

Russian Fascism

Traditions, Tendencies and Movements

Second Edition

Stephen Shenfield



RUSSIAN FASCISM

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RUSSIAN FASCISM

TRADITIONS

TENDENCIES

MOVEMENTS

STEPHEN D. SHENFIELD

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Introduction

It has become commonplace to draw an analogy between post-Soviet Russia and Weimar Germany. The idea is most succinctly expressed in the title that the well-known commentator on Russian politics, Alexander Yanov, gave to one of his books: *Weimar Russia* (Ianov 1995). Implicit in the analogy is the warning that conditions in Russia today, like conditions in Germany between the world wars, are conducive to the rise of fascism.

The parallels are indeed striking. An imperial power defeated in (cold) war and shorn of a large part of its territory. Millions of fellow countrymen stranded in new states where they are not welcome. From the status of a great power, and an object of universal fear and respect, to abject dependence on the former adversary. The heavy burden of foreign debt. The attempt to establish a democratic order under adverse conditions. Bouts of hyperinflation that wipe out people's savings. Deep and prolonged economic depression. Mass unemployment. Hunger. Homelessness. The spread of tuberculosis, the classical disease of poverty. Expanding prostitution. The explosion of venereal disease. Heightened mortality, a depressed birth rate, and the fear of national extinction. Rampant crime and corruption. Islands of luxury in an ocean of misery. Popular hatred of rapacious financial speculators. Anti-Semitism exacerbated by the belief (false or true) that the financial speculators are Jews.¹ Cultural disorientation and a growing nostalgia for the relative security and prosperity of the "good old days."

A list of the important differences between post-Soviet Russia and Weimar Germany would be no less long, though it might perhaps make a less vivid impression on the reader's imagination. The two countries have rather different cultural and political traditions. Much of the historical experience of contemporary Russians does not correspond at all closely to that of interwar Germans. It surely matters whether "the good old days" were lived under the Wilhelmine monarchy or inside the Soviet system. And does defeat in a cold war have the same kind of impact on a nation as defeat in a real "hot" war?

Nor is the way in which the political system operates the same in each case. Weimar Germany had a relatively centralized government based on the interaction of several well-developed national political parties. Political parties in post-Soviet Russia are weak and marginal to the exercise of power, which is effectively concentrated in the hands of provincial elites. Such a setup impedes the progress of a fascist party, as of any other ideological movement, to national power.² Finally, one may ask whether, despite the passage of time and the succession of generations, Russians have yet completely forgotten that they lost 20 million lives in a war against fascism?³

Various lines of inquiry, rooted in sociology, political economy, cultural studies, comparative history, and other disciplines, may fruitfully be brought to bear upon the problem of assessing the possible threat of fascism in contemporary Russia. However, one clear prerequisite to any serious analysis of the problem is an assessment of the current strength of fascist tendencies and movements in Russian society. After all, almost a whole decade has already passed since the final dissolution of the Soviet order in late 1991 and early 1992.⁴ If the “Weimar Russia” analogy possessed a sufficiently high degree of validity, then we would expect by now to see a fairly large, united, and powerful fascist movement on the march in Russia. How does that theoretical expectation compare with the actual situation? How strong are the most important of the fascist organizations active in Russia, and what are their likely prospects? Besides unequivocally fascist organizations, how significant are fascist tendencies within other parts of Russian society, such as the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Cossack revival movement, and youth subcultures of different kinds? It is questions such as these that I seek to address in this book.⁵

Structure of the Book

The discussion of issues having to do with “fascism” is usually plagued by confusion and misunderstanding concerning the divergent meanings with which different people use the word. Therefore, I considered it well worthwhile to start in [chapter 1](#) with a conceptual clarification of the various meanings that the word “fascism” can have, and of the way in which I myself shall be using the term.

[Chapter 2](#) provides essential historical background. I survey the history of Russian political thought, including Russian émigré thought, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to 1991, with a view to answering a question of crucial importance to our problem—namely: Does Russia have a fascist tradition upon which contemporary Russians can draw?

Chapter 3 tackles two tasks. The first is that of placing Russian fascism within the political and ideological spectrum of post-Soviet Russia by locating it in the broader context of Russian nationalism as a whole. Then I proceed to assess the significance of fascist tendencies within two very important—and in some respects not so dissimilar—social institutions of present-day Russia, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (with a brief look at the smaller communist parties to its left) and the Russian Orthodox Church (with a brief look at the neo-pagan movement).

I continue my assessment of fascist tendencies in Russian society in **chapter 4**, focusing on the Cossack revival movement and on youth subcultures. I pay special attention to Russia's skinheads, and broach the little studied subject of soccer fan subcultures in Russia.

In **chapter 5** my focus shifts from fascist tendencies in the broader Russian society to specific political organizations that may be regarded either as partly or wholly fascist or as close to fascism. Thus, **chapter 5** is devoted to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia, **chapter 6** to the Russian National Unity of Alexander Barkashov, which was until its recent split the largest wholly fascist organization in Russia, and **chapter 7** to another large fascist organization, Eduard Limonov's National-Bolshevik Party. **Chapter 8** discusses six smaller fascist and near-fascist organizations, selected with a view to illustrating the variety that exists within the phenomenon of Russian fascism. **Chapter 9** offers a comparative overview of the most significant characteristics of the organizations described in **chapters 5** through **8**.

Insofar as my sources permit, I try to present a rounded picture of each of the organizations with which I deal. I pay close attention to its leader, who is always an extremely important factor in this part of the political spectrum.⁶ I also aim where possible to examine the ideology or worldview of each organization, its program, its symbols, its internal structure, its activities and mode of operation, and its strategy, and to assess its size and strength, its social base (to whom it appeals and why), and its likely prospects. I give most extended treatment to the Russian National Unity, the functioning of which I examine not only at the national level but also, through a series of local case studies, at the crucial regional or provincial level.

The main results of the investigation are summarized in the conclusion. Also, in September 2000, while this book was already in production, the Russian National Unity underwent a split. This important new development is discussed in an Afterword.

