

Fascism—Borderless and Red

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There are, in the 20th century, only three ideologies that have managed to demonstrate that their principles are realistic in terms of their political-administrative implementation—these are liberalism, communism and fascism. As much as one may like to—it is impossible to name another model of society which would not be one of the forms of these ideologies and [which], at the same time, existed in reality. There are liberal countries, there are communist [countries] and there are fascist (nationalist) [countries]. Others are absent. And are impossible. In Russia, we have passed two ideological stages—the communist and the liberal. What remains is fascism.

1. Against national capitalism

One of the versions of fascism which, it seems, Russian society is today ready (or almost ready) to embrace is national capitalism. It is almost beyond doubt that the project of national capitalism or "right fascism" constitutes an ideological initiative of that part of the elite of society which is seriously concerned with the problem of power and feels acutely the power of time [velenie vremeni]. Yet, the "national-capitalist," "right-wing" variation of fascism does by no means exhaust the nature of this ideology. Moreover, the union of the "national bourgeoisie" with the "intelligentsia" on which, according to some analysts, the coming Russian fascism will be based constitutes a glaring example for what, actually, is entirely alien to fascism as a world-view, as a doctrine, [and] as a style. "The domination of national capital"—this is a Marxist definition of the phenomenon of fascism. It does absolutely not take into account the specific philosophical self-reflection of fascist ideology [and] consciously ignores the fundamental core-pathos of fascism.

Fascism—this is nationalism, yet not any nationalism, but a revolutionary, rebellious, romantic, idealistic [form of nationalism] appealing to a great myth and transcendental idea, trying to put into practice the Impossible Dream [sic], to give birth to a society of the hero and Superhuman [sic], to change and transform [preobrazovat' i preobrazit'] the world. On the economic level, fascism is characterized rather by socialist or moderately socialist methods which subordinate personal, individual economic interests to the principles of national welfare, justice, [and] brotherhood. And finally, the fascist view of culture corresponds to a radical rejection of the humanistic, "excessively humane" mentality, i.e. of what represents the essence of the "intelligentsia." The fascist hates the intellectual [intelligent] as a type. He sees in him a masked bourgeois, a pretentious philistine, a chatterbox and irresponsible coward. The fascist loves the brutal [zverskoe], superhuman and angel-like, at the same time. He loves the cold and tragedy, he does not like warmth and comfort. With other words, fascism despises everything that makes up the essence of "national capitalism." He fights for the "domination of national idealism" (and not "national capital") and against the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia (and not for her and not with her). The fascist

pathos is accurately defined in the famous phrase of Mussolini: "Rise, fascist and proletarian Italy!" "Fascist and proletarian"—such is the orientation of fascism. [It is] a labor and heroic, militant and creative, idealistic and futuristic ideology which does not have anything in common with securing additional governmental comfort for the traders [torgasham] (even if a thousand times national) and sinecures for the socially parasitic intelligentsia. The central figures of the fascist state, [and] fascist myth [are] the peasant, worker, [and] soldier. On the top, as the supreme symbol of the tragic fight with destiny, cosmic entropy [is] the god-like leader, Duce [duche], Führer [fyurer], superhuman who realizes in his supra-individual personality the extraordinary tension of national will for feat. Of course, somewhere, at the periphery, there is also a place for the honest citizen-merchant [grazhdanin-lavochnik] and university professor. They too put on party badges and go out to ceremonial meetings. But, in fascist reality, their figures are fading, getting lost, [and] move into the background [otstupayut na zadnii plan].

Not for them and not by them is the national revolution done.

In history, clean, ideal fascism did not experience a direct incarnation. In practice, the urgent problems of assumption of power and establishing economic order forced the fascist leaders—including Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, as well as Salazar—to forge alliances with conservatives, national capitalists, big owners and corporation heads. Yet, this compromise always ended deplorable for the fascist regimes. The fanatic anti-communism of Hitler warmed up by the German capitalists cost Germany the defeat in its war with the USSR while Mussolini—trusting into the honesty of the king (articulator of the interests exactly of big business)—was delivered by him to the renegades Badoglio and Ciano who put the Duce into prison and threw themselves into the embrace of the Americans.

Franco held out the longest, and even that because of the concessions of liberal-capitalist England and USA and because of [his] rejection to support the ideologically related regimes of the Axis. Moreover, Franco was not a real fascist. National capitalism is the inner virus of fascism, its enemy [and] guarantor [zalog] of its degeneration and perishing. National capitalism is in no way an essential characteristic of fascism as [national capitalism] is, on the contrary, an accidental and contradictory element in its inner structure.

