expansionist, mystical, and racist notions of Schmitt and Haushofer and the symbolic, spiritual, unifying, illiberal, and theocratic concepts of Savitsky and other conservative Eurasianists. These seemingly paradoxical schools of thought are united in their repudiation of materialism, liberalism, democratic government, rationalism, and capitalism.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Chapter 6: Pan-Slavism and the Origins of Eurasianism

The ideological forebears of contemporary mystical Russian nationalism and Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism were offshoots of the Romantic branch of European thought in the nineteenth century. In the Russian Empire, and throughout Eastern and Southeastern European, regions with large populations of practitioners of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, the Romantic nationalist impulses—exhibited elsewhere in Europe through pan-Germanism or Italian irredentism—were manifested in Slavophilia and pan-Slavism. Broadly, Slavophiles mirrored other European Romantic movements by asserting a distinct cultural identity, undertaking a self-conscious examination of national character, believing that they were in the process of fulfilling a unique historical destiny, and hearkening back to an earlier, more 'pure' time.

For Slavophiles, this was the Muscovite Era, which took place after several Russian city states had shrugged off the "Mongol yoke" and the residence of the Russian Orthodox Church was moved to Moscow, of course this is diametrically opposed to Savitsky's Turanism. A fascination with early versions of Orthodox Christianity and loathing of the reforms undertaken by Peter the Great within the Church, an animus shared by Dugin, distinguished pan-Slavism from the religious

preoccupations by other European Nationalist Romantics, who often admired Pagan religions, but they shared an interest in mysticism. A consequence of this was that, “a great deal of nineteenth-century Russian religious thought was characterized by its reluctance to make clear distinctions between theology and philosophy.”¹²¹ This blurring of disciplines, present in Dugin’s works as well, was accompanied by a rejection of Western European rationalism and a loathing of Westernizers emulating the fashions, culture, and ideals of what was perceived as the decadent West. Three figures, Ivan Kireevsky, Ivan Aksakov, and particularly Nikolay Danilevsky, were, in different ways, important in establishing and popularizing pan-Slavism and remain influential among contemporary Russian nationalists in the mystical tradition.

Ivan Kireevsky (1806-1856) studied in Germany as a young man, where his philosophical basis was set by his rejection of Hegel’s rationalism and embrace of Friedrich Schelling’s romanticism. He worked with Monastic elders of the Russian Orthodox Church to translate ancient texts written by Greek monks and his interest in early Orthodoxy led him to suggest that, “the patterns of Russia’s development has been determined by the fact that it had received its religion and its culture from Byzantium rather Rome.”¹²² He derived many of his philosophical ideals from early Greek Fathers and believed only through Orthodoxy was it

¹²¹ Michael Hughes, "Mysticism and Knowledge in the Philosophical Thought of Ivan Kireevsky," *Mystics Quarterly* 30, no. 1/2 (2004): 15-27, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20716473>.

¹²² *Ibid.*

possible to launch a true spiritual search for truth. He rejected Western rationalism in his writings and argued that Orthodoxy and Catholicism fostered different philosophical methods, writing that “Eastern thinkers were primarily concerned with the proper inner condition of the thinking spirit, while Westerners were more interested in the external coherence of concepts.”¹²³ This preference for a mystical, non-empirical understanding permeates Dugin’s worldview.

Like many other Slavophiles, including Kireevsky, Aksakov was university educated and was born into the gentry. Not, much of an original ideologue himself, he was heavily influenced by Kireevsky, Danilevsky, and other thinkers, but he was notable for his long career as a journalist and promoter of Slavophilia and pan-Slavism. A modern analogue would be Prokhanov. His efforts to aid various Slavic peoples in fights against the Ottoman empire represented pan-Slavism in action and he was instrumental in whipping up sympathy for Bulgarians that led to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878. Although a difficult and bloody campaign, the Russians were successful in securing the independence of a Greater Bulgaria, based on medieval boundaries, and were on the verge of taking Istanbul, which was once Constantinople, the ancient capital of the Byzantine Empire. This would have been hugely symbolic due to the deep connection Slavophiles felt to Byzantium and the Eastern Roman Empire. These hopes were dashed when Austria-Hungary and Britain, alarmed at Russia’s gains, called for the Congress of

¹²³ Ibid.

Berlin, which eliminated most of Russia's gains and even expanded Austria-Hungary's influence and territorial holdings in the Balkans at the expense of Russia. Infuriated at what he perceived as a betrayal, Aksakov, alleged "a conspiracy against the Russian people, a conspiracy carried out with the representatives of Russia."¹²⁴

For many Slavophiles, these treacherous representatives were Jews or other "non-Rus." The assassination of Tsar Alexander II prompted his successor Alexander III to enact reactionary counter reforms, which enjoyed the support of many Slavophiles. in the wake of the Congress of Berlin and the assassination. Pan-Slavic sentiments became increasingly indistinguishable from anti-Semitism, as well as anti-Polish, Turkish, and Finnish sentiments, and the Black Hundreds gained momentum during this period by paralleling pan-Slavic organizations and by becoming unmistakably menacing towards non-Slavs. Slavophilia morphed into a form of "Russian Exceptionalism."¹²⁵ Many pogroms were carried out in the decades following the assassination of Alexander II and government support for the Black Hundreds deepened, with Nicholas II and some Orthodox clergy

¹²⁴ Stephen Lukashovich, *Ivan Aksakov, 1823-1886: A Study in Russian Thought and Politics*.

¹²⁵ Jacob Langer, "Corruption and the Counterrevolution: The Rise and Fall of the Black Hundred," Order No. 3284326, Duke University, 2007, <https://search-proquest-com.du.idm.oclc.org/docview/304871001?accountid=14608>.

accepting membership in the organization.¹²⁶ These accusations of internal enemies and a conspiracy against Russia are an integral facet of Dugin's writings.

Nikolai Danilevsky represented a more radical wing of pan-Slavism and he advanced a deeply influential, distinctive form of socialism. Influenced by Fourier, he believed that the Russian peasant commune, or *obshchina*, was a model, uniquely Russian version of socialism and was strongly against the institution of serfdom. He believed the Russian people have a unique connection to the land and he advocated for a return to this connection between people and soil, which he termed *pochvennichestvo*. Danilevsky also admired the *zemski sabbors*, or democratic assemblies of Muscovite Russia. His views were inspired by some of the more radical Slavophiles, like Dostoevsky, and they were both were arrested as a result. He also shared the foreign policy views of pan-Slavism and supported the independence efforts of Balkan Slavs and viewed the Polish as the "old traitor to Slavdom."¹²⁷ He remains deeply influential today, and Alexander Dugin asserted that his own "Theory of a Multipolar World seriously and axiomatically adopts Samuel Huntington's thesis about the plurality of civilizations," but "Russia has its own author, who claimed the same thing more than a hundred years ago: Nikolai

¹²⁶ Peter J. S. Duncan, *Russian Messianism: Third Rome, Revolution, Communism and After*, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

¹²⁷ Albert L. Weeks, "Danilevsky, Nikolai Yakovlevich." In *Encyclopedia of Russian History*, edited by James R. Millar, 363-364. Vol. 1. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004. *Gale Virtual Reference Library*.

Danilevsky and then the Eurasianists.”¹²⁸ Dugin asserts that, “Savitsky’s worldview, like the majority of his fellow Eurasianists, was shaped by the works of Slavophile writers like Danilevsky” and that there was “a strain of revolutionary Slavophilia linking the singular historical identity of ‘Greater Russia,’ not reducible to religion, or ethnic Slavic qualities.”¹²⁹ This is blatantly contradictory, as the Slavophiles and Savitsky held opposite views regarding Mongol and Turkic influences on Russia.

Dugin attempts to bridge this chasm, by arguing:

The fundamental duality of the Russian landscape—its division between forest and steppe—was noticed more by the Slavophiles. Savitsky presented the geopolitical idea of Russia-Eurasia as a synthesis of these two aspects—the European forest and the Asiatic steppe.

And he asserts that the Eurasianists:

In this respect they were closer to Konstantin Leontiev, who formulated a most important thesis—‘Slavdom yes, Slavism No,’ meaning that the ‘ethnic and linguistic closeness of the Slavic peoples is not a sufficient basis for describing its uniform cultural character.’¹³⁰

Leontiev was a curious figure in his own right, who, according to historian

Walter Laqueur:

Was no nationalist in the customary sense, because nationalism, as he saw it, was Western in inspiration, modernist, and even liberal—and thus in contradiction to the religious and autocratic Russian tradition...Toward the end of his life he seems to have reached the conclusion that since Western

¹²⁸ “Alexander Dugin on Eurasianism, the Geopolitics of Land and Sea, and a Russian Theory of Multipolarity,” *Theory Talks*, December 7, 2014, <http://www.theory-talks.org/2014/12/theory-talk-66.html>.

¹²⁹ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Arctogaia, 1997, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

capitalism and liberalism had no future in Russia and since Eastern Orthodox (Byzantine) civilization could not be revived either, the only future for Russia was in some form of state socialism.¹³¹

Dugin moved from a narrow Pan-Slavism to a more inclusive Neo-Eurasianism, with far more in common with Leontiev than Danilevsky, realizing, according to Walter Laqueur, that “the Old Right has needlessly limited its appeal because of its xenophobia.”¹³² Historian Robert A. Saunders similarly claims, a Eurasianism that provides for “the delinking of the *russki* ethnos from the name of the state would have made more political space for the various faith groups that are native to the lands that constitute cotemporary Russia.”¹³³ “In this dichotomy, “Our People” (as seen by Dugin) “are not only Russians, but also the traditionalists among the smaller nations who recognize the fate of separatism on one hand and ‘mondialism’ on the other.”¹³⁴ The purpose behind such a strategy is to foster the reestablishment, hopefully through willing participation, rather than conquest, of the Soviet Empire and the Tsarist Empires, but with an avowedly authoritarian, traditionalist government. This explains the cloak of an inclusive empire of empires to disguise the beating heart of fascism at the core of his ideology and the

¹³¹ Walter Laqueur, *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers), 1993, 8-9.

¹³² *Ibid*, 141.

¹³³ Robert A. Saunders, *Popular Geopolitics and Nation Building in the Post-Soviet Realm* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group), 2017, 102.

¹³⁴ Walter Laqueur, *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers), 1993, 141.

implicit status of Russia as the 'center' and the highest level of civilization within a hypothetical Eurasian empire.

Chapter 7: “A Path to the North,” The Frontier Thesis, and Lessons from the Talassocracy

For Dugin, a great deal of Russian Lebensraum is already under Russian sovereignty—The Arctic lands and Siberia. Russia has more coastline on the Arctic Ocean and population living north of the Arctic Circle than any other state and historically Russians have played a leading role in exploring and developing the Arctic Region. At the site of modern Archangelsk, Russians have been using the White Sea, an inlet of the Barents Sea, which itself is a marginal sea of the Arctic Ocean, for trade and fishing since at least the 10th century. Russian exploration of the Arctic would not begin in earnest until the 16th and 17th centuries because Russians first needed to overcome external threats posed by the Poles, Lithuanians, Mongols, and other invaders, before they could expand and colonize the vast, but often inhospitable, swathes of land to the east, especially those along the Arctic Ocean. Dugin’s thinking towards the Arctic and Asian stretches of its

empire mimics the German attempt to tame the “Wild East” by cleansing it of its Slavic inhabitants, which in itself was inspired by American manifest destiny.¹³⁵

Frederick Jackson Turner expresses several ideas which would not be out of place in the German Organicist school. He offers a connection between soil and national character, noting:

From the conditions of frontier life came intellectual traits of profound importance. The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics.¹³⁶

And in this passage, Turner, in a fashion similar to Ratzel, likens the American state to an organism:

Thus, civilization in America has followed the arteries made by geology, pouring an ever-richer tide through them, until at last the slender paths of aboriginal intercourse have been broadened and interwoven into the complex mazes of modern commercial lines; the wilderness has been interpenetrated by lines of civilization growing ever more numerous. It is like the steady growth of a complex nervous system for the originally simple, inert continent. If one would understand why we are to-day one nation, rather than a collection of isolated states, he must study this economic and social consolidation of the country. In this progress from savage conditions lie topics for the evolutionist.¹³⁷

Turner, considering the continent to be ‘simple, inert’ before the arrival of frontiersmen and women, glosses over the millennia of indigenous civilizations that existed in the Americas and ignores the centuries of genocide and exploitation

¹³⁵ Alan Gilbert, “The Cowboy Novels that Inspired Hitler,” *The Daily Beast*, August 21, 2016, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-cowboy-novels-that-inspired-hitler>.

¹³⁶ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” 1893.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

that resulted from colonization. The demise of indigenous peoples in Turner's view is simply the result of an evolutionary drive towards 'economic and social consolidation.'

Turner was both aware and approving of Ratzel's scholarship. Turner quoted Ratzel at length in 1896. In 1905, Turner paid tribute to Ratzel, writing that, his "recent death is lamented by American scholars. He was a forerunner in the path that American historians must follow who view their problems as those arising from the study of the evolution of society in the American environment."¹³⁸ Turner's thinking was clearly influenced by Ratzel, but Ratzel was also inspired by America's colonial history in his writings.

Jens-Uwe Guettel notes that the American experience fueled Ratzel's desire for a comparable German Empire, while Ratzel's ideas to that effect were eagerly received in America at the highest political and intellectual levels. He asserts:

Ratzel's work was inextricably linked to German imperialism and his American admirer Turner was not only aware of this fact, but also approved of the German geographer's colonial agitation in part because he felt that German colonialism was modeled after the best possible example. Turner observed that 'American colonization has become the mother of German colonial policy.'¹³⁹

Early German colonial policy, which Nazi ideology draws from via the well of Ratzel's geopolitics, amongst other sources, was responsible for the first major

¹³⁸ Jens-Uwe Guettel, *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism and the United States 1776-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 100.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 101.

genocide of the twentieth century, in the form of a large scale campaign of mass extermination against the Herero and Nama peoples in what is now Namibia, as many as 75 percent of the Herero and as many as half of the Nama were murdered in the ruthless campaign, resulting in as many as 100,000 total victims.¹⁴⁰ Like Turner, Dugin pays no heed to the fate of Russia's own indigenous people. There are some 270,000 of them across Russia's North, Siberia, and Far East. Based on the example set by Dugin's geopolitical idols, it is unlikely they would benefit from any expansionary drive for Lebensraum taking place under the aegis of a Eurasian empire. It is curious that Dugin does not feature Turner in *Foundations*, but he does include Admiral Alfred Mahan as one of the founders of geopolitics. Mahan, had a similar notion of inevitable American expansion, but applied it on the global level and emphasizing the use of naval power to achieve an ocean spanning American empire.

¹⁴⁰ "Germany Returns Skulls of Namibian Genocide Victims," *BBC News*, August 29, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45342586>.

Chapter 8: Dugin on “The Jewish Question”

It is perhaps surprising that a traditionalist, devout, self-proclaimed conservative would explicitly claim to draw inspiration from Marx, but Dugin makes several, generally sympathetic references to Marx in his writings; however, these are solely to draw from Marx’s legitimacy in Russian academic thought and are not usually rooted in any real overlap in content. In a chapter from the second volume of *Foundations of Geopolitics*, dedicated to the ‘Khazarian’ question (after the ancient Jewish state that existed north of the Black Sea from roughly the 7th through the 10th century), Dugin depicts Marx as a Eurasianist revolutionary, striving to overturn the Atlanticist capitalist order. But this chapter, rather than revealing any genuine overlap between Dugin’s ideology and Marx’s viewpoint, serves only to expose the racism that lies under the surface of Dugin’s thinking, which is usually more carefully concealed.

He believes that Marx represents the ‘Orientalist Jew,’ naturally sympathetic to mystical, traditional Eurasianist values and locked in an immortal struggle with Talmudist Westernizing Jews. The Eurasianist Jew in religion is Kabbalist or Hasidic and socialist revolutionary in secular values, while Westernizing Jews are Talmudist in religion and liberal and humanistic in the secular realm. Dugin

further elaborates on this dichotomy, which is clearly just another application of his Eurasianist/Atlanticist dualism:

Many Jews saw bolshevism as a possibility to finally merge with a large nation, abandoning the ghetto and the Pale of Settlement, to bridge eschatologically the messianic Russian with the messianic Jew under the general aegis of Eurasian revolution. The destruction of the alienating laws of capital and exploitation. Thus, extremist circles of Eastern European Jews of a mystical orientation (from Hasidim to Sabbateanists) themselves presented a growth medium for Bolshevism, SR and Marxism, and not accidentally the majority of leaders of the Reds came from families of Hasidim and mystics, taking on a mystical eschatological messianic pathos, despite the external paradox, this convergence of typological and psychological relations between Hasidic types of Jewish fundamentalists and the ardent atheist builders of Bolshevik society was intimate, since they both belonged to the 'Eurasianism,' 'orientalism,' and the irrational-mystical sects of Judaism.¹⁴¹

Dugin draws from Marx's "On the Jewish Question," in his discussion of a place for the Jews in Eurasia, and uses his writing to justify his own anti-Semitic typology. He claims to translate Marx as asking:

What is the secular basis of the Jewry? Material consumption and self-interest. What are the Jews' earthly ideals? Trading. What is their earthly god? Money...Money is the fervent deity of the Israelites. Empirically, the being of the Jew is trading.¹⁴²

This quotation, like others he creates, are not featured in the English translation of Marx's response to Bruno Brauer and are quite contrary to Marx's sentiment in the

¹⁴¹ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018. Note: This section appears in Dugin's second part of *Foundations*, published in 1998. It can be accessed online at: <http://arctogaia.com/public/txt-evrei.htm>.

¹⁴² Ibid.

essay.¹⁴³ This fabricated statement is a clear indication of Dugin's own anti-Semitic beliefs. Further illustrating Dugin's barely concealed prejudices is a reference to "(a partially justified) anti-Semitism of the Russian patriots," in regard to Jewish liberals.¹⁴⁴

Further, any responsible analysis will demonstrate that Eurasianism and Marxism are incompatible. Both loathe commodity fetishism and abhor the capitalist system and seek its replacement; however, for Dugin it is to be replaced by an "empire of many empires," of 'nationalist', traditionalist peoples under the direction of Moscow. Rather than a workers' revolution, Dugin really advocates for a nativist, fascist revolution. For Dugin, Russians and other nations could supposedly overcome past hatreds through an 'internationalism' based on a common traditionalist point of view rooted in mystical contemplation, authoritarian leadership, and the country's historical ethnic character. Thus, the "empire of many empires," would resemble a confederacy of states dominated by a single ethnic group, with a Russian leader, and looking back to mythic history for guidance.

¹⁴³ Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," *The Marx-Engels Reader*. Edited by Robert Tucker, New York: Norton & Company, 1978, 26 – 46.

¹⁴⁴ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018. Note: This section appears in Dugin's second part of *Foundations*, published in 1998. It can be accessed online at: <http://arctogaia.com/public/txt-evrei.htm>.

Marx's internationalism is based on shared oppressive economic conditions inherent in the capitalist system. He uses English and Irish workers as an example to illustrate how prejudices and racism benefit a ruling class:

The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he regards himself as a member of the *ruling* nation and consequently he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the Negroes in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker both the accomplice and the stupid tool of the *English rulers in Ireland*.¹⁴⁵

Thus, for Marx ethnic identity stand in the way of internationalization, which is also largely the point of his essay "On the Jewish Question," and the destruction of the capitalist system in favor of internationalism. For Marx, fighting racism is an important part of achieving this goal. While for Dugin embracing and accentuating ethnic and religious identity is the way to achieve this goal. This worldview holds diversity to be a weakness and opposes multiculturalism. Dugin hopes to establish a Eurasian empire through the creation of an alliance of subservient xenophobic, authoritarian rulers obedient to Moscow and backed by domestic elites, the complete opposite of Marx's internationalism.

¹⁴⁵ Karl Marx, "Letter to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt in New York," April 9, 1870.

Chapter 9: Dugin's Road to Influence

Under Putin, Dugin has never held a government position of any power, although he has acted as an informal agent of the Kremlin at times, and served as a mid-level academic until he was fired for making comments on Ukraine that went too far for the Kremlin. Politically he has never had any electoral success. The National Bolshevik Party he founded with Eduard Limonov failed miserably in 1993 and the two split acrimoniously in 1998. Dugin's Eurasia party, founded in 2001, performed even more poorly. The 'red-browns', a nickname for National Bolsheviks, based on their contradictory fusion of brown shirt Nazism and Red Army symbology, have come nowhere near the levers of power. By all responsible accounts he has no personal influence over Vladimir Putin and they do not orbit the same circles of power. Dugin is "not even a member of the Public Chamber—a consultative institution created by Putin to foster a regime-friendly civil society."¹⁴⁶ Putin's political record has largely been marked by pragmatism, with any ideological shifts being calculated to maintain domestic support. Dugin's personal behavior has often been dramatic and his Neo-Eurasianist fantasies on the grand

¹⁴⁶ Marlene Laruelle, "Scared of Putin's Shadow, *Foreign Affairs*, March 25, 2015, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-03-25/scared-putins-shadow>.

continental level are impractical; to say the least. Dugin's professed Old Believer faith runs counter to the rehabilitation and active promotion of official Russian Orthodoxy by the Kremlin.

A more palatable, Russian Orthodox version of Eurasianism espoused by Ivan Ilyin has been employed more overtly by the Kremlin and he has been cited on numerous occasions by Vladimir Putin. Ilyin, like Savitsky, fled Russia following the defeat of the white forces by the Bolsheviks during the Russian Revolution, but was more overtly friendly to fascism. He even worked for a time in Goebbel's propaganda ministry and "regarded fascism as a positive force, criticizing it only for being insufficiently religious in inspiration."¹⁴⁷ Timothy Snyder asserts Dugin and Schmitt are similar in that: "Dugin shared with Ilyin a debt to Carl Schmitt. It was Schmitt who had formulated a vision of world politics without laws and states, grounded instead in the subjective desires of cultural groups for ever more land" and that "maritime powers such as Great Britain and the United States were bearers of abstract, Jewish notions of law."¹⁴⁸ Intellectually, Snyder dismisses Dugin, arguing "much of Dugin's writing reads like a parody of Ilyin," but this is fundamentally incorrect and ignores the many other ideological sources that have shaped Dugin's worldview, particularly in regard to strategy and geopolitics.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Walter Laqueur, "Anti-Semitism and the New Russian Idea," June 25, 2015, *Mosaic*, <https://mosaicmagazine.com/observation/2015/06/anti-semitism-and-the-new-russian-idea/>.

¹⁴⁸ Timothy Snyder, *The Road to Unfreedom* (New York: Random House, 2018), 89.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 90.

Although Dugin's spiritual and mystical writings and attacks on the 'decadent West' certainly are similar to Ilyin's, his geopolitical postulations owe much more of a debt to the Nazi geopoliticians he so admires, while Ilyin's fall more in line with conservative slavophiles like Kireevsky. Snyder does concede that:

Concepts from the three interflowing currents of Russian fascism—Ilyin's Christian totalitarianism, Gumilev's Eurasianism, and Dugin's 'Eurasian' Nazism—appeared in Putin's discourse as he sought an exit from the dilemma he created for his country in 2012.¹⁵⁰

Dugin's ideas are not cited so overtly, due to his personal eccentricities and more controversial statements. His unstable personality makes power brokers in the Kremlin wary of making him the public face of the regime's ideology, for instance, Sergei Markov, a political consultant on Putin's staff has said, "he's seen as a brilliant philosopher, but brilliance and madness are very close to each other."¹⁵¹ But this does not mean his ideas have been entirely eclipsed by Ilyin's when it comes to influence over policymaking and strategy.

Any comparisons of Dugin to a sort of Rasputin or references to him being "Putin's Brain," are sensationalist; however, the influence of his ideas and

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 91.

¹⁵¹ Henry Meyer and Onur Ant, "The One Russian Linking Putin, Erdogan, and Trump," *Bloomberg*, February 2, 2017, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-dugin-trump-putin-turkey-20170203-story.html>.

terminology are another matter.¹⁵²¹⁵³ Published at a crucial time in Russian history and taught to many senior military leaders in the Russian Armed Forces at the General Staff Academy Dugin's ideas—or perhaps more accurately—the montage of ideas he's stitched together from disparate, authoritarian intellectual materials, have been influential, or at least superficially appropriated by the Kremlin and the Russian armed forces. His vocabulary has become mainstream in not just Russian political discourse, but internationally as well. The Kremlin is not a monolith and Putin, although an autocrat, does not actually operate on the basis of one man rule where he is personally responsible for every decision made. A substantial amount of leeway is afforded to military leadership to plan and implement their own operations. In *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Dugin moves beyond his earlier, more crude conspiracies to more nuanced ones, arguing the Council of Foreign Relations the Bilderburger Group, and the Trilateral Commission are part of the globalist project working:

To transition to a single world system under the strategic domination of the West and 'progressive,' 'humanistic,' and 'democratic' values. For this they have worked out parallel structures—consisting of politicians, journalists, intellectuals, financiers, analysts and so on who were supposed to prepare the ground before the globalist project of World Government could be widely organized.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵²Anton Barbashin and Hannah Thoburn, "Putin's Brain," March 31, 2014, *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-03-31/putins-brain>.

¹⁵³Conor Lynch, "Did Philosopher Alexander Dugin, aka 'Putin's Brain,' Shape the 2016 Election?", May 5, 2018, *Salon*, <https://www.salon.com/2018/05/05/did-philosopher-alexander-dugin-aka-putins-brain-shape-the-2016-election/>.

¹⁵⁴Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Arctogaia, 1997, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018.

This claim mimics contemporary allegations of conspiracies launched by deep states and globalists (usually personified in George Soros).

Dugin blames Atlanticists and Gorbachev for the collapse of the Soviet Union, arguing:

The voluntary concession of the Heartland was not accompanied by relevant concessions in maritime power and the West has not arrived at a compromise—neither geopolitically, nor ideologically—with a self-liquidating Eurasia. NATO has not dissolved, nor left Europe or Asia.¹⁵⁵

This matches Putin’s language on the subject very closely.

Nato’s unilateral action in the Balkans against the Serbs, although ultimately successful in protecting Bosnian Muslims from further genocidal violence, provided additional fuel for those who view it as the implacable enemy of Russia. Putin abhorred NATO’s intervention, arguing “that sort of behavior cannot be justified, even for so-called humanitarian reasons,” and adding, “I believe that the operation itself was a major mistake in international relations and a violation of the founding principles of international law.”¹⁵⁶ Similarly, Putin has at times adopted rhetoric not unlike Dugin’s in projecting the West as a perennial, existential threat to Russia. He asserted that the Second Chechen War and the Russian campaign in the North Caucasus against fighters in Dagestan and

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Natalia Gevorkian, Natalia Timakova, A. V. Kolesnikov, Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin, and NetLibrary, Inc., *First Person : An Astonishingly Frank Self-portrait by Russia’s President*; Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, *PublicAffairs Reports*, New York: PublicAffairs, 2000, 178.

Ingushetia was undertaken because “I was convinced that if we didn’t stop the extremists right away, we’d be facing a second Yugoslavia on the entire territory of the Russian Federation—the Yugoslavization of Russia.”¹⁵⁷ He also states that NATO’s “means of resolving the problem in Yugoslavia was predetermined after the fall of the USSR.”¹⁵⁸ Relatedly, he referred to the Chechen separatist movement as, “a continuation of the collapse of the USSR.”¹⁵⁹

Tellingly, during the same in-depth interview very early during his rule, Putin is asked about his relationship with Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the Soviet KGB and a ringleader of the 1991 attempted coup, during his time in government before being designated Yeltsin’s successor. He is asked “Is it true that as director of the FSB [the KGB’s successor], you used to run into Vladimir Kryuchkov?” and Putin replies, “It’s true,” the interviewer responds “Accidentally?” allowing Putin a chance to distance himself from the controversial figure, but Putin does not, answering: “No, not accidentally. I worked rather actively with the longtime veterans.”¹⁶⁰ He also offers his opinion that “Kryuchkov was a true believe in Communism, who sided with the coup-plotters. But he was also a very decent man. To this day I have the greatest respect for him.”¹⁶¹ According to Alexander

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 141.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 175.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 139.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 133-134.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 94.

Yakovlev, a reformist member of the Politburo, Kryuchkov was the leader of the “yesterday forever” forces who worked frantically to avert the collapse of the Soviet Union through the promotion of political projects.¹⁶² These projects straddled the nationalist, democratic reformer, and communist camps and Clover reports, that in a “detailed after-the-fact examination of these projects, one name keeps popping up in documents, in conversations with those involved, and in anecdotes: that of Vladimir Kryuchkov.”¹⁶³ It is reasonable to believe that during their active working relationship, Putin was familiarized with these political projects and their potential usefulness by Kryuchkov and his fellow “veterans” of the KGB, the “yesterday forever” forces.

An indirect connection to Dugin’s ideas can also be made through Putin’s relationship with Gennady Seleznyov, a leader in the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), a vestige of the Soviet Communist Party, who served as Speaker of the Russian State Duma from 1996 until 2003, when he left the party for the Party of Russian Revival—a more explicitly xenophobic party—after a losing a power struggle with his longtime rival Gennady Zyuganov.¹⁶⁴ Dugin served as an adviser to Seleznyov beginning in 1998, a relationship that began as a result

¹⁶² Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 169.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Simon Saradzhyan, “Seleznyov Faces an Uncertain Future,” *The Moscow Times*, April 8, 2003, <http://old.themoscowtimes.com/sitemap/free/2003/4/article/seleznyov-faces-an-uncertain-future/239228.html>.

of Seleznyov's rivalry with Zyuganov. Clover explains that Zyuganov was introduced to De Benoist as a result of Dugin's efforts and that under Zyuganov, the KPRF only superficially retained its Marxist ideology. Instead Zyuganov "proceeded to retool the party with new nationalist messages that had little in common with an orthodox socialist message" and that this nationalist messaging, was "strikingly similar to the 'radical centre' theories that Dugin says he imbibed from the European New Right."¹⁶⁵ This appropriation of Soviet, communist, symbology and superficial embrace of its ideology combined with xenophobic, imperial expansionism has been a key plank of Dugin's ideological platform.

Dugin himself notes "at the critical moment of ideological choice, Zyuganov placed a bet on Neo-Eurasian populism, the main contours of which were described and formulated by myself and my colleagues at *The Day* newspaper."¹⁶⁶ Annoyed at Zyuganov's theft and popularization of his own mostly stolen ideas, Dugin and Seleznyov hoped to outmaneuver Zyuganov by moving farther to the right. Seleznyov was entirely receptive to Dugin's ideas, having previously tried, quixotically, to have the Duma annul the 1991 agreement ending the Soviet Union.¹⁶⁷ In his post as speaker Selezynov met personally with Putin while Putin was President in 2002 and in the *First Person* interviews Putin notes that when he

¹⁶⁵ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 206.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 207.

¹⁶⁷ Carol J. Williams, "Neighbors Blast Vote to Revive Soviet Union," *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 1996, http://articles.latimes.com/1996-03-20/news/mn-49235_1_soviet-union.

was announced as Yeltsin's successor Selezynov remarked to him, "why did they do that to you? They've buried you."¹⁶⁸ This anecdote implies at least some kind of personal, familiar relationship between the two men. One of the reasons why Selezynov was ultimately forced out of the KPRF was because party officials felt he had become "increasingly reluctant to disrupt his good relations with the Kremlin" and he refused "to resign in protest over a reshuffle of Duma committee chairs that stripped the Communists of eight of their 10 leadership posts," according to *Moscow Times* reporter Simon Saradzhyan.¹⁶⁹

Through Selezynov, Dugin achieved his closest orbit to actual power in the Russian Federation. His brand of fascism was promoted as a type of "political technology" by the famed spin doctor of the Kremlin, Gleb Pavlovsky, who reflected on this time to Clover: "He [Dugin] suggested some political projects, some of which I sent forward, because I thought it was important to widen the political front so to speak, that the regime should represent a wide spectrum."¹⁷⁰ In the fall of 2000, Clover reports that "Dugin was introduced to Putin. Dugin refuses to discuss the meeting, but it would change his career. Soon there were sponsors,

¹⁶⁸ Natalia Gevorkian, Natalia Timakova, A. V. Kolesnikov, Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin, and NetLibrary, Inc., *First Person : An Astonishingly Frank Self-portrait by Russia's President*; Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, *PublicAffairs Reports*, New York: PublicAffairs, 2000, 139.

