



The Fourth Political Theory

Alexander Dugin , ?????????? ??????

[Download now](#)

[Read Online](#) 

The Fourth Political Theory

Alexander Dugin , ?????????? ??????

The Fourth Political Theory Alexander Dugin , ?????????? ??????

The Fourth Political Theory is the first book by the famed Russian political theorist to appear in the English language. It presents a summary of his basic ideas considering the development of a new political theory transcending the old categories of liberalism, Marxism and fascism.

All the political systems of the modern age have been the products of three distinct ideologies: the first, and oldest, is liberal democracy; the second is Marxism; and the third is fascism. The latter two have long since failed and passed out of the pages of history, and the first no longer operates as an ideology, but rather as something taken for granted. The world today finds itself on the brink of a post-political reality - one in which the values of liberalism are so deeply embedded that the average person is not aware that there is an ideology at work around him. As a result, liberalism is threatening to monopolise political discourse and drown the world in a universal sameness, destroying everything that makes the various cultures and peoples unique. According to Alexander Dugin, what is needed to break through this morass is a fourth ideology - one that will sift through the debris of the first three to look for elements that might be useful, but that remains innovative and unique in itself. Dugin does not offer a point-by-point program for this new theory, but rather outlines the parameters within which it might develop and the issues which it must address. Dugin foresees that the Fourth Political Theory will use the tools and concepts of modernity against itself, to bring about a return of cultural diversity against commercialisation, as well as the traditional worldview of all the peoples of the world - albeit within an entirely new context. Written by a scholar who is actively influencing the direction of Russian geopolitical strategy today, The Fourth Political Theory is an introduction to an idea that may well shape the course of the world's political future.

The Fourth Political Theory Details

Date : Published May 28th 2012 by Arktos Media Ltd. (first published 2009)

ISBN : 9781907166655

Author : Alexander Dugin , ?????????? ??????

Format : Paperback 211 pages

Genre : Politics, Philosophy, Cultural, Russia, Nonfiction, Political Science

 [Download The Fourth Political Theory ...pdf](#)

 [Read Online The Fourth Political Theory ...pdf](#)

Download and Read Free Online The Fourth Political Theory Alexander Dugin , ?????????? ??????

From Reader Review The Fourth Political Theory for online ebook

Owlseyes says

"you [USA] are not anymore boss"

"nobody has monopoly of truth"

"we have our special Russian truth"

"The Most Dangerous Philosopher in the World", in:
<http://bigthink.com/paul-ratner/the-d...>

Steve Middendorf says

In Europe and its recent offshoot America, also known as “The West” is the tendency to speak and think of European experiences as if they were universal experiences. This is called Eurocentricism: that what the West thinks of as right and good is indeed right and good for the rest of the world. The practice recognises only European actors and actions as the primary driving forces in the world. It reinterprets all of humanity’s common history to present our (the West’s) superiority as both inherent and inevitable. Its prescriptions for the rest of the world are “to be more like us.” Being “more western” is good. Being “less western” is backward and bad. In that, it is imperialist, racist and chauvinistic. The rise of America since the 20th century as a unipolar military and cultural power has violently thrust this phenomenon onto the Slavs, the Chinese and the Arabs.

Russia has decided to react. Russia, under Putin, has decided to resist this military and cultural hegemony. In Ukraine and the Middle East, Russia has said “No” militarily to America’s unipolar decision making. They have also said “No” to the narrative that describes everything Western as “good” and everything Russian as “bad.” Culturally, this is why Russia’s news channels (RT.com) is so important. It continuously points out Russia’s, China’s and Turkey’s behaviour as normal, and everything about America’s actions as abnormal, bad and hypocritical. (And oh how we go apoplectic when given a taste of our own medicine! In Ukraine and Syria, Russia is fighting back with military weapons. With their public media channels, they’re fighting back with cultural weapons. Enter Alexander Dugin.

Dugin, has become known as the man who best explains Putin to the West. The trolls and the fake news industry have been muddying Dugin’s history and his reputation. Stick to his books or what he actually says in English on YouTube. He is a sociologist and public intellectual in Russia who has published more than 40 books, and speaks many languages.

In this book, Dugin acknowledges that The First Political Theory, Liberal Democracy defeated the Second and Third political theories, Socialism and Fascism as a means of organising the economy and Society. For

reasons and on evidence that we all know, he says that Liberal Democracy is failing and that a Fourth Political Theory is needed.

