

The Fourth Political Theory

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Abstract

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

Keywords: *Theory Politics Fourth, Alexander Dugin, Russia Federal, world Multiple Poles.*

Introduction

Contemporary Western political thought is characterized by an abundance of intellectual trends and theoretical theses. The fourth political theory, developed by the Russian sociologist Alexander Dugin, is one of the most important of these theses. It gained its importance as a result of its connection to political doctrine and decision-making strategies among Russian elites and leaders. The fourth political theory is characterized by its comprehensiveness, to include all aspects of political, social and cultural life. One of its most prominent starting points was the reconstruction of the Eurasia region, due to its enormous human, economic and geographical potential. The location of the Russian Federation in the heart of the Eurasia region requires it to rebuild and lead this region, as it is the country with the potential that enables it to do so, and that decision-making in Russia be consistent with this vision for the purpose of restoring Russia's global role and achieving parity with the theses of the liberal Western world (Khattak & Abukhait, 2024).

Importance of the Study

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

Study Objectives

The study has several objectives that can be summarized as follows:

- Research into the role of the fourth political theory on the Russian strategy in the field of international relations.
- Knowing the most prominent intellectual foundations and pillars of the fourth political theory, through which change is brought about in the nature of the current international system.

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Problem of the Study

The main problem of the study revolves around the following main question: What is the fourth political theory? What are its most prominent foundations? A number of sub-questions branch out from this problem, which the study attempts to answer:

- What is the fourth political theory?
- What are its most prominent intellectual principles that influence the structure of the international system?

Study Hypothesis

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

Study Methods

In order to prepare this study in a solid academic manner, the descriptive and analytical approaches were adopted as the basic approaches in the research process.

Study Structure

In order to facilitate the study, it was divided into two axes:

The first axis: The nature of the fourth political theory

The second axis: Principles of the fourth political theory

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What is the fourth political theory?

A political theory that emerged in the last decade of the twentieth century, representing Russian nationalism, and was distinguished by its orientations and principles that were hostile to the orientations and principles of liberal theory, after it appeared as the only theory in international relations without any intellectual competitor. This theory emphasized the importance of Russian geographical culture in reviving the Russian Empire within the borders of the former Soviet Union.

First: The concept of the fourth political theory

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

The philosophical roots of the fourth political theory lead to Eurasian philosophy, and the term Eurasianism appeared in the 1920s in Russian literature after the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution, especially

in the works of Russian immigrants who fled the totalitarian Bolshevik rule, the most prominent of whom was (Nikolai Trubetskoy). And (Pyotr Savitsky) Eurasianism emphasized the uniqueness of Russian geography, as it considered this geography to be the basis for building the new Russian Empire, and this empire does not belong to the East or the West. The philosophy of Eurasianism stems from a view of the world as being based on a comprehensive and deep division between two global cultures, namely (Eurasianism) and (Atlanticism). The Eurasian culture is distinct from the Western and Asian cultures, and this culture is similar between Russia and the Slavic Orthodox peoples, in which Russia represents the link between the European and Asian continents. The cultural depth of the Russian position on the global level was reflected in the cultural specificity of the Eurasian region, and because of that, Eurasia was considered an area of cultural, political and social influence for the Russian Federation. Several Russian geopolitical schools of thought subsequently emerged, the most prominent of which was the Russian geopolitical school (expansionist Eurasianism) or the new Eurasianism, which called for the geographical unity of the Eurasian space by restoring the Russian Empire with its distinguished strategic location and enormous capabilities that enabled it to control the Eurasian geographical axis and work to present a modern Eurasian model called (the new Eurasian world order). Alexander Dugin is one of the most prominent thinkers of this trend. The Eurasian ideology adopted by Dugin is reflected in what he calls the “Fourth Political Theory,” and he emphasizes that this theory differs from one culture to another and from one country to another. The fourth theory for Russia is “Eurasia,” and the fourth theory for Iran is “the rule of the jurist.” But what the countries agree on in the fourth political theory is their complete rejection of Western political theories such as liberalism, communism and fascism, as the most important ideas of the fourth theory are the rejection of hegemony or the imposition of Western civilization and globalization created by the United States of America in the shadow of a unipolar world, as well as opposition to the colonization of European civilization by the United States of America, as Dugin sees that there are two options and no third, which are Eurasianism or globalization.