¹⁶⁹ Simon Saradzhyan, "Selezynov Faces an Uncertain Future," *The Moscow Times*, April 8, 2003, <http://old.themoscowtimes.com/sitemap/free/2003/4/article/selezynov-faces-an-uncertain-future/239228.html>.

¹⁷⁰ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 254.

contacts and open doors.”¹⁷¹ It is hard to believe that this meeting had no impact on Vladimir Putin, still very early in his tenure as President, as a short time later, he delivered a speech in Kazakhstan on November 13 of that year where he stated that “Russia has always perceived itself as a Eurasian country.”¹⁷² As an aside, Kazakhstan has proven to be fertile ground for Eurasianism, an embodiment of Savitsky’s Turanism with a population descended from Russians, Turkic tribes, and Mongolians. It was a founding member of the Eurasian Union and the L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University is the premiere institute of higher learning in that country and was formed as a result of a merger between two other universities in Astana and renamed in 2001.

Possibly through Selezynov (although Selezynov denied it), Dugin became close with Petr Suslov, a twenty-year veteran of the KGB, who admired *Foundations of Geopolitics* and together they set up the Eurasia Party in March 2001. Clover reports that a month later an article appeared in the respected Russian paper *Novaya Gazeta* by investigative journalist and parliamentarian Yuri Shchekochikhin that alleged Suslov and Vladimir Revsky (Head of the Honor and Dignity KGB Veterans’ society) were part of a “splinter cell within the KGB that was working behind the scenes to bring back the USSR.”¹⁷³ The following year

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 255.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 256.

Shchekochikhin wound up dead, with symptoms entirely consistent with radiation poisoning.¹⁷⁴ Suslov operated at the nexus of organized crime and the shadowy elements of the Russian state—at the intersection of *poniatiaa* and Neo-Eurasianism. He has been accused of hiring Max Lazovsky to organize a bombing campaign in Moscow to generate public support for the campaign in Chechnya, by pinning the blame on Chechen extremists, an accusation that was prominently put forward by Alexander Litvinenko in 2002, who was killed by radiation poisoning in London in 2002.¹⁷⁵ Clover references the Umberto Eco novel *Foucault's Pendulum* in describing Dugin's partnership with Suslov, "in which the protagonists who make money by peddling phony conspiracy theories to the gullible, suddenly have to contend with the appearance of the actual secret society" and that "Dugin, having spent the last decade peddling the Eurasia conspiracy, suddenly [was] slightly blindsided by the overture from one of its minions."¹⁷⁶ Dugin did not deny any of this to Clover, reflecting that Suslov described himself as "a sort of state envoy to the organized crime world" and cynically observed: "Who are our political leaders after all? We are ruled by no one but bandits. They all have their own Max [Lazovsky]. You think Putin and Medvedev are any different?"¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ "Yuri Shchekochikhin," *Committee to Protect Journalists*, n.d., <https://cpj.org/data/people/yuri-shchekochikhin/>.

¹⁷⁵ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 256.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

At the Eurasia party's founding conference, held in April 2001, Dugin made it clear that "our aim is not to reach power and to fight for power; our aim is to fight for influence over the regime," and indeed the Eurasia Party never met the five percent threshold to win a seat in the Duma. However, influence over the regime was certainly achieved. The first, and to date probably the most concrete proof of his influence over Kremlin strategy, was its awarding Akhmat Kadyrov and his Kadyrovtsy militia the fiefdom of Chechnya. Suslov and his handlers connected Dugin with Khoj Akhmed Nukhaev a prominent member of the Russian criminal underworld who moved back to Chechnya in 1994 to fight for Chechen independence. Anna Politkovskaya, a Russian journalist assassinated in 2006 who covered the second Chechen war, described him as a man who like Dugin represented himself "as a philosopher, which he was not."¹⁷⁸ Nukhaev developed a keen interest in Eurasianism and he is quoted in his biography (his biographer Paul Khlebnikov was murdered the year after it was released and Nukhaev remains a suspect) as believing "Eurasianism means the alliance of Orthodoxy and Islam on the grounds of confrontation against the West."¹⁷⁹ Nukhaev served as a conduit between the Kremlin and Kadyrov, formerly an independence fighter who had changed sides in 1999. Suslov told Clover that:

The people I worked with were interested in Eurasianism from a pragmatic point of view. They were looking for something that would work in

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 261.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

Chechnya, something that would be a legitimate reason not to secede, an idea we could build a regime around...We wanted to show the Chechens that national minorities could by nature be nationalists but also have an idea of what the motherland is. That is Eurasianism.¹⁸⁰

The Kremlin's end goal was to divide the Chechen resistance further between the foreign born or generally foreign educated Islamic fundamentalists and the Chechens who practiced Sufism and adhered to a traditional North Caucasus clan based identity. To arrange this, a conference was held in July 2001 at the President Hotel in Moscow, whose security was directly under the control of Putin's bodyguards, and Nukhaev flew in from Turkey to attend and flew back after the conference ended, despite being the subject of a police manhunt. The conference opened with an address from Selezynov, who hosted the event along with the Eurasia party and then Nukhaev gave the keynote address. Per Clover:

His speech was the first time that a Chechen official had condemned radical 'Wahhabism' in public; and Nukhaev was also the first high-level Chechen politician to reject separatism and embrace cultural autonomy in the name of common civilizational bonds with fellow 'Eurasians.'¹⁸¹

In his speech Nukhaev asserted:

An application of the value and effectiveness of this ideology you can see in the fact that I, convinced supporter of Chechen independence, today appear at this conference in the capital of a state at war with my people. Eurasianism creates that level of dialogue between Chechens and Russians on which, for the first time in our history, we have a real basis for mutual understanding, for peace, and for union against the common enemy.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 262.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 264.

¹⁸² Ibid.

Weeks later Kadyrov issued a decree banning Islamic extremism and the Chechen resistance became hopelessly divided, heralding victory for Russia. Nukhaev himself returned to mountains of the Caucasus and engaged in shadowy activities, he was reported killed in 2004, but some sources believe him to be in hiding.¹⁸³

Ultimately, any ‘mutual understanding’ would be illusory, the Kremlin simply funneled resources to the Kadyrovtsy and allowed Akhmat, and following his assassination in 2004, his son Ramzan, a free hand to rule Chechnya as they pleased. But, as Clover notes, “the Eurasianist philosophy had at last managed to be useful to the Kremlin in a practical matter.”¹⁸⁴

Following the September 11 terrorist attacks, Putin believed he could make common cause with the West against Islamic extremists and sought better relationships with America and NATO, relegating Dugin and Eurasianism to the sidelines once again, although the Eurasian Economic Community and later Eurasian Economic Union of Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan represent a soft and scaled down version of Dugin’s imperial Eurasian goals. Strictly economic in nature for now, the use of ‘Eurasian’ branding does imply some ideological debt to Dugin, but his personal involvement has been minimal. He “sought to attach himself to Putin’s pet project, the Eurasian Union,

¹⁸³ “Ex-Separatist Official Accused of ordering Klebnikov Hit,” *North Caucasus Weekly*, Volume: 6 Issue: 24, 2005, The Jamestown Foundation, <https://jamestown.org/program/ex-separatist-official-accused-of-ordering-klebnikov-hit-2/>.

¹⁸⁴ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 265.

by boldly proclaiming that he could become its de-facto theoretician and inject the project with the ideology that it lacked,” but Dugin was overshadowed by other figures.¹⁸⁵

Yet ideas are not so easily consigned to the dustbin of history, and once tensions flared between Russian and NATO over Georgia in 2008, Dugin and his worldview made a comeback and he became personally useful to the Kremlin once again. He and the youth wing of his Eurasia party even decamped to the frontlines and may have participated in the fighting, which was foolishly started by the President of Georgia, Mikhail Sashkavilii, in the mistaken belief that he would receive NATO support.¹⁸⁶ The Georgian offensive was legal under international law, as the breakaway regions he attempted to bring under government control are recognized as Georgian territory, but he broke a delicate status quo and provoked Russia to respond overwhelmingly.¹⁸⁷ Providing evidence for the view that Putin does not personally share Dugin’s beliefs to the fullest, Russian troops withdrew from Georgian territory after securing the borders of the breakaway regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. If it were up to Dugin, they would have permanently occupied Tbilisi.

¹⁸⁵ Marlene Laruelle, “Scared of Putin’s Shadow,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 25, 2015, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-03-25/scared-putins-shadow>.

¹⁸⁶ *Spiegel* Staff, “The Chronicle of a Caucasian Tragedy,” *Der Spiegel*, August 25, 2008, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/road-to-war-in-georgia-the-chronicle-of-a-caucasian-tragedy-a-574812-3.html>.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

A similar divergence would also be the case in Eastern Ukraine. On Russia's military intervention in Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, Gessen writes:

It had been over five years since Dugin declared his intention to become his country's lead ideologue and it was happening...Back in 2009, Dugin had prophesized the division of Ukraine into two separate states: the eastern portion would be allied with Russia and the west would be forever looking toward Europe...Dugin had spent years waiting for Russia to claim its place as the leader of the anti-modern world.¹⁸⁸

This has happened as a result of Russia's intervention following the overthrow of the Russian backed kleptocrat Viktor Yanukovich. Dugin's participation in the conflict has not just been rhetorical, his Eurasian Union of Youth have mobilized "dozens" of volunteers to fight there.¹⁸⁹ He was placed on the U.S. Treasury sanctions list on March 11, 2015 as a result¹⁹⁰. However, Putin has exercised more restraint than Dugin would care for. However, Putin has exercised more restraint by annexing Crimea and providing assistance and military forces to the Kremlin puppet states of Donetsk and Luhansk, but not through overt annexation, and these actions were likely in reaction to developing events, rather than a pre-planned strategy. There are also significant areas of Eastern Ukraine with a majority population of Russian speakers that remain outside the control of these Russian proxies.

¹⁸⁸ Masha Gessen, *The Future is History* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2017), 434-5

¹⁸⁹ Marlene Laruelle, "Scared of Putin's Shadow," *Foreign Affairs*, March 25, 2015, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-03-25/scared-putins-shadow>.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Chapter 10: Blowback and Neo-Eurasianism

Chalmers Johnson, a former consultant for the CIA who became a renowned political scientist, defined blowback as:

A CIA term first used in March 1954 in a recently declassified report on the 1953 operation to overthrow the government of Mohammed Mossadeq in Iran. It is a metaphor for the unintended consequences of the US government's international activities that have been kept secret from the American people."¹⁹¹

In many ways the Russian attacks on Western democracies through disinformation, spreading of divisive ideologies, and attacks on elections is blowback for American activities throughout the Cold War, but probably most emotionally relevant for Dugin given his personal history, was its covert support given to the Yeltsin administration during the 1991 coup. Dugin refers to these activities, arguing that:

Every geopolitical level of the USA should be involved simultaneously, similar to the anti-Eurasianism of the Atlanticists: 'sponsoring' the disintegration of the strategic bloc (Warsaw Pact), governmental unity (USSR), and furthering ethno-territorial problems under the guise of regionalism, Russia accomplished its progressive disintegration up to its complete destruction...The Heartland will force the Sea Power to pay in the same coin. This is basic symmetrical politics.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹Chalmers Johnson, "Blowback," *the Nation*, September 27, 2001.

¹⁹² Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Arctogaia, 1997, Section translated by Grant S. Fellows, 2018.

The similarities between Dugin’s proposals and the actions that were taken by Russian state actors cannot be denied.

For the purposes of putting together a new empire, Dugin writes that the “chief ‘scapegoat’ will namely be the USA—undermining of whose power which (up to the complete destruction of its geopolitical constructs) will be realized systematically and uncompromisingly by participants of the New Empire.”¹⁹³ He advocated for the new Eurasian empire to “provoke every kind of destabilization and separatism within the borders of the USA (it might be possible to rely on the political forces of African American racists).”¹⁹⁴ Developing new projects to divide the Atlanticists, is “the geopolitical problem of the West in its wider sense for Russia is the disintegration in two—the West of America and the West of Europe.”¹⁹⁵ Russian involvement in the Brexit campaign, the Trump administrations ambivalent attitude towards NATO, and the rise of Eurosceptic governments in EU nations, often led by parties friendly towards Moscow, as in Italy, Austria, Poland, the Czech Republic, and especially Hungary fit this description. Finally, although Dugin could never have anticipated the pervasiveness of social media and the internet in 1996, these new mediums have created opportunities to destabilize and divide the citizenry of Western

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

democracies. Reflecting his belief that diversity is a weakness, Dugin advocates that:

It is generally important to introduce geopolitical chaos within the American daily experience by encouraging all manner of separatism, ethnic diversity, social and racial conflict, actively supporting every extremist dissident movement, racist sectarian groups, and to destabilize the political processes within America.¹⁹⁶

The FBI investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 elections has revealed that Russian hackers successfully broke into the Democratic National Conventions cyber systems and also attacked state and county level election systems in key districts and battleground states.¹⁹⁷ It is difficult to know if any votes were actually changed, and government reports have insisted they were not, but a successful hack would reveal no evidence. Experts have shown it is relatively easy to change the outcome of elections through hacking some voting machine hardware.¹⁹⁸ Russian sponsored ads and disinformation promoted through Facebook and other social media sites were targeted at many different groups across the political spectrum, but with the intention of causing Hilary Clinton to lose the election through reducing the turnout of those that would support her and motivating her opposition to vote through misinformation and outright lies.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Martin Matishak, "What We Know about Russia's Election Hacking," July 18, 2018, *Politico*, <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/18/russia-election-hacking-trump-putin-698087>.

¹⁹⁸ Alan Gilbert, "How Do We Know Our Elections Are Fair?", *The Daily Beast*, December 11, 2016, (Gilbert, "How Do We Know Our Elections Are Fair?" 2016).

Here are just a few examples, fitting Dugin’s advice to “provoke destabilization and every kind of separatism”:¹⁹⁹

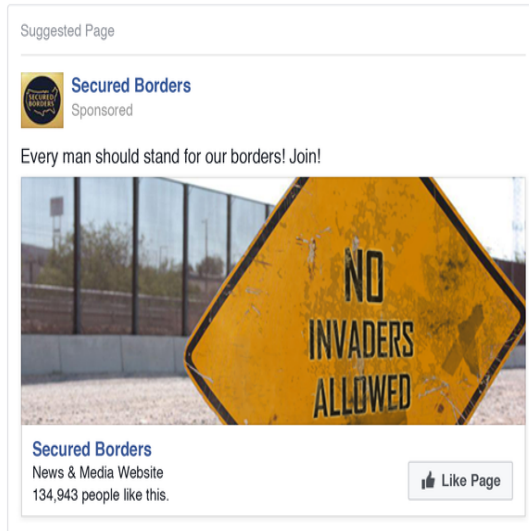


Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4

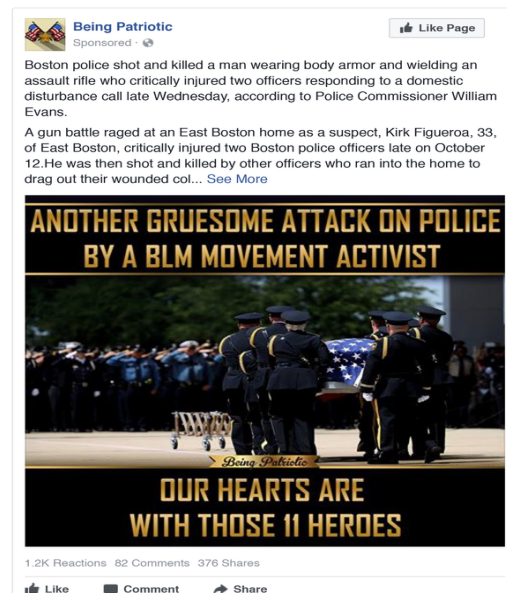


Figure 5

¹⁹⁹ Scott Shane, “These Are the Ads Russia Bought on Facebook in 2016,” *The New York Times*, November 1, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/us/politics/russia-2016-election-facebook.html>.



Figure 6



Figure 7

There are 1000s such ads, targeting every community conceivable in the United States and designed to drive wedges between groups. Some are extremely homophobic, while others are seemingly pro-LGBT. Some emphasize the very real racism engrained in American society, while others, denigrate the Black Lives Matter movement and seek to appeal to Americans holding racist or xenophobic attitudes, six such ads are included above. For example, in the ad purportedly describing “another gruesome attack on police by a BLM movement activist,” the story is a blatant lie and the attack never happened. Ultimately, according to an analysis by the Atlantic Council’s Digital Forensics Lab of a trove of tweets sent by Russian troll accounts:

One main purpose was to interfere in the U.S. presidential election and prevent Hillary Clinton's victory, but it was also aimed at dividing polarized online communities in the U.S., unifying support for Russia's international interests, and breaking down trust in U.S. institutions.²⁰⁰

Again, this matches Dugin's stated goals and strategy for conquering the Atlanticists perfectly. Mark Galeotti observes that regardless of whether they are called "information warfare" or "active measures" by the Western press, "these tactics have a broad political objective — to distract, divide, and demoralize," they are "largely opportunistic, fragmented, even sometimes contradictory."²⁰¹

Although these ads, tweets, posts, and messages target all sorts of different political groups and ethnic communities, Dugin himself has attracted followers from far-right movements in several countries, including the United States. This raises a possibility that Dugin had not even considered in *Foundations of Geopolitics*—that the United States itself could become 'Eurasianist' in spirit. However, an ideology like Dugin's had preceded Eurasianism by many decades in the United States. Manifest Destiny, the Monroe Doctrine, are examples of supposedly inclusive imperial ideologies and these ideas have been prominently articulated by Frederick Jackson Turner and Alfred Mahan. Indeed, Dugin explicitly holds up the Monroe Doctrine as an example for Eurasian empire. Imperial American expansionism and white supremacist are not new innovations

²⁰⁰Digital Forensic Research Lab, "#Troll Tracker: Twitter Troll Farm Archives," *Atlantic Council*, October 17, 2018, <https://medium.com/dfrlab/trolltracker-twitter-troll-farm-archives-8d5dd61c486b>.

²⁰¹ Mark Galeotti, "I'm Sorry for Creating the Gerasimov Doctrine," *Foreign Policy*, March 5, 2018, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/05/im-sorry-for-creating-the-gerasimov-doctrine/>.

and its so-called alt-right proponents have simply popularized old ideas, emboldened by the current political climate. A divisive and directionless political climate exists in the United States not unlike Russia's during bespredel, although certainly without anywhere near the degree of economic deprivation and social chaos that Russia suffered from then. Probably the most influential proponent of a traditionalist worldview geopolitically aligned with Russia has been Steve Bannon, Donald Trump's CEO for his campaign and chief White House strategist for almost a year following Trump's election.

Steve Bannon, who refers to himself as an "economic nationalist," has espoused views entirely consistent with Dugin's. Bannon has cited and referenced Dugin, approvingly.²⁰² In a speech delivered to a conference at the Vatican in 2014, Dugin clearly references Dugin, albeit without naming him, and shows his understanding of Dugin's ideology and its domestic and international appeal:

When Vladimir Putin, when you really look at some of the underpinnings of some of his beliefs today, a lot of those come from what I call Eurasianism; he's got an adviser who harkens back to Julius Evola and different writers of the early 20th century who are really the supporters of what's called the traditionalist movement, which really eventually metastasized into Italian fascism. A lot of people that are traditionalists are attracted to that. One of the reasons is that they believe that at least Putin is standing up for traditional institutions, and he's trying to do it in a form of nationalism — and I think that people, particularly in certain countries, want to see the sovereignty for their country, they want to see nationalism for their

²⁰² Joshua Green, "Inside the Secret, Strange Origins of Steve Bannon's Nationalist Fantasia," July 17, 2017, *Vanity Fair*, <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2017/07/the-strange-origins-of-steve-bannons-nationalist-fantasia>.

country. They don't believe in this kind of pan-European Union or they don't believe in the centralized government in the United States.²⁰³

The reference to Julius Evola also makes it clear that Bannon is at the very least familiar with the ideals of his strain of fascist, racist, traditionalism.²⁰⁴ Bannon's website, Breitbart, published an article co-written by Milos Yiannopolous, which claimed that Evola's writings are part of the "origins of the alt-right."²⁰⁵ Although it is laughable that Bannon makes it sound as if he's coined the term Eurasianism, a term that has been in existence for nearly a hundred years, it is clear he is very familiar with its tenets.

The admiration between the two men has been mutual, so has their fawning admiration for Trump. Dugin told *The Daily Beast* that:

I connect with Bannon's focus of the entire presidential campaign: the denial of globalism, rejection of America's hegemony, the return of religious and national interests, his criticism of liberals and respect for traditional values...Bannon is a bright personality, his team published my books in the United States, including *The Fourth Political Theory*.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ J. Lester Feder, "This Is How Steve Bannon Sees the Entire World," November 16, 2016, *Buzzfeed News*, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/this-is-how-steve-bannon-sees-the-entire-world>.

²⁰⁴ Jason Horowitz, "Steve Bannon Cited Italian Thinker Who Inspired Fascists," February 10, 2017, *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/10/world/europe/bannon-vatican-julius-evola-fascism.html>.

²⁰⁵ Allum Bokhari and Milos Yiannopolous, "An Establishment Conservative's Guide to the Alt-Right," March 29, 2016, *Breitbart*, <https://www.breitbart.com/tech/2016/03/29/an-establishment-conservatives-guide-to-the-alt-right/>.

²⁰⁶ Anna Nemtsova, "Russia's Alt-Right Rasputin Says He's Steve Bannon's Ideological Soul Mate," April 24, 2017, *The Daily Beast*, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/russias-alt-right-rasputin-says-hes-steve-bannons-ideological-soul-mate>.

This connection has been noted in Russia as well. An article in the critical

Svobodnaya Pressa notes that:

The key element in this war is the former advisor to Donald Trump on strategic questions, Steve Bannon. The journalist and producer, previously the director of a site for the ultra-right, he is well-known for sharing the views of the Russian philosopher Aleksandr Dugin, openly speaking out against Muslims and invoking the battle for 'Judeo-Christian values.'²⁰⁷

In an interview broadcast on Tsargrad TV, where he is a commentator and chief editor, Dugin lavished praise on Trump: "He can become an American Eurasianist, an American Putin."²⁰⁸ Dugin has even drawn a direct line between his ideology and Trump's slogan and call to action to "drain the swamp." In a Facebook post (quoted by Richard Spencer on Twitter), Dugin makes a case that: "The Swamp is to become [a] new name for globalist sect, open society adepts, lgbt maniacs, Soros army, posthumanists and so on. Drain the Swamp is not only American categorical imperative. It is [a] global challenge for all of us."²⁰⁹

Bannon has noted the resurgence in right-wing nationalist, anti-globalist movements across the world that have coincided with Russia exporting its political technology: "you see a nationalist movement in Egypt, India, the Philippines, in

²⁰⁷ Andrey Polunin, "Nine Months of Trump," *Svobodnaya Pressa*, October 23, 2017, <http://svpressa.ru/politic/article/184294/?rss=1>

²⁰⁸ Tsargrad Analytical Group, "Dugin: Trump Can Become an American Eurasianist, an American Trump," *Tsargrad*, November 11, 2016, https://tsargrad.tv/articles/aleksandr-dugin-tramp-mozhet-stat-amerikanskim-evrazijcem-amerikanskim-putinyim_34183.

²⁰⁹ Justin Salhani, "The White Nationalist Movement's Favorite Philosopher," *ThinkProgress*, December 19, 2016, <https://thinkprogress.org/the-white-nationalist-movements-favorite-philosopher-42576bc50666/>.

South Korea, and now Abe in Japan. I'd say Putin and Xi in China are nationalists. Look at Le Pen in France, Orban in Hungary, and the nationalists in Poland." In Dugin's words, these are "states not willing to dissolve their originality into a planetary melting pot."²¹⁰ Relatedly, as Russia's alliance with China has deepened, familiarity with Carl Schmitt has very much become in vogue for Chinese intellectuals and government personnel, although it should be noted that Dugin viewed China more as a threat to Russia in *Foundations* than a potential ally, instead suggesting a Moscow-Berlin-Tokyo axis, imitating the Third Reich.²¹¹ However, he has changed his thinking in line with Kremlin foreign policy.

Bannon asserts that Trump himself shares this worldview. Bannon has said: "Look, I've been studying this for a while, and it's amazing that Trump has been talking about these ideas for 25 years."²¹² Perhaps the most vivid example of the elevation of Dugin's vocabulary to the greatest heights of American political discourse was President Trump's declaration that he is a "nationalist" at a rally for Ted Cruz in Texas on October 23, 2018. After proudly declaring himself a nationalist he set off on an attack against "globalists":

²¹⁰ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics* (Moscow: Arctogaia, 1997, Translated by Grant S. Fellows.

²¹¹ Mark Lilla, "Reading Strauss in Beijing," *The New Republic*, December 17, 2010, <https://newrepublic.com/article/79747/reading-leo-strauss-in-beijing-china-marx>.

²¹² Joshua Green, "Inside the Secret, Strange Origins of Steve Bannon's Nationalist Fantasia," July 17, 2017, *Vanity Fair*, <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2017/07/the-strange-origins-of-steve-bannons-nationalist-fantasia>.

You know what a globalist is, right? You know what a globalist is? A globalist is a person that wants the globe to do well, frankly, not caring about our country so much. And you know what? We can't have that.²¹³

Since leaving his position at the White House, Bannon himself has been an apostle of the traditionalist, ultranationalist worldview, preaching to movements that are already established, and in some cases already sharing power in Europe.²¹⁴ He has also taken a role as adviser to the recently elected President of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, who represents an even more extreme version of Trumpian xenophobia, misogyny, and homophobia.²¹⁵

Dugin is also friendly with the conspiracy theorist Alex Jones and has interviewed him on Russian television. In an interview with Alex Jones on October 2, 2017 on Infowars Dugin remarks that he “supports Trump with all my heart,” and rejects the label of either a fascist or a communist instead accepting the label of traditionalist, arguing:

We defend the same position, we share the same concerns, we are lobbying our people and I am making that at the level of ideas and Mr. Putin is doing that at the level of great politics...what Alex Jones and what I hope Mr.

²¹³ Peter Baker, “‘Use That Word!’: Trump Embraces the ‘Nationalist’ Label,” *The New York Times*, October 23, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/23/us/politics/nationalist-president-trump.html>.

²¹⁴ Richard Bravo, Gregory Viscusi, Nikos Chrysoloras, and Joshua Green, “Inside Steve Bannon’s Plans for a New European Political Order,” *Bloomberg*, September 19, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-19/bannon-seeks-european-upset-with-appeal-to-eu-s-populist-forces>.

²¹⁵ “Brazil: Steve Bannon to Advise Bolsonaro Presidential Campaign,” *Telesur*, August 15, 2018, <https://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Brazil-Steve-Bannon-to-Advise-Bolsonaro-Presidential-Campaign-20180815-0003.html>.

Trump shares the same position, the unity of the same position, and the same ideas.²¹⁶

Alex Jones' conspiracy theories, rhetoric about "white genocide" in South Africa, and vilifying of Soros mirror those peddled by Dugin, and as in the Russian case, they have circulated at the highest levels, although it is more plausible to think Trump genuinely believes these tendentious conspiracy theories than Putin. Trump has appeared on Jones' programs during the campaign telling Jones, "Your reputation is amazing. I will not let you down."²¹⁷ Trump even called to thank him after his election victory for his support.²¹⁸ Putin uses these dog whistle conspiracy theories as a signal to generate support domestically, while simultaneously employing them abroad to destabilize rivals and unfriendly nations. Trump's chief of staff John Kelly has reportedly even forbidden Trump's aides from delivering him 'news' from Alex Jones and Breitbart.²¹⁹ Although Dugin and Jones' support for Trump is not unequivocal—they both criticized him for allowing strikes against Syrian chemical weapon facilities.

²¹⁶ Alex Jones (*Infowars*) entrevista Aleksandr Dugin, posted by "Claudiombg", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RfGgjuzqCzY>, September 23, 2017. Note: this is a repost of the original video as the Infowars channel was taken down by Youtube, the original interview took place on February 10, 2017.

²¹⁷ William Finnegan, "Donald Trump and the 'Amazing' Alex Jones," *The New Yorker*, June 23, 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/donald-trump-and-the-amazing-alex-jones>.

²¹⁸ Shane Goldmacher, "Alex Jones Says Trump Called to Thank Him," *Politico*, November 14, 2016, <https://www.politico.com/story/2016/11/trump-thanked-alex-jones-231329>.

²¹⁹ Lucian K. Truscott IV, "Nixon and Trump: What Happens When President's Unravel," October 14, 2017, <https://www.salon.com/2017/10/14/the-lessons-we-learned-from-nixon-about-when-presidents-unravel/>.

More flamboyantly racist figures have also followed suit and have cultivated personal ties with Dugin. Richard Spencer, a white supremacist who heads the National Policy Institute, has openly praised Dugin. Spencer's views are vile and eugenicist, in an interview he offered: "Race is something between a breed and an actual species,' he says, likening the differences between whites and people of color to those between golden retrievers and basset hounds. 'It's that powerful.'"²²⁰ Following Trump's victory in the election, he crowed "hail Trump, hail our people, hail victory" at conference, where he was met with Nazi salutes and cheers by the crowd of white nationalists.²²¹ His estranged Russian wife Nina Kuprianova, who writes under the pen name Nina Byzantina, has translated some of Dugin's articles into English.²²² Spencer and his National Policy Institute tried to organize a conference for "racial realists" and other racist ultranationalists, neo-Nazis, and far-right movements from across Europe and America in Hungary, to be sponsored by the extreme right Jobbik party. Although this was a bridge too far for the Hungarian government of Viktor Orban in 2014, who denied a visa to Dugin and forced Jobbik to cancel the conference.²²³ Jobbik went along with this, despite its

²²⁰ Josh Harkinson, "Meet the White Nationalists Trying to Ride the Trump Train to Lasting Power," *Mother Jones*, October 27, 2016. <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/10/richard-spencer-trump-alt-right-white-nationalist/>.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Nina Koupranova, "Nina Byzantina," <https://ninabyzantina.com/category/geopolitics/>.

²²³ James Kirchick, "American Racist Richard Spencer Gets to Play the Martyr in Hungary," October 7, 2014, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/american-racist-richard-spencer-gets-to-play-the-martyr-in-hungary>.

chairman Gabor Vona having lectured at Lomonosov University at Dugin's invitation.²²⁴ He was responsible for organizing the rally in Charlottesville from August 11-12, 2017 to 'Unite the Right' where activist Heather Heyer was murdered by a man who shares Spencer's views, illustrating the very real threat of violence at the heart of his repugnant ideology. Illustrating the high regard they hold Russia in, when Spencer and his fellow travelers returned to Charlottesville two months later to demonstrate they chanted "Russia is our friend" as one of their slogans.²²⁵

Matthew Heimbach, a 'white nationalist' who leads the Traditionalist Workers Party, another attendee at the Charlottesville rally, has called Russia the "axis of nationalists," and invited Dugin to speak via Skype at a conference in California.²²⁶ Preston Wigington, who sublets an apartment from David Duke in Moscow when he visits Russia, had Dugin speak via Skype to a poorly attended conference at Texas A&M.²²⁷ Wigington has written: he has "best friends" in Russia — "the only nation that understands RAHOWA [Racial Holy War]" and that Russians are "leading skinheads."²²⁸ David Duke himself has met Dugin in Russia,

²²⁴ "Gábor Vona Had a Lecture in at Lomonosov University in Russia," *Jobbik*, May 24, 2013, https://www.jobbik.com/gabor_vona_had_lecture_lomonosov_university_russia.

²²⁵ "White Nationalists Return to Charlottesville," *BBC News*, October 8, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-41543631>.

