



# The Fourth Political Theory; Creation, Development, and Application Potential

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## Abstract

The fourth political theory, proposed by the Russian philosopher Alexander Dugin, included a set of political ideas, principles, and practices that developed in the twentieth century. Dugin considered his theory to be a reaction to traditional political theories, such as liberalism, communism, and fascism. The fourth political theory expressed a desire to go beyond the traditional divisions of political ideas, and presented a new vision that included a number of principles and ideas from previous theories. This theory adopted cooperation and competition from liberalism, and took the desire to establish the Russian Empire and restore the glories of the Soviet Union from communism, and took the interest and focus on cultural and national identities from fascism. Therefore, Dugin emphasized that his theory does not represent an extension of previous theories, but rather is a comprehensive theory for all ages and for different human groups.

Keywords: Contemporary Western political, creation, development, application potential

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## Introduction

Contemporary Western political thought is characterized by an abundance of intellectual trends and theoretical theses, as the fourth political theory, developed by the Russian sociologist (Alexander Dugin), is one of the most important of these theses. This theory gained its importance as a result of its association with the political doctrine and decision-making strategies among the Russian elites and leaders. The fourth political theory is characterized by comprehensiveness, including all aspects of political, social and cultural life, as its most prominent starting point is the reconstruction of the (Eurasia) region due to its enormous human, economic and geographical potential. The location of the Russian Federation in the heart of the Eurasian region requires it to rebuild and lead this region as it is the country with the greatest potential that enables it to achieve this. This leads to decision-making in Russia being consistent with this vision in order to restore Russia's global role and achieve parity with the theses of the liberal Western world.

Political theories are among the most important means of interpretation and analysis of political phenomena. Therefore, the importance of the study lies in the role played by the fourth political theory in the developments witnessed in the global arena, and among the most prominent of these developments is the return of the Russian role to the international forefront.

Therefore, the study aimed to investigate the role of the fourth political theory on the Russian strategy in the field of international relations. The study also included identifying the most prominent intellectual foundations and bases of the fourth political theory through which change is brought about in the nature of the current international system.

## **Study Problem**

The main problem of the study revolves around the main question: What is the fourth political theory? What are its most prominent foundations? From this problem, a number of sub-questions branch out that the study attempts to answer: 1- What is the fourth political theory? 2- What are its most prominent intellectual assumptions that influence the structure of the international system?

## **Study Hypothesis**

The study is based on the hypothesis: that studying the fourth political theory and knowing its foundations and foundations and knowing its relationship with contemporary Western political theories, leads to the ease of knowing the impact of this theory on Russian foreign policy and its orientation towards achieving the goal of multipolarity.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The descriptive and analytical approaches were adopted as the basic approach in the research process. The structure of the study was divided into two axes. The first axis included the nature of the fourth political theory, while the second axis dealt with the principles of the fourth political theory.

## **Findings**

### **The first axis**

The nature of the fourth political theory

A political theory that emerged in the last decade of the twentieth century, and it represents the Russian nationalist tendency, and was distinguished by its orientations and principles that are hostile to the orientations and principles of the liberal theory, after it appeared as a sole theory in international relations without any intellectual competitor, and this theory emphasized the importance of Russian geographical culture in reviving the Russian Empire within the borders of the former Soviet Union.

**First:** The concept of the fourth political theory

It is a theory developed by the Russian philosopher and political sociologist (Alexander Dugin) in 2009. Dugin considered that contemporary Western thought witnessed three political theories. The first is the liberal theory, which appeared at the beginning of the eighteenth century and its main subject was the individual and his freedom. The second theory is the communist theory, which appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century as a reaction to the bourgeois capitalist system, which represents the ideological expression of liberalism. As for the third theory, it is the fascist theory, which appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century and attempted to oppose the ideas of the theories that preceded it, but it turned to traditional ideas and its main subject was the state. Therefore, Dugin considered his theory to be the fourth theory and it is not a continuation of the previous theories, but rather an alternative to them and an expression of the logic of history (Dugin, 2012).