Stephen D. Shenfield
November 2000

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List of Abbreviations

Comintern	Communist International
CPRF	Communist Party of the Russian Federation
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPU	Christian-Patriotic Union
Komsomol	Communist Youth League
DOSAAF	Voluntary Society to Assist the Army, Aviation, and Fleet
FSS	Federal Security Service
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KGB	Committee for State Security
KRO	Congress of Russian Communities
LDPR	Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
MIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
NBP	National-Bolshevik Party
NRPR—Lysenko	National Republican Party of Russia (Lysenko)
NRPR—Belyaev	National Republican Party of Russia (Belyaev)
NSF	National Salvation Front
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party
NEP	New Economic Policy
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs
Patsomol	Patriotic Union of Kuban Youth
PNF	Party "National Front"
PNP	People's National Party
RCWP	Russian Communist Workers' Party
RNL	Russian National Legion
RNS	Russian National Union
RNSP	Russian National-Socialist Party
RNU	Russian National Unity

ROC	Russian Orthodox Church
ROS	Russian All-People's Union
UCR	Union "Christian Rebirth"
UNA-UNSO	Ukrainian National Assembly
UOB	Union of Orthodox Brotherhoods
URP	Union of the Russian People

RUSSIAN FASCISM

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1

Defining “Fascism”

The multiplicity of meanings and connotations with which the word “fascism” is used remains a fertile source of confusion and misunderstanding. The clearest and least controversial usage is as a referent to what we may call “classical fascism”—that is, the movement in interwar Italy led by Benito Mussolini, who was the first to coin the term “fascism,” and by extension the movements in other countries that closely modeled themselves on the Italian prototype. By the standards of customary political discourse, however, this usage is an extremely narrow one, not even encompassing German national-socialism, which never referred to itself as fascist.¹ It is, in any case, patently inadequate to an investigation of a society so far removed in space and time from interwar Italy as post-Soviet Russia. We therefore need a more broadly applicable definition of generic fascism.

My main purpose in this chapter is to explain how I shall be using the word “fascism,” and to make clear why I have chosen to use the word in one way rather than another. To set my interpretation in the context of the continuing scholarly debate over the essence of fascism, I approach this task by means of a critical survey of the views of other writers on fascism. In the course of the survey, I shall point out not only the crucial distinctions that mark fascism off from other more or less closely related ideologies and movements, but also important divisions existing within fascism itself. As the primary focus of most analyses of fascism is the experience of non-Soviet Europe in the period 1918 to 1945, I shall pay special attention to the specific problems that arise in applying the concept to Russia in general and to post-Soviet Russia in particular.

In general political discourse, the meaning attributed to “fascism” is heavily dependent on the ideological commitments of the speaker. There is a tendency to attach the fascist label not only to movements with a genuinely strong resemblance to classical interwar fascism, but to all authoritarian regimes of the right (if the speaker belongs to the left) or to all authoritarian

regimes of the left (if the speaker belongs to the right). “Fascism” easily comes to signify the reign of unconstrained violence and oppression, whoever may perpetrate it and for whatever purpose. Although scholars can hardly be satisfied by such a vague usage, this is roughly what most people mean by “fascism.” The memory of World War II and the Nazi atrocities, kept alive with the help of magazines and movies, loosely associates the word in the popular imagination with the thirst for power and foreign conquest, racial hatred and genocide, cruelty, sadism, and human evil in general.

In the academic literature, two main approaches to the definition of “fascism” are found. One large group of authors construct descriptive definitions, primarily on the basis of a study of European (especially Italian and German) interwar experience, that in their view capture the most important and significant aspects of the phenomenon under study. The resulting definitions, although illuminating, are usually long and unwieldy, often inconsistent with one another, and sometimes even internally inconsistent. In reaction to these deficiencies, some influential scholars, most notably Ernst Nolte and Roger Griffin, have proposed “fascist minima”—that is, succinct and coherent definitions, to be understood as Weberian “ideal types,” that highlight one or a few core features considered essential to fascism. All other characteristics that have been used to define “fascism” are regarded as either derivative from the fascist minimum or inessential.

Criteria for a Definition

Before proceeding further with issues of substance, it is worth pausing to consider a crucial methodological question that is rarely explicitly addressed. In formulating a definition of a political concept like fascism, our choice is inevitably guided by one or more criteria. Different criteria will yield different definitions. What criteria should we use?

What matters for the authors of descriptive definitions is evidently an accurate correspondence between the way “fascism” is defined and the reality of European fascism in the era that began in 1918 and ended in 1945. This is a criterion to which exception can hardly be taken, but exclusive reliance on it tends to generate inflexible definitions that have no wide application outside the context of Europe between those years. A definition should allow scope for fascism to develop over time and adapt itself to the conditions of different countries, provided that the changes occur without radical discontinuity. Thus, it seems reasonable to regard those thinkers of the West European “New Right” (such as the French writer Alain de Benoist), who have consciously striven to revise the ideology of pre-1945 fascism to take account of new realities while preserving core values, as fascist revisionists

(Griffin 2000), in the same way that the “Eurocommunists” who have pursued an analogous project within a different tradition are regarded as communist revisionists. The underlying continuity between interwar fascism and the postwar New Right is all the more worthy of recognition in light of the role played by key figures who span the two epochs—for instance, the Italian philosopher Julius Evola.

At the same time, the common tendency to extend the usage of “fascism” into areas already covered by other well-established semantic fields, such as communism or conservative authoritarianism, must be resisted if we are to keep the specific character of fascism in clear focus. This does not preclude the existence of borderline cases—such as Franco’s Spain in the wake of the civil war, the last years of Stalin’s rule in the USSR, or Ceausescu’s Romania—in which a basically non-fascist communist or conservative regime exhibits definite tendencies pointing in the direction of fascism.

Having set inner and outer bounds for our definition, let us now turn to the problem of deciding between the descriptive and the “minimal” approaches. “Minimal” definitions, the most influential of which are those of Ernst Nolte and Roger Griffin, are justified on the grounds that they are “heuristically useful” as ideal types (Griffin 1998, p. 13)—that is, they generate productive and fruitful research programs. It may be added that minimal definitions are precise and elegant; they are free of ambiguities and superfluities. For all of these reasons, they have a natural appeal to the social scientist.