²²⁶ Natasha Bertrand, "A Model for Civilization': Putin's Russia Has Emerged as a 'Beacon' for Nationalists and the American Alt-Right," December 10, 2016, <https://www.businessinsider.com/russia-connections-to-the-alt-right-2016-11>.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

but Dugin's appeal to white supremacists is limited for the most racist white supremacists in the United States. Anton Shekovtsov, an expert on the Russian far-right and the rebirth of fascism makes the case that:

Dugin was not well perceived in the States for one simple reason, because he considered that empire—it always has multiculturalism, and they need a pure white society, to be not Muslim, nor Jewish, whatsoever.²²⁹

This has not stopped Dugin from attempting to foster ties with them, the Kremlin from trying to use them to exacerbate divides in American society, or for white supremacists from adopting ideas from Dugin that they find useful.

²²⁹ Danila Galperovich, "Russian Social Media Sites Have Become Meeting Places for the American Ultra-Right," *VOA Russia*, August 26, 2017, <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/4002082.html>.

Chapter 11: Inspiration Worldwide and Kremlin Grand

Strategy

The strategy outlined by Dugin in *Foundations of Geopolitics* does not call for a military occupation of Europe, which even Dugin concedes is unrealistic, and as especially so in 1996, but through the ideological realignment of European states toward Russia and away from the United States fueled by their resentment of American cultural hegemony. Dugin acknowledges this sentiment, arguing “Europe does not want to be Russia or America” and:

Therefore, Russia has two paths—a military occupation of Europe, or a strategic reorganization of the European space, which will be made in the geopolitical sector by a secure strategic alliance with Moscow –preserving its sovereignty, autonomy, and its autarky. The first variant is so unrealistic it cannot be discussed seriously. The second variant—complex, but feasible—has been carried out on in Europe’s transition to a colony over the past half century, having left the track of serious European consciousness.²³⁰

Since the canceled conference in Budapest, Orban and his Fidesz party have moved farther to the right and openly embraced a Eurasianist ideology and defended Russia against EU sanctions, becoming the first European Union nation

²³⁰ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics* (Moscow: Arctogaia, 1997, Translated by Grant S. Fellows.

to align ideologically with Russia. Hungary has been at the forefront of the anti-refugee movement, as well as popularizing anti-Soros rhetoric, generally with anti-Semitic connotations. Dugin writes very approvingly of the Visegrad group, an informal bloc of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary which have been at the forefront of reactionary European anti-refugee sentiment. He refers back to Carl Schmitt when describing it, arguing that: “the Eastern European *Grossraum* could be a pole by itself in the broader context of multipolarity.”²³¹ He repeats his anti-globalist talking points by remarking:

Every member of the Visegrad Group is trying to defend its traditional identity. But the mainstream political line and essential ideology of the EU is trying to dissolve these identities. The so-called ideology of human rights inherently refuses to recognize any kind of collective identity, including that of nationality and citizenship. Hence, we see provoked and uncontrolled migration, refugees, European self-hatred, and so on. Multiculturalism destroys society from within.²³²

Of course, for Dugin, “Russia is now the natural ally for the Visegrad Group” and in line with his geopolitical formulations in *Foundations* he argues:

Russia is also interested in reinforcing the Visegrad Group – not because Russia wishes to retake its traditional zone of influence (it’s not possible, anyway), but because we’re interested in it as something that could be independent of Brussels, and which could weaken the presence of globalist structures in Europe.²³³

²³¹ Sofia Metelkina, “Aleksandr Dugin: Visegrád Group As the Project of the Greater Eastern Europe,” *Geopolitica.ru*, April 27, 2018, <https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/alexander-dugin-visegrad-group-project-greater-eastern-europe>.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

This seemingly goes against his imperial worldview, but Dugin is aware enough to know, for the most part, that it is necessary to cloak his geopolitical intentions to make them palatable to potential subservient regions of a Eurasian empire, similar to how he obscures the Nazism of many of his geopolitical role models. Elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Russia has promoted an anti-Soros narrative in Macedonia and apparently successfully convinced enough Macedonians to boycott a vote on a name change to 'North Macedonia' that would have allowed it to join NATO.²³⁴ This move to prevent a Slavic national group from joining the 'Atlanticist' bloc fits perfectly with Dugin's geopolitics. In many respects Soros has become the ultimate bogeyman for the far-right across the globe, a narrative originally promoted by Russia, and his status as the ultimate globalist stems from his Jewish heritage; often the term 'globalist' has become a dog whistle synonym for Jew, much as terms like 'cosmopolitan' have in the past.²³⁵ This definition of globalist is distinct from a person or organization that has benefited from or supports neo-liberal globalization.

Another project aimed at weakening the "globalist structures in Europe" has been support for Marine Le Pen's National Front. Dugin wrote after the French

²³⁴ Gordana Knezevic, "Macedonian Witch Hunt Targets George Soros," *RadioFreeEurope RadioLiberty*, January 19, 2017, <https://www.rferl.org/a/george-soros-macedonia-witch-hunt/28243738.html>.

²³⁵ Allison Kaplan Sommer, "How Did the Term 'Globalist' Become an Anti-Semitic Slur? Blame Bannon," *Haaretz*, May 13, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/.premium-how-did-the-term-globalist-became-an-anti-semitic-slur-blame-bannon-1.5895925>.

Presidential elections: “France is split according to the geopolitical principles. There is a Eurasian France, voting for Marine Le Pen... In these areas...residence of the Eurasian French ... This can be called ‘French Novorossiya.’”²³⁶ Russian financial and ideological support for Le Pen has been well documented.²³⁷ Russian actors also hacked Macron’s campaign and launched cyberattacks on French election infrastructure, although these were unsuccessful in swaying public opinion and countered by French officials.²³⁸

Across the English Channel, there is evidence that the British vote to leave the European Union was also influenced by Russian misinformation and the Leave campaign benefitted from Russian funding. Dugin lauded the event:

Now the EU cycle has passed its noon, sunset begins. This does not mean that it has already occurred. People who understand the trend are definitely not calmed by the reassurance that nothing bad is happening - it can still be fixed. But those who understand the trends, they know that it happened and are already thinking on this basis. For analysts that are forecasting on a global scale, the EU is over. And it is irreversible. The British cannot re-vote. The critical point of Europe’s decay has passed.”²³⁹

²³⁶ Aleksandr Dugin, “The Name of Europe is Marine Le Pen,” *Geopolitica.ru*, July 5, 2017, <https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/name-europe-marine-le-pen>.

²³⁷ Gabriel Gatehouse, “Marine Le Pen: Who Funds the France’s Far Right?,” *BBC Panorama*, April 3, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39478066>.

²³⁸ Jean-Baptiste Jangéne Vilmer and Heather A. Conley, “Successfully Countering Russian Electoral Interference,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, June 21, 2018, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/successfully-countering-russian-electoral-interference>.

²³⁹ Aleksandr Dugin, “Brexit: Europe is Falling into the Abyss,” *Katehon*, June 25, 2016, <http://katehon.com/article/brexit-europe-falling-abyss>.

This perfectly fits with Dugin's geopolitics of the dividing the West of America and the West of Europe. With the removal of 'Atlanticist' Britain from the EU, the process of splitting the European Union and creating alliances with nationalist, authoritarian governments of individual European states can begin in earnest. Russian state media English language outlets like Sputnik News and Russia Today (RT) provided one-sided coverage of the vote, hoping to influence Britons.²⁴⁰ While Russian funding, through Arron Banks, the biggest bankroller of the Leave campaign, aided the Brexiteers.²⁴¹²⁴² Nigel Farage, leader of the UK Independence Party, personal friend of Donald Trump, and the main cheerleader for Brexit, may even have served as an intermediary between Russia, the Trump Campaign, and Julian Assange and this possibility has been investigated as part of the Mueller Investigation.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Patrick Wintour, "Russian Bid to Influence Brexit Vote Detailed in New US Senate Report," *The Guardian*, January 10, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/10/russian-influence-brexit-vote-detailed-us-senate-report>.

²⁴¹ David D. Kirkpatrick and Matthew Rosenberg, "Russians Offered Business Deals to Brexit's Biggest Backer," *The New York Times*, June 29, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/29/world/europe/russia-britain-brexit-arron-banks.html>.

²⁴² Kate Holton and Guy Faulconbridge, "UK investigates Brexit Campaign Funding Amid Speculation of Russian Meddling," *Reuters*, November 1, 2017, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-investigation/uk-investigates-brexit-campaign-funding-amid-speculation-of-russian-meddling-idUKKBN1D14H9>.

²⁴³ Stephanie Kirchgaessner, Nick Hopkins, and Luke Harding, "Nigel Farage is 'Person of Interest' in FBI Investigation into Trump and Russia," *The Guardian*, June 2, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/01/nigel-farage-is-person-of-interest-in-fbi-investigation-into-trump-and-russia>.

The crown jewel for Dugin would be concluding a geopolitical alliance with Germany, fulfilling his longed-for Moscow-Berlin axis, and allowing expansion to “French Novorossiya” and elsewhere. The political project aimed at achieving this has been the Alternative for Deutschland (AfD), a reactionary anti-migrant party that has achieved significant electoral gains over the past several years. Alexander Gauland, now the head of the party after its previous leader Frauke Petry left the party due to its growing extremism,²⁴⁴ has said he would have “no problem whatsoever” with an alliance between the youth wing of his party and the Putin youth.²⁴⁵ He travelled to St. Petersburg in 2015 and according to *Der Spiegel* reporters Melania Amman and Pavel Lokshin:

[The] trip [was] paid for by the St. Basil the Great Charitable Foundation, which is financially backed by a Putin-loyal oligarch. In St. Petersburg, Gauland met with members of the Duma, a personal advisor to Putin and Alexander Dugin...Gauland says Dugin is a pleasant conversation partner.²⁴⁶

Constanze Stelzenmüller, an expert at the Brookings Institute, testified to the United States Senate Intelligence Committee that Russia has targeted the German electorate with “active measures” aimed at manipulating public opinion; however, as Germany uses only paper ballots, any hacking of the election infrastructure is

²⁴⁴ Michelle Martin, “Co-leader of Germany’s Far Right AfD to Quit in Major Blow,” *Reuters*, September 26, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics-afd-petry/co-leader-of-germanys-far-right-afd-to-quit-in-major-blow-idUSKCN1C122A>.

²⁴⁵ Melanie Amann and Pavel Lokshin, “German Populists Forge Ties with Russia,” *Der Spiegel*, April 27, 2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-populists-forge-deeper-ties-with-russia-a-1089562.html>.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

not possible.²⁴⁷ She notes, like Dugin, that “For a Russia that is clearly bent on destabilizing Europe and the transatlantic alliance, Germany is the prize: Weaken Germany, and you diminish the EU and the European project.”²⁴⁸ Dugin agrees in *Foundations of Geopolitics*, asserting “the alliance of France and German...is the spine around which its altogether logical to build a new Europe.”²⁴⁹

Italy, the birthplace of Evola, has proven to be the major European country most sympathetic to Dugin’s ideology at the current moment and here Dugin has created and maintained personal relationships with politicians that have concrete policymaking power. Italians turned to the upstart, anti-corruption Five-Star Movement founded by comedian Beppe Grillo in the most recent elections; in many respects, this was a protest vote against the stagnant economic policy and cronyism of successive Europhile center-left and center-right coalition governments, rather than a vote for a cohesive political platform, as the Five-Star Movement lacked one. But to achieve a coalition the Five-Star Movement joined forces with the ultranationalist, reactionary Northern League and named its leader Matteo Salvini as Interior Minister. Salvini is friendly with Dugin, having traveled to Moscow in 2015 to be interviewed by him. In the interview Salvini made his

²⁴⁷ Constanze Stelzenmüller, “The Impact of Russian Interference on Germany’s 2017 Elections,” *Brookings Institute*, June 28, 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-impact-of-russian-interference-on-germanys-2017-elections/>.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics* (Moscow: Arctogaia, 1997,. Translated by Grant S. Fellows.

opposition to the European Union clear: “The EU, being an unnatural structure, has already started crumbling. The European Union is a cell, the opposite of democracy, the opposite of the culture of labor.”²⁵⁰ In response to a question about EU sanctions against Russia due to the war in Eastern Ukraine he opined:

I hope that they will soon be lifted. This is madness, just like the absent recognition of Crimea, a subject which identified itself as part of Russia. It is incredible that international bodies decide who can vote for self-determination and who doesn't have this right.²⁵¹

In March 2017, Salvini signed an agreement of cooperation between the Northern League and Putin's United Russia party.²⁵²

A similar agreement was signed between United Russia and the Austrian Freedom Party, which is also in coalition government in Austria and shares similar anti-refugee principles.²⁵³ Steve King, an American congressman who has endorsed an openly white supremacist candidate for Toronto's mayor, spouts Great Replacement conspiracy theory ideas adopted from the European far-right and shared by Alex Jones, writing on Twitter: “cultural suicide by demographic

²⁵⁰ “Russia in the World—Russia-Italy Relations—Italian Prime Minister: Italian Government Supports a Revision of the Sanctions Against Russia,” *MEMRI*, June 11, 2018, <https://www.memri.org/reports/russia-world-%E2%80%93-russia-italy-relations-%E2%80%93-italian-prime-minister-italian-government-supports>.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ Anton Shekhovtsov, “Austrian and Italian Far-Right Parties Signed Coordination and Cooperation Agreements with Putin's ‘United Russia,’” *Tango Noir*, June 4, 2018, <http://www.tango-noir.com/2018/06/04/austrian-and-italian-far-right-parties-signed-coordination-and-cooperation-agreements-with-putins-united-russia/>.

transformation must end,” has also met with the leaders of the Austrian Freedom Party and the AFD.²⁵⁴

Salvini’s advisor, Gianluca Savioni has known Dugin for twenty years and has close links to Orazio Marie Gnerre, who has been accused of recruiting mercenaries in Italy to fight for Russian-backed forces in Eastern Ukraine.²⁵⁵ Gnerre formerly helmed an obscure Italian political party “Millenivm,” which is an analogue to Dugin’s Eurasia Party in Italy, and was endorsed warmly by Dugin.²⁵⁶ Dugin approves wholeheartedly of the Italian coalition government and visited Italy in July 2018, when he gave an interview supporting it: “Matteo Salvini and Luigi Di Maio [current leader of the Five Star Movement] represent the fulfillment of Trump’s ideas.”²⁵⁷

Despite his anti-Semitism, Dugin became close with Avigdor Eskin, a Russian Kabbalist Jew (the good kind of Jew according to Dugin in *On the Jewish Question*) and member of the extremist, racist, and now banned Kach movement,

²⁵⁴ Emma Ockerman, “Steve King’s Supporters Don’t Care About the Accusations of Racism and Anti-Semitism,” *Vice News*, November 5, 2018, https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/gy7xm7/went-to-a-steve-king-rally-and-asked-if-hes-a-white-supremacist.

²⁵⁵ Alberto Nardelli and Olga Tokariuk, “Here’s a Totally Incredible Story About Pro-Russian Mercenaries and a Clode Aide to Italy’s De Facto Leader,” *Buzzfeed News*, September 16, 2018, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/albertonardelli/matteo-salvini-russia-gianluca-savoini>.

²⁵⁶ Francesco Curradori, “In Donbass Non Abbiamo Toccato Un ‘Arma,’” *Il Giornale*, October 15, 2017, <http://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/donbass-non-abbiamo-toccato-unarma-1452694.html>.

²⁵⁷ Andrew Spannaus, “A Russian Conservative View of Putin: Interview with Alexander Dugin,” *Aspen Institute Italy*, July 15, 2018, <https://www.aspeninstitute.it/aspenia-online/article/russian-conservative-view-putin-interview-alexander-dugin>.

in the late 1990s after Eskin was released from Israeli prison following a four-month jail sentence for incitement due to him pronouncing a kabbalist death curse on Yitzhak Rabin as punishment for his support for the Oslo Accords.²⁵⁸ According to Clover, Eskin believes that Dugin needed “him as shield against being called anti-Semitic.”²⁵⁹ But, Eskin gravitated towards Dugin’s worldview and admittedly shared much of it before their meeting. In 2010, Eskin toured South African with Dr. Dan Roodt, who has associated with Neo-Nazi organizations in Europe and is the leader of the Pro-Afrikaans Action Group, which supports a whites only state in South Africa and a return to Apartheid.²⁶⁰ Eskin said in an interview with *Haaretz* after returning:

We're talking about a broad coalition of right-wing parties with common interests. Today the struggle is no longer between countries or parties, but between civilizations. I will support any movement that shares my ideas, and is opposed to the process of globalization - whether involving ideas, goods or people. Right now, I have no ties with right-wing parties in Europe. Their worldview only relates to opposition to immigration and that doesn't interest me. I'd have no problem cooperating even with [French nationalist extremist Jean-Marie] Le Pen, or with Belgian nationalists, on condition that they disassociated themselves from their anti-Semitic statements. In certain situations, I definitely see them as natural partners.²⁶¹

This sentiment, with language about civilizational clashes and opposition to globalization and immigration parrots Dugin perfectly and the growth of parties

²⁵⁸ Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 240-241.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 241.

²⁶⁰ Shay Fogelman, “We Won,” *Haaretz*, November 5, 2010, <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5135481>.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

worldwide sharing this worldview, lauded by Steve Bannon, has benefited from Russian encouragement and the export of Dugin's ideological and strategic precepts.

Sensing a divisive issue, Russian information warriors have seized on this narrative of the victimization of Afrikaners in South Africa, against evidence to the contrary. Afrikaners today maintain a privileged place in the South African economy and control a disproportionate share of wealth and land. Russian officials have offered to help move Afrikaner families to Russia where they can live with "traditional Christian values" and have promoted a narrative of "white genocide" in South Africa.²⁶² This rhetoric has been peddled in the USA by the Afriforum group, whose leaders spoke at the Cato Institute and were interviewed by Tucker Carlson. Their talking points were then inevitably repeated by President Trump, who tweeted: "I have asked Secretary of State to closely study the South Africa land and farm seizures and expropriations and the large scale killing of farmers. South African Government is now seizing land from white farmers."²⁶³ The tweet was hailed by David Duke, who has his own connections to Russia.²⁶⁴

²⁶² Amie Ferris-Rotman, "Why Russia is Wooing South Africa's White Farmers," *The Washington Post*, September 23, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/why-russia-is-wooing-south-africas-white-farmers/2018/09/23/3308a7c4-b6a3-11e8-ae4f-2c1439c96d79_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.e7bd4a397653.

²⁶³ David Nakamura, John Hudson, and Isaac Stanley-Becker, "Dangerous and Poisoned': Critics Blast Trump for Endorsing White Nationalist Conspiracy Theory on South Africa," *The Washington Post*, August 23, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/dangerous-and-poisoned-critics-blast-trump-for-endorsing-white-nationalist-conspiracy-theory-on-south-africa/2018/08/23/6c3b160e-a6df-11e8-a656-943eefab5daf_story.html?utm_term=.e5b11591809a.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

One of the most chilling examples of the influence of fascist, far-right ideology and movements similar to those promoted by Dugin and the various political technologies of the Kremlin was the despicable terrorist attack carried out by Anders Breivik in Norway in 2011. Breivik planted a bomb in Oslo which killed eight and ruthlessly gunned down sixty-nine young people at a camp operated by the center-left Norwegian Labor Party on Utøya Island. In his rambling manifesto, much of it plagiarized from other sources, such as the radical traditionalist aspects of Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski's manifesto (while omitting his environmentalist ideas), Breivik articulates many of Dugin's and his ideological allies' points regarding militant resistance towards 'multiculturalism.' In his loathsome manifesto *2083: A European Declaration of Impendence*, he writes:

Multiculturalism (cultural Marxism/political correctness), as you might know, is the root cause of the ongoing Islamisation of Europe which has resulted in the ongoing Islamic colonisation of Europe through demographic warfare (facilitated by our own leaders). This compendium presents the solutions and explains exactly what is required of each.²⁶⁵

Without naming Dugin, Breivik even offers a sympathetic critique of his Eurasianist ideology, but ultimately unacceptable to Breivik due to its lack of Islamophobia, noting:

A subtler basis for sympathy is the so-called traditionalist current, which was represented by the converts René Guénon and Frithjof Schuon, and still has a following: it has been idealising Islam and esp. Sufism as the preserver of the age-old philosophia perennis against modernity. In Russia, some

²⁶⁵ Anders Breivik, "2083—A European Declaration of Independence," *Public Intelligence*, July 28, 2011 (Enstad 2017), <https://publicintelligence.net/anders-behring-breiviks-complete-manifesto-2083-a-european-declaration-of-independence/>.

Slavophile anti-Western groups now seek an alliance with Islam against the impending Americanisation of their society. In the U.S., Christian fundamentalists and Islamic organisations are increasingly creating common platforms to speak out against trends of moral decay (abortion, pornography, etc.). Some of these phenomena of traditionalist alliance-building are quite respectable, but they are nevertheless conducive to Islam negationism.²⁶⁶

He also states that his alleged “Knights Templar” groups (no evidence was found of co-conspirators for his attack, but he was very active on far-right, neo-Nazi message boards) have a “hostile stance towards any and all Marxist organisations (the only possible exception being the rare case of national-Bolshevik organization).”²⁶⁷ Furthermore, he refers to himself and likeminded figures as “conservative revolutionaries.”²⁶⁸ Although he does not cite any of Dugin’s works, it is clear he is familiar with the Neo-Eurasianist ideology and the Nouvelle Droit figures who helped inspire it.

He mentions Dugin by name in reference to the Ergenekon Case, illustrating a familiarity with Dugin himself. The Ergenekon Case was, possibly still is, or maybe never was a murky plot by ultranationalist Kemalist officers in the Turkish military to seize power from Recip Tayyip Erdogan’s AKP Party in 2008. Breivik is sympathetic to the plot and refers to Dugin as the movement’s “chief advocate.” He observes:

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

When the Russian newspaper *Kommersant* declared Dugin to be the brains behind Ergenekon, Dugin responded that he had no part in illegal activities, but that he saw no crime in sharing their vision of Turkey's future—free from the influence of NATO and the United States.²⁶⁹

Dugin probably had no active role in the plot, but in an interview with a Greek journalist he mentions the “Ergenekon Case and repressions by Erdogan against the Eurasian and nationalist chiefs of Turkish military forces.”²⁷⁰ After the massacre on Utoya, Dugin made no attempt to condemn it, rather, according to Johannes Due Enstad, for Dugin:

Breivik is just another symptom of European decay. Dugin did not discuss ideology or why Breivik did what he did, but expressed a desire to see more Breiviks in the West, as this would further the inevitable collapse: “The end is coming to Europe.... Let there be multiculturalism, Freemasonry, gay pride, and Breiviks. Let all this European filth destroy itself.... The more Breiviks... the better.”²⁷¹

This modern fascism outlook fixated on the destruction of multiculturalism has already inspired a great act of evil and Dugin's reaction to it reveals his inner darkness and the means he finds acceptable for achieving his Neo-Eurasianist fantasies.

Even at the level of grand strategy, Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism can be seen as somewhat influential. Russia's cautious embrace of Turkey echoes Savitsky's

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Dimitris Konstantakopoulos, “Alexander Dugin on The Big Game—and Its Greek and Cypriot ‘Chapter,’” *Epikaira*, April 4, 2013, <https://openrevolt.info/2013/04/04/alexander-dugin-on-greece-and-cyprus/>.

²⁷¹ Johannes Due Enstad (2017) “Glory to Breivik!”: The Russian Far Right and the 2011 Norway Attacks, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29:5, 773-792.

Turanism and has been thoroughly advocated for by Dugin, who has become somewhat of a media darling for the pro-regime press in Turkey, which is now the only press in Turkey.²⁷² Dugin may even have been instrumental in mending ties between Turkey and Russia when a Russian jet was shot down over Turkey in 2015.²⁷³ He was reportedly approached by two of the supposed ringleaders of the Ergenekon conspiracy, politician Dogu Perincek and Lt. Gen. Ismail Hakki Pekin, the former head of the Turkish Armed Forces' Military Intelligence, to "help improve ties with Russia," and Dugin recommended an apology, which was provided by Erdogan himself.²⁷⁴ His visit to Ankara in support of this initiative was heavily publicized by Dugin's think tank Katehon, which is a reference to an apocalyptic transformation coined by Schmitt.²⁷⁵ Notably, in 2016, with relations between NATO and Turkey deteriorating and the Erdogan regime displaying more authoritarian tendencies, "the Supreme Court of Appeals overturned convictions in the Ergenekon trials, ruling that the "Ergenekon terror organization" did not exist at all and that evidence had been collected illegally."²⁷⁶ Dugin has also

²⁷² Semih İdiz, "Is Russia Meddling in Turkey's Affairs?", *Hurriyet Daily News*, November 7, 2017, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/semih-idiz/is-russia-meddling-in-turkeys-affairs-122024>.

²⁷³ Ceren Kenar, "Turkey's 'Deep State' Has a Secret Back Channel to Assad," *Foreign Policy*, July 12, 2016, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/12/turkeys-deep-state-has-a-secret-backchannel-to-assad/>.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ "Alexander Dugin Gave a Press Conference in Ankara," *Katehon*, July 15, 2016, <http://katehon.com/news/alexander-dugin-gave-press-conference-ankara>.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

advocated for a close alliance with Iran due to their shared anti-atlanticism in *Foundations*, and this has also come to pass.²⁷⁷ Dugin has claimed that aside from Turkey, “only two countries really pay attention to me-Iran and the U.S.”²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics* (Moscow: Arctogaia, 1997), 431-433. Note: This section not included in translation.

²⁷⁸ Henry Meyer and Onur Ant, “The One Russian Linking Putin, Erdogan, and Trump,” *Bloomberg*, February 2, 2017, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-dugin-trump-putin-turkey-20170203-story.html>.

Chapter 12: Conclusion and What Comes After Putin?

The multiple components involved in Eurasianism weaken its consistency, but broaden its appeal. In many respects, it is a Rorschach test for far-right movements around the world—seeing in it what they would like to see. However, its general principles are clear: authoritarianism, precedence of the state over the individual, a vocabulary of war, and deterministic geopolitics rooted in the ethnos. These are the principles of fascism, and Eurasianism is just its threadbare cloak. Vladimir Putin may personally sympathize with Dugin’s Neo-Eurasianist ideology or he may simply use it as a political tool to keep his most militaristic, fascist-minded subjects and those with delusions of grandeur under the big tent of his United Russia Party and its allies in the controlled opposition. However, regardless of Putin’s intentions, the result has been the flourishing of Neo-Eurasianist ideology—or worse, a narrow ethnic Russian supremacism that even Dugin claims to find repellant. The terminology of Dugin’s ideology has proliferated, as well as his Manichean worldview. The clumsy terms of Eurasianist and Atlanticist and tallassocracy and tellulocracy have largely been replaced by traditionalist and

globalist, or nationalism and multiculturalism, but the essential dichotomy and meaning remains the same.

The Kremlin's adventurism abroad, cronyism, and outright theft of state resources has drained the coffers of the Russian Federation and led Putin to raise the pension age for both men and women. This has provoked protests across the country—from St. Petersburg to Eastern Siberia—and triggered a sharp decline in Putin's popularity.²⁷⁹ Not only that, but the opposition—such as it is—gained broadly across the country in the recent elections. However, the beneficiaries were not the tolerated liberal parties such as the Union of Right Forces, but rather the LPDR and the KPFR, both helmed by the same ultranationalists, Gennady Zyuganov and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who have continued to peddle Dugin's ideas more brazenly than Putin and his United Russia party. There are no signs that the end of the Putin regime is anywhere near imminent or that Zhirinovskiy or Zyuganov will really turn against the Kremlin. But this raises the specter that perhaps whoever comes after Putin will not be a liberal reformer, as many in the West have blithely concluded is predestined, but a demagogue or a strongman to the right of Putin. The consequences of such leadership could much more plausibly bring about Dugin's fantasies of a transformative purifying eschaton that forges a traditionalist, fascist empire, which despite Putin's silencing of dissidents

²⁷⁹ Levada Center, "Putin's Approval Rating," October 2018, <https://www.levada.ru/en/ratings/>.

and blatant disregard for human rights, seems unlikely to occur during his reign.

Yet, as Anton Shekhovstov, argues, Dugin and Putin remain aligned, because:

The first step to Dugin's new empire is the restoration of the old empire sought by Putin. In this sense, Putin, even if not directly pursuing Dugin's plan, does perform steps which may – in the long run – lead to the implementation of Dugin's project.²⁸⁰

As a troubling indication of the Russian public's potential acceptance for such a development, Stalin's popularity is at an all-time high in Post-Soviet Russia.²⁸¹ For Dugin, Stalin is the embodiment of the Eurasian tendencies of the Soviet Union, but an appraisal of Stalin's reign reveals the hollowness of Dugin's ideology. Under Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Union carried the heaviest burden of World War II and crushed Nazi Germany ending the Third Reich which Dugin so admires. Additionally, national groups were often not treated as equals with the ability to retain cultural autonomy in exchange for loyalty to Moscow, instead many ethnic groups including the Ingush and Chechens, the Crimean Tatars, Koreans, Finns, Greeks, Germans, the Baltic peoples, and many smaller groups of Caucasian ethnicities were the victims of ethnic cleansing, forcibly deported from their homelands and pressured to lose their traditional identity.

In the United States, in Europe, and elsewhere around the globe variants of his ideology, promoted by the Kremlin, have achieved notable success. It must not be overlooked that these nations have been susceptible to such attacks due to

²⁸⁰ Anton Shekhovstov, "Putin's Brain?", *New Eastern Europe*, September-October (2014), p. 78.

²⁸¹"The Perception of Stalin," *Levada Center*, April 4, 2018, (Levada Center 2018).

weaknesses in domestic ideologies and the prevailing, although waning, neo-liberal world order. Dugin and traditionalism provide an alternative to stale political narratives and he recognized this appeal when he was writing in 1996:

Peoples and states which enter that bloc [a hypothetical Eurasian empire], could expect, at the least, ethnocultural sovereignty for direct participants in the creations and design of a new macro-ideology; whereas the geopolitical variant of the “New World Order,” is already fully elaborated and offering to the Earth’s peoples as in the colonial analogue of the Liberal, free-market American model.²⁸²

Compounding this, the financial crisis of 2008 was a damning indictment of the weaknesses inherent in a deregulated banking system and the austerity regimes imposed by many nations in response only poured fuel on a long simmering flame. In the United States income gains have been vastly skewed towards the top earners, and the authors of the 2018 World Inequality Report note that:

This stagnation of incomes of the bottom 50% relative to the upsurge in incomes experienced by the top 1% has been perhaps the most striking development in the United States economy over the last four decades...the groups have seen their shares of total us income reverse between 1980 and 2014.²⁸³

This development has been accompanied by a disturbing trend where alone among demographic groups in the United States, non-college educated white males—those most likely to support Donald Trump—have had an increase in

²⁸² Aleksandr Dugin, *Foundations of Geopolitics* (Moscow: Arctogaia, 1997), Translated by Grant S. Fellows.

²⁸³ World Inequality Lab, *The World Inequality Report 2018*, <https://wir2018.wid.world>.

morbidity. Despite advances in medicine resulting in “mortality declines from the two biggest killers in middle age—cancer and heart disease,” these gains “were offset by marked increases in drug overdoses, suicides, and alcohol-related liver mortality in this period.” The rise in these diseases of despair reflect a certain hopelessness and frustration across this segment of the population. This was expressed when during the 2016 American elections, “Trump’s margin among whites without a college degree is the largest among any candidate in exit polls since 1980.”²⁸⁴ Although this is not Weimar America or comparable to the conditions of Russia following the collapse of the Soviet Union, many Americans are caught in a downward spiral of relative economic and social deprivation with few options to escape.

