A Deconstruction of the Discourse of Aleksandr Dugin of Russia Does it Serve Putin's Discourse of the Alternative View?

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The Putin Discourse of the Russian Alternative View and the Discourse of Aleksandr Dugin

In an episode of DW Conflict Zone with Sergey Ryabkov the Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia utilised the discourse of the Alternative View on Assad and Syria. Ryabkov speaks of the consolidated western view which refuses to entertain an account of Syrian reality which contradicts their own especially that of the USA, the UK and France. It's then a biased and politicised discourse which is threatening the ideal of an international order governed by democratic principles. Russia under Putin is then the sole defender of the ideal in the face of western imperialism the throwback to colonial gun-boat diplomacy. Russia is then qualitatively and quantitatively distinct, separate, apart and inherently superior to the west! In an article dated April 5, 2018 in the Eurasia Daily Monitor Vol. 15 No. 52 titled: "Russia develops a new ideology for a new cold war" by Pavel Felgenhauer reported on the change in the discourse of Russian engagement with the west utilised by the Russian military in the public domain. The discourse insists that the west especially is in decline threatening the hegemony of the US in a unipolar world. A multipolar world with Russia, China and Iran as its most visible expression is fighting to emerge from the bowels of the western unipolar world order which has evoked an assault by the US and its lackeys in the west as the UK and France to ensure the still birth of this multi polar world order. This assault will rush over the globalised world order, the institutions of the UN and other multilateral institutions utilising the methods and techniques of the west's colonial imperial past. In this scenario war to destroy Russia is inevitable and Russia must now spare no effort and resources to prepare for this great apocalyptic war between the evil incarnate of the west and the symbol of progress and the new world order Russia. The discursive agents of this Russian military discourse are then calling for rapid Russian militarisation to match this grave threat from the west especially that posed by NATO and US activities in the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia. The article also spoke of the presence of the Defence Minister of China in Moscow at the MCIS-2018 and the report of the Defence Minister's remark on the closeness of Chinese and Russian militaries. This is the geopolitical context into which the discourse of Aleksandr Dugin must be placed to facilitate the process of a deconstruction.

Aleksandr Dugin utilises the most recent product of the European Enlightenment European "post modernism" to deconstruct western discourse and to propagate his discourse of Russia liberated from the captivity of western liberalism. Dugin rails against western liberalism and its hegemonic proponent today the USA as it encapsulates Russia in a "soul" that is suppressing the rise to hegemony of the Russian essence, the Russian truth and the Russian destiny. The Russian essence is intertwined and irretrievably bound to the discourse of Russian orthodox Christianity and the Church is the living expression of this organic link. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the Nazi invasion of Russia and the social order of the post collapse of the Soviet Union are all attempts by western liberalism to exercise hegemony over the Russian essence; truth and destiny in the never ending, ongoing quest to suppress and destroy the Russian essence and its discursive matrix of sustenance Russian orthodox Christianity. Putin stands accused by Dugin of being yet another Russian strongman who believes that western liberalism is the solution to Russian weakness when the solution for Dugin is the unleashing of the Russian essence by rejecting western liberalism. For Dugin insists that western liberalism can only infect Russia and its people with arrested development which is subservience to the west. For Dugin Russia must visualise itself as a Eurasian nation, a potential Eurasian world power and reject all pretensions of being European for to be European means subservience to western liberalism and powerlessness.

The lynchpin of Dugin's discourse is an anti-liberalism stance where Dugin rails against the onslaught of the western liberal project of globalisation against the rest of the world especially Russia. Dugin has a specific definition of his concept of western post modern liberalism which defines the threat posed to Russia. Dugin states in his book The Fourth Political Theory as follows: "In liberalism, the subject was represented by the individual, freed of all collective identity and any 'membership'. The victory of liberalism resolved this question: the individual became the normative subject within the framework of all mankind. This is when the phenomena of globalisation entered the stage, the model of a post-industrial society makes itself known. From now on, the individual subject is no longer the result of choice, but is a kind of mandatory given. Man is freed from his 'membership' in a community and from any collective identity." Dugin posits that liberalism was locked in a battle for hegemony with communism, fascism and

national socialism which liberalism won handsomely ensuring its evolution to post-modern liberalism then globalisation thereby heightening its quest for world hegemony. Dugin insists that preceding the victory of liberalism nations and societies had a choice between class, racism, statism or individualism now there is no choice as post-modern liberalism is the only game in town. For Dugin liberalism creates the individual as a normative subject emancipated from obligations to community and nation and from national and community identity replaced by the globalised normative subject the globalised individual severed of all communal and national identities. The normative individual is the product of the hegemony of post-modern liberalism there are no choices available and no diversity in the constituting of individuals. Dugin continues: "The path that humanity entered upon in the modern era led precisely to liberalism and to the repudiation of God, tradition, community, ethnicity, empires and kingdoms".