Considerations of this kind are not to be dismissed out of hand, but neither should they be granted a monopoly, at the expense of all other criteria. We should define our terms with a view to effective communication, not only within a narrow circle of scholars, but also with a broader public who are interested in politics but unfamiliar with the specialized debates of political scientists. Communicability requires that we take *some* account even of the popular associations of words like “fascism.” Moreover, the assumption that everything really important about fascism as a real-life phenomenon can be captured by, or derived from, a single core concept is open to dispute. “It is doubtful,” as Stanley Payne has argued, “that there is any unique hidden meaning in, cryptic explanation of, or special ‘key’ to fascism” (Griffin 1998, p. 227). Complexity in a definition need not be taken as evidence of analytical failure, but may be accepted as a reflection of the varied and multifaceted reality of fascism. Nor need we be unduly perturbed or surprised at our inability to eliminate completely internal inconsistencies from an ideology that eschews rationality in principle. Exclusive reliance on one core concept can in fact lead to rather arbitrary judgments. Thus, Griffin is forced to exclude from his definition of fascism, which focuses on a core fascist myth of national rebirth (palingenesis), the regimes of the Croatian

Ustasha and of Father Tiso in Slovakia, despite all that they had in common with fascist regimes elsewhere in Nazi-occupied Europe, because they were engaged in forging new nations rather than rejuvenating old ones and therefore lacked palingenetic myths (Griffin 1995, p. 10).

I conclude that choice of a definition of “fascism” should ideally be guided by a number of criteria: a sharp focus, the necessary degree of flexibility, descriptive accuracy, heuristic usefulness, and broad communicability. In practice, the requirements of different criteria are bound to contradict one another, and all one can hope to do is to work out what seems a reasonable compromise. It may also be helpful to supplement a general definition of fascism with specialized definitions that more consistently meet one or another criterion—for example, definitions of “fascism in the classical sense,” “fascism in the palingenetic sense,” or “fascism in the popular sense.” Let us return to this point after discussing the substantive issues and formulating a general definition of fascism.

Working Out a Definition

I started work on a general definition of fascism by examining the way in which twenty-eight different authors about politics explicitly or implicitly define “fascism.”² I identified the five problems that are most often discussed at length by the writers; these I took to be the main problems involved in understanding fascism. I then compared and critically assessed the different approaches taken by the authors to each of these problems. This helped me to clarify my views and to formulate the components of my own definition.

As regards my choice of writers to survey, I do not claim to have selected a fully representative sample, and I attached no special significance to the exact number of investigators who took one or another view. The authors surveyed do, however, represent a fairly wide range of theoretical approaches and political orientations.³ Most of them focus solely on fascism; a few discuss fascism in the context of a broader analysis of nationalism. Although most of the writers are Western scholars, a few of the more interesting Russian scholars have been included, as have a few nonacademic authors, such as the English political novelist George Orwell.

As it would be repetitive and confusing to present and assess the frequently overlapping definitions of all the writers, I restrict myself to a survey of their views concerning each of the five main problems. [Appendix 1](#) to this chapter presents the definitions of fascism offered by ten of the writers; [Appendix 2](#) lists all the authors surveyed, together with the sources used.

The main problems that recur in the writers’ discussions of fascism are the following:

1. What is the historico-philosophical outlook of fascism on the past, present, and future of humanity? How, in particular, does fascism relate to the process of modernization?
2. What general philosophy of life, including epistemology, aesthetics, and morality, is characteristic of fascism?
3. What position does fascism occupy in the contest between capitalism and socialism?
4. What kinds of human community serve as foci for fascists' loyalty and identity? Is fascism a special kind of nationalism?
5. What are the crucial structural characteristics of fascism as a movement seeking to win and keep power?

Let us consider these problems in turn.

The Fascist Outlook on History and Modernization

What role does fascism play in the historical development of human society? Are the goals it pursues progressive, conservative, or reactionary? Does it look forward into the future or backward into the past—or both at once? Is it partially or wholly hostile to the process of modernization, or does it advocate its own model of modernization? The orientation of fascism in the stream of human and national history is crucial to its identity as an ideology and movement. Many of the writers surveyed consider the problem at length; it is the focus of the “fascist minima” of Nolte and Griffin; and it lies at the center of concern of fascist ideologists themselves.

Unfortunately there is no generally accepted definition of “modernity” or of “modernization.” Disagreements concerning what exactly these words mean are a fertile source of confusion and misunderstanding. For many people, the modernity of a society depends simply on how advanced are the technologies that it uses. For social scientists who take their ideas on the subject from Max Weber, a modern society is one whose major institutions operate in accordance with an impersonal rule-governed logic. In my view, these are both secondary and in some contexts misleading criteria. For me, the essence of modernity lies in a particular cast of mind that has its origins in the European Renaissance and Enlightenment but that did not become clearly predominant in society until after World War I. Central to the modern cast of mind is the willingness to rely on the empirical or scientific method of inquiry. Modernity is also closely associated with the moral stance known as *humanitarianism*—that is, the attitude that human suffering is an evil, that efforts to reduce it are praiseworthy, and that its deliberate infliction is reprehensible unless shown to be a necessary means to a greater

humanitarian end. For example, the modern sensibility regards war as an evil, though (except for pacifists) one that may be justified under some circumstances. In both these respects, fascism is an antimodern movement, whereas communism is, at least in principle and to some degree, a part of modernity despite all its failures and barbarities.

The writers in my sample can be divided, in accordance with their views on this problem, into three broad groups.

Some writers regard fascism unequivocally as a socially conservative and/or reactionary movement, an “anti-modernist utopia” (Turner), the goal of which is to preserve and restore, by revolutionary means, traditional values that modern society has undermined or destroyed (De Felice, Moore, Verkhovsky and Pribylovsky). Thus, attention is drawn to the school of fascist philosophers who spoke of the “Conservative Revolution”—a term usually associated with the German cultural historian Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, although it seems to have actually been first used by the nineteenth-century Russian populist Yuri Samarin (as will be discussed further in [chapter 2](#)). Similarly, according to Nolte, fascism is to be understood as “resistance to transcendence”—that is, to the universalistic theoretical mode of reasoning that is the essence of modern scientific thought (Turner 1975, pp. 2–25, 39).