I accepted Dugin's critique of Liberal Democracy whole heartedly (this takes up the first 20% of the book) and I would highly recommend it to anyone vaguely dissatisfied with the West and wanting to know why. However, the remainder of the book is indecipherable. I cannot figure the characteristics of this Fourth Political Theory from what I've read.

Joel says

Dugin is a Russian political theorist/philosopher/troublemaker and this book sketches his hazy theory. He names Liberalism, Fascism and Communism as the (failed) theories one, two and three. The Fourth Political Theory generally resists definition in a positive direction, and can only be approached *via negativa*, by what it is not. He writes:

The Fourth Political Theory is the amalgamation of a common project and arises from a common impulse to everything that was discarded, toppled, and humiliated during the course of constructing 'the society of the spectacle' (constructing postmodernity). 'The stone that the builders -rejected has become the cornerstone'. The philosopher Alexander Sekatsky rightly pointed out the significance of 'marginalia' in the formation of a new philosophical age, suggesting the term 'metaphysics of debris' as a metaphor.

Dugin's writing seems to have much in common with many postmodern texts, and yet he is keen to reject postmodernity and the liberal order entirely. Dugin wants to draw what is good from all previous political theories and reject elements that were bad. He praises pre-modern traditions, but does not seek the dominance of one or the other system of thought, but rather wants to see all these various cultures flourish at the expense of Western liberalism and the postmodern evacuation of meaning. He wants to reach back past the rationalism of late modernity and into the symbolic, ritualistic core of the monotheistic religions. He writes:

Not only the highest supra-mental symbols of faith can be taken on board once again as a new shield, but so can those irrational aspects of cults, rites, and legends that have perplexed theologians in earlier ages. If we reject the idea of progress that is inherent in modernity (which as we have seen, has ended), then all that is ancient gains value and credibility for us simply by virtue of the fact that it is ancient. 'Ancient' means good, and the more ancient — the better.

He does sound many postmodern notes however, such as:

Societies can be compared, but we cannot state that any one of them is objectively better than the others. Such an assessment is always subjective, and any attempt to raise a subjective assessment to the status of a theory is racism. This type of an attempt is unscientific and inhumane. The differences between societies in any sense can, in no shape or form, imply the superiority of one over the other.

Many call Dugin (and Vladimir Putin) fascists, but this is a bit facile. Dugin explicitly rejects the race-based dogma of fascism:

The appalling consequences of this ideology (fascism) are too well known to dwell upon them. However, it was this original definition of a historical subject that was at the heart of the Nazis' criminal practices.

The definition of a historical subject is the fundamental basis for political ideology in general, and defines its structure. Therefore, in this matter, the Fourth Political Theory may act in the most radical way by rejecting all of these constructions as candidates for a historical subject. The historical subject is neither an individual, nor class, nor the state, nor race. This is the anthropological and the historical axiom of the Fourth Political Theory.

And again:

If we begin with fascism and National Socialism, then here we must definitively reject all forms of racism. Racism is what caused the collapse of National Socialism in the historical, geopolitical, and theoretical sense. This was not only a historical, but also a philosophical collapse. Racism is based on the belief in the innate objective superiority of one human race over another. It was racism, and not some other aspect of National Socialism, that brought about such consequences, leading to immeasurable suffering on both sides, as well as the collapse of Germany and the Axis powers, not to mention the destruction of the entire ideological project of the Third Way. The criminal practice of wiping out entire ethnic groups (Jews, gypsies, and Slavs) based on race was precisely rooted in their racial theory — this is what angers and shocks us about Nazism to this day.

Dugin believes that the narrative of progress and enlightenment in the West is a myth, one that needs to be deconstructed. He writes:

Émile Durkheim, Pitirim Sorokin, and Georges Gurvitch, the greatest sociologists of the Twentieth century, in essence the classicists of sociological thought, argued that social progress does not exist, in contrast to the Nineteenth-century sociologists, such as Auguste Comte or Herbert Spencer. Progress is not an objective social phenomenon, but rather, an artificial concept, a kind of scientifically formulated myth.

Dugin pushes back against this myth of progress, again stressing a search for alternatives in more ancient traditions:

The Fourth Political Theory must take a step toward the formulation of a coherent critique of the monotonic process. It must develop an alternative model of a conservative future, a conservative tomorrow, based on the principles of vitality, roots, constants, and eternity.