Dugin's discourse fixates on the second world war where the nazis, the fascists and the soviet communists engaged in an internecine struggle which enabled the victory of the United States and its rise to world hegemony in the post-world war 2 era. From this foundation that enabled hegemony the USA restored and revived liberalism from the ashes of Europe setting in train the evolution of postmodernism which would launch the current assault of globalised liberalism upon the world not yet under the hegemony of the globalised liberal order or in a state of resistance to the order. Dugin's discourse of political action must call for unity of action and purpose of those nations capable of resisting the globalised liberal order as Russia and he is an activist in the propagation of his discourse seeking hegemony over the social order of Russia. The dualism of Dugin's discourse configures the binary opposite of liberalism as God mindedness, religion, tradition, community, ethnicity and an alternate to liberal democratic forms of governance as empire and kingdoms. In this binary opposite the individual as normative subject becomes extinct as humans in a social order become connected to tradition, community and ethnicity hence they are constituted by the "essence" of their civilisation. For Dugin the normative individual of the liberal order is alienated from the "essence" of his civilisation and from all that set humans apart from non-humans. And this connected human in a collective will contribute to the creation of a form of government that is the reflection of the "essence" therefore organic government. Putin is then in Russia partly the

reflection of this Russian essence seeking to exert its hegemony over the imported liberal order with Putin being an advocate of the order. Putin in his daily actions as President is bipolar as he dances with the inherent contradiction between the Russian essence and the liberal order he embraces. Dugin in the post Putin era is then offering Russia a grounded leader emancipated of the bipolarity of worldviews.

Dugin continues on the individual and liberalism as follows; "The logic of world liberalism and globalisation pulls us into the abyss of postmodern dissolution and virtuality. Our youth already have one foot in it: the codes of liberal globalism are effectively introduced at an unconscious level-through habits, commercials, glamor, technology, the media, celebrities. The usual phenomenon is the loss of identity, and already only national and cultural identity, even sexual." The young Russian is under assault by liberalism and globalisation as are all forms and expressions of Russian identity and culture even sexuality under assault, postmodern dissolution, to be overwhelmed by postmodern virtuality where Russian youth devoid of their Russian essence will be a virtual Russian a caricature constituted by globalised liberalism.

From his discourse Dugin must identify the locomotive of globalised liberalism and as expected he chooses the USA which is the hegemonic empire of evil posing the gravest threat to the Russian essence. Dugin states: "What the Americans call "progress," "democratisation," "development," and "civilisation," is in fact a degradation, colonisation, degeneration, degeneracy, and a peculiar paradoxical form of liberal dictatorship. It is no exaggeration to say that the United states as a bastion of militant liberalism is a visible incarnation of all the evil that plagues humanity today, is a powerful mechanism that constantly drives humanity to the ultimate catastrophe. This is the empire of absolute evil." Dugin insists that there is a grave disparity between the concepts of American liberalism and the impact upon nations, communities and national essences targeted for domination by US liberalism. It's in fact a colonial power relationship where the discourse of liberalism masks liberal dictatorship premised on colonial destruction, degeneracy and degradation. America driven by militant liberalism for Dugin is the great satan relentlessly driving humanity to the apocalypse as the USA is cannibalistic in its drive for the militant liberal apocalypse consuming its citizens. It's Jonestown on a grand scale.

The crux of Dugin's discourse is the possibility of resistance and the probability of victory which is compulsory for a political discourse driven by a quest for political hegemony. What then is the strategic objective of Dugin's discourse? Dugin states: "To return to Tradition, we must carry out the revolt against the modern world and against the modern West, a rebellion that is absolute-spiritual (traditionalist) and social (socialist). The West is in agony. We must save the world from this agony and perhaps save the West itself. The Modern and Postmodern West has to die." Dugin states: "If you are in favour of liberal global hegemony, you are the enemy." Dugin's minimalist position is that there is no need for the modern and postmodern west to die save and except when it embarks on its drive for global liberal hegemony. But this quest is a given, automatic making it necessary for the strategy to attain rebellion be formulated and unleashed against the global liberal hegemonic order of the west. The core of Dugin's discourse of cleansing rebellion are the concepts of tradition and social justice which are joined at the hips to constitute the Siamese twins of the discourse. Dugin states: "There are secularised societies, but at the core of all of them, the spirit of Tradition remains, religious or otherwise. By defending the multiplicity, plurality and polycentrism of cultures, we are making an appeal to the principles of their essences, which we can only find in their spiritual traditions." Dugin's rebellion against western liberal hegemony is founded upon the continued existence in spite of western liberal hegemony under a veneer of secularism of the "spirit of tradition" expressed as "the multiplicity, plurality and polycentrism of cultures." Dugin's key concept of "essence" is then expressed by and constitutes a culture noted for its plurality, multiplicity and polycentrism which places it in a power/force relation with its anathema western global liberalism. This power/force relation is then the basis of, the possibility of rebellion and the probability of success. Dugin's discourse must then willingly enhance the depth and potency of the essence towards the revolution hence the need for it to address the politics of Russia and the capturing of state power towards revolution. Dugin continues: "But we try to link this attitude to the necessity for social justice and the freedom of differing societies in the hope for better political regimes. The idea is to join the spirit of Tradition with the desire for social justice. And we do not want to oppose them, because that is the main strategy of hegemonic power: to divide Left and Right, to divide cultures, to divide ethnic groups, East and West, Muslims and Christians. We invite Right and Left to unite