For those caught in this economic and social despair, looking inwards and backwards to mythic historical narratives with little basis in truth provides pride and a sense of meaning to some people, as well as providing a strawman to blame for their problems in the form of immigrants, globalism, and multiculturalism. Of course, racism and xenophobia are not new features of Western politics and in many respects the appeal of traditionalism is an appeal to traditional prejudices. Russian propaganda did not suddenly make many Americans racist, but it has capitalized on racist attitudes and economic frustration to increase division and distrust. It is noteworthy that “Republicans who scored highest on racial

²⁸⁴ Alec Tyson and Shiva Maniam, “Behind Trump’s Victory” Divisions by Race, Gender, Education,” *Pew Research Center*, November 9, 2016.

resentment were about 30 percentage points more likely to support Trump than their more moderate counterparts” during the Republican primaries.²⁸⁵

Racist attitudes dovetail with another factor that causes voters to support xenophobic politicians—fear. A study from the Public Religion Research Institute found “besides partisanship, fears about immigrants and cultural displacement were more powerful factors than economic concerns in predicting support for Trump among white working-class voters.”²⁸⁶ Other studies have found these fears are linked to a sense of displacement caused by changing demographics threatening the status of whites as the majority group and the feeling that “American global dominance was in danger.”²⁸⁷ Anxiety over cultural displacement and a perceived threat of losing a privileged place in society appear to have motivated many during the past election, rather than economic concerns.

Desperation, fear, and the conviction that an ‘other’ is to blame, the friend/enemy worldview of Schmitt, provides opportunity for these prejudices to fester. The reality warping nature of immersive social media exacerbates the effects

²⁸⁵ Michael Tesler, “Trump Is the First Modern Republican to Win the Nomination Based on Racial Prejudice,” *The Washington Post*, August 1, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/08/01/trump-is-the-first-republican-in-modern-times-to-win-the-partys-nomination-on-anti-minority-sentiments/?utm_term=.ba4a934ffc39.

²⁸⁶ Daniel Cox, Rachel Lienesch, and Robert P. Jones, “Beyond Economics: Fears of Cultural Displacement Pushed the White Working Class to Trump,” *PRRI*, May 9, 2017, <https://www.prrri.org/research/white-working-class-attitudes-economy-trade-immigration-election-donald-trump/>.

²⁸⁷ Niraj Chokshi, “Trump Voters Driven by Fear of Losing Status, Not Economic Anxiety,” *The New York Times*, April 24, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/24/us/politics/trump-economic-anxiety.html>.

of these efforts. Long before social media had been developed Hannah Arendt warned in *On Totalitarianism*:

The self-compulsion of ideological thinking ruins all relationships with reality...The ideal subject of totalitarian rule is not the convinced Nazi or the convinced Communist, but people for whom the distinction between fact and fiction and the distinction between true and false no longer exist.²⁸⁸

Social media and cable news, alongside intentionally and constantly deceitful political leadership, only amplify this blurring of true and false and lead to the possibility of violent radicalization. The appeal of such sentiments should not be underrated and the popular support for them cannot be dismissed as solely the product of Russian plotting and propaganda, nor can the public's susceptibility for them be separated from historical and ongoing attitudes towards racism and xenophobia. Racism remains the original sin of the Americas and the Europe and its stain functions acts as a fertile growing medium for Dugin's worldview to flourish far from its roots in Russian soil.

²⁸⁸ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1951, 519.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alex Jones (Infowars) entrevista Aleksandr Dugin.* 2017. posted by "Claudiombg." September 23. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RfGgjuzqCzY>.
- Amann, Melanie and Pavel Lokshin. 2016. "German Populists Forge Ties with Russia." *Der Spiegel*. April 27. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-populists-forge-deeper-ties-with-russia-a-1089562.html>.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1951. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
- Baker, Peter. 2018. "Use That Word!': Trump Embraces the 'Nationalist' Label." *The New York Times*. October 23. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/23/us/politics/nationalist-president-trump.html>.
- BBC News. 2017. "White Nationalists Return to Charlottesville." *BBC News*, October 8. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-41543631>.
- Bertrand, Natasha. 2016. "A Model for Civilization': Putin's Russia Has Emerged as a 'Beacon' for Nationalists and the American Alt-Right." December 10. <https://www.businessinsider.com/russia-connections-to-the-alt-right-2016-11>.
- Bokhari, Allum and Milos Yiannopoulos. 2016. "An Establishment Conservative's Guide to the Alt-Right." March 29. *Breitbart*, <https://www.breitbart.com/tech/2016/03/29/an-establishment-conservatives-guide-to-the-alt-right/>
- Bravo, Richard, Gregory Viscusi, Nikos Chrysoloras, and Joshua Green. 2018. "Inside Steve Bannon's Plans for a New European Political Order." *Bloomberg*. September 19. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-19/bannon-seeks-european-upset-with-appeal-to-eu-s-populist-forces>.
- Breivik, Anders. 2011. "2083--A European Declaration of Independence." *Public Intelligence*. July 28. <https://publicintelligence.net/anders-behring-breiviks-complete-manifesto-2083-a-european-declaration-of-independence/>.
- Chokshi, Niraj. 2018. "Trump Voters Driven by Fear of Losing Status, Not Economic Anxiety," *The New York Times*, April 24.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/24/us/politics/trump-economic-anxiety.html>.

Clover, Charles. 2017. *Black Wind, White Snow The Rise of Russia's New Nationalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

—. 2016. "The Unlikely Origins of Russia's Manifest Destiny." *Foreign Policy*, July 27.

Cox, Daniel, Rachel Lienesch, and Robert P. Jones. 2017. "Beyond Economics: Fears of Cultural Displacement Pushed the White Working Class to Trump," *PRRI*, May 9. <https://www.prrri.org/research/white-working-class-attitudes-economy-trade-immigration-election-donald-trump/>.

Curridori, Francesco. 2017. "In Donbass Non Abbiamo Toccato Un 'Arma.'" *Il Giornale*. October 15. <http://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/donbass-non-abbiamo-toccato-unarma-1452694.html>.

Der Spiegel. 2008. "The Chronicle of a Caucasian Tragedy." August 25.

Digital Forensic Research Lab. 2018. "#Troll Tracker: Twiter Troll Farm Archives." *Medium*. Atlantic Council. October 17. <https://medium.com/dfrlab/trolltracker-twitter-troll-farm-archives-8d5dd61c486b>.

Dugin, Aleksandr. 1997. *Foundations of Geopolitics*. Translated by Grant S. Fellows. Arctogaia.

—. 2017. "The Name of Europe is Marine Le Pen." *Geopolitica.ru*. July 5. <https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/name-europe-marine-le-pen>.

—. 2016. "Brexit: Europe is Falling into the Abyss." *Katehon*. June 25. <http://katehon.com/article/brexit-europe-falling-abyss>.

Duncan, Peter J. S. 2014. *Russian Messianism: Third Rome, Revolution, Communism and After*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Dunlop, John. 2004. *Aleksandr Dugin's Foundations of Geopolitics*. Demokratizatsiya. January 31. <https://tec.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/aleksandr-dugins-foundations-geopolitics>.

Enstad, Johannes Due. 2017. "Glory to Breivik!": The Russian Far Right and the 2011 Norwar Attacks." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29 (5): 773-792.

- Feder, J. Lester. 2016. "This is How Steve Bannon Sees the Entire World." *Buzzfeed News*. November 16.
<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/this-is-how-steve-bannon-sees-the-entire-world>.
- Ferris-Rotman, Amie. 2018. "Why Russia is Wooing South Africa's White Farmers." *The Washington Post*. September 23.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/why-russia-is-wooing-south-africas-white-farmers/2018/09/23/3308a7c4-b6a3-11e8-ae4f-2c1439c96d79_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.e7bd4a397653.
- Finnegan, William. 2016. "Donald Trump and the 'Amazing' Alex Jones." *The New Yorker*. June 23. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/donald-trump-and-the-amazing-alex-jones>.
- Fitzpatrick, Catherine A. 2014. *Russia This Week: Dugin Dismissed from Moscow State University?* The Interpreter. June 27.
<http://www.interpretermag.com/russia-this-week-what-will-be-twitthers-fate-in-russia/#0937>.
- Fogelman, Shay. 2010. "We Won," *Haaretz*. November 5.
<https://www.haaretz.com/1.5135481>
- Galeotti, Mark. 2018. "I'm Sorry for Creating the Gerasimov Doctrine." *Foreign Policy*. March 5. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/05/im-sorry-for-creating-the-gerasimov-doctrine/>.
- Galperovitch, Danila. 2017. *Russian Social Media Sites Have Become Meeting Places for the American Ultra-Right*. VOA Russia. August 26. <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/4002082.html>.
- Gatehouse, Gabriel. 2017. "Marine Le Pen: Who Funds the France's Far Right?" *BBC Panorama*. April 3. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39478066>.
- Gessen, Masha. 2017. *The Future is History How Totalitarianism Reclaimed Russia*. New York: Riverhead Books.
- Gevorkian, Natalia, Natalia Timakova, A. V. Kolesnikov, Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, Vladimir Vladimirovitch Putin. 2000. *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-portrait by Russia's President*. Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick. New York : PublicAffairs.

- Gilbert, Alan. 2016. "How Do We Know Our Elections Are Fair?." *The Daily Beast*. December 11. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-do-we-know-our-elections-are-fair>.
- . 2016. "The Cowboy Novels that Inspired Hitler." *The Daily Beast*. August 21. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-cowboy-novels-that-inspired-hitler>.
- Goldmacher, Shane. 2016. "Alex Jones Says Trump Called to Thank Him." *Politico*. November 14. <https://www.politico.com/story/2016/11/trump-thanked-alex-jones-231329>.
- Green, Joshua. 2017. "Inside the Secret, Strange Origins of Steve Bannon's Nationalist Fantasia." *Vanity Fair*. July 17. <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2017/07/the-strange-origins-of-steve-bannons-nationalist-fantasia>.
- Guettel, Jens-Uwe. 2012. *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism and the United States 1776-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harkinson, Josh. 2016. "Meet the White Nationalists Trying to Ride the Trump Train to Lasting Power." *Mother Jones*, October 27. <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/10/richard-spencer-trump-alt-right-white-nationalist/>.
- Hersh, Seymour. 1994. "The Wild East." *The Atlantic Monthly*, June.
- Herwig, Holger H. 1999. "Geopolitik: Haushofer, Hitler and Lebensraum." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 22 (2-3): 218-241.
- . 2016. *The Demon of Geopolitics: How Karl Haushofer "Educated" Hitler and Hess*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Holton, Kate and Guy Faulconbridge. 2017. "UK investigates Brexit Campaign Funding Amid Speculation of Russian Meddling." *Reuters*. November 1. <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-investigation/uk-investigates-brexit-campaign-funding-amid-speculation-of-russian-meddling-idUKKBN1D14H9>.
- Horowitz, Jason. 2017. "Steve Bannon Cited Italian Thinker Who Inspired Fascists." *The New York Times*. February 10. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/10/world/europe/bannon-vatican-julius-evola-fascism.html>.

- Hughes, Michael. 2004. "Mysticism and Knowledge in the Philosophical Thought of Ivan Kireevsky." *Mystics Quarterly* 30 (1/2): 15-27.
- İdiz, Semih. "Is Russia Meddling in Turkey's Affairs?" *Hurriyet Daily News*. November 7. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/semih-idiz/is-russia-meddling-in-turkeys-affairs-122024>.
- Jobbik. 2013. Gábor Vona Had a Lecture in at Lomonosov University in Russia." *Jobbik*. May 24. https://www.jobbik.com/gábor_vona_had_lecture_lomonosov_university_russia.
- Johnson, Chalmers. 2001. "Blowback." *The Nation*. September 27. <https://www.thenation.com/article/blowback/>.
- Katehon. 2016. "Alexander Dugin Gave a Press Conference in Ankara." *Katehon*. July 15. <http://katehon.com/news/alexander-dugin-gave-press-conference-ankara>.
- Kenar, Ceren. 2016. "Turkey's 'Deep State' Has a Secret Back Channel to Assad." *Foreign Policy*. July 12. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/12/turkeys-deep-state-has-a-secret-backchannel-to-assad/>.
- Kirchgaessner, Stephanie, Nick Hopkins, and Luke Harding. 2017. "Nigel Farage is 'Person of Interest' in FBI Investigation into Trump and Russia." *The Guardian*. June 2. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/01/nigel-farage-is-person-of-interest-in-fbi-investigation-into-trump-and-russia>.
- Kirchick, James. 2014. "American Racist Richard Spencer Gets to Play the Martyr in Hungary." October 7. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/american-racist-richard-spencer-gets-to-play-the-martyr-in-hungary>.
- Kirkpatrick, David D. and Matthew Rosenberg. 2018. "Russians Offered Business Deals to Brexit's Biggest Backer." *The New York Times*. June 29. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/29/world/europe/russia-britain-brexit-arron-banks.html>.
- Knezevic, Gordana. 2017. "Macedonian Witch Hunt Targets George Soros." *RadioFreeEurope RadioLiberty*. January 19. <https://www.rferl.org/a/george-soros-macedonia-witch-hunt/28243738.html>.
- Konstantakopoulos, Dimitris. 2013. "Alexander Dugin on The Big Game—and Its Greek and Cypriot 'Chapter.'" *Epikaira*. April 4.

<https://openrevolt.info/2013/04/04/alexander-dugin-on-greece-and-cyprus/>.

Kouprianova, Nina. n.d. "Nina Byzantina,"

<https://ninabyzantina.com/category/geopolitics/>.

Langer, Jacob. 2007. *Corruption and Counterrevolution: The Rise and Fall of the Black Hundred*. Duke University.

Laruelle, Marlene. 2015. "Scared of Putin's Shadow." *Foreign Affairs*. March 25.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-03-25/scared-putins-shadow>.

Laqueur, Walter. 1993. *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

—. 2015. "Anti-Semitism and the New Russian Idea." *Mosaic*, June 15.

Levada Center. 2017. "Attitudes Towards Migrants." May 2017.

<https://www.levada.ru/en/2017/05/29/attitudes-toward-migrants/>.

—. May. "National Pride". 29 2017. <https://www.levada.ru/en/2017/05/29/national-pride/>.

—. October. "Putin's Approval Rating." 2018, <https://www.levada.ru/en/ratings/>.

—. 2018. *The Perception of Stalin*. April 4.

<https://www.levada.ru/en/2018/04/17/the-perception-of-stalin/>.

Levitsky, Gretchen Helmke and Steven. 2006. *Informal Institutions and Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lilla, Mark. 2010. "Reading Strauss in Berlin." *The New Republic*. December 17.

Lukashevich, Stephen. 1965. *Ivan Aksakov, 1823-1886: A Study in Russian Thought and Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Matishak, Martin. 2018. "What We Know about Russia's Election Hacking." July 18,

Politico. <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/18/russia-election-hacking-trump-putin-698087>.

Martin, Michelle. 2017. "Co-leader of Germany's Far Right AfD to Quit in Major Blow." *Reuters*. September 26. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us->

[germany-politics-afd-petry/co-leader-of-germanys-far-right-afd-to-quit-in-major-blow-idUSKCN1C122A](#).

- Marx, Karl. April. "Letter to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt in New York." *Marxists.org*. 9 1870.
https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1870/letters/70_04_09.htm.
- Marx, Karl. n.d. "On the Jewish Question." In *The Marx-Engels Reader*, edited by Robert Tucker, 26-46. New York: Norton & Company
- MEMRI. 2018. "Russia in the World—Russia-Italy Relations—Italian Prime Minister: Italian Government Supports a Revision of the Sanctions Against Russia." *MEMRI*. June 11. <https://www.memri.org/reports/russia-world-%E2%80%93-russia-italy-relations-%E2%80%93-italian-prime-minister-italian-government-supports>.
- Metelkina, Sofia. 2018. "Aleksandr Dugin: Visegrád Group As the Project of the Greater Eastern Europe," *Geopolitica.ru*, April 27.
<https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/alexander-dugin-visegrad-group-project-greater-eastern-europe>.
- Meyer, Henry and Onur Ant. 2017. "The Russian 'Philosopher' Who Links Putin, Bannon, Turkey: Alexander Dugin." *Bloomberg*. February 3.
<https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-dugin-trump-putin-turkey-20170203-story.html>.
- Minca, Claudio and Rory Rowan. 2014. "The Question of Space in Carl Schmitt." *Progress in Human Geography* 39 (3).
- Minca, Trevor J. Barnes and Claudio. 2013. "Nazi Spatial Theory: the Dark Geographies of Carl Schmitt and Walter Christaller." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103 (3): 669-87.
- Nakamura, David, John Hudson, and Isaac Stanley-Becker. 2018. "Dangerous and Poisoned': Critics Blast Trump for Endorsing White Nationalist Conspiracy Theory on South Africa." *The Washington Post*. August 23.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/dangerous-and-poisoned-critics-blast-trump-for-endorsing-white-nationalist-conspiracy-theory-on-south-africa/2018/08/23/6c3b160e-a6df-11e8-a656-943eefab5daf_story.html?utm_term=.e5b11591809a.
- Nardelli, Alberto and Olga Tokariuk. 2018. "Here's a Totally Incredible Story About Pro-Russian Mercenaries and a Close Aide to Italy's De Facto Leader."

- Buzzfeed News*. September 16.
<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/albertonardelli/matteo-salvini-russia-gianluca-savoini>.
- Nemtsova, Anna. 2017. "Russia's Alt-Right Rasputin Says He's Steve Bannon's Ideological Soul Mate." April 24. *The Daily Beast*.
<https://www.thedailybeast.com/russias-alt-right-rasputin-says-hes-steve-bannons-ideological-soul-mate>.
- Ockerman, Emma. 2018. "Steve King's Supporters Don't Care About the Accusations of Racism and Anti-Semitism." *Vice News*. November 5.
https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/gy7xm7/we-went-to-a-steve-king-rally-and-asked-if-hes-a-white-supremacist.
- Polunin, Andrey. 2017. "Nine Months of Trump." *Svobodnaya Press*. October 23.
<http://svpressa.ru/politic/article/184294/?rss=1>
- Sachs, Jeffrey. 2012. "What I Did in Russia." *jeffsachs.org*. March 14.
<http://jeffsachs.org/2012/03/what-i-did-in-russia/>.
- . 1990. "What Is to Be Done?" *The Economist*. January 13.
<http://www.earth.columbia.edu/sitefiles/file/about/director/pubs/economist0190.pdf>.
- Salhani, Justin. 2016. "The White Nationalist Movement's Favorite Philosopher." *ThinkProgress*. December 19. <https://thinkprogress.org/the-white-nationalist-movements-favorite-philosopher-42576bc50666/>.
- Savitsky, Petr. 1933. "*The Geographical and Geopolitical Foundations of Eurasianism*". Translated by Jafe Arnold.
- Shane, Scott. 2017. "These Are the Ads Russia Bought on Facebook in 2016." *The New York Times*. 11 1.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/us/politics/russia-2016-election-facebook.html>.
- Shekhovtsov, Anton. 2018. "Austrian and Italian Far-Right Parties Signed Coordination and Cooperation Agreements with Putin's 'United Russia.'" *Tango Noir*. June 4. <http://www.tango-noir.com/2018/06/04/austrian-and-italian-far-right-parties-signed-coordination-and-cooperation-agreements-with-putins-united-russia/>.
- . 2014. "Putin's Brain?" *New Eastern Europe*. September-October.

Sommer, Allison Kaplan. 2018. "How Did the Term 'Globalist' Become an Anti-Semitic Slur? Blame Bannon." *Haaretz*. May 13.
<https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/.premium-how-did-the-term-globalist-became-an-anti-semitic-slur-blame-bannon-1.5895925>.

Spannaus, Andrew. 2018. "A Russian Conservative View of Putin: Interview with Alexander Dugin." *Aspen Institute Italy*. July 15.
<https://www.aspeninstitute.it/aspenia-online/article/russian-conservative-view-putin-interview-alexander-dugin>.

Snyder, Timothy. 2011. *The Road to Unfreedom*. New York: Random House.

Stelzenmüller, Constanze. 2017. "The Impact of Russian Interference on Germany's 2017 Elections." *Brookings Institute*. June 28.
<https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-impact-of-russian-interference-on-germanys-2017-elections/>.

Stephenson, Svetlana. 2015. *Gangs of Russia: From the Streets to the Corridors of Power*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Telesur. 2018. "Brazil: Steve Bannon to Advise Bolsonaro Presidential Campaign." *Telesur*. August 15. <https://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Brazil-Steve-Bannon-to-Advise-Bolsonaro-Presidential-Campaign-20180815-0003.html>.

Teschke, Benno. 2014. "Carl Schmitt's Concepts of War: A Categorical Failure." In *The Oxford Handbook of Carl Schmitt*, edited by Jens Meierhenrich and Oliver Simons. Oxford University Press.

Tesler, Michael. 2016. "Trump Is the First Modern Republican to Win the Nomination Based on Racial Prejudice." *The Washington Post*. August 1.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/08/01/trump-is-the-first-republican-in-modern-times-to-win-the-partys-nomination-on-anti-minority-sentiments/?utm_term=.ba4a934ffc39.

Truscott IV, Lucian K. 2017. "Nixon and Trump: What Happens When President's Unravel." October 14. <https://www.salon.com/2017/10/14/the-lessons-we-learned-from-nixon-about-when-presidents-unravel/>.

Tsargrad Analytical Group. 2016. "Dugin: Trump Can Become an American Eurasianist, an American Trump." *Tsargrad*. November 11.

https://tsargrad.tv/articles/aleksandr-dugin-tramp-mozhet-stat-amerikanskim-evrazijcem-amerikanskim-putinyim_34183.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. 1893. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History"

United Nations Development Project. 1997. "Human Development Report."
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/258/hdr_1997_en_complete_nostats.pdf.

Vilmer, Jean-Baptiste Jangéne and Heather A. Conley. 2018. "Successfully Countering Russian Electoral Interference." *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. June 21. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/successfully-countering-russian-electoral-interference>.

Wintour, Patrick. 2018. "Russian Bid to Influence Brexit Vote Detailed in New US Senate Report." *The Guardian*. January 10.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/10/russian-influence-brexit-vote-detailed-us-senate-report>.

World Inequality Lab. n.d. "World Inequality Report 2018."

APPENDIX: TRANSLATION OF SECTED SECTIONS FROM FOUNDATIONS
OF GEOPOLITICS

Part 1

Section 1: Friedrich Ratzel: The State as a Physical Organism

1.1 Background: The German “Organic School”

Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) can be considered “the father” of geopolitics, although he did not use this term in his own writings. He wrote on “political geography.” His principal work, published in 1897, was titled “Politische Geographie.”

Ratzel graduated from Karlsruhe Polytechnic University where he attended courses in geology, paleontology, and zoology. He completed his education at Heidelberg, where he became an acolyte of Professor Ernest Haeckel (who was the first to use the term “ecology”). Ratzel’s ideology was grounded in evolution and Darwinism and colored by his pronounced interest in Biology.

Ratzel participated in the Franco-Prussian War, where he served as a volunteer and received the Iron Cross for bravery. In politics, he gradually became a committed nationalist and in 1890 he joined the “Pan-German League” of Karl Peters. His lengthy travels in America and Europe added to his own scientific interest in Ethnological research. He became a lecture of geography at the Munich Technical Institute and in 1886 he moved to a similar position in Leipzig.

In 1876 Ratzel defended his dissertation “The Chinese Immigration,” and in Stuttgart, he came out with his fundamental work in 1882, “Anthro-Geography” (“Anthropogeographie”) in which he formulates his basic idea: That there is a connection between the evolution of peoples and demographics with physical geographic data; the influence that physical terrain has on a people’s culture, political development, and so on.

But his most fundamental book was “Political Geography.”

1.2 The State as a Living Organism

Ratzel showed in his work that land is a fundamental, fixed constant around which the interests of a people rotate. The movement of history is predetermined by earth and territories. Further followed by an evolutionary inference that the “state constitutes a living organism,” but one that is “rooted in the ground.” The state develops based on its territorial topography, size and its comprehension by the people. Thus, the state reflects the objective geographic principle and subjective national comprehension of this principle, and this is expressed politically. Ratzel considered a “normal” state, one which most organically combined geography, demographics, and ethnological national parameters.

He writes:

The state in all stages in its development as an organism contends with the necessity of preserving its connection with the terrain and therefore they should be studied from a geographical point of view. As shown in ethnology and history, a state develops on a spatial basis--conjugating and merging more and more--and extracting from it more and more energy. Thus, a state turns out to consist spatially, maintained and animated by this space, and should be managed, described, and measured through geography. A state is

described in a series of phenomena, with the expansionary principle being the most prominent. (Political Geography 1)

It is clearly visible that from such an organic approach, Ratzel understood territorial expansion to be a natural, living process, similar to the growth of living organisms.

Ratzel's "organic" approach is in relation to its space (Raum). This "space" brings over a cardinal material category in a new quality, becoming the "Living Sphere," "Living Space" (Lebensraum), in a "Geobiological Environment." From this concept arises two different, important terms of Ratzel's: "Sense of Space" (Raumsinn) and "Living Energy (Lebensenergie). These terms are closely related to each other and denote some special quality, inherent in geographical systems and predetermining political figuration in the history of the people and state.

All these theses comprise the fundamental principles of geopolitics, in that form, which would be developed somewhat later by followers of Ratzel. Furthermore, the relationship to the state is similar to a "living, physical organism, rooted in the soil;" this is the chief principle and axis of geopolitical methodologies. That approach is oriented in synthetic analysis of the entire complex of phenomena, regardless of whether they belong to the human sphere or non-human sphere. The land is a concrete expression of nature, the surrounding environment, and is not regarded as a continuous living body of the ethnos--it is the land being inhabited. The material structure itself dictates the proportions of the final cultural products.

In this idea Ratzel is the founder of the entire German School of “organic” sociology, of which Ferdinand Tönnies is the most notable representative.

1.3 Raum - Political Organization of the Land

Ratzel’s observation was that there is a correlation between ethnos and space--as seen in the following excerpt from “Political Geography:”

The state develops like an organism, tethered to certain parts of the earth’s surface, and its characteristics developing from the characteristics of the people and land. The most important characteristics are its size, location, and borders. Followed by types of soil, along with vegetation levels, irrigation, and finally, correlates in relation to the rest of the conglomerations of the earth’s surface, and in the first place, with neighboring seas and uninhabited lands, which, at first glance, does not represent especial political interest. The aggregate of these characteristics constitutes the Land (das Land). But adding to this, when speaking about ‘our country,’ is that created by man--memories connected to the earth. So, an initially pure understanding of geography transformed into the spiritual and emotional bonds of the inhabitants of a land and their history. A nation is an organism not only because it articulates the lives of the people in fixed soil, but due to its intertwining bond, becoming something unified--unthinkable without one of two components. Desolate land, incapable of nurturing government, are barren fields in history. On the contrary, habitable land promotes state development--particularly if the state is surrounded by natural boundaries. People may feel themselves to be natural in their territory, but they are actually constantly mimicking one and the same characteristics, which proceeding forth from the terrain, will be inscribed in it. (2)

1.4 The Law of Expansion

The relationship of the state to a living organism implies the refusal of the concept of “borderlessness.” The state is born, grows, and dies like a living being. Consequently, a state’s spatial expansion and contraction are natural processes connected to an intrinsic life cycle. Ratzel, in his book “On the Law of Spatial Growth of the State” (1901), laid out the seven laws of expansion:

1. The state expands in relation to the development of its culture
2. The physical growth of the state is accompanied by other manifestations of its development: in the spheres of ideology, production, commercial activities, and a mighty, attractive proselytizing power.
3. The state expands by consuming and absorbing units of lesser political significance.
4. The border is an organ located on the state's periphery (understood as in an organism).
5. Carrying out its territorial expansion, the state strives to cover important regions for its development: coastlines, river basins, valleys, and in general, the richest territories.
6. The initial impulse for expansions comes from outside—that is in its expansion the state provokes states (or territories) with clearly inferior civilizations.
7. The general tendencies of assimilation or absorption the weakest nations are reinforced by an even greater increase in self-perpetuating momentum.

Unsurprisingly, many critics have rebuked Ratzel for his writings because they have been a “catechism for imperialists.” While he himself by no means pressed for the favorite methods for justifying German imperialism, still he did not disguise that he had nationalist convictions. For him, it was important to establish a conceptual instrument for advocating awareness of the history of the state and nation and their relationship to the land. In practice, he sought the awakening of

“Raumsinn” (“the spirit of the land), among the leaders of Germany, whom regarded geopolitics as a dry academic discipline merely representing abstraction.

1.5 Weltmacht and the Sea

Ratzel was greatly influenced by his experiences in North America, which he studied thoroughly and published two books on: “Maps of the Cities and Civilizations of the American South” (1874), and “the Southern United States of America,” (1878 1880). He noted, having his considerable experience of political geography in European history, the far greater degree that the “spirit of the land” had in American expansion because Americans first had the task of mastering the “empty” expanses. Accordingly, the American people sensibly put into practice what the Old World had come to intuitively and gradually. So, in Ratzel’s work we come across the first formulation of another important geopolitical concept—“world power” (weltmacht). Ratzel observed that large countries have a tendency in their development to maximize geographical expansion, gradually moving to the global level.

Therefore, some time or another, geographical growth should arrive at its continental phase.

Applying this principle—inferred and deduced from the American political experiment and strategical unification of the continent’s space—to Germany, Ratzel predicted its destiny to be a continental power.

He also anticipated another important geopolitical topic—the importance of the seas for civilizational development. In his book “The Seas: The Source of

Nations' Power" (1900) (4), he pointed out the particular necessity of each mighty power to develop its naval forces, especially because full-fledged global expansion requires it. That some nations and states brought this about spontaneously (England, Spain, Holland, etc.), land powers (Ratzel, naturally, had Germany in mind) should do this sensibly: develop a fleet that is necessary under the conditions for approximating the status of a "world power."

The sea and "world power" were already connected for Ratzel, although only later geopoliticians (Mahan, Mackinder, Haushofer, and especially Schmitt) gave this topic completeness and centrality. The works of Ratzel are the essential for all geopolitical research. In a compressed form, his works contain practically every basic thesis, which would form the basis of this science. Kjellen, a Swede, and Haushofer, a German, based their concepts on Ratzel's works. His ideas were also taken into account by Frenchman Vidal de la Blache, the Englishman Mackinder, Mahan, an American, and the Russian Eurasianists (P. Savitsky, L. Gumilev, etc.).

It should be noted that Ratzel's political sympathies were not accidental. Practically all geopolitics has been brightly marked by nationalist sentiment, regardless of whether it wears the cloak of "democratic" geopolitics (Anglo-Saxon geopolitics of Mackinder and Mahan) or "ideological" forms (Haushofer, Schmitt, and the Eurasianists).

Section 2: Rudolf Kjellen and Fredrick Neumann “Middle Europe”

2.1 Defining a New Science

A Swede, Rudolf Kjellen, was the first to use the term “Geopolitics.”

Kjellen was a professor of history and political science at the University of Uppsalla and Goteborg University. However, he was an active participant in politics, he held a seat in parliament, and his politics were distinguished by an underlying Germanophilic orientation. Kjellen was not a professional geographer, but he developed the basics of geopolitics as part of political science. His work originated from Ratzel’s (he considered him to be his mentor).

Kjellen’s geopolitics can be identified in the following passage: “This—the science of governments (states) as geographical organisms—is incarnate in the land.”

Apart from “Geopolitics,” Kjellen proposed four more neologisms, which in his view should be the basis for the partition of political science into separate sections.

1. Econopolitics: “The study of dynamics impulses, transferred from the people to the state.”
2. Demopolitics: “The study of dynamic impulses transferred from the people to the state,” an analogue is Ratzel’s “Anthrogeography.”
3. Sociopolitical: “The study of the social aspect of the state.”

4. Kratospolitics: “The study of the forms of governments and powers in relation to the problems of rights and socioeconomic factors.”

But all of these disciplines, which Kjellen cultivated in parallel with geopolitics, did not receive more widespread recognition aside from the term “Geopolitics,” which steadily became established in quite varied circles.

2.2 The State as a Life Form and Interests in Germany

In his foundational work “The State as a Life Form” (1916), Kjellen developed postulations that had been hypothesized by Ratzel in his works. Kjellen, similar to Ratzel, considered himself a believer in German “Organicism,” rejecting the mechanistic state and society approach. The rejection of the strict bleaching of study in terms of “inanimate objects” (background), and “human subjects” (personalities), is a distinctive feature of geopolitics. In this sense, the very meaning of geopolitics is displayed in Kjellen’s work.