While most of us assume that there is no going "backwards" towards feudalism or any other outmoded organization of society, Dugin says this is not the case:

Societies can be variously built and transformed. The experience of the 1990s is quite demonstrative of this: people in the Soviet Union were sure that socialism would proceed from capitalism, not vice versa. But in the 1990s they saw the opposite: capitalism following socialism. It is quite possible that Russia could yet see feudalism, or even a slave-owning society, or perhaps a Communist or primordial society emerge after that. Those who laugh at this are the captives of the modern and its hypnosis. Having acknowledged the reversibility of political and historical time, we have arrived at a new pluralist point-of-view for political science, and we have reached the advanced perspective necessary for ideological construction.

He says that the United States sees itself as the pinnacle of civilization, the logical end-point and culmination of the liberal tradition. The USA seeks to impose this order on the rest of the world:

History is considered to be a univocal and monotone process of technological and social progress, the path of the growing liberation of individuals from all kinds of collective identities. Tradition and conservatism are thus regarded as obstacles to freedom and should be rejected. The USA is in the vanguard of this historical progress, and has the right, obligation, and historical mission to move history further and further along this path. The historical existence of the US coincides with the course of human history. So, 'American' means 'universal'. The other cultures either have an American future or no future at all.

What is this liberalism to which Dugin and the Fourth Political Theory are so opposed to? He defines liberalism as follows:

- The understanding of the individual as the measure of all things;
- Belief in the sacred character of private property;
- The assertion of the equality of opportunity as the moral law of society;
- Belief in the 'contractual' basis of all sociopolitical institutions, including governmental;
- The abolition of any governmental, religious and social authorities who lay claim to 'the common truth';
- The separation of powers and the making of social systems of control over any government institution whatsoever;
- The creation of a civil society without races, peoples and religions in place of traditional governments;
- The dominance of market relations over other forms of politics (the thesis: 'economics is fate');
- Certainty that the historical path of Western peoples and countries is a universal model of development and progress for the entire world, which must, in an imperative order, be taken as the standard and pattern.

The United States has propagated this liberalism to the world because it sees it as the only valid philosophical program for all nations. And in the course of time, this philosophy has morphed into a post-modern formula, which Dugin defines as:

- The measure of things becomes not the individual, but the post-individual, 'the dividual', accidentally playing an ironic combination of parts of people (his organs, his clones, his simulacra — all the way up to cyborgs and mutants);
- Private property is idolised, 'transcendentalised', and transforms from that which a man owns to that which owns the man;
- Equality of opportunity turns into equality of the contemplation of opportunities (the society of the spectacle — Guy Debord);
- Belief in the contractual character of all political and social institutions grows into an equalisation of the real and the virtual, and the world becomes a technical model;
- All forms of non-individual authorities disappear altogether, and any individual is free to think about the world howsoever he sees fit (the crisis of common rationality);
- The principle of the separation of powers transforms into the idea of a constant electronic referendum (a sort of electronic parliament), where each Internet user continually 'votes' on any decision by giving his opinion in any number of forums, which in turn cedes power to each individual citizen (each becoming, in effect, his own branch of government);
- 'Civil society' completely displaces government and converts into a global, cosmopolitan

melting pot; • From the thesis 'economy is destiny' it takes up the thesis 'the numerical code — that is destiny', so far as work, money, the market, production, consumption — everything becomes virtual.

Dugin advocates a global crusade against this philosophy, essentially against the United States:

Only tearing it out by its roots can defeat this evil, and I do not exclude that such a victory will necessitate erasing from the face of the Earth those spiritual and physical halos from which arose the global heresy, which insists that 'man is the measure of all things'. Only a global crusade against the US, the West, globalisation, and their political-ideological expression, liberalism, is capable of becoming an adequate response.

The elaboration of the ideology of this Crusader campaign, undoubtedly, is a matter for Russia not to pursue alone, but together with all the world powers, who, in one way or another, oppose 'the American century'. Nevertheless, in any case this ideology must begin with the recognition of the fatal role of liberalism, which has characterised the path of the West from the moment when it rejected the values of God and Tradition.

He calls for Muslims, Christians and anyone else who values tradition against liberalism to join in this Crusade:

Spiritually, globalisation is the creation of a grand parody, the kingdom of the Antichrist. And the United States is the centre of its expansion. American values pretend to be 'universal' ones. In reality, it is a new form of ideological aggression against the multiplicity of cultures and traditions still existing in the rest of the world. I am resolutely against Western values which are essentially modernist and postmodernist, and which are promulgated by the United States by force of arms or by obtrusion (Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and perhaps soon, Syria and Iran) . Therefore, all traditionalists should be against the West and globalisation, as well as against the imperialist politics of the United States. It is the only logical and consequent position. So traditionalists and partisans of traditional principles and values should oppose the West and defend the Rest, if the Rest show signs of the conservation of Tradition, whether in part or in its entirety.