The philosophical roots of the fourth political theory lead to Eurasian philosophy, where the term Eurasianism appeared in the 1920s in Russian literature after the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution, especially in the works of Russian immigrants who fled the totalitarian Bolshevik rule, the most prominent of whom were (Nikolai Trubetskoy) and (Pyotr Savitsky). Eurasianism emphasized the specificity of Russian geography, as this geography is considered the basis for building the new Russian Empire, and this empire does not belong to the East or the West. The philosophy of Eurasianism stems from a vision of the world as being based on a comprehensive and deep division between two global cultures, namely (Eurasianism) and (Atlanticism) (Al-Aidi, 2022, p. 22). Eurasian culture is distinguished from Western and Asian culture. This culture is similar between Russia and the Slavic Orthodox peoples, in which Russia represents the link between the European and Asian

continents. The cultural depth of Russia's position on the global level was reflected in the cultural specificity of the region (Eurasia). Because of this, Eurasia was considered a sphere of cultural, political and social influence for the Russian Federation. Several Russian geopolitical schools of thought subsequently emerged, the most prominent of which was the Russian geopolitical school (expansionist Eurasianism) or neo-Eurasianism. The latter called for the geographical unity of the Eurasian space by restoring the Russian Empire with its distinguished strategic location and enormous potential. Which enabled it to control the Eurasian geographical axis and work to present a modern Eurasian model called (the new Eurasian world order). Alexander Dugin is one of the most prominent thinkers of this trend (Al-Aidi, 2022, p. 23). The Eurasian ideology adopted by Dugin is reflected in what he calls (the fourth political theory) and confirms that this theory differs from one culture to another and from one country to another. The fourth theory for Russia is (Eurasia) and the fourth theory for Iran is (the rule of the jurist), but what countries agree on in the fourth political theory is their complete rejection of Western political theories such as liberalism, communism and fascism. The most important ideas of the fourth theory are the rejection of hegemony or the imposition of Western civilization and globalization created by the United States of America in a unipolar world. As well as opposing the colonization of European civilization by the United States of America, as Dugin sees that there are two options and no third, which are Eurasianism or globalization (Francis, 2019, p. 158). Alexander Dugin is one of the most vocal critics of globalization. He called for Russia to have an influential presence in global politics and to have the greatest role in establishing and leading a global trend against liberal democracy. Therefore, he was described by global scientific and intellectual circles as the first geopolitical mind behind the trends The Russian Grand Strategy. Therefore, (the fourth political theory) was one of the most important reasons that prompted the US Treasury Department to include Dugin on the ministry's sanctions list. That is why Dugin is the biggest advocate of the Eurasian approach (New Russia) seeking a Russian identity that differs from what was brought by Tsarism, Bolshevism, and the post-Soviet collapse (Muhammad Ali, 2022, pp. 3-5).

**Second:** The influence of Russian civilization and culture on (Alexander Dugin) in formulating the fourth political theory:

Russian culture and civilization influenced Dugin, as he adopts the traditional religious ideology and philosophy based on the ideas of the Russian Orthodox Church. Dugin was opposed to the communist ideology and the Soviet system, and therefore he joined organizations of a nationalist nature in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Dunlop, 2004, p3) ( ). Dugin's ideas received the support and endorsement of many Christian, Islamic and Jewish figures within the Russian cultural elite, especially after the founding of the Eurasian Party, and the transformation of Eurasianism into an international ideology after the announcement of the establishment of the International Eurasian Movement (Dugin, 2014, p27-28).

Alexander Dugin believes that the Russian people are different in their composition from other peoples and societies. He describes them as people who carry a special civilization derived from a solid history, and this civilization is considered a tributary of Russia's strength in the past and present. He also confirms that the Russian people are the civilizational constant that founded many countries such as the Slavic Emirates, Muscovite Russia, the Peter's Empire, and the Soviet Union. And that these countries did not form the Russian nation, but rather the Russian people formed this nation. They are a people who belong to the peoples with a universal message, and this was confirmed by the proponents of the Eurasian theory despite the transitional stages and crises that the Russian people were exposed to, as they remained politically, civilizationally, and culturally active throughout history (Al-Shaibani, 2023, pp. 278-279). Dugin emphasized that the Russian people are distinguished by cultural, social, religious, and civilizational characteristics and traits that are closely linked to the universal message of this people. The most important of these characteristics is that the Russian people are responsible for controlling the northeastern regions of Eurasia, thus Dugin confirms the validity of the theory of the British geographer Sir Halford Mackinder in his theory (the heart of the