Kjellen developed Ratzel’s geopolitical principles and applied them to specific historical situations in his contemporary Europe.

He followed Ratzel’s idea of “a continental state” to its logical conclusion and applied it to Germany. He showed that in the European context Germany constitutes that space, which possesses the pivotal dynamism and is intended to structure itself to become encircled by the remaining European powers. Kjellen interpreted World War I to be a natural conflict arising between a dynamic, expanding Germany (Axis nations) opposed by the peripheral European (and non-European) states (the Entente). Differences in the dynamics of geopolitical

growth—downwards for England and France and upwards for Germany—predetermined the basic alignment of forces. Wherein, from his point of view, this is the natural and inevitable geopolitical position for Germany, despite the temporary defeat in World War I.

Kjellen consolidated Ratzel's geopolitical maxims that were in the interests of Germany (= the interests of Europe), in opposition to the interests of the Western European powers (especially England and France). But Germany, a “young” state, and the Germans, a “young people” (this idea—of “young peoples,” which is what Russians and Germans were considered to be—dates back to Fyodor Dostoevsky, who was quoted more than once by Kjellen). The “young” Germans, motivated by the “Central European Space,” should move to the level of a continental state on the global scale at the territorial expense of the “older peoples”—the French and English. Yet, the ideological aspect of geopolitical confrontations was considered by Kjellen to be secondary to the spatial aspect.

2.3 Towards the Concept of Middle Europe

Although Swedish himself, Kjellen pressed for political rapprochement between Germany and Sweden. His own geopolitical representation on the importance of the unification of German space matches exactly the theory of “Middle Europe” (Mitteleuropa), developed by Freidrich Naumann.

In his book “Mitteleuropa” (1915), Naumann gave a geopolitical diagnosis that matches exactly with the concepts of Rudolf Kjellen. From Naumann's point of view, to withstand competition from such organized geopolitical formations like

England (and its colonies), the USA, and Russia, the peoples inhabiting Central Europe should unify and organize in new integrative, political-economic ways in this space. The axis of this space, would of course, naturally, be Germany.

Mitteleuropa differed from pure “Pan-Germanic” projects, since it was not based on nationalism, but strict geopolitical understanding, which the basic meaning was not given to ethnic unity, but commonalities in geographical fates. Naumann’s project involved the integration of Germany, Austria, the Lower Danube states, and in the wider view—France.

The geopolitical project was also supported by cultural parallels. Germany itself was the organic formation identified with spiritual notion of “mitellage,” the middle position. This was more deeply formulated in 1818 by Ernst Arndt: “God has situated us in the center of Europe: We (the Germans) are the heart of our part of the world.”

Ratzel’s ideas gradually acquired tangible traits through Kjellen and Naumann’s “Continental” theory.

Section 3 Halford Mackinder: The Geographical Pivot of History

3.1 Scientist and Politician

Sir Halford J. Mackinder (1861-1947) is one of the brightest figures amongst geopolitical scholars.

Having received an education in geography, he taught at Oxford beginning in 1887, until he was named director of the London School of Economics. From 1910-1992 he was a Member of Parliament and in 1919-1920 he was the interim British Ambassador in Southern Russia. Mackinder is known for his high esteem in the world of English politics, and internationally, in which he was very notably influential, and also, by the fact that he created some of the boldest and most revolutionary systems for interpreting world political history.

For example, Mackinder most clearly depicted a typical paradox that is inherent in geopolitics as a discipline. Mackinder's ideas were not accepted in the scientific community, despite his high position, not just in politics, but in the scientific community itself. Even the fact that he had actively and successfully participated in building English strategy in international questions, based in his interpretation of political and geographical world history, could not convince skeptics to accept the value and efficacy of geopolitics as a discipline.

3.2 The Geographical Pivot of History

The first and boldest of Mackinder's works was his paper "The Geopolitical Pivot of History," published in 1904 in "The Geographical Journal." In this piece, he outlined his core views on history and geography that would be developed further in later works. This text of Mackinder's might be considered the main geopolitical text in the discipline's history, because he not only summarizes previous schools of thought in "political geography," but also formulates the type of basic laws present in the sciences.

Mackinder claims, that for a state, the most advantageous geographical position would be in the middle, the central position. The concept of centrality is relative and it might vary in each specific geographical context. But from the global perspective, the Eurasian Continent lies in the center of the world and in its center—the "heart of the world," or the "heartland." The heartland is concentrated within the continental mass of Eurasia. It is the most favorable geographical springboard necessary for control of the whole world.

The heartland is the key territory within the wider context of the World Island. Mackinder includes three continents—Asia, Africa, and Europe—in this world island.

Thus, Mackinder hierarchizes global space via a system of concentric circles. In the very center is "the Geographical Pivot of History" or "pivot area." This geographical concept applies equally to Russia. It is the same "axial" reality known as the heartland, "the heart at the core."

Continuing, “the interior or marginal crescent (inner or marginal crescent.” This belt coincides with the coastal spaces of the Eurasian continent.” According to Mackinder, the “inner crescent” itself is presented as the zone of the most intense civilizational development. This corresponds with the historical hypothesis that civilizations arose initially on the banks of rivers and seas, the so-called “theory of theories.” It should be noted that the last theory is a significant instance for all geopolitical constructs. The intersection of aquatic and terrestrial spaces is a key factor in the history of nations and states. This topic would be developed further as the specialization of Schmitt and Spykman; however, they were first brought out in Mackinder’s precise geopolitical formula.

Going further out to the next circle: “the outer or insular crescent” (outer or insular crescent). This whole outer zone (geographically and culturally is in reference to mainland masses of the World Island.

Mackinder claims the entire course of history has been determined by the following processes. From the heartland’s center to its periphery, it is constantly under tension, from so-called “robbers of land.” Especially starkly and graphically reflected in the Mongolian invasions. But, they were preceded by the Scythians, Huns, Alans, and so on. Civilizations arising out of “the Geographical Pivot of History,” the deepest interior spaces of the heartland have, in Mackinder’s opinion, “autonomy,” “hierarchy,” “non-democratic” characteristics, and are “non-trading.” In the ancient world, these traits were embodied in societies like Dorian Sparta and Ancient Rome.

Tension is spread from the outside of these regions of the “island crescent,” to the world island by the so-called “robbers of the sea” or “island inhabitants.” With their colonial expeditions, springing from outside the non-Eurasian center, these aspirants counterbalance the terrestrial impulses, arising out of the interior margins of the continent. For civilizations of the “outer crescent,” characteristics are a “trading” nature and “democratic forms” or politics. In antiquity, these traits distinguished the Athenian or Carthaginian governments.

Between these two civilizational poles, geographical impulses are located in the “outer crescent,” which are dualistic and constantly exerting opposing cultural influences that have the most mobility thanks to their priority positions in the development of civilizations.

History, to Mackinder, rotates around the continental axis. This history is more felt in the area of the “outer crescent,” than in the heartland, where frozen archaism “reigns” and in the “inner crescent” there is a certain civilizational chaos.

3.3 The Key Position of Russia

Mackinder himself identified his interests with the interests of the Anglo-Saxon World Island, i.e. of the position in the “outer crescent.” In that station, he viewed the fundamental geopolitical stance to the “world island” to be the maximum weakening of the heartland and in extending this influence to the furthest possible limits of the “external crescent” within the “interior crescent.” Mackinder stressed the strategic priority of the “Geographical Pivot of History,”

and he conjectured that that throughout the political world this was the paramount geographical law.

“The one who controls Eastern Europe dominates the heartland; he who controls the heartland dominates the World Island; he who dominates the World Island dominates the world.” (“Democratic Ideas and Realism”) (10)

At the political level this means an admission of Russia’s leading role in strategic thought. Mackinder wrote:

Russia, as well as Germany, occupies a central strategic position in the world as a whole, and in Europeans relations. It can carry out attacks in all directions and be subjected to them as well, except from the North. Complete development of railway capabilities is a matter of time. (“The Geographical Pivot of History”) (11)

Proceeding from this, Mackinder considered that the main objective of English geopolitics is to prevent the organization of a strategic continental union around “the geographical pivot of history” (Russia). Accordingly, the strategic power of the “outer crescent” is the ability to pick off the maximum amount of coastal space from the heartland and place it under the influence of “island civilization.”

A disturbance in the power equilibrium towards the “pivotal state” (Russia and others), accompanying its expansion into the peripheral spaces of the Eurasia, will allow it to use vast continental resources for the creation of a mighty, seafaring fleet: this brings it closer to world empire. This will be possible if Russia unites with Germany. The threat of this development will compel France to enter into an alliance with oversea powers—and France, Italy, Egypt, India, and Korea will become coastal bases for the mooring of the Great Powers’ fleets to pulverize the forces from the “pivotal range” from all directions and thwart their efforts to concentrate forces into a powerful, naval fleet. (“The Geographical Pivot of History”) (12)

Most interestingly, Mackinder did not just construct simple theoretical hypotheses, but actively participated in the international organizations supporting the Entente's "White Movement," which he considered to have Atlanticist tendencies—directed towards weakening the power of the pro-German minded Eurasianist-Bolsheviks. He personally consulted with the leaders of the Whites and tried to gain maximum support from the English government. It seemed he prophetically foresaw not only the Treaty of Brest, but also the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.²⁸⁹

In his 1919 book "Democratic Ideals and Realism," Mackinder wrote: "What will become of the naval forces if one day the great continent is politically unified to become the foundation of an invincible armada?" (13)

It is not hard to understand why exactly Mackinder established in Anglo-Saxon geopolitics, which in half a century would be the United States and NATO, this essential tendency: to impede in any way capable the very possibility of the creation of a Eurasian Bloc—established through a union of Russia and Germany—a geopolitical reinforcing of the heartland and its expansion. The West's sustained Russophobia in the twentieth century is not just ideological, but also geopolitical in character. Still, taking into account Mackinder's connection between civilizational types and these geopolitical characteristics, or other forces, one could

²⁸⁹Dugin refers to it as only the Treaty of Brest, not Brest-Litovsk. Brest is the Russian name for the city and Litovsk is the Polish one.

acquire a formula for which geopolitical terminology is easily translated into ideological terminology.

The “outer crescent” is liberal democracy; “the geographical pivot of history” is non-democratic authoritarianism; the inner crescent is an intermediate model—a combination of both ideological systems.

Mackinder participated in the preparation for the Versailles Treaty, which would reflect the essence of Mackinder’s views. The treaty was designed to instill a Western European character in the coastal bases for naval forces (The Pax Britannica). Together with this, he envisaged the establishment of limitrophe states, which might divide Germans and Slavs, in every way discouraging a strategic continental alliance between them that would be so dangerous for the “island countries,” and accordingly, “Democracy.”

It is very important to trace the geographical bounds of the heartland in Mackinder’s works. In the years 1904 and 1919 (corresponding with the article “The Geographical Pivot of History” and the book “Democratic Ideals and Reality”) the shape of the heartland coincides with the outline of the borders of the Russian Empire, later the USSR, and in 1943, in his text “The Round World and the Winning of Peace,” he reevaluated his former views and withdrew the Soviet territory of Eastern Siberia—located past the Yenisey River—from the heartland. He named the sparsely populated Soviet territory “Russian Lenaland,” after the Lena River.

Russian Lenaland has nine million inhabitants, five million of whom live along the transcontinental railroad between Irkutsk and Vladivostok. In the remaining territories, there is less than one person per eight square kilometers. There are great riches particularly untouched in this wilderness—lumber, minerals, etc. (“The Round World and the Winning of Peace”)

The removal of so-called Lenaland from the boundaries of the heartland meant that he considered that territory’s potential to zones of the “inner crescent,” such as those coastal spaces, capable of being used by “island” nations in the struggle against “the geographical pivot of history.” Mackinder actively participated in organizing interventions by the Entente and “White Forces,” apparently considering Kolchak to be a historical precedent—resisting the Eurasian center—considered to be basically sufficient for controlling its territory by way of potential “coastal zones.”

3.4 Three Geopolitical Periods

Mackinder divides all world geopolitical history into three phases (16):

1. The Pre-Columbian Epoch: In this phase, nations, belonging to the periphery of the World Island, for instance the Romans, living under constant threat of invading powers from the “heartlands.” For the Romans, these were the Germans, Huns, Alans, Parthians, and so on. For the oikumene of Central Europe, it was the Golden Horde.
2. The Columbian Epoch: In this period, governments of the “inner crescent” (coastal zones) set off on invasions of little known territories around the globe—nowhere meeting serious opposition.

3. The Post-Columbian Epoch: Large unconquered lands no longer exist. Dynamic civilizational ripples are doomed for a collision—compelling nations into a global civil war.

Mackinder's periodization—with the relevant geopolitical transformations—leads us closer to the newest tendencies in geopolitics, which we discuss in the next sections of the book.

Section 4: Alfred Mahan and “Sea Power”

4.1 Sea Power

As a military man, rather than an academic, the American Alfred Mahan (1840-1914) differed from Ratzel, Kjellen, and Mackinder. He did not use the term “Geopolitics,” but the methodology of his analysis and basic conclusions directly correspond to a strictly geopolitical approach.

An officer in the Union Army, beginning in 1885 he taught the history of naval warfare at “The Naval War College” in Newport (Rhode Island). In 1890, he published his first book—almost immediately becoming established as a classic text of military strategy, “Sea Power in History (1660-1783).” This was followed in short gaps by “The Influence of Sea Power in the French Revolution and Empire (1793-1812),” “The Interest of American Sea Power Now and in the Future,” “The Problem of Asia and Its Impact on International Politics” and “Sea Power and Its Relationship to War.” All his works revolve around one particular theme—that of “Sea Power.” Mahan’s name is synonymous with this term.

Not only was Mahan only a theorist of military strategy, but he was also an active participant in politics. In particular he had powerful influence over politicians like Henry Cabot Lodge and Teddy Roosevelt. Moreover, if in a retrospective look at American military strategy throughout the entire 20th century we see that it was constructed in direct accordance with Mahan’s ideas. And, if in

World War I this strategy did not bring the USA tangible success, in World War II it's effect was considerable, and the Cold War finally secured the success of "Sea Power" strategy.

4.2 Sea Civilizations = Commercial Civilizations

The main instrument of politics for Mahan is commerce. Military activity should only provide more favorable conditions for the establishment of a planter trading civilization. Mahan regarded the economic cycle as having three moments:

1. Production/Manufacturing/Exchange of goods and services across waterways
2. Navigation (which implements this exchange)
3. Colonies (which produce an exchange of goods civilization at global levels)

Mahan believe an analysis of the position and geopolitical status of the state falls within six basic criteria:

1. The geographic position of the state: its openness to the seas, the possibility of naval interaction with other countries, the spread of terrestrial borders, the ability to control important strategic regions, and the ability to threaten enemy territories with its fleets.
2. The "physical configuration" of the state—that is, the configuration of maritime coasts and number of ports and their locations. Commercial prosperity and strategic security depends on this.
3. The expanse of territory: Its extension along coastal lines.

4. The population: It's important for assessment of the ability of the state to build and maintain ships.
5. National character: The ability of a people to study trade so that naval power will be based on wide ranging and peaceful trade.
6. The political character of the government: The reorientation of the best human and natural resources towards the creation of powerful naval forces depends on this.

From this review, it is already clear that Mahan proceeded to construct his geopolitical theory exclusively from "Sea Power" and its interests. For Mahan, an example of "Sea Power" was ancient Carthage and more recently to us historically—England from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

An understanding of "Sea Power" is based on the freedom of "Maritime Trade," and naval fleets serve only to ensure the guarantee of this trade. Mahan goes further, considering "Sea Power" the basis for a type a civilization (anticipating Carl Schmitt's ideas)—the most optimal and effective and therefore destined for world dominance.

4.3 The USA's Conquest of the World—Manifest Destiny

Mahan's idea was received around the world and influenced many European strategists. Even land-based, continental Germany—in the period of Tirpitz—applied Mahan's methods in his thesis and was active in developing its own fleet. In 1940 and 1941, two of Mahan's books were published in the USSR.

But, first of all, it was intended for America and Americans. Mahan was a staunch supporter of President Monroe's (1758-1831) Doctrine, which was declared in 1812 on the principle of mutual non-interference between the countries of the Americas and Europe and also made the growth of the USA's power dependent on its territorial expansion to neighboring lands. Mahan believed America has a "maritime fate" and that "manifest destiny" represented the first step in the strategic integration of the entire American continent, and then the established of global dominance.

It's necessary to pay tribute to Mahan's almost prophetic vision. During his time, the USA still had not moved into the category of great powers, and moreover; its "maritime civilization type" was not even obvious. Even Mackinder in his article "The Geopolitical Axis of History," referred to the USA as a "land power," including it in the "outer crescent" only as a semi-colonial extension of maritime England. Mackinder wrote: "The USA will become only an Eastern power. They will have no direct influence on the balance of power in Europe, only through Russia."

Admiral Mahan had already accurately predicted America's planetary destiny in becoming the primary Sea Power, directly influencing the fate of the world, ten years prior to the publication of Mackinder's article.

In his book "The Interests of America in Sea Power," Mahan asserted that for America to become a world power it should implement the following points:

1. Actively cooperate with British Naval Powers

2. Discourage German naval pretensions
3. Keep a vigilant watch on Japanese expansion in the Pacific Ocean and actively oppose it.
4. Coordinate with Europeans in joint activities against Asian peoples.

Mahan saw the USA's destiny as not being a passive participant in the general context of a state in the "outer crescent," but to achieve a leading position in economic, strategic, and even ideological relations.

Mackinder and Mahan independently arrived at the same conclusion regarding the dangers for "Seafaring Civilizations." This danger is a continental, Eurasian state, chiefly Russia and China, and secondarily Germany. A battle with Russia—with this "continuous mass of the Russian Empire—stretching from Western Asia Minor to the Japanese Meridian in the East," was for the Sea Powers the main long-term strategic task.

Mahan transferred this to a global level—the "Anaconda Principle"—applied by American General McClellan in the American Civil War (1861-1865). This principle consists of blockading every territory at sea and along coastlines to gradually wear out the adversary through exhaustion. Thus, Mahan considered that the power of the state is determined by its potential to become a Sea Power and in the event of strategic confrontations, the primary task is preventing the enemy camp from becoming established. Accordingly, America's task in this historical confrontation is to strengthen its position via the six fundamental points (listed earlier) and weakening the adversary by these points. Vast coastal spaces should be placed

under its control and it is necessary to try and pick off the corresponding enemy zones (by any means from the continental mass). And furthermore, as with the Monroe Doctrine (in its section of territorial integration), the state's power should be strengthened and should not permit the creation of analogous integrative formation by the enemy. The enemy or rival—in Mahan's case, Eurasian powers (Russia, China, Germany) will be suffocated in the "Anaconda's" coils, crushing them and taking control of the resources derived from its control of coastal zones, and blocking, if able, the outlets to maritime spaces.

In World War I this strategy was implemented in support of the White Entente Movement on the Eurasian periphery (as a response to the Bolsheviks making peace with Germany). In World War II it was also employed against middle Europe and in particular through naval military operations against the axis nations and Japan. But, it can be seen especially clearly during the Cold War, when the confrontation between the USA and the USSR extended globally to planetary proportions, in which at the theoretical level, it had already been geopolitically operation since the close of the 19th century.

It is a fact that the basic strategic line of thinking for NATO and also other blocs, is directed towards containing the USSR (the concept of "containment" is strategically and geopolitically identical to the "anaconda" concept)—ASEAN, ANZUS, CENTO—are directly developed from the foundational theses of Admiral Mahan, who may be considered the intellectual father of all cotemporary Atlanticism.

Section 5: Vidal de la Blache— “France vs. Germany”

5.1 An Overview of French Geography

Vidal de la Blache is considered the founder of the French school of geography. A professional geographer, he was animated by Ratzel’s “Political Geography” and constructed his own theory based on it as a source, although he harshly criticized many aspects of the German geopolitical school.

In his book “A Geographical Picture of France” (1903), he referred to the soil theories, so import for German geopoliticians:

The relationship between soil and people in France is marked by its original character in antiquity, a continuity...in our country can often be observed in that people have lived in the same places since time immemorial. Starting at places with calciferous rocks that attracted people due to their usefulness for residence and defence. Our people—are true disciples of the soil. The study of soil will help determine the character, morals, and preferences of the population.

But, despite this—altogether quite German—relationship between geographic factors and their influence on culture, Vidal de la Blache believed that Ratzel and his followers grossly overestimated that strictly topographical factors were geopolitically defining. People, according to de la Blache, are also “the most important geographical factor,” but there is also an “initial endowment.” It is not only a fragment of the scenery, but the main performer in the spectacle.

5.2 Possiblism

This criticism of Ratzel's elevation of spatial factors led Vidal de la Blache to elaborate the basic geographical concept of "possibilism," according to this concept, political history has two aspects—spatial (geographic) and temporal (historical). Geographical factors are reflected in the surrounding environment, historically in its people (mediums of initiative). Vidal de la Blache considered the German "political geographers'" mistake to have been that they considered landscape the determinative factor in the political history of the state. Thereby belittling factors of human freedom and historicity. He proposed referring to geographical spatial position as "potentiality," "possibility," which could actualize and become active political factors or might not. The majority of this depends on subjective factors from the people who inhabit a given space.

This approach took into account the German geopolitical school of Haushofer, who thought de la Blache's criticism was quite important and justified. In this case, the role of ethnicity and the racial factor was clearly increased by revising the political history of the state and this resonated deeply during Germany's racial problems of the 20s.

De la Blache's possibilism was perceived by the majority of geopolitical schools to be a correction to the strict geographical determinism of earlier geopolitical writers.

5.3 France for "Sea Power"

Vidal de la Blache paid special attention to Germany, which was France's chief political opponent at the time. He considered Germany to be a mighty,

united European state whose geopolitical expansion is intentionally being blocked by other developed European powers. If England and France have their extensive colonies in Africa and around the world, if the USA has almost complete freedom of movement to the North and South, if Russia has Asia, then Germany is squeezed from all sides with no outlet for its energy. De la Blache observed that this is the main threat to peace in Europe and he considered it absolutely necessary to weaken the development of this dangerous neighbor.

This relationship with Germany logically entailed the geopolitical determination of France to generally side with the “Sea Powers,” oriented against the continental powers. De la Blache’s position was not shared by all French geopoliticians because there was a parallel and opposite Germanophilic movement represented by Admiral Laval and General de Gaulle.

In 1919 Vidal de la Blache published his book “Eastern France,” in which he asserts that the region of Alsace-Lorraine is predominantly a part of France and German aspirations to the regions are illegitimate. He appeals to the French Revolution to support this, considering the Jacobin dimension to be expressed through the geopolitical tendencies of the French people, themselves stringing for a unique and centralized state through geographical integration. Political liberalism can also be explained through the people’s attachment to the soil and a natural desire to receive property in return for its resources. Vidal de la Blache, in his own way, connected geopolitical properties with ideological aspects. The political space of Western Europe (France) is inseparably linked to “democracy”

and “liberalism.” With this, it is possible to assemble a geopolitical equation of the views of de la Blache, Mackinder, and Mahan.

De la Blache’s selection of a “maritime orientation” perfectly fits this pattern.

Section 6: Nicholas Spykman “A Revision of Mackinder, the Rimland’s Centrality”

6.1 In American Service

An American of Dutch origin, Nicholas Spykman (1893-1943) is part of a direct line of thought originating with Mahan. Spykman was a professor of international relations and later director of the institute of international relations at Yale. Different from earlier geopoliticians, for him geography itself was not the majority of its interests, and was even less excited by problems of people and soil, the influence of landscape on national characters, and so forth. Spykman discussed geopolitics as an important, concrete instrument of international politics, like the Atlanticists’ method and system of formulas, to allow for more effective strategy to be made. On this topic, he had harsh criticism for the German geopolitical school (especially the book “Geography of the World”), considering the representation of “just and unjust borders to be metaphysical nonsense.” Like Mahan, Spykman had the characteristics of a utilitarian approach to producing more effective geopolitical formulae which build could aid the USA in quickly achieving the position of “world dominance.” This pragmatism shaped his thinking.

6.2 Correcting Mackinder

Spykman attentively studied Mackinder’s works and proposed his own variant of basic geopolitical systems that were somewhat different from Mackinder’s models. Spykman’s basic idea was that Mackinder was mistaken in

overestimating the geopolitical importance of the Heartland. This mistake impacted not only the actual position of forces on the world map—particularly the USSR's—but also the initial historical plans. Like Mackinder, Spykman asserted that in the geographical history of the “inner crescent,” rimland, “coastal zones,” they were not subjected to pressure from “Nomadic Groups.” In his opinion, the heartland is only a potential space, receiving every cultural impulse from the coastal zones and not possessing any independently formed geopolitical mission or historical impulse. The rimland, not the heartland, is the key to world dominance.

Mackinder's geopolitical formulation: “Whoever controls Eastern Europe dominates the heartland...whoever dominates Eurasia...holds the fate of the world in their hands.”

In principle, Spykman is not discussing anything new on this, as for both him and Mackinder the “coastal zones,” “outer crescent,” and rimland were key strategic positions for controlling the continent. But Mackinder understood these zones as spaces torn between two impulses—“maritime” and “terrestrial,” not as self-sufficient, independently thinking entities and he never understood Russia's control over the heartland and its adjacent continental masses. Eastern Europe is the intermediate space between the “geographical pivot of history” and the rimland, so it follows that the exact ratio of forces in the heartland to the periphery is the key variable for the problem of world dominance. But Spykman introduced his geopolitics as a radically new shift relative to Mackinder's. Really, they only diverged on some nuanced concepts.

6.3 Defining the Balance of Power

In his books “American Strategy in World Politics” and “Geography of the World,” Spykman delineated ten criteria for the purpose of determining state geopolitical power. He followed Mahan in developing these criteria. They are:

1. Territorial area
2. Natural boundaries
3. Population
4. Abundance or lack of usable mineral resources
5. Economic and technological development
6. Financial might
7. Ethnic uniformity
8. Level of social integration
9. Political stability
10. National spirit

If the summary of the results based on these criteria are low, then due to the geopolitical capabilities of the state it will be forced to enter into a strategic alliance, sacrificing part of its sovereignty for global strategic geopolitical protection.

6.4 The Midland Ocean

In addition to reevaluating the significance of the Rimland, Spykman contributed one more addition to the geopolitical picture of the world, discernible in the positioning of the sea powers. He introduced the extremely important

concept of the “Midland Ocean.” The fundamentals of this geopolitical depiction lie in its emphasis on the analogy of the history of the Near East, Europe, and Northern Africa and the Mediterranean in antiquity to the Atlantic Ocean and the recent history of western civilization. Because Spykman believed “the coastal zones,” and Rimland to be the fundamental historical territories for civilizations, as the Mediterranean area was in antiquity forming its cultures and subsequently spreading them to the interior of the continent (acculturating barbarian tribes) and to remote territories, and this was achieved only with the aid of seas routes (acculturating the barbarians of the sea). Similar to the Mediterranean model, in recent times this has increased to a planetary scale proceeding through the Atlantic Ocean, both coastal areas—American and European—being the most technologically and economically developed areas in western civilization.

The Midland Ocean has become, in this perspective, not a dividing, but a unifying factor, a “mare internum.” Accordingly, Spykman outlined a specific geopolitical reality, which might provisionally be called “The Atlanticist Continent,” at the center of which, like a lake in a land-locked region, the Atlantic is located. This theoretical “continent,” a “New Atlantis,” connected by common cultures of Western European origin, liberal-capitalist democratic ideology, political solidarity, ethics, and technology.

Spykman especially pressed the idea of the role of intellectual factors in this “Atlanticist Continent.” Western Europe and the belt of coastline along North America’s Eastern Seaboard (especially New York City) would become the brain of

this new Atlanticist Networks.” The central nervous system and musculature its trade and military-industrial complex. Europe will prove to be an intellectual appendage of the USA, whose geopolitical interests and strategic line have become unified and prevalent for all western powers. This should gradually shrink European states’ political sovereignty and power transferring to specific institutions unifying governments of the entire “Atlanticist” spaces and subordinating them to the primacy of the United States.

Spykman anticipated important political processes—the power of NATO, diminishing sovereignty of European powers postwar, USA hegemony, etc.

6.5 The Architect of the American Victory

Spykman’s doctrine is based not only on the idea that the USA is positioned to be a “Sea Power”—powers because it had already become fact—it was also necessary to control the coastal territories of Eurasia—European, Arabian States, Indo-China, and so on—for final victory in the duel of maritime and continental forces. If in Mackinder’s portrayal the planetary reality is discussed as something “eternal” and “unfaltering,” Spykman considered complete control over the Rimland through the methods of “seas forces” would lead to a final and unconditional victory over the terrestrial powers and from then on would be in total control.

Actually, it was the development of “anaconda tactics” that were critical which had already been explicated by Mahan.

The victory in the cold war of the “Sea Power” USA demonstrated the geopolitical correctness of Spykman, who can be called the architect of world victory for the liberal-democratic countries” over Eurasia.

At the moment, Spykman’s theses apropos the strategic supremacy of the Rimland and the importance of the “Midland Ocean” has been proven by history, but he discarded entirely too quickly Mackinder’s theories on the persistent political reorientation of the Eurasian center towards continental expansion

In other ways, some of his ideas (notably his follower Kirk, who developed still further a detailed Rimland theory) were supported by some European geopoliticians, highly regarding the points on the importance of “coastal territories,” who saw a chance for European countries to once again decided the World’s fate. But, for this the “Midland Ocean” concept must be tossed aside.

Despite this geopolitical approach some European geopoliticians (the rest, however, were very ambiguous), Spykman belongs, without any doubts, to the Atlanticist geopolitical school. Moreover, he, together with Mahan, can be called “the father of Atlanticism,” and the “ideological inspiration of NATO.”

Section 7: Karl Haushofer— “the Continental Bloc”

7.1 War and Thought

It is with special thanks to the Karl Haushofer (1869-1946) that geopolitics have been discussed not simply as a “pseudo-science,” but a “misanthropic,” “fascistic,” and “anthropophagic” theory.

Karl Haushofer was born in Munich to a family of professionals. He decided to become have a military career and served in the army as an officer for more than twenty years. From 1908-1910 he was the German military attaché in Japan and Manchuria. Here he met with the Japanese emperor and the upper nobility. Failing health forced Haushofer to leave his rather successful military career ad in 1911 he returned to Germany, where he resided until the end of his life. He studied the sciences and received an “doctorate” from the University of Munich. During this time, Haushofer regularly published books on geopolitics in general, and with a special emphasis on the geopolitics of the pacific region. The first of his books was “The Gift of Japan,” covering Japanese geopolitics. Through his student Rudolf Hess, he met Hitler right after he was imprisoned following his failed Putsch. It is an unconfirmed historical opinion that Haushofer played a part in writing sections of “Mein Kampf” relating to geopolitics. But, a conceptual analysis shows a significant difference between Haushofer’s geopolitical outlook and Hitler’s simplistic, racists, and propagandistic passages.

For twenty years, beginning in 1924, Haushofer published the most important geopolitical journal, possessing huge influence—“Geopolitik,” later changed to “Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik.”

Most of the articles were published in this journal. Haushofer’s relationship with the Nazis was very complicated. On some issues, he saw eye-to-eye with the Nazis, on others they diverged radically. Due to a dependence on the Nazi regime and from personal relations, Haushofer’s positions changed with the Third Reich.

Until 1936 he was favored (especially enjoying the protection of his younger friend Hess), later these feelings began to cool. After Hess parachuted into England, Haushofer slipped into disgrace and after his son was executed for participating in an attempt on Hitler’s life in 1944, he was considered almost an enemy of the people. Still, despite the ambiguity in his views, he shared the “Nazi viewpoint.” He could not endure the blows of fate and the loss of all his hopes, and in 1946, Haushofer, along with his wife, committed suicide.