There can be and there really exist people, in the West and even in the United States of America itself, who do not agree with the present state of affairs and do not approve of modernity and postmodernity. They are the defenders of the spiritual traditions of the pre-modern West. They should be with us in our common struggle. They should take part in our revolt against the modern and postmodern worlds. We would fight together against the common enemy.

Does any of this matter? Well, Dugin appears to be influential with the new government of Greece, he has wielded influence in the Russian government and its invasion of the Ukraine, and he seeks allies in Europe and the United States, so it does behoove citizens of the West to pay attention to what he says. Some of his diagnosis of the ills of our nation and time are correct, but I fear that his solution to the problem will only be bloodshed and misery. It would be wise to approach his thought and his connections more systematically, and I hope that is occurring elsewhere.

Martin Bassani says

Excellent criticism of the present with convincing arguments for action. I remain unconvinced by the proposed philosophical solution.

Alejo says

It starts as a good critique of liberalism, but then it goes into a full rant mode that's nothing more than good old fashioned traditionalism. The funny thing is that in trying to overcome post-modernism, it uses one of its most significant features: mixing concepts. National-bolshevism is nothing more than the mix of fascism with marxism (crazy as it may sound).

J-Man says

[http://svetmogarazmisljanja.blogspot....](http://svetmogarazmisljanja.blogspot...)

Kyle says

Dugin, "Putin's brain" is an interesting character, and in my opinion certainly a bad actor on the world stage, but he does have a few relevant ideas here and there.

This book, which touts itself essentially as a critique of the three major political ideologies of the recent past (liberalism, communism and fascism) has some ups and many downs, with the highlight thankfully being the very last few pages on the metaphysics of chaos, a true gem of an essay. The analyses of conservatism and Marxism had quality aspects, but the work as a whole frequently is derailed into tar pits of often almost entirely empty philosophizing and quite strange conclusions to draw from regarding the state of things.

Dugin's conceptualization of liberalism (including it's original expression as classical liberalism, of which libertarianism sprouts from) is as enemy # 1, a truly evil ideology born of the most corrupt society, the West. Even though he vaults valid criticisms of it here and there, I can't take this position remotely seriously, as it rather poorly and clumsily does not make the distinction between crony capitalism and real free markets, globalism vs. nationalism, republics vs. democracies, or the endless hedonistic degeneracy of progressivism and the rational self interest of individualism.

His incredibly pretentious and entirely abstract, not remotely pragmatic "solutions" involve converting the subject of history from the individual or the group to Heidegger's 'dasein', to move from rational back to magical thinking, and to move to a civilizational model instead of that of nation-states. On top of all this, it seems unsaid but fairly certain that he is a Luddite, which is equally cringeworthy as much of the rest of it, which often involves whole chapters of pointless waffling just to get the point where he admits he has no real idea or plan for his "Fourth Political Theory". Near the end of the book he finally says that it may look something like National Bolshevism, of which I have zero interest in.

Dugin is irrational and more than a little insane. He has embraced his "Fourth Political Theory" probably too literally, which includes an alarming concession to mania and schizophrenia in the stead of any sort of

rationality. I'm not kidding about this bit. I'm into shamanism and psychopomp myself, but I think this man has spent too much time trapped in his own deranged and pathetic mind. Either that, or the lead poisoning from the plumbing in his shitty flat has finally set in. He is truly a dangerous individual, and it is horrifying to think he has Putin's ear. The work reads as a case study of the worst aspects of a demented mutant Russian psyche, and is almost entirely void of genuine, constructive suggestions for the future, or an honest look at the West.

I can't wait to not read the rest of his books ;)

Stephen Borthwick says

The compilation and translation of this work save it from a single-star rating; the team at Arktos is exceptional in this regard. The ideas expressed therein, however, are convoluted, deliberately obscurantist, and in many cases plainly nonsensical. Dugin's understanding of Orthodox Christianity is perhaps his greatest intellectual deficit, though he does no good service to the phenomenology or hermeneutics of Heidegger, either. His goal to overcome post-modernism with post-modernism has resulted in what is perhaps the greatest collection of nihilist drivel in recent memory.

Compounding this disappointment is the promise of the book to offer a fresh alternative to contemporary geopolitics and worn-out Occidental ideologies. What it provides instead is a poorly executed re-hashing of turn-of-the-century Slavophile ideas that have already been better reinterpreted by authors like Oswald Spengler. Combine utter ignorance of Heideggerian philosophy with a clumsy re-introduction of Nikolai Danilevsky's historiography based on a semi-digested Spenglerian framework; stir well and add some stirring but empty phrases, and you have Dugin's entire intellectual framework in a nutshell.