Therefore, in our case, in the case of the growing Russian national capitalism, one cannot speak about fascism, but of an attempt to preliminarily pervert what is not to be circumvented. Such pseudo-fascism can be called "preventive," [or] "precautionary." It hastens to make itself known before an authentic, real, radically revolutionary and consistent fascism, a fascist fascism is, in full measure, born and becomes strong in Russia. National capitalists—these are former [communist] party leaders who are used to boss around [vlastvovat'] and humiliate the people and who subsequently, out of conformism, became "liberal democrats," and who, now that this stages is over, are, equally zealously, venturing to cover themselves with national clothes.

Having democracy transformed into a farce, apparently, the partocrats, together with the obliging intelligentsia, are, decidedly up to foul and poison the nationalism that is advancing into society.

The nature of fascism [is] a new hierarchy, a new aristocracy. The novelty lies in that the hierarchy is based on natural, organic [and] clear principles—dignity, honor, courage [and] heroism. The dilapidated hierarchy which is trying to carry itself over into the era of nationalism is, as before, based on conformist abilities: "flexibility," "caution," "a taste for intrigues," "toadyism," etc. The obvious conflict between two styles, two human types, two normative systems is inescapable.

2. Russian socialism

It is absolutely unjustified to call fascism an "extremely right-wing" ideology. This phenomenon is much more precisely characterized with the paradoxical formula "Conservative Revolution." It is a combination of a "right-wing" cultural-political orientation—traditionalism, faithfulness to the soil, roots, national ethics—with a "left-wing" economic program—social justice, limitation to the market forces, deliverance from "credit [protsentnogo] slavery," prohibition of stock market speculation, monopolies and trusts, [and] primacy of honest work. In analogy to National Socialism which was often called simply "German socialism," one can speak of Russian fascism as "Russian socialism." The ethnic specification of the term "socialism" has, in this context, a special meaning. What is meant is formulation of a socio-economic doctrine, from the beginning, not on the basis of abstract dogmas and rationalistic laws, but on the basis of concrete, spiritual-ethical and cultural principles that have organically formed the nation as such. Russian socialism—that is not Russians for socialism, but socialism for the Russians. In distinction to rigid Marxist-Leninist dogmas, Russian national socialism proceeds from an understanding of social justice which is characteristic exactly for our nation, for our historical tradition, for our economic ethics.

Such a socialism will be more rural than proletarian, more communal and cooperative than administrative [gosudarstvennyi], more regionalistic than centralistic—all these are requirements of Russian national specificity which will find its expression in the doctrine and not only in practice.

3. New people

Such a Russian socialism should be built by new people, a new type of people, a new class. A class of heroes and revolutionaries. The remains of the party nomenclature and their ramshackle order should fall victim to the socialist revolution. The Russian national revolution. The Russian's are longing for freshness, for modernity [sovremennosti], for unfeigned romanticism, for living participation in some great cause. Everything that they are offered today [is] either archaic (the national patriots) or boring and cynical (the liberals). The dance and the attack, fashion and aggression, excessiveness and discipline, will and gesture, fanaticism and irony will seethe in the national revolutionaries—young, malicious [zlykh], merry, fearless, passionate and not knowing limits. They [will] build and destroy, rule and fulfill orders, conduct purges of the enemies of the nation and tenderly take care of Russian elderly and children. Wrathfully and merrily will they approach the citadel of the ramshackle [and] rotten System [sic]. Yes, they deeply [krovno] thirst for Power [sic]. They know how to use it. They will breathe Live

[sic] in society, they will shove [vvergnut] the people into the sweet process of creating History [sic]. New people. Finally, intelligent and brave. Such as are needed. Who take the outer world as a strike (in the words of [Evgenii] Golovin [a Russian mystic and teacher of Dugin—A.U.]).

Immediately before his death, the French fascist writer Robert Brasillach voiced a strange prophecy: "I see how in the East, in Russia, fascism is rising—a fascism borderless and red."

Note: Not a faded, brownish-pinkish national capitalism, but the blinding dawn of a new Russian Revolution [sic], fascism—borderless as our lands, and red as our blood.

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Translated from Russian by [Andreas Umland, 2009](#)

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