At the opposite extreme, some writers see fascism as a modernizing movement that, especially in Italy itself, served developmental functions—the acceleration of industrial development, the inculcation of discipline (“making the trains run on time”), and the strengthening of social cohesion in the face of deep class and regional divisions (Gregor).

Lastly, a large group of authors hold that fascism is, in different ways, both progressive and reactionary, both modern and archaic—even “the synthesis of all values” (Eatwell). It is, for example, “industrially modernizing but socially reactionary” (Wilkinson). It is typically argued that fascism rejects only some aspects of modernity—in particular, democratization, secularization, and international integration—or only a particular model of modernity, that is, “the rationalist, progressive, Enlightenment model” (Gentile), but not modernity as such. Alternative non-Enlightenment models of modernity have emerged, including models based on various kinds of religious fundamentalism as well as fascism.

Within this group of writers, we can identify a subgroup (Griffin, Payne, Galkin) who belong to the school that understands fascism as a movement inspired by a core myth of national renewal, rejuvenation or rebirth (palingenesis). Rebelling against the decadent present, fascists look simultaneously back in time to a past golden age of national greatness and forward to a new era of resurgence.

In general, it is the third group of writers who come the closest to grasping the complex character of fascism. It is necessary to distinguish clearly between fascism and those purely reactionary movements that seek literally to return to the past, as well as between fascism and those movements that seek to overcome and forget the past. The palingenetic paradigm is especially illuminating and productive. Its applicability to post-Soviet Russia is as evident as is its relevance to interwar Europe. “Ahead lies the Era of Russia,” proclaims Alexander Barkashov, leader of the Russian National Unity, “and it has already begun!” (Barkashov 1994, p. 25).

At the same time, we must take care to strike the right balance between the forward-looking and the backward-looking components in the fascist worldview. It is, in my opinion, a mistake to portray fascism, as Griffin tends to do, as inspired by the past but primarily oriented toward the future. A deep attachment to the essential values of premodern eras (or what are perceived as such) is perhaps the most important of the characteristics that mark fascism off from its main ideological rivals on both the left and the right, and that make fascism so difficult for the modern mentality to understand.

Different tendencies within fascism attribute the crucial role in undermining true values to different historical developments. For many, it is above all the Enlightenment that must be undone. Thus, in 1934 the German SA leader Ernst Roehm proclaimed that “the national-socialist revolution has made a complete break with the philosophy that inspired the Great French Revolution of 1789.”⁴ For others, it is necessary to go back another couple of centuries. “We wish to put an end to the 400-year individualistic revolution of the West,” explained the non-Nazi German fascist publicist Edgar Jung (Griffin 1995, p. 108). A primary emphasis on the Reformation is, naturally, characteristic of those fascists oriented toward Catholicism, such as Curzio Malaparte, who speaks of “our historical Catholic mission of implacable and sustained resistance to the modern spirit born of the Reformation” (Griffin 1995, p. 49).

Of course, the ultimate origin of the modern ideal of rational inquiry can be traced even further back, all the way to the natural philosophers and political thinkers of ancient Greece. Julius Evola accordingly dates the beginning of “the decline of virile and sacral ideals” to the seventh century B.C.E., and seeks the true “Tradition” in an even older heroic age of legend and myth, in “the world of Odysseus” (Evola 1995, p. 261).⁵

Evola’s invocation of “virility” draws our attention to the important point that fascists are attached not to any and all premodern values, but only to premodern values of a specific kind. Ancient legend is indeed a magic trove in which lie buried more than one kind of treasure—not only the “virile and

sacral ideals” of kingly dominion and warlike prowess, but also, for instance, the no less sacral but more peaceable and egalitarian “female” ideals of the earth and moon goddesses worshipped by some radical feminists and “deep” ecologists. It is not immediately clear where exactly one should draw the line between those premodern values that fascists do, and those that they do not, typically seek to revive. Medieval and feudal values are particularly highly valued by most fascists; the feudal aspects of Nazi ideology influenced the institutional structure of the Third Reich (Koehl 1972). The example of Evola, however, shows that fascists may draw upon traditions much more ancient than feudalism. As a rough approximation, we may say that fascists seek to restore the values of premodern class societies, whether feudal-aristocratic, slave or Oriental-despotic, while leftist utopians draw inspiration from an idealized image of primitive tribal communism. In any case, it needs to be kept in mind that fascism is not the only antimodernist utopia of the modern age.

Whenever the long process of the desacralization of life—what Max Weber called “the disenchantment of the world”—may have begun, it did not reach its culmination until the rise of industrial capitalism. As Marx and Engels observed in *The Communist Manifesto*:

[The bourgeoisie] has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor . . . in the icy water of egotistical calculation. . . . [It] has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. . . . All that is holy is profaned. . . . (*Karl Marx* 1968, p. 38)

The Marxists, nevertheless, mourn a little and move on—but the fascists call for “the return of the angels, the rise of the heroes from the dead, and the rebellion of the heart against the dictatorship of reason” (Dugin 1997b, p. 26).

The Industrial Revolution marked the culmination of the process, but not its completion. Life in times of peace had become profane, but a “virile and sacral” mystique continued to surround war. It was still held to be *dulce et decorum pro patria mori* [sweet and fitting to die for one’s country]. That is why a conservative writer like Dostoevsky yearned for war, and why the Futurist Manifesto of 1909 acclaimed war as “sole hygiene of the world” (Griffin 1995, p. 45). It was the slaughter in the trenches of World War I that finally demystified war and made a negative attitude toward war part of the modern consciousness. Henceforth, war was to be regarded as an evil, though it might still be justified in certain circumstances as a necessary evil. But again, not everyone accepted the demystification of war, and a return to its glorification was an important part of the fascist program.⁶

The premodern vantage point of fascism is revealed, *inter alia*, by its penchant for interpreting the processes of modernization that it so detests as the deliberate destructive work of conspiratorial racial and religious sects. The idea of a world Judeo-Masonic conspiracy to destroy the nations (Cohn 1967) remains the most widespread, but other variants exist—for example, the Orthodox Christian idea of a grand conspiracy directed by Satan (within which the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy is likely to be subsumed), or the view of history, held by contemporary Russian Eurasianists, as a millennia-long struggle between secret orders of “Eurasianists” and “Atlanticists.” It is not just that fascists do not like modernity: they find it very difficult to make sense of modernity in its own terms, and attempt to explain modernity by resorting to premodern modes of thought. Hence, also, their persistent fascination with magic and the occult (Goodrick-Clarke 1992), as well as with other medieval “sciences” such as astrology, alchemy, and sacral geography (the geography of sacred places and forces) (Dugin 1996a).