world). Dugin confirms that the Russian people traditionally look forward to the civilizational reconstruction of all Eurasian regions (the region of Mackinder's inner crescent). The reconstruction that the Russian people want to achieve is not represented by establishing a state that is ethnically homogeneous and ethnically unified, but rather by building an empire that embraces a mixture of peoples, religions, cultures, regions and lands within the borders of the Eurasian space, and this is related to the message of the Russian people, which is distinguished by its global character (Al-Shaibani, 2023, pp. 279-280).

### **The second axis**

#### Principles of the Fourth Political Theory

The Fourth Political Theory was distinguished by several principles and components that represented the most prominent views of (Alexander Dugin). These principles are the basic pillars for putting (New Eurasianism) into actual application through:

#### First: A multipolar world

Alexander Dugin opposes unipolarity and emphasizes the need for there to be many poles and international centers as well as many groups of values and civilizations. He says in this regard ((I sincerely believe that the Fourth Political Theory, National Bolshevism and Eurasianism can be of great benefit to our peoples, countries and civilizations. The key word is multipolarity in all its geopolitical, cultural, axiological, economic, and other meanings) (Nasser, 2022, link)) ( ).

The idea of a multipolar world means a multi-civilizational world that can offer humanity a wide range of ideological, cultural, spiritual and social alternatives, and thus form multiple models of (regional globalism) that have the ability to provide vast areas and multiple segments of humanity and the necessary social mechanisms inherent in globalization and openness, but free from the negatives and defects of globalization. This type of globalism is capable of developing regions and achieving independent and distinctive development for societies that are different in terms of ethnicity and religion quickly. The most prominent example of this is (Dugin, 2023, p. 249-250) (the European Union).

Dugin sees the multipolarity project as a competing project for globalization, and since the naval force adopts the unipolarity and globalization project, the land forces must present multipolarity as a competing global project. The naval force tries to impose its cultural and civilizational model and work to spread it to become the only model approved globally. The land forces must seek to preserve cultural and civilizational pluralism through the multipolarity project (Dugin, 2013, p8). After the American decline in the international arena, especially after the crises caused by the neoconservatives during the era of US President George W. Bush, the Russian Federation succeeded in dealing with many international and regional crises, and talk began about Russia's return as an influential player in international interactions through its efforts to establish new rules that are consistent with its international status (Mohammed, 2011, p18).

Russia has worked to establish many international and regional organizations, as it was one of the most prominent founding members of the BRICS group, along with China, India, Brazil, and South Africa. Cooperation between the BRICS countries is one of the most important axes of breaking Western hegemony and creating a kind of relative balance in the international system, as well as direct influence in the global political and economic system (Muhammad, 2011). Russia had also previously established, along with the People's Republic of China, the Shanghai Economic and Security Cooperation Organization in 2001. This organization included Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, India, and Pakistan. This organization gave Russia a major role in the Eurasia region and created cooperation with countries that share its vision of rejecting Western hegemony (Jamal al-Din, 2009, p. 15) ( ). Alexander Dugin and Eurasian thinkers call for a multipolar world order, with the Russian Federation as one of those poles. He also calls for Russia to seek the necessity of creating multiple

centers of power, including the European Union or Asian countries such as Japan, China, India, Turkey, and Iran, which he sees as Russia's most important allies. According to Dugin's views, if the Russian-Chinese alliance remains in place, the shift toward multipolarity is guaranteed (Shakheeb, 2018, p. 104).