In short, Spengler said it better without all the pseudo-philosophy and even that's in dire need of an update.

R.C. Albrecht says

This is a strange and fascinating book; perfectly lucid in parts and schizophrenic in others. Dugin's conception of a fourth political theory, however, reveals itself clearly throughout. Even for those inclined to dismiss a man called "Putin's brain," I recommend at least entertaining his criticism of modernity. The three political theories born out of it (fascism, Marxism, liberalism) have proven their insufficiency. These ideologies take artificial constructions as their subject such as the state (fascism), class (Marxism), or the individual (liberalism), and with those, predictably yield disaster and spiritual death. Dugin's vision for a political theory with Heidegger's "dasein" as its subject instead is worth considering. If an organic politic is our aim, we must acknowledge man's precarious position between the objective and subjective. Fascism, Marxism, and liberalism all commit the same sin: demanding that the world fit their artifice of objectivity rather than allowing the objective world to reveal itself to man in his subjectivity--in his there-being (dasein).

I must say that he is perhaps more optimistic than I. It could very well be because I live in the very heart of the imperialist force of which this book is a polemic, but even this noble call to action seems futile to the traditionalist in me, who, like Jünger and Evola, feels that the only way forward for the spiritual man, the only way for man to transcend the pointless, unending striving of bourgeois democracy, is to watch it collapse.

This review has only considered the merits of his argument, and not Dugin's style, which is often verbose and obscure. It is difficult to say whether or not this is a function of its translation, however.

Michael Kolczynski says

An insufferable read. The entire book is essentially "It would be nice if we had a new theory to challenge liberalism because communism and fascism failed. I would like one because I hate liberalism. I hope people have some ideas."

It occasionally makes true observations about the world and then spends seven paragraphs being redundant and tautological before moving on to the next observation.

Matt says

Dugin's analysis of liberalism and post-modernism is spot on and refreshing. However his solutions in the Fourth Political Theory are lacking. Nevertheless this is an important read to make sense of the modern political landscape, particularly from a Russian point of view.

David says

This book is a difficult one...not to read and understand but because it is a pain for the corporate globalists who are running most countries today. As bad as corporate capitalism is its benefits are undeniable...and it is the ideology to survive the dust-up of the 20th Century between Liberalism, Communism, and Fascism.

The author, however, is attempting to come up with a new, or fourth, political theory that will attempt to return the world to history...hopefully not 20th Century history...and in so doing deal with the psychological malaise of Liberalism/Postmodernism that appears to be severely fraying about the edges: Trump, Brexit, global populist movements (on both Right and Left).

The Fourth Political Theory goes beyond a simple intellectual exercise because it has informed the policies of Russia and the functions as an ideological infrastructure for the European Right. Eurasianism is one expression of this, Russia inhabits a space separate political/cultural territory from both Europe & Asia, but the nebulous theory of The Fourth Political Theory does not fully flesh out, to this reviewer, what it is. One should not expect it to because this book simply wants to lay the critical foundations for a deeper exploration of the subject.

Even if the book is imprecise it is an interesting read because it explores the political underpinnings of Russia today as inhabiting a psychic space between Europe and Asia and explains why Russia will, probably, never be a member of what appears, as of this writing, to be the dying European Union.

Worth a read, not least because it is a shortish book...occasionally a bit of a slog but worth the effort even if readers do not agree with its direction or provisional conclusions.

Rating: 4 out of 5 Stars

Nora Gillespie says

What do I think? Let me see...hmm...well I didn't want to purchase this book in the physical, so I bought it electronically so I could forget about it some day. Thus I forget when this book inevitably pisses me off, I have to remember to not throw my phone against the wall. This book is overly complicated and overly simple at the mind numbingly same time.

Olivia says

What is perhaps initially most appealing about this publication – aside from the promise of an offer of a fresh, viable alternative to the present stagnant political void, this “end of history” in which we find ourselves – is the comprehensive critique of the prevailing liberal ideology from a perspective which neither wholly aligns itself with the traditional positions in opposition to liberalism, nor stations itself against these.

See link for rest:

<http://traditionalbritain.org/content...>

Matty says

I cannot say enough good things about this book. Dugin is undeniably brilliant whether you agree with his views or not. Dugin thoroughly outlines his views on the basis of the Fourth Political Theory and does so in a comprehensive and big-brained manner. I cannot recommend this book highly enough.