The premodern orientation of fascism is not, however, restricted to the sphere of ideal values and modes of thought. It readily reveals itself also at the programmatic level. The corporate state advocated by classical Italian fascism, for example, in which the citizenry are organized and represented through occupational, professional, and institutional “corporations,” is clearly an attempted adaptation to modern conditions of the old system of feudal estates. Some contemporary Russian fascists similarly aspire to revive in a new form the old estates-based Assembly of the Lands [*Zemskii Sobor*].

What, then, of “the paradox of reactionary modernism,” the claim that fascism represents not a rejection of modernity as such, but an alternative non-Enlightenment model of it? The real argument here has less to do with the nature of fascism than with the nature of modernity. If modernity is understood merely in terms of industrial and technological development, then non-Enlightenment models of modernity may be conceivable. However, if modernity is defined by reference to intellectual and moral ideals that largely originate in the Enlightenment, then “non-Enlightenment modernity” is a contradiction in terms. Even if we accept the former point of view, the long-term viability of the postulated “non-Enlightenment models of modernity” remains to be proven. For example, a great deal is made of the positive fascist attitude toward modern technology. Not only did the fascists in both Italy and Germany accept technology and harness it to their own economic, political, and military purposes, but following the lead of the futurists they made it the object of a veritable cult, celebrating its beauty, dynamism, and power (Herf 1984). True enough, but what of it? It is very significant that the fascist worship of technology did not extend to science itself. Yes, the practical products of science were welcomed, but the scien-

tific mode of thought—rational, critical, and empirical—that had yielded those products was rejected in no uncertain terms. Moreover, the mystique with which the fascists surrounded the technological fruits of science is quite foreign to the spirit of scientific thought. The reign of fascist ideology over the long term would therefore inevitably lead to technological as well as social and cultural regression. The significance of technology in and of itself should not be exaggerated: it is a surface manifestation of modernity, not its essence.

Thus, fascism combines orientations toward modernity and the future and toward the premodern past in a peculiar fashion. Unlike reactionaries, fascists understand that the past cannot be restored in its original form, and that something new must be created.⁷ Nevertheless, their minds, hearts, and spirits hark back to the past: the future for them is no more than the past revived in a new form. The past is ultimately more central to fascism than the future. On the continuum that has archaism at one pole and genuine futurism at the other, fascism occupies a segment in the middle, but closer to the archaist pole than to the futurist one.

Two further points of clarification are needed.

First, if we are to conceive of fascism as a movement arising in the modern era but oriented toward premodern values and ways of thought, then precision requires that we specify the boundary between the modern and the premodern. But where should the line be drawn? Modernization being a nonlinear and very long-drawn-out process, it is inevitable that any line should be to some extent an arbitrary one. Moreover, as different countries have passed through comparable phases of modernization at different times, the line separating the modern from the premodern should be drawn at a different point in the history of each. A movement may seek to conserve and restore traditional values but not qualify as fascist (even if fascist according to other criteria) if *either* the traditions in question are not premodern but belong to an earlier phase of modernity *or* the movement itself arises before the onset of modernity.

If, for instance, we date the transition to modernity in Russia as having occurred in February 1917, arbitrarily overlooking the modernization that occurred in Tsarist Russia since the time of Peter the Great as well as premodern elements that survived in Soviet (and even post-Soviet) Russia, then a contemporary traditionalist movement that draws its values purely from the Soviet, and not from the tsarist, period cannot be regarded as fascist (but might instead be classified as communist). Likewise, a movement that arose before 1917, such as the Black Hundreds, to be discussed in [chapter 2](#), cannot be considered fascist, but only proto-fascist.

Second, if fascism is to be defined as a reaction to modernity, then modernity must be understood as encompassing both its liberal and its commu-

nist form. Fascism is not always a reaction to liberalism. In those countries that have experienced communism, such as Russia, fascism may equally well be a reaction to communism. The Program of the interwar émigré All-Russian Fascist Party made the point that “the main difference between Russian fascism and other fascist movements is that Russian fascism must take the place of communism, while fascism in Italy and Germany took the place of the liberal-democratic state and the capitalist system” (Prussakov and Shiropaev 1993, p. 7). Under the conditions of today’s Russia, fascism is most likely to be a reaction simultaneously to communism and to liberalism (in its distorted post-communist manifestation).

The Fascist Philosophy of Life

Several writers emphasize the distinct characteristics that fascism displays in the sphere of cognitive, moral, and aesthetic philosophy. Thus, fascism is against the principles of materialism, empiricism, and reason; conversely, it highly values faith, myth, mystique, and ritual. It rejects the moral condemnation of violence and makes it the object of an aesthetic cult. Some writers go so far as to see the cult of death as an important part of the fascist outlook (Mosse, Neocleous).

These and other “barbaric” qualities are best regarded not as independent variables, but rather as derivative from the attachment of fascism to premodern values and ways of thinking. The cult of youth that many have noted in fascism may seem anomalous from this point of view, given the respect shown in past ages for elders, but it may be understood as a transitional phenomenon. The older generations who matured under conditions of “decadence” are rejected, and hope is placed in the “healthy instincts” of youth, who have yet to be corrupted, but once victory is consolidated the need for a cult of youth may be expected to fall away.