**Second: Anti-liberalism, democracy and capitalism**

Liberalism, democracy and freedom, from the point of view of Alexander Dugin, are ideas alien to Russian culture and that Russia is culturally closer to the Asian continent than to Europe, so he adopts a new nationalist ideology based on the idea of (New Eurasianism). He calls for the establishment of a totalitarian empire that is not liberal, extending from the Pacific Ocean in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west ( ) (Al-Issawi, 2014, p. 71), as Dugin sees that the main geopolitical enemy is the United States and the entire Atlantic global island, which has become (the devil), so Dugin places side by side two world systems, which are (the new world order) dominated by the United States of America and against (the new Eurasian order) controlled by the Russian Federation, and that Russia must be reborn in the form of an empire that is responsible for establishing (the new Eurasian order) (Shekhovtsov, 2008, p. 496). According to Dugin, the West is heading towards the abyss and that the claims of universality of Western phenomena and principles such as individualism, democracy, technological progress, cultural superiority and liberalism are nothing but slogans to hide racism and colonial aspirations, and that the tolerance it promotes is nothing but a form of imposing Western values on all other civilizations and cultures (Dugin, 2012, p31). One of Alexander Dugin's most prominent positions was his support for US President Donald Trump during the US presidential election campaign. After Trump's victory, Dugin modified his unconditional hostility to the United States of America, and that his position was only because he sees Trump as an anti-liberal "virus" that divides and perhaps destroys the West as the head of one of the most important international units that is considered the leader of the liberal Western world (Umland, 2017, p4). The common denominator that unites the concepts of neo-Eurasianism, which were launched from traditional Eurasian thought, is its opposition to Western liberal ideas based on hegemony and the spread of values and cultures that are destructive to humanity. Therefore, Eurasianism called for economic and political rapprochement between Asian and European countries to embody a cohesive cultural and civilizational unity, which contributes to the establishment of the Eurasian Empire as a new global pole that opposes unilateral American hegemony (Laruelle, 2008, p203).

Third: Establishing a global geopolitical system at the external level (the strategically unified Eurasian continent) This system is created by relying on and connecting with comprehensive regions called geo-economic belts, which are: Eurasia, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, America and Eurasia. The ultimate goal of these belts is to eliminate the threat of American hegemony and control over the world. To achieve this, Dugin emphasizes the need for the leadership in the Russian Federation to abandon any areas of focus and connection that could be influenced by the United States. Therefore, he calls for multi-power international alliances, which he calls for (large spaces) capable of producing new centers of power that share Russia's orientations that reject American hegemony and globalization. These spaces will have the ability to form empires in the future, such as the European Union, regional organizations in Asia and some successful countries such as Turkey, India, and Japan (Chlabentokh, 2007, p216-35). Dugin's famous article, published in 1991 under the title (The War of the Continents), is considered one of the most important scientific and philosophical articles that paved the way for the spread of the ideas of neo-Eurasianism due to the new and major intellectual perceptions of global geopolitics. These perceptions are based on the ideological and geopolitical conflict between two different types of global powers. The first is the land power, which he described as (Eternal Rome), based on principles and concepts that crystallized in the independent state, the ideal local community, and the concepts of superiority of the common space. The second type is the naval power, which he described as (Eternal Carthage), based on different principles and values that combine individualism, materialism, and its interest in trade. The conflict between these two ideologically and doctrinally

different types will continue until one of them is able to destroy the other (Schmidt, 2005, p91-92). According to Dugin, in order to achieve geopolitical supremacy and win the great continental war, Russia must expel Atlantic influence from Eurasia and eliminate any borders under Atlantic influence. Then, land forces will be able to confront Atlantic naval forces on a global scale. In order to achieve this goal, Russia must develop good relations with the large areas under the influence of Atlantic hegemony, and these relations will consist of an “empire of empires” in Eurasia with strategic alliances between an expanded Russia, Germany, Japan, and Iran (Ingram, 2001, p1037). Dugin puts forward the idea of a “strategically unified Eurasian continent” through an alliance between Germany, Japan, and Iran. This alliance could redistribute the spheres of influence between Russia and Germany in Eastern Europe. Europe should be integrated under German leadership and independent of American influence, isolating the United Kingdom. On the other hand, Japan is the most suitable partner in the East, as Dugin sees Germany and Japan as two countries with a history of “anti-Western geopolitical dynamics.” India and China lack such dynamism, so this bloc cannot ally with them. Iran was chosen as the best ally for the integration of the South Eurasian because of its large area, its close ties with Central Asia, and its hostility to the United States. Iran could also be the outlet for the Russian Federation to the warm seas, as well as Iran's traditional approach to society and religion (Ingram, 2001, p1038-40).