7.2 A New European Order

Haushofer attentively studied the works of Ratzel, Kjellen, Mackinder, Vidal de la Blache, Mahan, and other geopoliticians. The picture of “maritime civilization” versus “continental civilizations” or Talassocracies (the powers of the Midland Ocean) against “Tellulocracies” (“the powers of the Midland”), is key for him and behind it are those who are responsible for all secret international politics, and are implicated in all its direct actions. (In Japan, for example, he had

to deal with these forces who were most responsible for deciding the picture of spatial relations.) Indicative of this is that the term “New Order,” which was actively used by the Nazis and in our time in the form of the “New World Order’ of the Americans, was first used exactly in Japan. It applied to a geopolitical scheme for redistributing influence in the Pacific region which was proposed to be put into practice for Japanese geopolitics.

The planetary dualism of “sea powers” and “land powers” was self-identified by Germany as being above all other problems. Supporters of the national idea, and Haushofer belonged to them without a doubt, strove to strengthen the German state, which meant industrial development, a cultural uplift and geopolitical expansion. But, Germany’s position, spatially and culturally mitellage, has united its western enemies, sea powers—England, France, and in this perspective, the USA. The “talassocracies” themselves did not hide their orientation regarding Germany and considered it (along with Russia) the geopolitical opponents of the Maritime West.

In such a situation, it was not easy for the Germans to count on a strong alliance with powers from the “outer crescent;” moreover, for Germany, England and France had historically had pretensions to controlling the territorial order. Accordingly, a future Greater German nation (as in the geopolitical confrontation with the West, and especially the Anglo-Saxon world, with which the sea powers generally identified.

The entirety of Karl Haushofer's geopolitical doctrine and that of his followers is based on this analysis. This doctrine concludes it is necessary to establish a "continental bloc" on a Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo Axis. This bloc cannot be formed haphazardly—it was the only full-fledged and adequate strategic response to the opposing camp who did not conceal that its greatest danger was the formation of an analogical Eurasian alliance. He wrote in his article "The Continental Bloc": "Eurasia cannot be suffocated if two of the largest peoples—Germans and Russians—in every way seek to avoid internecine conflicts, like the Crimean War or 1914: This is the axiom of European politics."

He then quotes American Homer Lee—"The last hour for Anglo-Saxon politics will be when the Germans, Japanese, and Russians unite."

This line of thought showed in various ways in Haushofer's articles and books. It received the name "ostorientierung," meaning "orientation to the East," due to the assumed self-identification of Germany, its people, and its culture as a Western extension of the Eurasian, Asiatic traditions. It was not by chance that the English gave the Germans in World War I the derogatory nickname of "Huns." For geopoliticians of the Haushofer school, this was perfectly agreeable.

In this regard, it should be emphasized that Haushofer's concept of "openness to the East" has a completely different meaning than "the occupation of Slavic lands." His notion was about a joint civilizational effort of two continental powers—Russia and Germany—who would establish a "New Eurasian Order," and structure continental space around the World Island so as to completely remove

itself from under the influence of “Sea powers.” The expansion of Germany lebensraum was planned by Haushofer, not for the sake of colonizing Russian lands, but for the taming of the gigantic unsettled Asiatic spaces and reorganizing the land of eastern Europe.

7.3 Compromise with the Tallassocracies

However, in practice everything did not wash out so cleanly. The purely scientific logic of Haushofer, logically led to the necessity of a “continental bloc” with Moscow, collided with the majority of the other tendencies and qualities inherent in the German national establishment. It was the strictly racist outlook of history, which infected Hitler himself. This outlook considered racial affinities to be the most important factors, not geographical or geopolitical specifications. The Anglo-Saxon peoples—England and the USA—were viewed in this case as the natural allies of the Germans because they were closer ethnically. Slavs and especially non-white Eurasian peoples were turned into racial enemies. Adding to this was the ideology of anti-communism, which itself involved a racial principle—Marx and many communists were Jews, which signified, through the anti-Semitic viewpoint that communism itself was an anti-Germanic ideology.

National-Socialist racism fell into direct contradiction with geopolitics or, more precisely, implicitly nudging Germans to their inverse, anti-Eurasian, talassocratic strategy. From the point of view of racist followers, Germany should have been concluding alliances with England and the USA to join forces against the USSR. But, in other ways the humiliation experienced at Versailles was still all

too fresh. All the ambiguous international politics of the Third Reich spring from this duality. These politics were constantly balancing between the talassocratic, outwardly justifying its racism and anti-communism (the anti-Slavic attitude, attacking the USSR, encouraging Catholic Croats in the Balkans, etc.) and the tellulocratic based in pure, geopolitical principles (the war with England and France, Molotov and Ribbentrop Pact, etc.).

Because Karl Haushofer was partaking, to some extent, in the decision making of concrete political problems, he was forced to alter his theories in line with politics. In this position, he had contacts with the upper echelons of England. Besides, there was the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact and the creation of a Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, Haushofer outwardly hailed the move, welcoming it as a preliminary step on the path towards establishing a total "Eurasian bloc." He could not understand the appearance that his anti-communist direction would have on the heartland's center (Moscow), or secondary perimeter powers belonging to the Rimland, and having an opposite character to an authentic "continental bloc."

But all of these steps were dictated by political conformity and are not representative of all of the aggregate of Haushofer's geopolitics. His name and ideas are personified at a high level in the concept of the "Eastern destiny" of Germany, based in a strong and long-term Eurasian union.

Section 8: Carl Schmitt—“The Behemoth versus the Leviathan”

8.1 Conservative Revolutionary

Carl Schmitt, (1888-1985) was a German renowned as an outstanding jurist, political scientist, philosopher, and historian. But, all his ideas are inseparably connected with the geopolitical concepts found in his works—“Nomos of the Earth,” “Land and Sea,” etc., which are devoted to geopolitical factors and their influence on civilizations and political history.

Carl Schmitt was close to German representatives of the Conservative Revolutionaries, paradoxically combining in himself national-conservative and social-revolutionary elements. Schmitt’s fate is the fate of his books and his juridical-philosophical schools. Like many other conservative revolutionaries, he had a double-natured relationship with the National Socialist regime. In one sense, there is no doubt his theories appear in Nazi ideology, his books “Political Theology” and “Political Concepts” were used especially successfully, in them Schmitt openly criticized liberal rights and “the rule of law”. In these texts, he had already given shape to his later intellectual creations—in their noticeable ultimate political realism, attempting to free problems of political science from

humanitarian rhetoric, sentimental pathos, social demagoguery. This corresponded quite well with the National-Socialist spirit.

Joined with this, all of Schmitt's concepts were based on the fundamental idea of "people's rights" (volksrechte), which he distinguished from "human rights" under liberal theory. His understanding emphasized that a people have rights to cultural sovereignty so as to preserve its spiritual, historical, and political identity. Such an approach was characteristic of some National Socialists, considering this ideology universal and applicable to all the peoples of the Earth. But, the regime's dominant line of thought was Pan-Germanism, rooted in a chauvinistic and narrow nationalistic outlook. Therefore, with his theory of "people's rights," Schmitt was subjected to harsh criticism especially by the ideologues of the SS (in 1936, the SS's mouthpiece "Scharze Korps" published an especially threatening article addressed to him).

The formation of Schmitt's ideology took place in the same atmosphere of Ratzel and Kjellen's ideas regarding "organistic sociology," but also wherein also appeared the romantic theory of the "Northern Light" (Nordlicht), according to which social-political types and governmental organization are rooted in mythology, the sacred world of "stories and spirits," not in a mechanistic, identity of functioning cells combined in mathematical conglomerates. In Schmitt's theories, the paradoxical combination of "political romanticism" and "strict rationalism" is present. A refined mental apparatus expressing spiritual mythology.

At the Nuremberg Trials, there was an attempt to charge Carl Schmitt with “war crimes” based on his collaboration with the Nazi regime. Specifically, he was indicted for “theoretically justifying and legitimizing a war of aggression.” The charges were withdrawn after the judges were became acquainted with Carl Schmitt’s works in more detail. Nevertheless, Schmitt—like Heidegger, Junger, and other “conservative revolutionaries” became persona non-grata in the global scientific community and his works were completely ignored.

Only in the 70s, thanks to the colossal influence in juridical through of some leftist, socialist thinkers that Schmitt’s works gradually became rehabilitated.

In our time, he is recognized as a classical political scientist and jurist.

8.2 The Nomos of the Earth

Schmitt was completely in the spirit of a geopolitical approach that asserted an original connection between political culture and space. Not only the government, but all social aspects and rights result from the qualities of spatial organization.

From here, Schmitt introduced the “nomos” concept. Originating from the Greek term “nomos” meaning “something taken, formed, ordered, and organized,” but put in the context of space. This term is close to Ratzel’s concept of “relief” and the “place of development” of the Russian Eurasianists (Savitzky). Schmitt displayed how the nomos is the form that organizations in life take, which installs greater harmony in relationships within the social ensemble and between these ensembles. “Nomos” expresses this special synthesis combining subjective and

objective factors organically emerging in the establishment of political and juridical systems. In “nomos,” there appears natural and cultural features of humanity working collectively in combination with the surrounding environment.

In his book “The World of Nomos,” Schmitt shows how specific types of land spaces influenced the development of culture and government. He juxtaposed various historical “nomoses,” especially highlighting the fundamental dualistic relationship between nomadic space and sedentary peoples.

But, in an analysis of “The Nomos of the Earth,” the most important concept is his thoughtful approach to global history and civilizational space between the land civilizations and the sea civilizations.

Exploring the “nomos” of the earth he collided with the qualitative aspects of the opposing land and sea “nomoses.” This led him to establish the basic geopolitical methodology for comprehending the world’s political history.

8.3 The Land and the Sea

In 1942 Schmitt released his most important work—“The Land and the Sea.” Together with the later text “Planetary Tensions between East and West” and “The Confrontation of Land and Sea,” these comprise the most important documents for geopolitical sciences. The significance of Schmitt’s *The Confrontation of Land and Sea* can be reduced to the idea that there are two completely different, antagonistic civilizations, irreconcilable to each other and they are not variants of a single complex civilization. This division almost entirely coincides with the map drawn by Mackinder, but Schmitt gives basic elements—talassocracy (Sea Power)

and tellulocracy (Land Power)—a thorough philosophical explanation connected with basic juridical and ethnic systems. Curiously, Schmitt used the names “Behemoth,” for “land forces” and for the “sea forces”— “Leviathan,” like the names of the beasts of the Old Testament, e of which had incarnate in itself all land animals, and the other—all of the aquatic and oceanic.

The “nomos” of the Earth existed without an alternative for the duration of most of human history. All varieties of this “nomos” are characterized by a strong and strict legislative (and ethical) forms. Which are reflected immovably and fixedly in Land and the Sea. This connection to the land, spatially, is easily supported by structuralism (fixated on borders, stable communicational pathways, and immutable geographical qualities of the landscape) generating conservatism in the social, cultural, and technical fields. The concise version of the “The Nomos of the Earth” is constituted by what is accepted in history under the name of the “traditional society.”

In the Sea’s situation, Water is the only civilizational influence, not land, and not extending into the ethnic sphere (or only occasionally). Only with the opening of the World Ocean at the end of the sixteenth century, bringing about radical changes. Humanity (and in the first place, the island of England) began to grow accustomed to their “maritime existence, becoming conscious of itself as an island in the middle of waters, like a ship.

But aquatic space is considerably different from land, it is unstable, hostile, isolated, and constantly subject to change. There are no set pathways, nor

obviously different orientations. The “nomos” of the sea itself entails the transformation of the global establishment. The social, juridical, and ethical norms are “fluid”. This birthed a new civilization. Schmitt considered this new time and technical spurt, opening an era where industrialism must be included amongst geopolitical phenomenon—a transition for humanity towards a sea “nomos.”

Thus, the geopolitical orientation of the Anglo-Saxon world’s “outer crescent” acquired for Schmitt a social-political definition. The “nomos” of the seas has an aspect that is hostile to traditionalist society. The geopolitical confrontation of land powers against those of the sea acquires a most important historical, ideological, and philosophical meaning.

8.4 Grossraum

Schmitt developed one more important geopolitical theory—the theory of “great spaces” (Grossraum). This concept states that the process of state growth is the ambition to acquire the greatest volume of territory. The principle of imperial integration is reflected in the logical and natural human aspiration to synthesis. The stages of a state’s territorial expansion thus, corresponding to the stages of the human spirit’s movement towards universalism.

This geopolitical law spread in technological and economic spheres. Schmitt shows that starting at some moment, the technological and economic growth of the state required (quantitatively and qualitatively) territorial expansion. He is not necessarily indicating colonization, annexation, and military invasion.

The acquisition of Grossraum can occur by legal means—based on the acceptance of several states or peoples of a unifying religious or cultural form.

In his 1940 text “Space and Large Space in People’s Rights,” Schmitt defined Great Spaces thusly: The area of for the planning and organizing of human activity correlates with actual and future developmental tendencies.” With the weight of some of these nebulous formulations, Schmitt indicates as an example of an intentional construction of a “Great Space,” as the implementation of the American Monroe Doctrine.

Yet, Grossraum can, in a certain sense, be identified with the state, or rather, with an Empire (das Reich), this conception goes beyond just the conventional state. This new form of supranational unity is based on strategic, geopolitical, and ideological factors.

Differing from Hitler’s Pan-Germanic appeal and Soviet internationalism, Schmitt’s Grossraum was based in cultural and ethnic pluralism, with strict autonomy, with centralism limited only to strategy and total loyalty to the highest power. Schmitt emphasizes that the establishment of a new “Great Space” depends not on scientific values of its own doctrine, not from cultural competition, nor from economic development of its constituent parts, or even the ethnic and territorial center which produces the impulse to integrate. Everything depends only on the political will of those recognizing the historical necessity of this geopolitical step.

Schmitt anticipates in this doctrine the basic lines of thought in modern integrative politics.

8.5 Total War and the Figure of the “Partisan”

Schmitt’s geopolitical motives are distinguishable in practically all topics of which he discusses. In particular, he explained the connection between three concepts— “Total Enemy”, “Total War,” and the “Total State.” From his point of view the “total state” is the most complete form of government for the traditionalist type, that is the place of development of the land “nomos.” It exists as an unchangeable terrestrial land quality, despite the possibility of the state’s evolution to the scale of Grossraum. The “total state” is a key principle of the “total enemy” and “total war,” due to the representation of opposing “enemies” (and Schmitt imparted huge significance when forming the concepts of “friend”/”enemy”, amicus/hostis) built on the basis of itself, submitting the idea of “war form,” in which actions of a Jus Bellum and participating only as a natural contingency for a professional military. The peaceful parts of the population and territory, in their own fashion are placed under the protection of the law and (at least theoretically) removed from the path of military activity.

Liberal doctrines, which Schmitt uniquely linked with modern times and corresponding to the “maritime civilization” and with the “nomos” of the sea, denies the “total state,” thereby opening a path to “total war” and “total enemy.” In 1941, he wrote in the article “State Sovereignty and the Open Sea”:

War on land is subject to juridical norms because it will be a war between states, i.e. between armed forces of warring states. This rationalization arises from its organically reaching beyond to the peaceful population and the corresponding territories. War at sea rather, is not strictly between defined forces and is subordinated to the strongest adversaries because of its bases in the concept of Total War.

An overall geopolitical picture, Schmitt wrote, could be reduced to this civilizational dualism and confrontation of two *Grossraums*—the Anglo-Saxon (England and America) and the European-continental, Eurasian. These two “Great Spaces”—*Talassocracy* and *Tellulocracy*—between them lead to a planetary battle, the last step towards universalism and transferring over to world dominion. Schmitt persistently regarded any attempt to reduce this conflict to some kind of strict juridical basis because the civilizational macro-conceptions of both “Great Spaces” is based in the mutual-exclusivity of the “nomoses”—the “earth nomos” and the “sea nomos.” The last disruptive element contributing to this was the advent of aeronautics because “airspace” supports the structuralism of ethics and rights even less than that of the sea.

At the end of his life Schmitt focused his influence on the figure of the “Partisan.” Per Schmitt, this figure is the last representation of the “nomos” of the earth, remaining faithful to his initial cause in spite of the “liquidation of civilization” and the dissolution of its juridical-cultural base. “The Partisan” is connected with his homeland through informal ties and the historical character of this tie dictates the basics of his war, radically differently from more broad and abstract norms. As to the universalism of the “maritime model” and “commercial

ethics,” which, naturally covers the sphere of military activity, and the figure of the “Partisan” acquires, per Schmitt, all the more civilizational significance because the “Partisan” will carry on the last activity to remain in history, who’s defense (by any means) of the “land order,” in the face of the talassocracy’s offensive. From here arise its almost “soteriological” historical function.

Section 9: Petr Nikolayevich Savitsky—“Eurasia—the Middle of the Earth”

9.1 Eurasia’s Destiny

Petr Nikolayevich Savitsky (1895-1968)—is perhaps the first (and only) Russian author who in every sense of the word can be called a geopolitician. He received an education as an economist, studying as a pupil of V. Vernadsky and P. Struya. Near the start of the war he was a cadet. He emigrated to Bulgaria after the Revolution and after moved to Czechoslovakia in 1921. Together with Prince N.S. Trubetskoi, he helmed the Eurasian movement, in which geopolitical factors achieved a central role. Savitsky, to a greater degree than all the other Eurasianists, was interested in geopolitics.

Savitsky’s worldview, like the majority of his fellow Eurasianists, was shaped by the works of Slavophile writers by Danilevsky and especially Leontiev. This was a strain of revolutionary Slavophilia linking the singular historical identity of “Greater Russia,” not reducible to religion, or ethnic Slavic qualities. In this respect, they were closer to Konstantin Leontiev, who formulated a most important thesis—“Slavdom Yes, Slavism No,” meaning that the “ethnic and linguistic closeness of the Slavic peoples is not a sufficient basis for describing it’s uniform cultural character.” One of the favorite subjects for the Eurasian movement was surprisingly similar to the German conservative revolutionaries. Like the conservative revolutionaries, the Eurasianists strove to combine

faithfulness to origins with the commercial qualities of the future, rooted in Russian national traditions with social modernism, technological development, and nontraditional political forms. Based on this, there were cautious, positive relationships between Eurasianists in the Soviet State and the October Revolution.

Despite sympathy for the Soviets, a feeling which was characteristic not only of a pro-Soviet wing of the Eurasianists (Parisian circles published the paper “Eurasia”), whom Savitsky officially broke relations, but also of its most moderate and “conservative” elements. After Soviet forces took Prague in 1945, Savitsky was arrested and spent ten years in the camps. In the camps, he met the son of the poet Nikolai Gumilyev, Lev, who became his student and later one of the great modern Russian historians and ethnographers.

In 1956, Savitsky was rehabilitated and he returned to Prague, where he died twelve years later.

9.2 Russia-Eurasia

Savitsky’s fundamental ideas is that Russia itself represents a special civilizational formation differentiated through its quality of “medianity.” One of his articles—“The Geographical and Geopolitical Basis of Eurasianism” (1933)—began with the words “Russia has a much greater basis than China to be named ‘The Middle State.’”

If the “middleness” of Germany, *mittelage*, is organic in the European context, and Europe itself is only the “Western Cusp,” of Eurasia, for Russia occupies the coastal position on the continent. “Middleness” for Savitsky is the

basis of historical identity—it is not part of Europe, nor an extension of Asia—an independent world standing alone and with a special spiritual-historical geopolitical aspect, which Savitsky called “Eurasia.”

This concept denoted neither the mainland nor the continent, but the idea, reflected in the Russian space and in Russian culture, was a distinct historical paradigm for civilization. From the Russian role, Savitsky brought out the concept, rigidly matching with Mackinder’s maps, only abstracted as “reavers of the land” who represented “centripetal impulses travelling outwards from the geopolitical axis of history,” which to Savitsky clearly designated the fate of Russian history, Russian government, and Russian territory. Savitsky’s Russia-Eurasia can thus be viewed in the same light as Ratzel’s *raum* and still closer to Schmitt’s *grossraum*.

If Mackinder claimed that the Heartland’s path travels through mechanical impulses the creation of coastal zones (“inner crescents”) of its culture and history, then Savitsky asserted Russia-Eurasia (=Mackinder’s heartland) possesses a synthesis of world culture and world history unfolding in space and time. Thus, Russia’s nature fits its culture.

In Savitsky’s geopolitical ideas, Russia is understood not as a national state, but as a special type of civilization, established on the basis of several factors—Slavic—Aryan culture, Turkic nomadism, and the Orthodox tradition. These qualities together compose some kind of unique, “middle” formation, in itself representing a synthesis of world history.

Savitsky's Greater Russia can be considered not just a branch of the Eastern Slavs, but a distinct empire formed on ethnicity, which possess Turkish and Slavic substratum. This moment in itself is an important term—Turan.

9.3 Turan

Many Russian nationalists were scandalized by this appeal to a positive orientation to Turanism. Savitsky indirectly justifies the Mongol-Tatar Yoke, attributing “Russia’s geopolitical individuality and preservation of its spiritual independence from the Roman-German world’s aggression.” This relationship to Turkism was designed to start differentiating Russia-Eurasia from Europe and its fate, predicated on Russia’s unique ethnicity.

“Without the Tatars there would be no Russia”—this is Savitsky’s thesis in his article “The Steppe and the Sedentary” and it is key to the Eurasian formula.

From here, he switches to a purely geopolitical assertion:

Stated directly: in the history of the Western European space in the maritime sense as equally, although polar opposites, in opposing the natural Mongolian sense of the continent: between the Russian ‘walkers of the land’ and the sweep of Russian military mastery—this is the spirit, the sense of the continent.

And furthermore: “Russia—the heir to the Great Khans, continues the work of Chingiz and Timur, unifying...in themselves. simultaneously combining the historical narratives of the ‘steppe’ and the ‘sedentary.’”

The fundamental duality of the Russian landscape—its division between forest and steppe—was noticed more by the Slavophiles. Savitsky presented the geopolitical idea of Russia-Eurasia as a synthesis of these two aspects—the

European forest and the Asiatic steppe. The result is not so much a juxtaposition of two geopolitical systems to each other, but as some kind of original and whole, due to its own properties and methodological assessments.

Russia-Eurasia cannot be reduced to Turanism. It is something greater. But regarding Eurasia, with all “coastal” zones considered “barbarous” Russians identified “as the heirs to the Mongolian spirit” is provocative, opening the way for the historical and spiritual supremacy of Russia.

9.4 The Place of Development

In Savitsky's theories the concept of “development places” is a rule of great importance. This term is presented as an almost complete analogue for *raum* as it is described in Ratzel's “Political Geography” and German geopolitics in general (+ Kjellen). This concept was reflected in the Eurasianists' “organicism”—accurately matching the German “organic” schools and contrasted starkly with Anglo-Saxon pragmatic geopolitics. If Spykman was familiar with Savitsky's works than his indignation over “metaphysical nonsense” would be even more forceful than was the case with Haushofer. In his text “The Geopolitical Organization of Russia,” Savitsky writes: “The social-political environment and its territory should merge into a single whole of geographical individualism or landscape.”

Land has the quality to be a “development place” in which objective and subjective traits merge in an inseparable unity into something whole. This is a conceptual synthesis. In the same text Savitsky continues: “Synthesis is necessary.

To look at the social-historical environment and the study of its territory is necessary.”

Savitsky is closer, with this, to Vidal de la Blache. The French geopolitician justified the indivisibility of an independent French type of cultural unity independent of the racial groups that have lived in Alsace-Lorraine. Savitsky considered: “Russia-Eurasia to be a “development place,” a unified whole,” having “geographic individuality,” and “simultaneous geographical, ethnic, economic, and historic qualities, etc, and so on to landscape.”

Russia-Eurasia is this “development place,” which is integral to producing the existence of more, smaller, “development places.” In Schmitt’s grossraum this corresponds to a whole hierarchy of smaller raums.

Through the introduction of “development places” places to the Eurasianists, they moved away from the positive necessity of analytically dividing up historical phenomena, unraveling their mechanical systems—applying them not only to the natural, but also cultural traits. The appeal of “development places” and geographical individuality” caused the Eurasianists to avoid many of the resentments from national racial, religious, cultural, linguistic, and ideological problems. The intuitive feeling of all inhabitants of the “geographical pivot of history” [towards geopolitical unity] acquires a new language, “syntheticism,” not able to be reduced to the inadequate, fragmented, analytical concerns of Western rationalism.

In this way Savitsky carried on the Russian-intellectual tradition always gravitating towards ideas of “wholeness” “sobornost,” “unity,” and etc.²⁹⁰

9.5 Ideocracy

The principle of “ideocracy” is very important in Savitsky’s theories. He imagined that the Eurasian state would be constructed, arising from its initial spatial impulses, from the top down and it follows that all of these strategies should be created in accordance with the a priori idea; at the head of the structure a class of “spiritual chiefs” should be established. This position is very close to Schmitt’s theories on “volitional” “spiritual” impulses, stemming from their origin in the grossraum.

Ideocracy assumed a non-pragmatic supremacy not a materialistic and commercial approach to state building. The merits of “geographical identity,” according to Savitsky, is the ability to rise above material limitations, organically including the physical world in union of spiritual-creative impulses of global historical making.

Ideocracy—a term which unites all forms of undemocratic illiberal forms of rule, based in non-materialists and non-utilitarian motivations. Savitsky consciously avoided refining this notion, which is incarnate in a theocratic sobornost, and in populist monarchs, and in nationalist dictators, and in states of

²⁹⁰ A Spiritual community of many jointly living people where the needs of the community outweigh individualism.

the Soviet type. The breadth of the term corresponds to the purely geopolitical horizon of Eurasia, which covers vast historical and geographical expanse. This was an attempt to more closely describe the continent's intuitive will.

It is evident that ideocracy directly contradicts the pragmatic-commercial approach, dominating the doctrines of Mackinder, Mahan, and Spykman. In this fashion, the Russian Eurasianists brought to final clarity the ideological term, which is reflective of the historical conflict between sea and land. The sea is liberal democracy a "trading regime" of pragmatism. The land—an ideocracy (all varieties), "hierarchical rule," dominated by religious ideals.

Savitsky's views on ideocracy resonated with the ideas of German sociologists and economist Werner Sombart, who delineated all social models and types into two classes—"the heroes" and "the merchants;" and the geopolitical level the terms "hero" and "heroism" lose their pathetic metaphorical meaning and become technical terms for both juridical and ethical specifications for ideological rule.

9.6 The USSR and Eurasia

Petr Savitsky and, more widely Russian Eurasianists, played a huge role in the development of geopolitics as a science. And it is strange how little attention has been paid to this in western textbooks. In Savitsky's works, we have a completely conscious, responsive, and competent geopolitics, which fully and specifically express the Heartland's position, from its from its deepest part—Russia—is its province. Savitsky's geopolitical doctrine is the direct antithesis of

the views of Mahan, Mackinder, Spykman, Vidal de la Blache, and other “Talassocrats.” It is only in his works that go as far to completely reveal the outline of alternative doctrines; describing the ideological, economic, cultural, and ethnic factors. If we are to use Carl Schmitt’s terminology, then Savitsky and the Eurasianists are expressions of the “nomos of the land” in historical conditions consistent with the ideology of “tellulocracy,” grossraum’s true meaning, an alternative to the Anglo Saxon grossraum.

The Russian Eurasianists’ ideas match with the theories of the German geopolitician-continentalists (Haushofer, Schmitt, etc.) who also attempted to construct a geopolitical model that would be the antithesis to the strategy of the “Sea Powers;” demonstrating that the Germans were only halfway down a path that the Russians (and in the first place, Savitsky) had completely finished, with totality and consistency, a complete worldview. This concept can be summarized by this law:

The closer the viewpoint of the German continentalists is to the Russian Eurasianists, the greater the Ostorietierung, the more logical and consistent are their doctrines, effectiveness in political projects, and their establishment on a geopolitical basis.²⁹¹

In this line of thought, Savitsky was all the more closely approaching German National-Bolshevism—especially Ernest Niekisch—who was perfectly cognizant of the duality of Germany’s geopolitical position, whose “middleness” was secondary compared to the absolute continental and cultural Russian

²⁹¹ Dugin uses quotation marks here to emphasize his own words.

“middleness.” From here they conclude, Germans cannot pretend to have a role of geopolitical synthesis, that is it must choose between a Western-Southern Catholic slavophobia, of a Germany (together with Austria) in some respects “talassocratic” (bourgeoisie) and a North-Eastern German-Slavic, socialistic, russophilia, the protectors of Spartan Prussian. Niekisch belongs to the famous geopolitical thesis—“Europe from Vladivostok to Fleesing,” and only in this approach can German ways harmonize and fit in completely with continental Eurasianism. Naturally, Hitler’s Austrian Catholic, anti-communist, slavophobia—despite the attempts by some of the more historically responsible conservative revolutionaries and geopoliticians—caused Germany to lose its historical place as result of its nightmarish defeat, inflicted by the forces of the “eternal union” with which can only ensure German participation in the global order of the tellulocracy.

The Soviet aspect of geopolitical thought in many ways coincides with the concepts of Savitsky and other Eurasianists, although their direct influence on Soviet leadership was effectively null: in many respects, the Smenovekhovtsy were close to the National-Bolsheviks—especially Nikolai Ustryalov—had clear influence on the Bolsheviks, especially Stalin, although never occupying important posts and their lives often ended in the camps.²⁹²²⁹³ A group of Eurasianists—Efron, Karsavin, and others—openly collaborated with the USSR, but received no

²⁹² The Smenovekhovtsy were Russian emigres after the civil war who eventually supported reconciliation with the Soviet Union, rather than its destruction.

²⁹³ Ustryalov was the leader of this movement, and popularized the term National Bolshevik, he was killed during Stalin’s purges in 1937 after returning to the USSR in 1935.

gratitude.²⁹⁴ However, an analysis of Soviet foreign policy—until the start of perestroika—leads to the conclusion that it consistently followed a Eurasianist course, never deviating from it.

And here we can make an assumption: either there was a kind of independent organization within the Soviet regime who were guided by Savitsky's ideals, adapting to political realities and cloaking them in official "Marxist" lexicon, or its situation in the objective position of the Heartland compelled the USSR to take steps which would be made consciously by the continental state—Eurasia.

²⁹⁴ Lev Karsavin and Sergei Efron.

Section 10: Geopolitics as an Instrument of National Politics

10.1 Planetary Dualism—the Basic Law of Geopolitics

A summary of this brief introduction to the foundation of the geopolitical science can be made with some general conclusions.

Despite the diversity of points of view in these works, we are dealing with a singular view of the world, which can be termed geopolitics. This world view aims to include in its analysis historical processes, inter-peoples and interstate reactions among several disciplinary approaches—geographical, political, ideological, ethnographical, economic, and etc. This provides the composition for the basic character of all geopolitical doctrines—striving for interdisciplinary synthesis.

The most broadly shared of all the geopolitical methodological formulae is the claim of a fundamental historical dualism between the Land, “tellulocracy,” “nomoses” of the Earth, Eurasia, the heartland, “the middle land,” “ideocratic civilization,” and “the geographical pivot of history” on one side, and the Sea, Talassocracy, Sea Power, the “nomoses” of the Sea, Atlanticists, the Anglo-Saxon world, trading civilizations, “outer island crescents,” on the other. This can be described as the main law of geopolitics. All postulations of this dualism count in this meaning. Despite differences, not one of the founders of the geopolitical sciences calls into question the fact of this conflict. In its significance, it is comparable to the universal laws of gravity in physics.

10.2 Geopolitics Cannot Be Biased

Another feature of the views of the founders of geopolitics is their constant political commitment. From this springs the obvious prejudice of all of them, without exception. Geopolitics, proceeding on a scientific basis, is obliged to acquire its own its own place at one of the geopolitical poles; from this will depend on the angle of view, under which all world processes can be analyzed. In the history of geopolitics, we do not find one single author who was indifferent to the destiny of his own state and people, sharing its basic ethnic and historical orientation. This is especially starkly manifested at the extreme poles—Anglo-Saxon authors implacably and unanimously following the logos and values of the system of Sea Power, talassocracy, formulating their own positions unconditionally aligned with Atlanticism; the Russia Eurasianists were equally consistent in their faithfulness of the heartland’s ideals—never questioning the absolute ethnic and historical superiority of the ideocracy of Russia-Eurasia.