We have seen that fascism draws on premodern values of a specifically patriarchal kind. Several authors stress that a cult of virility or maleness plays a crucial role in fascism (Payne, Theweleit). On the basis of his study of the autobiographical writings of members of the *Freikorps*, paramilitary organizations active in Germany in the years after 1918 that many regard as precursors of Nazism, Klaus Theweleit attributes the obsession of the *Freikorps* fighters with maleness to fear of being engulfed by chaotic and formless forces associated with the female (Theweleit 1987, 1989). These same forces were also associated with Jews (Ostow 1996, pp. 155–70). A similar pattern of associations is readily observed in writing by contemporary Russian fascists—on the one side, manliness, Russianness, order, spirit, purity; on the other, effeminacy, Jewishness, Caucasianness, chaos, materialism, animality.⁸

Fascism, Capitalism, and Socialism

Several different points of view exist among the writers examined concerning where fascism fits on the conventional left–right continuum. Forman and Neocleous defend the standard left-wing interpretation of fascism as a right-wing movement in disguise, implementing a preemptive “revolution against the revolution” to save capitalism from the socialist threat. Other writers take the anticapitalist pretensions of fascism seriously: Sternhell, for instance, regards fascism as an anti-Marxist form of socialism. Orwell, his own left-wing views notwithstanding, also recognizes fascism as a form of collectivism. For yet others, the corporate state of fascism represents a “third way” between capitalism and socialism (Mosse, O’Sullivan), while Lipset sees fascism as an “extremism of the center.”

On the one hand, there is no doubt that, in principle, the interwar fascists saw themselves as a force of neither “left” nor “right,” but rather as representatives of a third, national alternative to existing forms of international capitalism and international socialism. On the other hand, the usual left-wing view of fascism as a right-wing and pro-capitalist movement is understandable enough. In practice, the fascist regimes were able to take power only with the tacit support of traditional conservative forces: non-fascist nationalist parties close to big business, the military command, and (in Italy) the monarchy and the Catholic Church. In contrast to the immediate ruthless suppression of all social democratic, communist, and trade union opposition, the prerogatives of the capitalists were only gradually reduced—for example, by the creation of a parastatal industrial sector under party control (De Grand 1995, pp. 82–86). There did exist, however, a left-wing tendency in the Nazi movement, associated above all with the Strasser brothers, which took its socialism no less seriously than it took its nationalism.⁹ Although the Strasserites were crushed soon after the Nazis came to power, the survival of strains of anticapitalist sentiment was demonstrated by the wartime speeches of Leon Degrelle, leader of the Belgian fascist movement Rex and commander of the SS Walloon Legion.¹⁰ “The radicals of the younger generation hoped that a renewed fascist revolution would commence with victory in the Second World War” (De Grand 1995, p. 84). As the fascist powers lost the war, the question of what kind of postwar economic system a victorious Axis would have established remained an open one.

Tensions between left-wing and right-wing tendencies can be found also in contemporary fascist and near-fascist movements. Pruss (1997) has surveyed the widely divergent economic views prevailing among radical nationalists in Russia, ranging all the way from the consistent national capitalism

of some groups to the aspiration of the National-Bolshevik Party to restore the Soviet planning system.

The problem might best be approached by examining the general fascist outlook on history. To the extent that fascists are actuated by premodern values, it is difficult for them to decide where they stand in the contest between capitalism and socialism, as both sides belong to the modern “materialistic” world that they reject. If it were practicable, they would prefer to be against both capitalism and socialism. One way out of the dilemma is to reject not capitalism as a whole, but only those aspects of it that are worst from their point of view—that is, to oppose financial and international capital in the name of productive national capital. Another solution is to envision a new kind of “spiritual” socialism. Hence, the tendency for fascism to split into “national-capitalist” and “national-socialist” variants.

For all these reasons, concepts pertaining to socialism and capitalism should be excluded from the definition of fascism.

Fascism and Nationalism

There appears to be a near-consensus to the effect that fascism is to be considered an especially extreme or intense kind of nationalism (“ultranationalism” or “hypernationalism”). Thus, Hans Kohn calls fascism a “totalitarian nationalism in which humanity and the individual disappear and nothing remains but the nation.” Fascism is also regarded by many investigators as a variety of “integral” or “organic” nationalism, in which the nation is envisaged not as a mere collection or association of separate individuals, but as a living being with its own body and spirit. Other characteristics often attributed to nationalism of the fascist type are that it is exclusive, xenophobic, and “tribal,” based on racially defined ethnicity rather than culture or civic identity, and that it is supremacist, messianic, militaristic, expansionist, and imperialistic—even, according to one author (O’Sullivan), bent on world conquest.

The nationalist character of fascism is not, however, as unproblematic as most authors assume. True, fascism rejects as reference points both the individual and humanity, and this is one of the main features setting it apart from doctrines that claim to be based on universal human values, such as liberalism, socialism, and anarchism. The ethnic nation is by no means, however, the *only* group entity intermediate between the individual and humanity to which fascists have felt a sense of loyalty. Thus, for classical Italian fascism, the state was arguably an object of worship in itself. For the Nazis, the Nordic or Aryan race mattered at least as much as the German nation. For yet other fascist movements, religion—in most cases, Catholic or Orthodox

Christianity—has been a vital source of identity, alongside and closely linked to the nation, but not identical with it. A good example is Corneliu Codreanu's League of the Archangel Michael, founded in Romania in 1927.¹¹ A proto-fascist organization of almost the same name¹² had appeared in Russia, another country of Orthodox culture, in 1908. Nazi sympathizers in India developed a Brahmin-Hindu variant of fascist ideology (Goodrick-Clarke 1998). Fascists may, finally, attribute meaning to cultural or "civilizational" constructs of continentwide scope, such as "Europe" or "Eurasia." The relative importance attached to nation, state, race, faith, and civilization is a useful criterion for distinguishing one kind of fascism from another.

Alone among the writers surveyed, Gregor argues that fascism should not be defined in terms of nationalism at all, pointing out that the racism of the Nazis in fact took precedence over nationalism, which Hitler rejected as "a snare and a delusion." Whether such a sharp separation between Nazism and German nationalism was ever established is open to dispute, but we may at least conclude that it is misleading and one-sided to define fascism primarily in terms of nationalism.