Alexander Dugin is one of the most vocal critics of globalization and called for Russia to have an influential presence in world politics and to have the greatest role in establishing and leading a global trend against liberal democracy. Therefore, he was described by global scientific and intellectual circles as the first geopolitical mind behind the major Russian strategic orientations that Russian President Vladimir Putin expresses in his foreign policy. Therefore, the (fourth political theory) was one of the most important reasons that prompted the US Treasury Department to include his name on the ministry’s sanctions list. Therefore, Dugin is the greatest defender of the Eurasian proposal (New Russia) that seeks a Russian identity that differs from what was brought by Tsarism, Bolshevism, and the post-Soviet collapse.

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

Russian culture and civilization influenced Dugin. He adopted the traditional religious ideology and philosophy based on the ideas of the Russian Orthodox Church. He was an opponent of communist ideology and the Soviet system, and therefore he became involved in organizations of a nationalist nature in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Dugin's ideas have received the support and endorsement of many Christian, Islamic and Jewish figures within the Russian cultural elite, especially after the founding of the Eurasian Party, and the transformation of Eurasianism into an international ideology after the announcement of the founding of the World Eurasian Movement (international Eurasian movement).

Alexander Dugin believes that the Russian people are different in their composition from other peoples and societies because they are a people who carry a special civilization derived from their deep-rooted history, and that this civilization is considered a tributary of Russia’s strength in the past, present, and future, and that the Russian people are the civilizational constant that founded many countries such as the Slavic principalities, Muscovite Russia, Peter’s Empire, and the Soviet Union, and that these countries are not the ones who formed the Russian nation, but rather the Russian people are the ones who formed this nation, and they are a people who belong to the peoples with the universal message. This was confirmed by the proponents of the Eurasian theory despite the transitional stages and crises that the Russian people were exposed to, as they remained a political, civilizational, and cultural actor throughout history.

Dugin emphasized that the Russian people are distinguished by cultural, social, religious and civilizational characteristics and traits that are closely linked to the global message of this people. The most important of these characteristics is that the Russian people are responsible for controlling the northeastern regions of Eurasia. Thus, Dugin confirms the validity of the theory of the British geographer Sir Halford Mackinder in his theory of the “Heart of the World.” Dugin asserts that the Russian people traditionally look forward to the civilizational reconstruction of all Eurasian regions (the region of Mackinder’s Inner Crescent). The reconstruction that the Russian people want to achieve is not represented by establishing a state that is ethnically homogeneous and ethnically unified, but rather by building an empire that embraces a mixture of peoples, religions, cultures, regions and lands within the borders of the Eurasian space. This is linked to the message of the Russian people, which is distinguished by its global character.

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Principles of the Fourth Political Theory

The fourth political theory was distinguished by several principles and components that represent the most prominent views of (Alexander Dugin). These principles are the basic pillars for putting (New Eurasianism) into actual practice. The most important of these principles are:

First: a multipolar world

Alexander Dugin rejects unipolarity and emphasizes the need for there to be multiple poles and international centers as well as multiple value groups and civilizations. He says in this regard: “I sincerely believe that the Fourth Political Theory, National Bolshevism and Eurasianism can be of great benefit to our peoples, countries and civilizations. The key word is multipolarity in all its geopolitical, cultural, axiological, economic and other meanings.”

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

Dugin sees the project Multipolarity is a project that competes with globalization. Since the naval force adopts the project of unipolarity and globalization, the land forces must present multipolarity as a competing global project. The naval force tries to impose its cultural and civilizational model and work to spread it so that it becomes the only model that is approved globally. The land forces must strive to preserve cultural pluralism. And civilization through the project of multipolarity () After the American decline in the international arena, especially after the crises caused by the neo-conservatives during the era of American President (George W. Bush). □ The Russian Federation has succeeded in dealing with many international and regional crises, and talk has begun about Russia’s return as an influential player in international interactions through its efforts to establish new rules that are consistent with its international status.).