More complicated are the works of the French, who theoretically have the choice of self-identification—either talassocracy or tellulocracy. In the first case, solidarity with the Anglo-Saxon world, in the second—Germonophilia. Both variants undoubtedly have enjoyed national sympathies. Theoretically both of these tendencies were present amongst French geopoliticians, but the more graceful Geopolitical concepts were produced by those in the “Atlanticist group”. followed by Vidal de la Blache, who became established as the central figure in the field. His geopolitics were antipodal to Laval and de Gaulle and theirs were inferior to his from this point of view.

Germany too has a dualistic situation. If in general its geopolitical thought was predominantly oriented towards continental and “Eurasianist” schools, this orientation organically complicated relations with the Slavic world, Asia, and especially with Russia. Thus, there organically existed and Germany attempted to voluntarily equate its middle-European position with middle-Eurasianism, ignoring, so persistently, the greater historical significance of Russia-Eurasia, that in both World Wars Germany was forced to wage war against not only the talassocratic powers, but against its logical European allies—Russia (USSR). Geopolitically, it can be called Germany’s “non-Eurasian” continental character. This arrangement summarizes in a geopolitical formula all German history and predetermines the very structure of the German national establishment.

It is necessary for geopoliticians to initially define their own position on the world map and its belts (Mackinder’s schema are an extremely clear illustration of this idea), this science was influenced by representatives of the great powers having ambition to become “a world power” (weltmacht), a “superpower,” aiming for global dominance.

The Americans Mahan and Spykman and the Englishman Mackinder represent the “island crescent.” They are the “advocates” for Atlanticism and talassocracy.

Vidal de la Blache (and his school) represent Atlanticist France. Laval and de Gaulle were inclined towards continentalism, “Europeanism,” and anti-Atlanticism. Hence, their mutual Germonophilia, which brought them closer in

spite of the fact that they belong to two oppositional camps: Laval headed the collaborationist Vichy government and de Gaulle—the chief of the anti-fascist French army.

The Germans Ratzel, Haushofer, and Schmitt identified Germany with the axis of land, tellulocracy, and strove to establish Germany as a “great space,” which could confront the Anglo-Saxon talassocracy. In this fashion, they are joined by the Swede Rudolf Kjellen, who; however, was closer to middle Europe, a representative of German-European space, and not as a “narrowly-Swedish” nationalist. Ernst Niekisch, Freidrich Georg Junger, Artur Muller van den Brook, and others—went still further, deeming Germany’s future was only in spatial integration with Eurasian Russia.

Finally, the Russian Eurasianists (Savitsky, Trubetskoy, etc.) offered the most complete version of continentalism, the most radical expression of the “nomos” of the Earth, tellulocracy.

The lack of any exceptional names amongst the geopoliticians from other countries (although there were some from Italy, Spain Belgium, Romania, Holland, and others) is explained by secondary states in terms of power only indirectly are concerned with geopolitical dualism, their influence on the global conflict unnoticeable, and furthermore its geopolitical essence, its acuity, its actuality, its “fateful” measurements, are completely irrelevant.

10.3 The Fate of the Scientists—The Fate of the Powers

The citizenship of geopolitical scientists is the most direct factor influencing their views. The connection here is obvious. Geopoliticians, in fact, are the people who with the greatest perspicacity and capability to recognize historical tendencies of global developments in the spatial arena, understood as the place of its state and its people in this context, formulating foundational and more reflective projects for the future. Therefore, they were often either directly or indirectly involved in world history, in ways that materialized through groups, parties, leaders, and in completely other ways, instantly relevant slogans

There is one more interesting and consistent pattern. The extent of influence geopoliticians have on power, the inverse connection between scientific design and the political course of international relations of their state, varies widely.

Mackinder, Spykman, and Mahan held high posts in their governments, their political activity having a most direct result, their personal influence on Anglo-Saxon politics was obvious and huge. Despite some friction with the scientific world in their countries and some (tactically) concealed the full meaning “maritime civilization” as a whole, they lived their lives with distinction, enjoying all types of support their lives and careers were undoubtedly successful.

The experience was different for the continentalist geopoliticians. Vidal de la Blache was considered just a geographer, aiming to expand the sphere of his discipline to political power. His relationship with his government was respectful, but as a whole indifferent, despite many practical principles (generally outlined in

“Eastern France”) being put into practice. He did not receive the prestige of the Anglo-Americans, but his theoretical legacy must be taken into account.

The situation was more serious for the Germans—especially Haushofer and Schmitt. In the Weimar Republic and under Hitler, their relationship with the changing waves had them pass from decided influences with power to direct repression. Compared to the “talassocratic” geopoliticians their fates were tragic their careers zigzagged, and in their defining moments even becoming victims of the regime whose national goals roughly coincided with their own. Here, there was no honor or glory, just historical influence alternating with persecution.

And for the Eurasianists, the picture was even more tragic. Here, there was no direct influence, not one mention in official sources, only the camps, exile, arrests, and persecution to the fullest extent; and still, the defining moment in Soviet history leaves the impression that the fundamental decisions at the international level were made by followers of Petr Savitsky, verified at every stage by Eurasianist publications, the watershed moment arrived in 1989 when it became clear that some in Soviet leadership were incapable of interpreting logically traditional foreign policy, and as a result the gigantic Eurasianist organism disintegrated rapidly, created with such exertion by three generations, withstanding wars, destitution, suffering, and backbreaking labor.

The role of geopoliticians and the extent of influence they have on power decreases along a west to east axis. The relevance of Mackinder and Spykman contrast with consistent threats to Schmitt from the SS and the persecution of

Haushofer (his son was shot), and to an even greater degree the camps of Savitsky and Karsavin.²⁹⁵ It is striking that ultimately, it was the countries who listened more closely to their geopoliticians and appreciated them, that achieved tremendous results and almost completely achieved world dominance. Germany too paid for its inattention to Haushofer's theses on the "continental bloc," and for half a century it would fall from history, suffering a monstrous defeat and fading away into a political nonentity. The USSR did not pay attention to the works of more responsible, deep and far sighted Russian patriots, without a fight or resistance in almost all situations, so that following Germany—would inevitably fade away, drastically shrinking in space and the economic and social structures have become ruins.

²⁹⁵ Efron was killed in 1941 on Stalin's orders during the purges.

Part 2, Section 3: Globalism

2.3.1 The Prehistory of Globalism

The concept of “globalism” arose long before the West’s ultimate victory in the Cold War.

The idea of globalism can be reduced to postulating an inevitable, total global integration—a transition from a pluralism of governments, peoples, nations, and cultures to a uniform world, One World.

The origins of this idea can be discerned in some utopian and chiliastic movements dating back to the middle ages and even deeper in antiquity. Fundamentally, in its representation that in some culminating moment of history will occur that gathers all the peoples of the earth in One Kingdom, which will no longer know anymore contradictions, tragedy, conflicts, and problems characteristic of regular world history. Besides a pure, mystical version of globalist utopias there were its rationalistic versions, once of which could be considered the doctrine of “Third Era” positivist August Comte or the humanistic eschatology of Lessing.

The globalist idea was more often characterized by moderate European and generally English socialism (some of them were combined in the “Fabian Society”). Communists spoke of a single World State. In different ways, analogical globalist organizations were formed beginning at the close of the nineteenth century and

centering on global business figures, for example Sir Cecil Rhodes—organizer of the round table group, members of which were supposed to have been “contributing to the establishment of unimpeded trade for the whole world and creating a single ‘World State.’” Socialist motives often were interwoven within liberal-capitalism and communists were flanked in these organizations by representatives of great financial capital. All were united by their faith in the utopian idea of a united planet.

It is revealing that the most well-known of these organizations, the League of Nations—later the U.N. and UNESCO, were continuations of exactly these globalist circles, who had great influence in world politics.

By the end of the twentieth century, these globalist organizations, avoiding unnecessary publicity and often cloaked in “secrecy,” had exchanged many names. There existed a “universal movement for a world confederation,” led by Garry Davis, “the federalist union,” and “the crusade for world government,” and organization of English MP Henry Osborne in 1946).

As the whole conceptual and strategic power of the west was concentrated in the USA, naturally its government became the primary headquarters of globalism, representatives of which formed parallel power structures, comprised of advisers, analysts, and centers of strategic development.

Three fundamental globalist organizations have evolved, the existence of which have only recently been discovered by the general public of the West. Unlike official structures these groups have benefitted vastly from large,

unregulated design and development because they were released from formal and fixed procedures regulating the activities of the U.N. commissions and the like.

First is the “Council of Foreign Relations” (C.F.R.). Its creator was the greatest American banker—Morgan. This unofficial organization was busy working on American strategy on a planetary scale, which is connected to the ultimate goal to completely unify the planet and establish a World Government. Moreover, in 1921 the affiliate “the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace” arose, consisting of high-ranking politicians attached to the globalist viewpoint on the planet’s future. Since the majority of the C.F.R.’s members were simultaneously high-ranking dignitaries of the Freemasons and it can be assumed, that their geopolitical projects had some kind of humanistic-mystical dimension.

In 1954 the second globalist structure, the Bilderberger Group/Club was established. It unites not only American Atlanticists, politicians, financiers, and intellectuals, but their European colleagues as well. From the American side, it was presented exclusively by members of the C.F.R. and the group was considered its international extension.

In 1973 activists of the Bilderberger Group established the third important globalist structure, the “Trilateral Commission.” It is led by Americans and is included as a part of the C.F.R. and the Bilderberger Group. Apart from its headquarters in the USA (address: 345 E. 46th St, New York), it has two additional headquarters in Europe and Japan.

The “Trilateral” commission is named for one of the fundamentals of geopolitics. United under the aegis of America, three large spaces—the commission’s namesake—will lead technological development and market economies:

1. The American Space, including North and South America
2. The European Space
3. The Pacific Space, controlled by Japan

At the head of the most important globalist groups—Bilderberger and Trilateral—is a high-ranking member of C.F.R. the notable banker David Rockefeller, owner of “Chase Manhattan Bank.”

Except for him, at the center of every globalist project are permanent analysts, geopoliticians, and strategists of the Atlanticists: Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger. It also includes the famous George Ball.

The basic line of every globalist project consists of the transition to a single world system under the strategic domination of the West and “progressive,” “humanistic,” and “democratic” values. For this, they have worked out parallel structures—consisting of politicians, journalists, intellectuals, financiers, analysts, and so on who were supposed to prepare the ground before the globalist project of World Government could be widely organized because without preparation it would encounter powerful psychological opposition from peoples and states not willing to dissolve their originality into a planetary melting pot.

The globalist project, being developed and held by these organizations, was not homogenous. There existed two if its original versions, which differed in method, but were theoretically in pursuit of the same goal.

2.3.2 The Theory of Convergence

The first and most pacifistic and “conciliatory” version of globalism is known as “convergence theory.” Developed in the 1970s in the bowels of the C.F.R. by analysts of the “leftist” group under the leadership of Zbigniew Brzezinski. This theory assumes that it would be possible to overcome the ideological and geopolitical dynamism of the Cold War through the creation of a new cultural-ideological civilization type, which would be an intermediate between socialism and capitalism, between pure Atlanticism and pure continentalism.

Soviet Marxism was considered a barrier which could be overcome by moving towards its moderate, social-democratic, revisionist version through a refusal of the theses of the “dictatorship of the proletariat,” “class war,” “the nationalization of the means of production,” and “the abolition of private property.” In its turn, the West’s capitalism was supposed to restrict the free market introducing partial governmental economic regulation and so forth. A community of cultural orientation could possibly be found in the Enlightenment tradition and humanism, which would be constructed in western democratic regimes and the social ethics of communism (in its softer, social-democratic versions). A World Government, which might appear in basic “convergence theory,” and was conceived by Moscow’s admission, to Atlanticist management

jointly with Washington. In this case, this would commence an era of universal peace, the Cold War would end, and peoples could be released from the weight of geopolitical stresses.

Here, it is important to catch the parallel with the technological transition from systems rooted in “talassocracy”²⁹⁶ to “efirocracy”²⁹⁷: globalist politicians started to see the planet not through the eyes of dwellers of the western continents surrounded by the sea, like traditional globalists, but through the eyes of “astronauts in cosmic orbit.” In this case, their view really represents One World.

The globalist centers have their corresponding ones in Moscow. A key figure here was the academic Gvishiani²⁹⁸, director of the Institute of the Systems of Development, which is a sort of affiliate of the “Trilateral Commission” in the USSR. But particularly successful were its activities among extreme left parties in Western Europe, where it set them down the path to “Eurocommunism” and it is considered a fundamental concentric base for global convergence.

2.3.3 The Global Victory of the West

Theories of convergence were ideologically based and referenced by Mikhail Gorbachev and his advisors while implementing Perestroika. A few years after

²⁹⁶ Naval based.

²⁹⁷ Airspace based.

²⁹⁸ A murky figure, there are references to a D.Gvishiani known for mathematical economic analysis and the organization he led was noted for a large proportion of Jewish members. His surname is Ukrainian (Soviet Economic Thought and Political Power in the USSR, Aron Katsenelinboigen).

beginning Perestroika, a similar project began to be realized in China, with representatives of the “Trilateral Commission” installed in the late 1970s. But, the Chinese and Russian “Perestroikas” would have different fates. China insisted on an “equitable” distribution of the roles and Soviet shifts in ideology towards the West on the side of Socialism led the USSR to famously embark on a path of further concessions.

Following globalist logic, Gorbachev began structuring the organization of the Soviet space in “democratic” and “liberal” ways. First, this impacted the nations of the Warsaw Pact, and then the USSR’s republics. This started with the reduction of strategic armaments and ideological convergence with the West. But, in this case, one should pay heed to the fact that the years of Gorbachev’s rule coincided with a period of control in the USA by the Republicans, Reagan and Bush Sr. Moreover, Reagan was the only President in recent years to consistently refuse to participate in every globalist organization. By conviction he was a rigid, uncompromising, and consistent Atlanticist and free marketer not inclined to compromise with “the left” even in its mild democratic or social-democratic forms. Consequently, Moscow’s steps in the direction of convergence and the foundation of a World Government—with significant weight given to the governments of the Eastern Bloc—were from opposing poles—having not a few unfavorable ideological obstacles. Reagan, the Atlanticist (later Bush), simply used Gorbachev’s globalist reforms for purely utilitarian ends. The voluntary concession of the Heartland was not accompanied by relevant concessions in maritime power and

the West has not arrived at a compromise—neither geopolitically, nor ideologically—with a self-liquidating Eurasia. NATO has not dissolved, nor left Europe or Asia. Liberal-democratic ideology is stabilizing its position more and more.

In this case, Globalism has not come forward independently of geopolitical doctrine realized in practice through the pragmatic use of instruments of the Cold War, from logic, which based on the theories of Mackinder and Mahan, has not been rejected in the USA.

2.3.4 “The End of History” of Francis Fukuyama

After the breakup of the USSR and the victory of the West, the Atlanticist-globalist project had to either be destroyed or change its logic.

The new version of globalism in the Post-Soviet era was Francis Fukuyama’s doctrine—published in the early 1990s in an article, “The End of History.” It may be discussed as the basis for the ideas of neo-globalism.

Fukuyama continues to follow the version of an historical process. Humanity, from the “law of might,” “obscurantism,” and “irrational management of social reality” of the Dark Ages moved towards the ranks of the most reasonable and logical—embodied in capitalism, modern western civilizations, free markets, and liberal-democratic ideology. History and its progress endured only on account of irrational factors, which gradually cede their places to the law of reason, a total monetary equivalency, and other similar goals. The fall of the USSR marked the defeat of a last bastion of “irrationality.” In this fashion to the end of History and

the start of a distinct planetary existence, which would occur under the guidance of Markets and Democracy to unite the world in a coherent, rational, functional machine.

This New Order, still universally based in purely Atlanticist systems, goes beyond Atlanticism and all regions of the world will begin to be reorganized on the new model—centered on the greatest economic development.

2.3.5 “Goeconomics” of Jacques Attali

European authors have analogues to Fukuyama’s theories. Jacques Attali, being a longtime advisor to French President Francois Mitterand, and then Director of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, explored a similar theory in his book “Lines on the Horizon.”

Attali considers the present moment the onset of the Third Era, the “era of money,” which is an equally universal goal, by luring all to digital expressions of materialism—with these its extremely simple to rule in the most rationalistic manner. This approach of Attali’s is itself connected with the arrival of a messianic era understood in a Jewish-Kabbalist context (to read more on this aspect he develops it in another book, specially dedicated to a messiah, “He Arrives.” This separates him from Fukuyama, who strictly stays within the limits of pragmatism and utilitarianism.

Jacques Attali submits his version of the future, which has “already arrived.” Dominating the entire planet will be a single liberal-democratic ideology, market systems, and together with the development of information technology, the world

will become unified and dominated by homogeneity—geopolitics and history will be relegated to the background. During the “Third Era,” geopolitical dynamism will be abrogated.

And, the unified world would receive a new geopolitical structuralism on this occurring, based on the principles of “geoeconomics.” The first conception of “geoeconomics” was developed by historian Fritz Ringer and popularized by Ferdinand Braudel.

“Geoeconomics” is a distinct version of globalist geopolitics, which regards geography, culture, ideology, ethnicity, religion, and the like as not being prime factors; the true essence of this approach is pure economic reality and its relationship to space. For contemporary geoeconomists it is unimportant what people reside here or there, what their history is, or cultural traditions, and so on. It all boils down to where global exchange centers, useful minerals, information hubs, and very large spaces are located.

“Geoeconomics” dovetails with political reality as if a World Government and unified planetary state exists.

The geoeconomical approach of Attali leads to the highlighting of three important regions, which in a unified world will compose the centers of new economic spaces.

1. The American Space: Finishing the unification of both Americans in a single, financial-manufacturing zone.
2. The European Space: Emerging out of the economic integration of Europe.

3. The Pacific Region: A zone of “new prosperity,” possessing some competing centers—Tokyo, Taiwan, Singapore, and so forth. (12)

In Attali’s opinion, between these three globalist there would not be any particular differences or contradictions, so that in economical and ideological types they would be strictly identical. The single difference will be simply geographical location of its developed centers, around which will be structurally concentrated its less developed regions, located in nearby spaces. This concentric restructuring can only truly happen at “the end of history,” or in other words, upon the end of traditional reality as dictated by geopolitics.

Geopolitical-civilizational dynamism will be canceled. The lack of a pole in opposition to Atlanticism has led to a drastic rethinking of spaces. This has commenced the era of geoeconomics.

In Attali’s model can be found the ultimate expression of the idea, which has been at the foundation of the “Trilateral Commission” and political-conceptual instrument being developed and realized for similar projects.

It is revealing that the leadership of the “Trilateral Commission” (David Rockefeller, Georges Berthoin as its chief of the European branch, and Henry Kissinger) visited Moscow in January 1989 and were received by USSR President Gorbachev. Alexander Yakovlev²⁹⁹ was present, as well as several different upper

²⁹⁹ Known for being the architect as glasnost

echelon Soviet Leaders: Medvedev³⁰⁰, Falin³⁰¹, Akhromeyev³⁰², Dobrynin³⁰³, Chernyayev³⁰⁴, Arbatov³⁰⁵, and Prymakov³⁰⁶. And Jacques Attali himself supported close contacts with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

One thing is certain: the transition to geoeconomic logic and neoglobalism was possible only after the geopolitical self-liquidation of the Eurasianist USSR.

Neoglobalism is not a direct continuation of historical globalism, which initially expected the presence of a final model of socialist, leftist elements. This intermediate variant between proper globalism and Atlanticism.

2.3.6 Poststructuralist Globalism of Professor Santoro³⁰⁷

There is a more detailed version of neoliberalism. One of the most vivid is the futurist geopolitical concept developed at the Milanese Institute for the Study of International Politics (ISPI) under the leadership of Professor Carlo Santoro.

According to Santoro's model, in the present moment humanity is inhabiting a period of transition from a bipolar world to a globalist version of

³⁰⁰ KGB general responsible for Gorbachev's security.

³⁰¹ Soviet diplomat disgraced after \$600,000 cash was found in his office during the failed 1991 coup.

³⁰² Conservative Soviet general, later committed suicide following the 1991 failed coup.

³⁰³ Longtime USSR ambassador to the USA.

³⁰⁴ Principal foreign policy advisor to Gorbachev.

³⁰⁵ Longtime foreign policy expert and academic, fluent in English and known for appearing in US media.

³⁰⁶ Foreign Minister and intelligence chief of the USSR and expert on the Middle East, fluent in Arabic.

³⁰⁷ Carlo Maria Santoro

multipolarity (understood geopolitically, as in Attali). International institutions (like the U.N. and so on) represent an achievable development for the optimistic globalism of Fukuyama, which is that they would become the core of a World Government presented by Santoro as ineffectual and mirroring the outdated logic of bipolar geopolitics. Additionally, the entire world bears a firm imprint from the Cold War—the geopolitical logic of which remained domination. Santoro foresaw that this situation cannot but end in a period of civilizational catastrophe.

He expounds further on the scenario of this supposed catastrophe:

1. The further weakening of the role of international institutions.
2. The swelling of nationalist tendencies among nations, including the Warsaw Pact and the third world, this will bring chaotic processes.
3. The disintegration of traditional blocs (this does not involve Europe) and progressing the decay of existing governments.
4. Starting with an era of small, middle-intensity wars the results of which will develop new geopolitical formations.
5. The threat of planetary chaos will force the varied blocs to accept the necessity of creating new international institutions possessing huge authority that actually denotes the establishment of a World Government.
6. The final establishment of a global government under the aegis of a new international events (World Government). (13)

This model is in the middle between globalist optimism of Francis Fukuyama and the Atlanticist pessimism of Samuel Huntington.

Part 4: The Geopolitical Future of Russia, Section 4: The Redistribution of the World

4.5 An Empire of Many Empires

The New Empire, the construction of which would be a global response, is the planetary civilizational mission of the Russian people—a super-project having many sublevels. This New Empire, the Eurasian Empire, will have completely differentiated structures within which consisting of separate parts of varying degrees of interdependence and integration. It is completely clear that the New Empire will not be the Russian Empire, nor the Soviet Empire.

The foundational integrative moment of this New Empire will be a battle with Atlanticism and a strong rebuff to market liberals, the “Naval,” “Carthaginian” civilizations, which today are embodied in the USA and the planetary politics, economic, and military structures, which serve Atlanticism. For this battle to be a success, it is necessary to establish a gigantic geopolitical continental bloc having strategic unity. The strategic unity of the continental borders of the New Empire will be united and organized indivisibly in military-strategic thought and will impose political constraints under which all blocs that will become a part of the New Empire will be politically organic in one category, with the one prohibition against serving Atlanticist geopolitical interests, leaving the strategic alliance, harming continental security. On this and only on this level will the New Empire be a holistic geopolitical formation.

At the next, lower level the New Empire will itself be represented in “a Confederation of Large Spaces” or Secondary Empires. From between these, four foundational empires should be highlighted. The European Empire in the West (around Germany and Central Europe), the Pacific Empire in the West (around Japan), the Central Asian Empire in the South (around Iran), and the Russian Empire in the Center (around Russia). It is completely logical that the central position is the chief one in this project, since the territorial cohesion and uniformity of the remaining constituent gigantic continental blocs depends on it. Moreover, separate independent large spaces will exist—apart from the specific Indian bloc, the Pan-Arabic world, a Pan-African union, and possibly the specific region of China—whose status is hard to determine. Each of the Secondary Empires will be based on the particular racial, cultural, religious, political, or geopolitical integrative factors, which in each case might differ. The degree of integration of the empires themselves will vary by amount depending on the concrete ideological basis on which this or that empire will form.

Inside these Secondary Empires there also will be lesser ethnic, national, and religious units functioning on a confederative principle that, big or small, might be roughly called “countries” or “states.” Naturally, sovereignty in these “countries” will have significant limitations, first and foremost in strategy (arising from all the principles of the continental New Empire), and secondly in the connections established and entered into by specific large spaces—and in this

question the principle will be extremely flexibly applied to differentiations accounting for the historical, spiritual, geographical, and racial features of the region.

Greater Russia, for example, can be considered like a separate people or even “country” within the framework of the Russian Empire together with Ukrainians, Belorussians, possibly the Serbs, and so on, but at the same time all of these are closely connected with the jurisdiction of Slavic-orthodox types incarnate in these governmental systems. The Russian Empire will simultaneously hinge on the Eurasian Empire, the New Empire, the strategic interests of which will be above the national-racial and confessional interests of the Eastern Orthodox Slavs.

The same might be said, for example, about the French, who will remain a nation or “country,” within the framework of the European Empire, together with Germans and Italians. Connecting them is the general European imperial traditions, the Christian religion, and belonging to the Indo-European race. But that same European Empire, in its turn, will be subordinate to the strategic imperatives of the great continental New Empire.

The same thing will take place in Middle Asia, in the Pacific space, in the Arab world, in Black Africa, in India, and so forth.

While at the global level, for the construction of a planetary New Empire the chief “scapegoat” will namely be the USA—the undermining of whose power which (up to the complete destruction of its geopolitical constructs) will be realized systematically and uncompromisingly by the participants of the New

Empire. The Eurasian Project presupposes in this its relationship of Eurasian expansion in South and Central America to remove its output from under the control of the North (here, the Hispanic factor could be used as a traditional alternative to the Anglo-Saxon) and also to provoke every kind of destabilization and separatism within the borders of the USA (it might be possible to lean on the political forces of the African-American racists). The ancient Roman formula of “Carthage must be destroyed,” will become the absolute motto of the Eurasian Empire, because itself will absorb the essence of all geopolitical planetary strategy awakening to its continental mission.

The specifics in clarifying the status of this or that people, one “country” or another, one or another “Empire of a Large Space,” in the framework of the general continental bloc will actually become realized only after geopolitical unification, after, the establishment of necessary pivots, and only then European peoples and states can decide their own internal problems with total freedom, without pressure from Atlanticist forces, which are principally interested only in not allowing harmony, prosperity, independence, dignity, and the heyday of tradition.

Part 5: The Interior Geopolitics of Russia, Section 5: The Threat of the West

5.1 The Two Wests

The problem of organizing space in Western Europe is that topic which composes basic geopolitics as like the sciences. Western Europe is the Rimland of Eurasia, and the Rimland is the most complete, single-valued, and historically identifiable. In relation to Russia itself the Heartland's West, on the whole, itself represents the chief planetary protection from the sector of "Coastal Civilizations," which fully accepts its functions as a complete Talassocracy and identifies its fate with the Sea. At the vanguard of the process was England, but every remaining European country has taken the baton of industrialization, technological development, and normative values of "Free Trade," more or less entering into the Talassocratic ensemble.

In the course of developing historically the final geographical picture of the West, the championship was passed from England's Island to the continental America, especially the USA. Thus, the maximal incarnation of a talassocracy in its strategic, ideological, economic, and cultural aspects has become the USA and its control of NATO.

This fully geopolitical fixation of planetary power helps the pole of Atlanticism and talassocracy move across the Atlantic to the American continent. Europe itself (even the West, with the exception of England) from the center of

Talassocracy becomes a “buffer zone,” “coastal belt,” and “strategic appendage” of the USA.

This transfer of the talassocratic pivot from the ocean somewhat changes the geopolitical configuration. A century ago Europe (England and France) was the main enemy of Russia, but after World War II this region lost meaningful strategic autonomy having transformed into strategic colonies of the USA. This transformation strictly corresponds with that “view from the sea,” which characterizes the typical colonial relationship to the motherland like in any talassocracy. If early “coastal countries” had their potential character, active in the geopolitical formation of “Islandic England,” but now it accurately corresponds to the allocation of power. The American geopolitical reality has become a completely independent pole of the West, with Europe a cultural projection. In the absolute sense of the word, Western Europe has transformed from a metropolis to a colony. Everything is situated in correspondence with the classical logic of talassocratic geopolitics.

Thus, in the present time, the geopolitical problem of the West in its wider sense for Russia is the disintegration in two—the West of America and the West of Europe. From the geopolitical perspective, these two realities have different meanings. The West of America is the total geopolitical enemy of Russia—the pole of the direct opposite of Eurasian tendencies—the headquarters and center of Atlanticism. The geopolitical position of war with America constituted and constitutes the essence of all Eurasian geopolitics, starting in the middle of the

twentieth century when the role of the USA became evident. In its relations from the Heartland position, it is clearly necessary to actively oppose the USA's Atlanticist geopolitics at every level, in all regions of the Earth, striving to unleash maximum demoralization, deception, and in the final account, the defeat of the enemy. It is generally important herewith to introduce geopolitical chaos within the American daily experience by encouraging all manner of separatism, ethnic diversity, social and racial conflict, actively supporting every extremist dissident movement, racist sectarian groups, and destabilizing the political processes within America. While simultaneously having the essence of supporting isolationist tendencies in American politics, theses of those circles (often right-wing Republicans), which believe the USA should confine itself to its own internal problems. That position Russia has been placed in is supremely favorable, even if "isolationists" will be undermined by the framework of the original version of the Monroe Doctrine, such is the organic influence of the USA in the two Americas. This does not mean that Eurasia should refrain from destabilizing the Latin American world to withdraw individual regions from under the USA's control. Every geopolitical level of the USA should be involved simultaneously, similar to the anti-Eurasianism of the Atlanticists: "sponsoring" the disintegration of the strategic bloc (Warsaw Pact), governmental unity (USSR), and furthering ethno-territorial problems under the guise of regionalism, Russia accomplished its progressive disintegration up to its complete destruction. The Heartland will force the Sea Power to pay in the same coin. This is basic symmetrical logic. All this

constitutes to the objective of Russian “external politics,” relative to the USA, therefore more detailed analysis goes beyond the scope of this work.

The second reality, although denoted by the term “West,” has another meaning. This Europe, the geopolitical essence of which in the last decades has sharply changed. Having been traditional metropolises for different parts of the world, was first strategically, culturally, economically, politically, etc. colonial. American colonialism differed from the more explicit and cruel forms of the past, but its essence remained the same. In the present moment Europe does not have geopolitical and geographical volition of its own. Functionally, it is confined to following the USA on an ancillary basis and being the most likely setting in a probable conflict with Eurasia. This position automatically leads to the anti-American line becoming the general geopolitical alternative to European states, uniting them in a single project, which never could have existed earlier. The unification of Europe in Maastricht is the first signal of the emergence of Europe as a whole and self-sufficient organism pretending so as to return historical significance and geopolitical sovereignty. Europe does not want to be Russia or America. Its will is manifested in all capacities.

Then stands the question: what in broad terms is Eurasia’s relationship to its western peninsula?

From simply the geopolitical perspective, Eurasia is uniquely interested in bringing Europe out from under the USA’s Atlanticism. It is the priority task. In the West, Russia should have Sea Borders—it is a strategic geopolitical imperative

in the development of Eurasia. The absence of these borders, together with their land line crossing Europe in the middle, artificially and forcibly led to the final outcome of the geopolitical loss of the USSR. Accordingly, the task is not to repeat the mistakes and rectifying the position. Only then will Eurasia be free from Sea Power, when its strategic borders in the North, East, South, and West will become Oceans, like in America's case. Only then can a civilizational duel take place on equal terms. Therefore, Russia has two paths—a military occupation of Europe, or a strategic reorganization of the European space, which will be made in the geopolitical sector by a secure strategic alliance with Moscow –preserving its sovereignty, autonomy, and its autarky. The first variant is so unrealistic it cannot be discussed seriously. The second variant—complex, but feasible—has been carried out on in Europe's transition to a colony over the past half century, having left the track of serious European consciousness.

A friendly Europe might arise in this case only if it is unified. In the case of the Atlanticist opposition, the enemy finds greater freedom in carrying out fragmentation and schism in the European bloc, provoking conflict analogical to World War II. Therefore, Moscow should contribute maximally to European unification and generally support Central European states, and in the first place, Germany. The alliance of France and Germany, the Paris-Berlin axis (de Gaulle's project) is the spine around which its altogether logical to build a new Europe. In France and Germany there are persistent anti-Atlanticist political traditions (in currents on both the left and right). For the time being, they are latent and

potential, and at some point, they will declare themselves in one voice. Moscow should orient to this line now, and not await the final events to develop.