The question of the relation of fascism to nationalism hinges, of course, on how "nationalism" itself is defined. Provided that "nationalism" is sufficiently broadly understood, fascism may be regarded as a kind of nationalism. The problem is that it has become common scholarly practice to define nationalism in the terms first suggested by Ernest Gellner—that is, as "a principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (Gellner 1983, p. 1). In fact, fascism has never been committed in principle to the nation-state. Its ideal has been rather that of the multiethnic empire, within which to be sure one particular nation was to occupy the dominant position. The Italian fascists, dreaming of "the glory that was Rome," sought a Mediterranean empire, the German Nazis a continental empire in Europe (though both entertained colonial ambitions in Africa too). The West European New Right talks about a new European federal empire, within which each nation will enjoy cultural but not political autonomy (Griffin 2000), while Alexander Dugin, the foremost ideologue of the Russian New Right, offers a similar model for a future continental Eurasian empire built around Russia (Dugin 1997a). One can get around this problem by calling those who think like Dugin "nationalists of a non-existent Eurasian nation" (Verkhovskii and Pribylovskii 1996, p. 93), but in so doing one stretches the meaning of "nation" far beyond its usual contours.

In the Russian context it is particularly inexpedient to tie the concept of fascism too closely to that of ethnicity. Even today the traditional image of Russia as a multiethnic Eurasian empire rather than a nation-state of the ethnic Russians has broad appeal to the Russians. In her classification of

radical Russian nationalist ideologies, Pruss (1997) distinguishes two broad camps: the ethno-nationalist and the imperial. There is no reason to expect that fascist movements (as defined in accordance with other criteria) can arise only from the former and not the latter.

All considered, it may be best, if only to avoid confusion, not to define fascism as a subcategory of nationalism. What we can say with confidence is that fascists place overriding value not in the individual and not in humanity as a whole, but in various kinds of delimited community that they envisage (with whatever degree of validity) as being socially integrated, based on tradition, and “natural” or “organic.”

Fascism As a Movement

Fascist movements and regimes, most of the writers surveyed agree, have a highly authoritarian and elitist internal structure, in which a dictatorial leader stands at the top of a strict hierarchy of command. At the same time, fascist movements, in contrast to traditional conservative autocracies and dictatorships, are populist in character: they appeal to and mobilize the masses, with whose support they capture and maintain themselves in power.

This seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of authoritarian (that is, anti-democratic) populism may be taken as characteristic of fascism. It is not, however, unique to fascism, but is shared by modern totalitarianism in general, the other main historical embodiment of which has been Leninist (Bolshevik) communism. Authoritarian populism may therefore serve as a component of a definition of fascism, but should remain subordinate to other concepts that are more specific to fascism.

My Definition

The foregoing discussion suggests a composite definition of “fascism” along the following lines:

Fascism is an authoritarian populist movement that seeks to preserve and restore premodern patriarchal values within a new order based on communities of nation, race, or faith.

As Griffin’s definition of fascism is both influential and illuminating, it may be helpful to compare my definition with his. Griffin has defined “fascism” as follows:

Fascism is a genus of modern, revolutionary, “mass” politics which . . .

draws its internal cohesion and driving force from a core myth that a period of perceived national decline and decadence is giving way to one of re-birth and renewal in a post-liberal new order.

Or, more succinctly:

Fascism is a genus of political ideology whose mythic core . . . is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism.¹³

Griffin's definition and the definition that I suggest differ in four important ways.

First, I specify that fascism is authoritarian as well as populist in character. Griffin leaves open the possibility of a "democratic" (though not "liberal") fascism, but I do not. Allowing for a fascism that is democratic in some genuine sense contradicts both a central characteristic of classical interwar fascism (the criterion of descriptive accuracy) and almost everybody's understanding of what fascism means (the criterion of broad communicability). In defining fascism as nondemocratic and antidemocratic, we recognize that former fascists who manifest a sincere commitment to democracy should no longer be considered fascists, even if their thinking continues to bear resemblances to fascism in other respects.

Second, as already explained, in my definition the new order that fascism introduces is not specified as being "post-liberal," as it may equally well be post-communist.

Third, my definition does not, as Griffin's does, tightly link fascism to ethnic nationalism, thereby allowing for the possibility of fascism existing in cultural contexts where ethnic nationalism is not deeply rooted, as among the Russians.

And lastly, my definition replaces Griffin's palingenetic paradigm by an emphasis on the attachment of fascism to premodern patriarchal values. In practice, a very wide overlap exists between the two concepts. However, my definition, unlike Griffin's, does allow new nationalisms, such as Croatian and Slovak nationalism in Nazi-occupied Europe, to qualify as fascist, provided of course that other criteria of fascism are met. Conversely, I do not recognize as fascist a movement actuated by a palingenetic myth if that movement draws its values and inspiration wholly from an earlier phase of modernity—in the case of post-Soviet Russia, for instance, wholly from the Soviet period.

Whichever academic definition of fascism one may prefer, one should not denigrate or leave out of account the popular understanding of fascism as a concentrated embodiment of racial or ethnic hatred, violence, and aggres-

sive war. Scholarship that ignores popular meanings will itself be ignored by ordinary people. To those who use “fascism” in the popular sense and “know” from experience what it is, academic debate about the definition of fascism may seem tiresome and irrelevant. Thus, the former Soviet party official Alexander Yakovlev, learning that a presidential decree on the struggle against fascism had been held up by the inability of the Russian Academy of Sciences to agree on a definition of fascism, expressed his irritation in the following terms:

What kind of definition do you need? There is, after all, historical experience. Fascism means inciting ethnic hatred. It is propaganda about the superiority of one people over another. Propaganda of war and violence is also fascism. (Iakovlev 1998)

In the wide gap that divides the various academic definitions of fascism from its popular meaning there lies a great potential for misunderstanding. For example, is Vladimir Zhirinovskiy a fascist? As we shall see in [chapter 5](#), there is room for argument concerning whether he can be considered a fascist in the sense of being attached to premodern values or in the sense of believing in a myth of national or imperial rebirth. However, his advocacy in the book *Final Spurt to the South* of a military campaign to conquer the lands separating Russia from the Indian Ocean suffices to make him a fascist as most people understand the word.¹⁴ For that reason alone, it would be strange for a book on the threat of fascism in Russia to ignore altogether the question of his political prospects. (Logical consistency requires that the ideologies that justified the European conquest and settlement of the Americas, Australasia, and Africa also be considered fascist in the popular sense, although they were not fascist in an academic sense.¹⁵) Conversely, it is in principle possible for an ideology to qualify “technically” as fascism in accordance with one or another academic definition, even though it lacks the characteristics popularly associated with fascism.