#### Fourth: Western civilization is not comprehensive

Here Dugin points out that the vast majority of the world's population has values, traditions and customs that are completely different from Western values, such as democracy, human rights, social progress, technological development, and freedom of markets and the economy. Hindu society, with its social and political history, does not follow democracy and freedom of markets, as it relies on a social class system. The same is true for China and the Islamic world, which has a population of about three billion people. The Islamic faith is based on the principles of fear of God and adherence to religious teachings, and this applies to African peoples and the peoples of the East in general (Dugin, 2012, p400).

Because of these contradictions, the United States of America seeks to implement the idea of the centrality of Western civilization, as the superpower sponsoring the globalization project based on the concepts of Western civilization by using all possible means. This is implemented once by using hard means such as military force, economic sanctions and political pressures to make countries adopt democracy, market economy and human rights models. Or on the other hand, through soft means by promoting that globalization represents the human will and that it will bring benefits to peoples when they enter into this project. Therefore, the United States of America developed the concept of (the universality of Western civilization), and used all the huge potential and resources it possesses in the fields of thought, media, art, culture, economy, international governmental and non-governmental organizations, and advanced technology to spread this concept (Dugin, 2009, p9-10). Dugin explains that Atlantic unipolarity in its hard form is represented by the global dominance of the United States of America, while the soft form of Atlantic unipolarity is represented by Western civilization as a whole as a civilizational unipolarity and is called (multilateral unipolarity). Dugin emphasizes that Western civilization represents only a specific regional axis of the various civilizational axes, and the West has no right to impose a cultural and civilizational pattern at the expense of the civilizations and cultures of other peoples (Dugin, 2009, p11). From this standpoint, Dugin emphasized in the fourth political theory the adoption of a philosophy that believes in pluralism and the right of peoples and their freedom to adopt the prevailing civilizational values in them, without any dominance of central Western values (Jallet Esmaein, 2016, p. 171). To achieve this, Dugin calls for the preservation of some nation-states that constitute an obstacle to the globalization project and the spread of Western civilization. These are countries that have the ability to preserve their own culture, and thus preserve the civilizational, social and cultural pluralism in the world, which is the essence of polar pluralism. The most prominent of these countries are Russia, China and Iran. As for the nation-states that leave

their own culture and adopt Western culture and values in light of globalization, they are countries that do not need to remain in light of the theory of polar pluralism (Dugin, 2009, p11).

## Conclusion

Political theories have formed a fundamental pillar of Western political thought, and these theories in their content represent the opinions of the most prominent thinkers and philosophers with political orientations. They represent the pinnacle of political thinking and express intersecting and conflicting ideological theses and perceptions of the values and principles of their theorists and the nature of the society they represent. This study sheds light on the most important political theories in contemporary Western thought according to the point of view of (Alexander Dugin), namely the liberal theory, the communist theory, and the fascist theory. Dugin considered his theory the heir to these theories, and that it is capable of drawing the features of the new world order. This theory relied on a set of principles and ideas that represent an approach to Russian foreign policy and its relationship with other countries and its future vision that sees the necessity of establishing the Russian Empire and restoring Soviet glories. The fourth political theory is one of the most important Russian geopolitical theories in contemporary Western thought, as a result of its great influence on Russian strategic decision-making, especially with regard to Russian foreign policy in the Eastern European region. The fourth political theory relied in its intellectual premises on Eurasian philosophy, with its expansionist tendency (neo-Eurasianism), and the necessity of establishing the Russian Empire on the borders of the former Soviet Union. The fourth political theory was distinguished by its conflictual nature with liberal Western countries, especially the United States of America. It seems that the fourth political theory believes that confronting unipolarity can only be done by forming alliances with countries that reject the current reality, such as China and Iran, as well as emerging countries such as India and Brazil, in addition to alliances with countries that have a history of confrontation with Western countries such as Germany and Japan.

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