and not to oppose traditionalism and spirituality, social justice and social dynamism. So we are not on the Right or on the Left. We are against liberal postmodernity." The essence must be then joined to the quest for social justice which is vital to raising the quality of politics and political regimes without which the revolution remains a mirage and freedom simply a hope. But most vital is the divisions and schisms spawned by liberalism must be banished from political action. A broad based unity amongst the plurality of forces agitating for change must be realised for plurality, polycentrism and multiplicity are a given to attaining the revolution and this broad based united front for revolution will only be realised when the plurality of forces accept that the formula for revolution is combining essence with the quest for social justice. The global strategy of Dugin's discourse is the quest for unity among the plurality of forces threatened by global western liberalism but the plurality is divided amongst itself which is the product of global western liberalism in its quest for sustainable hegemony. What then is to be done? Dugin states: "What we are against will unite us, while what we are divides us. Therefore, we should emphasise what we oppose. The common enemy unites us, while the positive values each of us are defending actually divides us. Therefore, we must create strategic alliances to overthrow the present order of things, of which the core could be described the human rights, the antihierarchy, and political correctness-everything that is the face of the Beast, the anti-Christ or, in other terms, Kali Yuga." Dugin is describing a strategic alliance devoid of all western liberal discourse especially that of the enlightenment which raises the potent question of what replaces the discourse of western liberalism? Marxism/Leninism, Fascism, National Socialism, white supremacy, liberal democracy are all products of the enlightenment. Is Dugin going back to resurrect from its spaces reserved for minor subjugated discourses of Europe as antiindustrial Luddite discourse, feudal and pre-capitalist discourse and the prebiopolitics and pre-power discourses of open visible demonstrative force exerted on the body by The Sovereign? If Dugin embraces the enlightenment but rejects western liberalism then his essence will be a blending of Marxism/Leninism, Fascism, National Socialism, white supremacy, patriarchy, the suppression of all sexuality that is termed ungodly and abnormal and the dumping of the western liberal discourse of human rights. If he rejects the enlightenment, then he can only go back to the discourses of the era in Europe before the gaze was affixed on

the human body and The Sovereign was progressively rendered benign by the State.

Dugin gives great insight into the construction of his discourse when he says: "Politically, we have here an interesting basis for conscious cooperation between leftists and rightists, as well as between religious and other anti-modern movements (ecologists, for example). The only thing we insist on to create such cooperation is to put aside anti-communist and anti-fascist prejudices. These prejudices are instruments in the hands of liberals and globalists, through whom they keep their enemies divided. We must therefore firmly reject anticommunism and anti-fascism. Both are counterrevolutionary tools in the hands of the global elite." Dugin remains rooted in the enlightenment whilst working towards a revolution to overthrow liberalism one product of the enlightenment leaving him no choice but to insist that communism and fascism the two racist extremist discourses of the enlightenment are necessary to the revolution. Dugin is not waging war on the enlightenment but on a single discursive line of the enlightenment which means that his embrace of the enlightenment will also bear the discursive potential for liberalism to challenge communism and fascism for hegemony as communism and fascism in their battle for hegemony will embrace their propensity for genocide. It's this propensity to genocide that enabled the hegemony of liberalism over fascism and communism as liberalism driven by Biopolitics exhibits the propensity to give life and to take life. The so-called rise of the "populists" in the North Atlantic is simply the product of the cult of neoliberalism by its adherents in the political elites where Biopolitics and the State are under assault. But where does religion, the Russian orthodox church, Christianity and the "essence" fit into this rubric and can they fit? The core issue then is the operational practicality of Dugin's discursive line. Which further indicates that Dugin is driving a political agenda with a political discourse as the question of the post Putin era in Russian politics has arisen.