Different readers of this book will prefer to use the word “fascism” in different senses. Each reader will naturally be concerned above all to assess the threat of “fascism” in Russia in the sense in which he or she uses the word. In the hope, therefore, of communicating effectively with a broad range of readers, I intend to use four definitions of “fascism” in parallel, taking due care to indicate which definition I have in mind at any point. Thus, “fascism in the classical sense” will refer to the original fascism of interwar Italy, or to any movement that is closely modeled on it. “Fascism in the palingenetic sense” will refer to an ideology built around a core myth of the rebirth of a decadent national, racial, imperial, or religious community

(corresponding approximately, but not necessarily precisely, to Roger Griffin's definition of fascism). "Fascism in the popular sense" will refer to movements, ideologies, and regimes that possess the characteristics most closely associated with the word "fascism" in the popular imagination. And finally, "fascism" *tout court* will refer to fascism as I have defined it above.

Appendix 1

Selected Definitions of “Fascism”

A. Descriptive Definitions

A1. Renzo De Felice (1977)

The combination of conservative or reactionary socioeconomic and cultural goals with mass totalitarian mobilization. Europe’s moral disease.

A2. James D. Forman (1974, p. 17)

Reactionary revolution. Intense nationalism, anticommunism, militarism, and imperialism.

A3. George L. Mosse

Ritualistic, mystical, idealist (antimaterialist), organic nationalism. Mass-mobilizing. Exalts struggle, war, and death.

A4. Mark Neocleous (1997)

Chapter 1. Replacement of Marxist materialism and determinism by voluntarism and vitalism. Eradication of the Enlightenment, the destruction of reason. Biological mysticism. The will to perpetual war.

Chapter 2. Messianic racial nationalism.

Chapter 3. The conservative revolution: preemptive revolution in defense of capitalism.

Chapter 4. Reactionary modernism: technological advance plus restoration of tradition.

Chapter 5. The worship of nature. The return to barbarism. The obsession with death.

A5. Noel O'Sullivan (1983, p. 131)

1. The corporate state as a third way between capitalism and socialism.
2. Rejection of reason and stability in favor of myth and dynamism, culminating in the ideal of permanent revolution.
3. The leadership principle.
4. The messianic concept of a redemptive mission.
5. Creation of an autarkic state through world conquest.

A6. Stanley G. Payne

A form of revolutionary ultranationalism for national rebirth that is based on a primarily vitalist philosophy, is structured on extreme elitism, mass mobilization, and the *Führerprinzip*, positively values violence as end as well as means, and tends to normalize war and/or the military virtues.

A7. Zeev Sternhell

A synthesis of exclusive, tribal, biologically based (integral, organic) nationalism with anti-Marxist socialism: anti-individualistic, antiliberal, antidemocratic, and antimaterialist (vitalist). An anti-intellectual reaction in favor of irrationality and instinct.

A8. Paul Wilkinson

Supremacist, messianic, militaristic, and expansionist ultranationalism. Elitist and dictatorial (“the absolute state”), but mass-mobilizing. Industrially modernizing, but socially reactionary.

B. “Fascist Minima”

B1. Ernst Nolte

Resistance to transcendence. Revolt against certain aspects of modernization—specifically: secularization, democratization, and international integration.

B2. Roger Griffin

A genus of political ideology whose mythic core . . . is a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism. (Griffin 1991, p. 2; Cronin 1996, p. 143)
A genus of modern, revolutionary, “mass” politics which . . . draws its inter-

nal cohesion and driving force from a core myth that a period of perceived national decline and decadence is giving way to one of rebirth and renewal in a post-liberal new order.

Source: (unless otherwise indicated) Griffin 1998. Where quotation marks are not shown, my own summary.

Appendix 2

List of Writers on Fascism Surveyed

Walker Connor	Hutchinson and Smith (1994, p. 41)
Renzo De Felice	De Felice (1977); Griffin (1995, pp. 300–301)
Roger Eatwell	Griffin (1995, pp. 306–7)
James D. Forman	Forman (1974, p. 17)
Aleksandr Galkin	<i>Nuzhen</i> (1996, p. 95)
Emilio Gentile	Griffin (1995, pp. 295–96)
Leonid Gordon	<i>Nuzhen</i> (1996, p. 138)
A. James Gregor	Griffin (1995, pp. 298–99); Gregor (1997)
Roger Griffin	Griffin (1991, pp. 26–38; 1995, pp. 2–8; 1998, pp. 35–39); Cronin (1996, p. 143)
Hans Kohn	Hutchinson and Smith (1994, p. 163)
Juan B. Linz	Griffin (1995, pp. 299–300)
Seymour M. Lipset	Griffin (1995, pp. 285–86)
Michael Mann	Periwal (1995, p. 59)
Sergei Markov	<i>Nuzhen</i> (1996, pp. 123–34, 128)
Barrington Moore	Griffin (1995, pp. 293–94)
George L. Mosse	Griffin (1995, pp. 303–4; 1998, pp. 137–47)
Mark Neocleous	Neocleous (1997)
Ernst Nolte	Turner (1975, pp. 26–42); Griffin (1995, pp. 297–98; 1998, pp. 106–12)
George Orwell	Griffin (1995, pp. 269–70)
Noel O’Sullivan	O’Sullivan (1983, p. 131)
Stanley Payne	Payne (1980, p. 211); Griffin (1995, pp. 304–5; 1998, pp. 147–55)
Wilhelm Reich	Reich (1970)
Anthony D. Smith	Smith (1979, pp. 53–54)

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