Moscow's objective of wresting control of Europe from the USA (NATO), contributing to its unity strengthening integrative connections with central Europe under the sign of a basic external political axis of Berlin-Moscow. Eurasia needs an alliance with a friendly Europe. From a military perspective, it still should not be able to defend itself (without the USA) from serious threats, and economic cooperation with Central Europe can solve the great majority of Russian and Asian technological problems in exchange for resources and a strategic military partnership.

Proceeding from these external political objectives to analyzing the internal political situation of Russian and its Western regions.

Part 6: Eurasian Analysis, Section 3: Geopolitical Problems of the Near Abroad

6.3.1 Laws of Great Spaces

The foundational law of geopolitics is the “Principle of Great Spaces,” detailed by Mackinder and Haushofer and developed by Carl Schmitt. According to this principle the national sovereignty of the state depends not only on its military power, technological development, and economic bases, but on the dimensions and locations of its lands and territories. Classical geopoliticians have written hundreds of volumes proving that problems of sovereignty depend directly on geopolitical independence, self-sufficiency, and autarkical regions. Those peoples and states which truly strive towards sovereignty should first and foremost decide the problem of territorial self-sufficiency. In our epoch, that self-sufficiency can only be possessed by very major states, located in regions protected from possible attacks (militarily, politically, and economically) by different state formations.

During the period of confrontation between capitalism and socialism and the necessary Blocs—the Great Spaces were obvious. No one doubted that a country might be “non-aligned,” but only at the expense of eliminating itself from the sphere of global geopolitics and marginalization to the periphery. However, all “non-aligneds” still made a choice in favor of one camp over the other, although less radically than directly supporting capitalism or socialism. The destruction of

one superpower certainly altered the Earth's geopolitical spaces, but at the same time the Principle of Great Spaces by no means lost its power. Oppositely, it is more and more common today of the geopolitical project of "Globalism," an idea which boils down the transformation of the earth's surface under the Principle of Great Spaces—controlled from the American center.

6.2.2 Pax Americana and Geopolitical Globalism

The project of pro-American "Atlanticist" Great Spaces is the creation of the global Pax Americana or the establishment of a "New World Order," with a single "World Government," these, in fact, are geopolitical synonyms. Precisely such a plan is being developed and realized today in the West's international politics, and chiefly, in the United States. It is obvious that the globalist concept of Great Spaces excludes any forms of authentic governments and political sovereignty of any kind for any people or state. Moreover, a bipolar world gave an incomparably greater degree of freedoms (sovereignty) to states included in the spheres of influence of one of the two Great Spaces, than in the planned globalist project—even if only because a global confrontation compels not only the suppression of satellite-states, but also their purchase. The single large global space of the globalists-futurists will mean the extinction of any weak shades of sovereignty so that power (military or economic) to suppress, fragment, and atomize "small spaces" will become the only way of control (the need for bribery and deception falls away on its own from the lack of a possible geopolitical competitor).

The actual situation is set in front of each people and state (and specially to states and peoples formerly included in the geopolitical bloc that opposed the Atlanticists of the West) integration in a single Great Space under the rule of Atlanticists, or a vital alternative, organize new Great Spaces capable of resisting the last remaining superpower. The question of geopolitical sovereignty having an immediate alternative relationship, but at the same time some peoples or states cannot have complete sovereignty in either one of the two cases. In making the globalist model any sovereignty at all is generally, wittingly excluded since the “World Government” grows without alternatives and only one center of power—and sovereign in this case is only a global pseudoempire—the “New World Order.” Under it, all its parts become colonies. In the organization of a new Great Space, we have to deal with the matter of relative sovereignty within the framework of large geopolitical formations, because this possible Great Space will be comparatively free in determining a dominant ideology and worldview. This means peoples and states which enter that bloc, could expect, at the least, ethnocultural sovereignty for direct participants in the creations and design of a new macro-ideology; whereas the geopolitical variant of the “New World Order,” is already fully elaborated and offering to the Earth’s peoples as in the colonial analogue of the Liberal, free-market American model.

Book 2, Part 5: The Khazarian Question

The Jew and Eurasia

The Inadequacy of Explanatory Schemes (1)

The Eurasian question has continued to excite the minds of our contemporaries. Neither its artificial silence, nor its hasty apologetic cry, nor primitive Judeophobia can address these problems. The Jewish people are a unique phenomenon in world history. They clearly have an absolutely special quality, giving them a religious-ethnic path to fulfill a mysterious and ambiguous mission across millennia.

On what basis is this mission? How to unravel the enigma of the Jew? What lies in the so many evocative rumors of the mission des juifs?³⁰⁸

It is a risk to cover this very extensive topic as a whole. Therefore, we turn only to the role of Jews in twentieth century Russian history, which has harmfully impacted many peoples, regardless of whichever ideological camp they belonged.

Immediately pay attention to the fact that no convincing, fully satisfactory interpretation exists on this topic in today's day and age. A part of historians is generally inclined to deny the importance of the Jewish factor in Russian and Soviet history—that is crude violence over truth. It stands to only look over the lists of the main Bolsheviks and political elite of the Soviet state and a disproportionately large share of the names will be before your eyes. Ignoring this

³⁰⁸ Taken verbatim from Dugin, who switches to French for this phrase.

fact—dismissing all as meaningless phrases—it has been dismissed even from the simple, scientific-historical perspective.

The second function is concerning the functions of Jews in Russia (USSR) in the twentieth century in relation to the character of national-patriotic circles. Here there is a representation that the role of the Jew was negative, subversive, and disruptive. This notable theory of the “Jewish Conspiracy,” which were generally popular in Black-Hundredist, and later White Guard, circles. From this perspective, the Jews, following their unique ethno-religious traditions and believing itself a single community, convinced of messianic status, knowingly organizing the destructive Bolshevik movement, occupying prevailing roles in them, and shaking and rattling the last bastion of conservative Christian governments, cultures, and traditions. The inveterate conservative Judeophobia transfers over to the USSR’s collapse, in which also the Jews are accused, referring to the huge portion of representatives of that nation in the ranks of the reformers. The weakness of this conception is that Jews are simultaneously accused of creating the USSR and destroying it; that they are the main proponents of socialism, its anti-bourgeoisie concept, and they are presented as the main apologists for capitalism. Moreover, an un-biased observer acquainted with the destinies of the Jewish-Bolsheviks, would prove that they fully, genuinely believed in communist ideology, long donating their actual lives to it which be unthinkable if accepting the all-powerful version of the group as “cynical and deceitful saboteurs.” In general, the anti-Semitic version is unconvincing, although

somewhat closer to the truth, because unlike the first, it recognizes the unique role of Jews in the historical process. Curiously, this acknowledgement brings together anti-Semites and the most conscientious followers of Zionism.

The third version belongs to Judeophilic (in the ultimate example, Zionist) circles. They insist that the Jews are always on the right side, victims of unjust persecutions from other peoples, carriers of all positive, moral, socialist, and cultural values. This position recognizes the leading role Jews have had in all the important historical processes in Russia, but knowingly affirms that in Revolution, for Soviet history, and in Perestroika Jews have been exactly a positive pole, embodying in themselves a secret and eternal truth, goodness, wisdom, and humanism. If an anti-Semitic Jew appears to be unequivocally evil and that diagnosis is subject to doubt, even in those cases when it leads to a fully logical and historical absurdity, so that the Judeophile observes a strict reverse image: here the Jew is always good, even if it categorically opposes the objective real picture. Accordingly, this extremely apologetic approach cannot be exhaustive, since it is initially constructed on a structure a priori.

New Version (2)

Note that the anti-Semitic and Zionist versions of explanations for the role of Jews in modern Russo-Soviet history, springing from some implication in the deep unity of Jews, a unity of historical reflection and purpose. In other words, the tendency to discuss Jews on the face of it as simply an ethnos with friends, but as a kind of organization, party, order, lobby, etc.

Another opposing version, arising out of no unity existing among Jews and that in national examples Jews in history are separate and actually, “I, like a personality only in the background,” psychological thought is determined secondarily by ethnic factors and accordingly its own term, “Jewry,” as understood by anti-Semites and Zionists, has no right to exist.

Excluding all these approaches because of their almost obvious inadequacy, we turn to another version. If we do not arrange a personalist approach, nor a group approach, nor one that is an undefinable multiple conception, nor a conception of cohesive unity, we are naturally assuming some intermediate model. It is sensible to speak of the inner duality of the Jew, about the presence of a unique ethnos, of not one, but two: two “organizations,” two “orders,” two centers of historical reflection, two scenarios of messianic paths. This dualistic approach gives us a completely new, in many ways unexpected, perspective in writing on this complex phenomenon.

Easterners and Westerners in the Ranks of the Jews (3)

The famous Eurasianist author Yakov Bromberg³⁰⁹ put forward in his time a very similar idea in his article, “On Jewish Orientalism.” It is about the fact that in the Russian environment Jews clearly divided into two antagonistic groups,

³⁰⁹ Jewish émigré born in 1898, little information is available on him besides this article: <http://stephenshenfield.net/themes/jewish-issues/jews-in-tsarist-russia/105-the-jewish-urasianism-of-yakov-bromberg>

themselves representing psychological roles and cultural archetypes. One of these is the traditional-Hasidic orientation. It has the character of mysticism, religious fanaticism, extreme idealism, and a deep contempt for the materialist way of life, greed, and rationalism. In some extreme cases the mystical type of Jew crossed over from their ethno-religious particularity to universalism, disseminating ideals of national messiah to other peoples. But apart from orthodox religion, the medium of the same psychological type was used by secularists, fervent revolutionaries, Marxists, communists, and populists. The mystical Jew differs from other branches, not simply in abstract Marxism, but in a deep sympathy and heartfelt solidarity with the Russian people, generally with the Russian peasants and workers, those unofficial elements—Tsarist, but radical, earthy—at the bottom of a parallel Russia, a Russia of Old Believers and Mystics, the “enchanted Russian wanderers.” It is from here the classical type of Jewish-SR³⁰, who very often had overt characteristics of Russian nationalist tendencies as deep followers of national bolshevism.

Bromberg united these Hasidic-Marxist, mystical-socialists into one group— “Jewish Orientalism.” This was a “Eurasian fraction” of the Jewry. Another distinguished Soviet historian, Mikhail Agursky³¹, came to a similar conclusion in his epochal work “The Ideology of National Bolshevism,” where he identifies the

³⁰ Abbreviation for Revolutionary Socialist

³¹ Another mysterious figure, emigrated to Israel in 1975 (b.1933-d.1991): Bromberg could not properly be regarded as a Soviet historian and he apparently did not support the Whites or Reds.

origins of the dissemination of Russophilia in Jewish-revolutionary circles, which was characteristic of multitudes of Soviet National Bolshevik figures of Jewish origin—in particular for giant ideologues of these currents, Isiah Lezhneva and Vladimir Tan-Bogoraz, many Jews saw bolshevism as possibility to finally merge with a large nation, abandoning the ghetto and the Pale of Settlement, to eschatologically bridge the messianic Russian with the messianic Jew under the general aegis of Eurasian revolution. The destruction of the alienating laws of capital and exploitation. Thus, extremist circles of Eastern European Jews of a mystical orientation (from Hasidim to Sabbateanists) themselves presented a growth medium for Bolshevism, SR and Marxism, and not accidentally the majority of leaders of the Reds came from families of Hasidim and mystics, taking on a mystical eschatological messianic pathos, despite the external paradox, this convergence of typological and psychological relations between Hasidic types of Jewish fundamentalists and the ardent atheist builders of Bolshevik society was intimate, since they both belonged to the “Eurasianism,” “orientalism,” and the irrational-mystical sects of Judaism.

The opposite group is totally united in another type of Jew—the rationalist-Jewish, bourgeoisie type, cool regarding religion, but on the opposite, are overloaded with elements of greed, personal enrichment, of accumulation, and rationalist economic activity. This, per Blomberg, is “Jewish Westernism.” And again, as is the case with Jewish Orientalism, we see here the combination of outer polar positions, with one way belonging to the category of extreme religious

circles, the Talmudists (“The Rabbanites”), inheriting the orthodox lineage of Maimonides—that is the Aristotelian-rationalist lineage of the Jewish religion. In its time, this Talmudist camp actively fought against the spread of Kabbalists, passionate mystical tendencies, contradicting in its spirit the dry and mythological creationist form of Judaic theology (for more detailed analysis see the gorgeous analysis of Gershom Scholem’s “The Kabbala and Its Symbolism,” “The Origins of Kabbala,” and so on).³¹² Later, its chieftains spoke against the pseudo-messiah Sabbatan Zevi, the messiah leader of mystical Jewish hetero-orthodoxy. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a party was drawn up from these environments, the so-called “Mitnagedov” (verbatim “The Opponents” in Hebrew), who desperately fought against Hasidism and the renaissance of extreme mysticism among Eastern European Jews. This camp was based in religious rationalism, in Talmudic traditions, purifying them of all mystical-mythological stratifications. Curiously enough, to this same category of Jew belongs the figures of “Haskalah” and “the Jewish Enlightenment,” who belonged to the modernizing and secularizing Jews, the rejection of religious ceremonies and traditions in the name of “humanism” and “assimilation” into the “progressive peoples of the West.” In Russia, this type of Jew, although extremely opposed to the nominally monarchical-Orthodox regimes, occupied Westernizing, liberal positions. The peak of this group’s aspirations was the February Revolution. The “Jewish

³¹² Regarded as founder of modern Jewish mysticism (1897-1982)

Westernists” as a whole supported the “white cause,” despite their racial closeness with the Bolshevik leaders as they did not identify with universalist, mystical orientation of “Jewish Orientalism.”

Like the splitting up of Russians into “Whites” and “Reds” in the revolution, the Jewry also broke in political thought and in profound archetypal features of their rationales on deep lines, planned much earlier, into two camps within Judaism—Hasidic-Kabbalists (Bolshevists) in one, and Talmudist-rationalists (the Enlightenment, bourgeoisie-capitalists) in the other.

So, the typology of Blomberg-Arusky is supported by historical examples, the conclusions to which we arrive at by a simple, logical path: the Jewry that presents itself as an ethno-religious whole (which is still not so obvious!), is essentially divided into two camps, in two “orders,” into two “communities.” In two types, which in specific critical situations will demonstrate not only a difference, but a fundamental hostility. Each have their religious poles and secular expressions, remaining unified. “Jewish Orientalism,” (per Blomberg) or “Jewish National-Bolshevism,” (per Agursky) at its religious level includes Hasidim, Sabbateans, Kabbalists and at the secular level Marxism, revolutionary socialism, populism, and Bolshevism.

“Jewish Westernists” are also a duality; in their religious plane coinciding with Maimonides’ rationalistic Talmudism (after the “Gaons” of Vilnius, the Mitnagedov centers, and the anti-Hasidic circles) and the secular versions expressing themselves as liberal-democratic, “enlightened” humanism.

Two Examples (4)

The fundamental duality revealed to us instantly explains a great deal of factors, remaining incomprehensible in other interpretative methodologies. In particular, the logical explanation for the cryptic phenomenon of so-called “Jewish-anti-Semitism.” This criticism of Marx by Lassalle, that Marx used extremely Judeophobic phrases and also many radically anti-Jewish passages generally matched Judaism with capitalism, becoming completely understood since in his own character the Jew, Marx belongs uniquely to the mystic-Hasidism of the messianic type, who typically viewed in the bourgeoisie and capitalism, where the main role—and in philosophical and practical thought—played by the Jew is as its own chief enemy. In the article, “On the Jewish Question,” Marx writes:

What is the secular basis of the Jewry? Material consumption and self-interest. What are the Jews’ earthly ideals? Trading. What is their earthly god? Money...Money is the fervent deity of the Israelites. Empirically, the being of the Jew is trading.

Note the emphasis on the terms “secular” and “empirical.” Marx could be hinting at two things. One is their materialism and immanency, which he, not embarrassed at the expression, impressed and concluded on each the embodiment of a negative (remember that truly demonic, anti-Christian role Marx attributes to Capital). In the second non-secular, non-empirical, transcendentalist way we can only guess. It is in our own reconstruction of the Jewish communist mystical orientation.

Another example. In its time a group of Kabbalist-Zoharists (enthusiasts of the Kabbalist books “the Zohar”), followed the mystical-Sabbatist Yakov Frank, who carried over into the group aspects of Christianity, and in parallel “exposing” the misanthropic rites of the Talmudists (Rabbanites)—their eternal enemies. The Jewish historian G.L. Shtrak in his book “Blood in the Beliefs and Superstitions of Mankind” wrote on the conflict between followers of Frank and the Talmudists:

In 1759 they (Frankists—A.D.) declared to the Archbishop Vratislav Lubensky that they craved baptism, like deer for a source of water, and offered to prove that the Talmudists shed more innocent Christian blood than the Pagans, thirsting after it and using it. At the same time, they asked for an area of settlement to be approved for them east of Lemberg, so they could live by their own labor, where Talmudist-innkeepers breed drunkenness, sucking dry the Christians and robbing them to their last thread...soon after this dispute, at the insistence of the Polish clergy, around 1,000 baptisms were administered to the Cossacks.

In these two examples, we see a unified spiritual confrontation at different levels. The atheist Marx identifies Capital with Jewish figures and in this lies the basis for the curse of the Jews and their “empirical deity.” The mystic “Frankists” curse the Talmudists on a completely different basis, reproaching them—in accordance with the level of all controversies—of “drinking the blood of Christians.” Strikingly, these Zoharists had social motives: “Rabbanites rob Christians to the last thread” and the assembling of the Zoharists to “live by their own labor.” The spiritual conflict of the mystical-contemplators, mythmakers, Gnostics, fanatics, and spiritualists versus the religious moralists, supporters of simple rites, cults of formalists somehow unnoticeably and naturally transfers over to the confrontation of socialists and capitalists, Bolsheviks and liberal-democrats.

Jew vs Jew (5)

Now we project the scheme we have received onto Soviet history and identifying through it the Jew's role.

In general, the Jewry, on the verge of the revolution, was unified in opposing the existing system. Seemingly in both sectors. The Jewish-orientalist opposed capitalism and religious conservatism, alienated in formal cultural spheres, craving a revolutionary change and the opening of a magic era of messianic fulfillment. The Jewish-westernists did not accept Czarism for completely opposite reasons, believing that it remained an insufficiently capitalist, civilized, and humanist regime, in need of an adjustment to the level of Western Civilization. All Jews had solidarity in the necessary overthrow of the dynasty and revolution. In this they had an alliance, as among the periphery of Russian nationalists, dreaming of the destruction of the "prison of nations," and the "leftist nationalists" among these same Russians perceived the Romanov-Peterburgist order as an anti-nationalist, anti-populist, anti-spiritual parody of the true Holy Rus. Moreover, there were sufficient westernists among the Russian nobility and merchants, active in building the Russian capitalism of the time and cutting through the last "cherry orchards" of the rapidly degenerating aristocracy.

The cumulative activity of all these forces at the approach of a favorable situation was implemented through the February Revolution. But, immediately after it irreconcilable contradictions appeared in the victors' camp. After the overthrow of the regime, with clarity it discovered within itself a second line of

division (this time, internal) and it has predetermined all that followed. After the February Revolution, the first plan was opposed by revolutionist and evolutionist forces, leftist orientalists and leftist westernists, and Eurasianists and europeanists. In the same environment. the fundamental dualism of the Jewry was exposed with clarity.

The Bolshevist pole combined in itself the exact representatives of “Jewish orientalism,” the Hasidic-Sabbateanist type, the Jewish communist, and the Jewish socialist—the same as those who at the end of the eighteenth century wanted “to live by their own labor.” This labor, eschatologically, universally most Russophilic in its Jewish solidarity with the National-Bolshevist current of Russian “leftist imperialism,” seeing in the October Revolution not the end of nationalist dreams, but the beginning, a new red dawn, the second arrival of the Soviet Rus, the secret Old Believers’ Rite—lost in the gloomy bicentenary of the graceless parody of the synod in St. Petersburg. Bolshevism gradually soaked up not only orthodox-Marxists, but a huge number of SRs, especially leftists SRs, who might be called quite the Russian analog for national-revolutionaries. In a word, the Jewish undercurrent in Bolshevism is logically and triumphantly the completion of a historical path largely organized by a sector of the Jewry, the roots of which go far back in the faded religious controversies of the Middle Ages.

The enemies of the eschatological community of “Jewish-orientalists” came from all over the capitalist world and especially the Jewish bourgeoisie, Whites, empiricists (per Marx), an incarnation of the ancient Rabbanites. Here, the

paradoxical Bolshevist “anti-Semitism,” was not unfamiliar to a great deal of Jewish-communists. Agursky brings up an interesting case in his work, when the Jew Vladimir Tan-Bogoraz interceded on behalf of the Russian Bolsheviks, not only interceding himself, but allowing anti-Semitic tirades and generally justifying them. This recalls the history cited with the Zoharists! By this same token, we find something analogical in different spheres. Take for example, the famous founder of the Bavarian Lodge of “Thule,” present for the birth of the National-Socialist Workers Party in Germany, Baron Von Sebottendorf was in his own time dedicated to “Egyptian Masonry” in Turkey. The matrimonial couple of Jewish-Sabbateanists receiving the basics of their own esoteric sciences. But, he himself (not to mention the ordinary Nazis) differed from the uncovered anti-Semitism. The Jewish (especially Sabbateanism) trace can be found in several different emphatically nationalist, and at times, frankly racist or anti-Semitic organizations of the europeanists (Masons) and the westernists (Young Turks). In different forms, anti-Semitism could be directed in opposing ways and in cases the bearers of it could altogether be the Jew, or their managers and political leaders. For example, take the fairly extensive anti-Semitic sayings of Churchill, who pointed out the Jewish origins of the majority of the Bolshevik leaders, speaking on the “Jewish danger threatening civilization from the East.” While Churchill based his own political career in the rightist-Zionist circles of Great Britain and the USA, as convincingly demonstrated by Douglas Reed. Accordingly, just as there exists something like a

“right” and “left” in Jewry, there is a “right” and “left” in anti-Semitism. Thus, in this question we arrive at a more complex model.

From February and October, we come to the parting of the waters of the two halves of world Jewry and from this certain moment they acquired there cruelly opposed forms. In extreme cases, representatives from both of these camps acquire in their polemics and arguments, not dissimilar crass, vulgar anti-Semitic discourse. But, that is not all. The peak of this confrontational collision acquired the character of war in physical destruction, so that we see in history Stalinist purges of the ranks of Soviet leadership.

To Live by Their Own Labor (6)

There is no doubt that the Jew differs in having unique capabilities in some social, economic, and cultural fields. Their scattering over a great deal of centuries, teaching the small, but stubborn nation, not wishing to give up on their ancient dreams. Over many thousands of years of religion from an ancient covenant. Gazing at all that surrounds them as temporary, detached, and transitory. Jews have developed a number of striking, dynamic features permitting them a great deal of orienting themselves to the social dynamics of the fast-flowing processes of governing and national rule taking place in the environment of “great nations,” who “always have a sense of being at home,” with a specific delay from a slower, a posteriori reflection. But, these skills could be used differently in various situations. Thus, the Jewish-Bolsheviks affixed all their efforts, all national talents, and all spiritual forces towards the creation of a mighty Soviet state, an empire of

social righteousness, a land-based bastion of Eurasian geopolitics. And many numbers of the elements of the Jewish diaspora in Europe, America, and Asia, the offspring of the same religious-spiritualist, mystical, “orientalist” spirit, and a “Eurasianist” medium, were the ongoing leaders in the structural opera of the Soviets, geopolitical agents of influence for a Greater Eurasia, and the vessels of messianic Bolshevism. They formed exactly the basis of the Third International, later the Comintern, composing a powerful Eurasian network as subtle agents in all corners of the planet. But, to reiterate, it was not just a matter of the Jews, but of specific categories of Jews, of certain Jewish camps, and of “Jewish-Eurasianists.” Along these lines, at a certain precise stage these “red-brown” Jewish-Eurasianists created and prepared the State of Israel, having begun under the leadership (and with the sanction of) Moscow, but in a tough fight with English-Atlanticists, with the forces of capital and liberal-democracy. They composed an axis of leftist forces in Israel, the fruits of their efforts were the famous Kibbutzim. Just like the Zoharists— “to live by their own labor.”

Apologies for the Jews, such as the representation that all Jews are included as innocent victims cannot be reconciled with the fact in the epoch of severe repression, as during the Leninist and Stalinist purges, Jews were not only the victims, but also the executioners, not in an individual, purely personal, but in the group, party, and factional sense. This was not set in anti-Semitism, but in fact is actually explained by the Judeophilic framework in place at the time as the internal battle of Soviet forces in Judaism did not cease, the fact that the Bolshevik,

“Hasidic,” “Zoharist” elements were well known for their skills and the changing manner of their own tribesmen, their propensity for intrigue and conspiracy, chameleon-like, mercilessly battling with the bourgeoisie elements of the Jewry, with residual “Jewish-westernists,” the heirs of the Rabbanite spirit, with the ideological currents of the “Mitnagedov.” Here the paradox is clearly expressed, the anti-Semitic purges were very often committed by the Jews themselves. The classical case of this position is Lazar Kaganovich, the most faithful of Stalin’s companions, a committed, die-hard National-Bolshevik, who Russian nationalists, in a misunderstanding, unreasonably turned into a figure of the “Jewish conspiracy.” Greater “anti-Semites” would be difficult to invent.

From Fracture to Collapse (7)

The critical point in the history of Jewish-Eurasianists is 1948. At that moment Stalin and his associates came to the conclusion that the creation of the State of Israel, which was initially supported (as in the Hasidic-Socialist construct) had turned out to be an instrument of the bourgeoisie West because the capitalist-Misnagedim line had gained the upper hand. Zionist tendencies became awakened in the Soviet Jewry and this meant a transfer of initiative to the remnants of the “westernist” sector, whose total extirpation turned out to be only superficial, whose ability to survive surprised even the vigilant suspicion of Jewish-Eurasianists.

This moment was fatal—as demonstrated by the later events at the close of our century—for the entire Soviet state and for socialism around the world. When

the anti-Semitic tendencies in the Soviet leadership crossed certain defined boundaries—especially glaring was the destruction of the Jewish anti-fascist committee, consisting of practically one hundred percent committed Eurasianists and direct agents of Lavrentiy Beria (who spoke only in their favor)—only the committed Jewish-National-Bolsheviks themselves could remain unwavering in their Russophilic, Soviet-Imperial position. Generally, in the eyes of the Jewish masses, the influence of Eurasianists were gradually undermined, discrediting their fundamental ideological and geopolitical line. In their own ways, from party and military areas, to the heights of power, Great and Small Russia elements drew closer to those who did not totally comprehend the messianic pathos of left wing nationalism, messianic National-Bolshevism, that underlies the basic spiritual union of Jewish and Russian Eurasianists going back to the beginning of the century. This new generation felt themselves to be greater statesmen, who were prophets of a “New Truth,” following absolutely the army’s “Romanov” spirit of a Czarist castes within the military leadership, and finally uprooted the Bolsheviks with common nativism, worker-peasant chauvinism, and with a certain unreflective share of instinctual anti-Semitism. These army cadres did not know the revolution and higher spirituality, historically concomitant, and this was accompanied by not delving into the details of nationalist politics. The natives of Ukraine were distinguished by being especially deaf to this question, they together with Khrushchev, plotted to occupy the USSR’s top posts. Although, in the

environment that existed after Stalin's death, Beria fully ceased the anti-Semitic "Doctor's Cases," the irreparable damage was complete.³³

There is more to this fatal turning point. The Russian Jewry, Eurasianist-continentalists, international-imperialists, messianic and revolutionary currents, who had become the backbone of Soviet power, were undermined, broken, and disfigured at its foundation. The state and economic power organisms became functionally inert. The purges, in general, were basically always invariably lying hidden the ideological, meta-political, fundamental causes, once completed in their place arrive a clash of clans, a gradual "bourgeoisization" of socialism, backsliding into philistinism, and Babbitry. The revolutionary eschatological pathos faded. The Soviet State maintained its inertia. The eschatological basis of the worldwide Eurasian revolution crossed over into an ordinary government entity. Powerful and gigantic, but peculiarly devoid of the glow of the original, universal mission.

At the level of the Jewry, this signified the complete defeat of the "Hasidic-Sabbateanists" camp and the gradual emergence of the leading role of Jewish-rationalists, Kantians, humanists, Mitnagedov, and westernists. The secret alliance of the National-Bolshevists was dissolved, Jewish-orientalists accelerated the tempo of marginalization and their influence and position fell catastrophically.

³³ More widely known as the Doctor's Plot in the USA.

Eventually this same type of Jewish-Bolshevist was moved to the periphery and to the head of the Jewish community in the USSR advanced those representatives with the sensibilities of Maimonides and the Talmudists. Even more often this happened with the secular, as humanist-liberal versions irradiated outwards.

This bourgeoisie, Zionist-rightist flank from then on worked only for the breakup of Soviet structures, preparing for the collapse of socialism and grinding down from within the gigantic geopolitical construction. By this token, in unison with these destructive anti-Eurasianist tendencies, they worked with certain anti-Semitic circles of the KGB, who only aggravated the spiritual-cultural disintegration of the ideological synthesis and were a secret divisionary force in the origins of Bolshevism and National-Bolshevism.

Be that as it may, the ruin of the Soviet Government is the direct result of the retreat of the Jewish lobby from the constructive state building of the Bolshevist position and its direct or indirect complicity in aiding the hostile, Anti-Soviet, Atlanticist capitalist West.

Towards a Eurasianist Future (8)

This model, the general contours of which we have written about, allows man problems to be seen anew and connected to the mysterious levers of Soviet history. Note, that this approach could be transferred to other geopolitical systems, since something analogical could be produced in other countries and political contexts. Incidentally, on the topic of the fundamental dualism of the

Jewry, the work of the great writer Arthur Koestler can be applied, who offered a controversial, from the ethnological perspective, but altogether impressive, from the typological perspective, thesis on “Turkish” racism originating from the Eastern European Jews, “Ashkenazim,” existing as the heirs of the religiously Jewish Khazars, whence the famous dualism between Ashkenazim and Sephardim (pure Semites). In the case of the Karaites, that is another anti-Talmudist direction among the Jewry, the fact of their descending from the Khazars was considered especially proven (see L.N. Gumilyov). Curiously enough, the Turkish theories on the origins of the “Ashkenazim” (in Hebrew this word means “northern”) adheres with Douglas Reed, who considered this type of Jew an offshoot of the “Turko-Mongolian race!”

It is important for us to underline another aspect. Jewish orientalism is not a strictly, exclusively modern phenomenon. It is deeply rooted in national history. Perhaps some kind of terrible religious or racial secrets are behind it. Be that as it may, it does not raise a doubt over the victory of the “Mitnagedov” lobby and the Jewish westernists are not, and cannot be a totally irreversible fact. It is impossible to deny that the position of the Jewish orientalist is now more marginalized and weaker than ever. But, this may only be just for the time being. There is itself national identification of certain parts of the Jewry, not conceivable without sacrifices, great compassion, a painstaking and idealistic quest for truth, without deep mystical contemplation, without disgusted contempt for the slavish dark laws of “This World”—to laws of the market and egoistical benefit. Jewish orientalist

have teased out humility and exultation from the first legendary Tzadiks, genuinely compassionate to neighbors regardless of their racial and religious membership, having a fanatical faith in righteousness and a fairly constructed society, and finally a vague solidarity can be guessed at with the tragic and beautiful God-carrying peoples of history, the Russian people, all this is indestructible of certain parts of the Jews, inseparable from their unique destiny.

Squeezed between (a partially justified) anti-Semitism of the Russian patriots and that of the westernists, rationalists, free-marketers, and subversive anti-statist masses, sits the Russian Jewish-liberals, the Jewish orientalist are experiencing tough times.

But, do not despair. The lives of these peoples are being tested also. It is only important to choose, to comprehend one's place in history, not opposed to discovering its geopolitical and spiritual orientation. And in their own ways the Eurasianists must with all accountability and considering all the tragic historical experiences declare a place for them among the ranks of the builders of a Great Eurasian Empire, the Last Empire that will be found.

But, as representatives of the Great Idea we will simply never forget anything. Not of our own, nor of strangers.