Dugin's discourse enables action within the environment constituted by the hegemony of Putin's discourse of the Alternative View especially in the power relations of Russia's foreign relations. Dugin states: "We need only to ascertain the location of these new, vulnerable spots in the global system and decipher their login passwords in order to hack into their system. At the very least, we must try to do so. The events of 11 September 2001 in New York demonstrated

that this is technologically possible. The Internet society can be useful, even for those who staunchly oppose it." The entire liberal order has to be probed, breached and assaulted as is the case of 9/11 the worldwide web is simply the most accessible manifestation of the liberal order that enables assault. This assault is rooted in illicit activities and open to joint actions with transnational organised crime which Dugin does not discount. The assault must be sustainable by any means necessary given the power wielded by the liberal order. Dugin states: "Supporters of the multipolar world order may well use the UN as a screen in such a case to organise more efficient institutions of multipolarism. Taking the UN as a form of the outgoing social order that survives in the shadows of its gradual decay as until now extending its graduation as far as possible." The US assault on the UN affords the opportunity of its use as operational terrain in which alliances will be forged towards the assault on liberalism through the creation of multipolar institutions on this terrain.

The threat posed by western liberalism for Dugin demands resistance by any means necessary where the end justifies the means. This is mandatory because of the ruthless efficient power of liberalism over the social order and the geopolitical order. Dugin states: "Liberalism developed flawless weapons aimed at achieving its straightforward alternatives, which was the basis for its victory. But it is this very victory that holds the greatest risk to liberalism." For Dugin one of its "flawless weapons" is what he terms "coloured revolutions." Dugin states: "These spectacles we see today in the so-called 'coloured revolutions' have nothing genuine revolutionary about themselves. They are organised by the world oligarchy, are prepared and supported by their networks. 'Coloured revolutions' are almost always directed against societies or political regimes, which actively or passively resist the global oligarchy, defy their interests, which try to maintain some independence of their politics, strategy, regional affairs and economy." For Dugin a 'coloured revolution' is the product of the assault of western liberalism on its targets selected for domination making the 'coloured revolution' a deadly effective counterrevolutionary instrument unleashed against an 'essence'. The orange revolution of the Ukraine and the dynamic unleashed which continues to evolve in 2018 in its impact on Russia is apparently the prime 'coloured revolution' Dugin is railing against. Dugin's assault on Fethullah Gulen and his

movement and the threat posed to Turkey is noteworthy and in this the political strategy of Dugin is readily apparent.

Putin continues to root his political actions in western liberal discourse clearly seen in the fact that the discourse of the alternative view is rooted in western liberal discourse. Specific discursive agents of the north Atlantic continue to mould the western media message on Putin and Russia in terms of colonial imperial north Atlantic discourse which has now mutated to embrace the discourse of shrill jingoism of the run up to the first world war. The US military elite through successive threat horizons defines Russia and China as grave threats to the US utilising 19th century colonial imperialistic militaristic discourse and this has emboldened the political elite to extremism. The west is now role playing the victim/aggressor game and to play this game they are conjuring up a monster Russia that doesn't match the reality of the threat Russia poses on the ground. And the talking heads are showing their intention and willingness to play the victim/aggressor role with China and with Russia/China. The threat horizons created are visualising threats from a colonial imperialist racist discourse which is insisting that in 2018 the world is still the oyster of the north Atlantic because manifest destiny willed it so. In this discursive terrain constituted by the west versus the alternative view discourses as Dugin's will gain traction and replicate as seen in the results of general elections in the north Atlantic thereby ratcheting up the level of posturing and sabre rattling in international engagements. An evolutionary path set in train by the invasion to remove Saddam Hussein on the grounds of possession and the imminent danger posed by fictitious possession of weapons of mass destruction. Which was the mask for arrogant racist colonial imperialist belief that the north Atlantic can invade, destroy and build a 'democracy' from scratch in an alien and hostile social order. The message sent to Russia was then loud and clear then sharpened and specified with the orange revolution of the Ukraine. And then there was Syria.

Dugin is then no 21st century Rasputin he is in fact a post-Soviet Communist Narodnik positing a discourse to deal with the threats perceived externally and internally to Russia and for Dugin this is the reality of Russian truth a specific truth entirely separate, apart and specifically Russian. You cannot then debate Dugin externally of Russian truth and all criticisms of Dugin's discourse emanating from the discourse of western liberalism is mere babbling. It is simply a delight to view

an interview of Dugin by an interviewer who is attempting to interrogate Dugin from the worldview of western liberal discourse both in Russia and external of Russia. As the inability to understand and engage with Dugin's rationales, reasons and logic indicate that this is the material of which wars are made.

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