Russia has worked to establish many international and regional organizations, as it was one of the most prominent founding members of the BRICS group, along with China, India, Brazil and South Africa. Cooperation between the BRICS countries is one of the most important axes of breaking Western hegemony and creating a kind of relative balance in the international system, as well as direct influence in the global political and economic system.) Russia, along with the People's Republic of China, had previously established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization for Economic and Security Cooperation in 2001. This organization included Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, India, and Pakistan. This organization gave Russia a major role in the Eurasian region and created cooperation with countries that share its vision of rejecting Western hegemony.

Alexander Dugin and Eurasian thinkers call for a multipolar world order, with the Russian Federation as one of those poles. They also call for Russia to seek the necessity of creating multiple centers of power, including the European Union or Asian countries such as Japan, China, India, Turkey and Iran, which he sees as Russia's most important allies. According to Dugin's views, if the Russian-Chinese alliance remains in place, the shift towards multipolarity is guaranteed.

Second: Anti-Liberalism, Anti-Democracy and Anti-Capitalism

Alexander Dugin considers liberalism, democracy and freedom to be ideas alien to Russian culture, and that Russia is culturally closer to the continent of Asia than to Europe, so he adopts a new nationalist ideology based on the idea of (New Eurasianism), as he calls for the establishment of a totalitarian empire that is not liberal, extending from the Pacific Ocean in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west. Dugin sees the main geopolitical enemy as the United States and the entire Atlantic world island, which has become the "devil." Therefore, Dugin places side by side two world systems: the "New World Order," which is dominated by the United States, and the "New Eurasian Order," which is controlled by the Russian Federation. Russia must be reborn as an empire, which is responsible for establishing the "New Eurasian Order."

Dugin sees the West as heading towards the abyss and that the claims of universality of Western phenomena and principles such as individualism, democracy, technological progress, cultural superiority and liberalism are nothing but slogans behind which racism and colonial aspirations are hidden and that the tolerance it promotes is nothing but a form of imposing Western values on all other civilizations and cultures. One of Alexander Dugin's most prominent positions is his support for US President Donald Trump. During the US presidential election campaign and after Trump's victory, he modified his unconditional hostility to the United States of America, and that his position was only because he sees Trump as an anti-liberal virus that divides the West and may destroy it as the head of one of the most important international units that is considered the leader of the liberal Western world. The common denominator that unites the concepts of the new Eurasianism, which were launched from the traditional Eurasian thought, is its opposition to Western liberal ideas based on hegemony and the spread of values and cultures that are destructive to humanity. Therefore, Eurasianism called for economic and political rapprochement between Asian and European countries to embody a cohesive cultural and civilizational unity, which contributes to the establishment of the Eurasian Empire as a new global pole that opposes unilateral American hegemony.

Third: Establishing a global geopolitical system at the external level (the strategically unified Eurasian continent)

This system is created by focusing and linking up with comprehensive regions called geo-economic belts: Euro-Africa, Asia-Pacific, America and Eurasia, and the ultimate goal of these belts is to eliminate the threat of American hegemony and control over the world. To achieve this, Dugin stresses the need for the leadership in the Russian Federation to abandon any focus and linking regions that could give the United States influence over them. Therefore, he calls for multi-power international alliances, which he calls "major spaces" capable of producing new centers of power that share Russia's orientations that reject American hegemony and globalization. These spaces will have the ability to form empires in the future, such as the European Union, regional organizations in Asia, and some successful countries such as Turkey, India, and Japan. Dugin's famous article, published in 1991 under the title (The War of the Continents), is considered...The war of the continents) One of the most important scientific and philosophical articles that paved the way for the spread of the ideas of the new Eurasianism by virtue of the new and major intellectual perceptions about the geopolitics of the world, and that these perceptions are based on the ideological and geopolitical conflict between two different types of global powers, namely the land power that he described as (Eternal Rome) and based on principles and concepts that crystallized in the independent state, the ideal local group and the concepts of superiority of the common space, and the second type is the naval power that he described as (Eternal Carthage) and which is based on different principles and values that combine individualism and materialism and its interest in trade, that Dugin's intellectual point of view about (Eternal Carthage) is that it is historically reflected in the democracies of Athens and the British and German empires and currently the United States of America, which represents the axis of evil, while (Eternal Rome) is reflected today in the behavior of the Russian Federation, which represents the axis of good, and that the

conflict between these two different ideological and doctrinal types will continue until one of them is able to destroy the other.

Dugin believes that in order to achieve geopolitical supremacy and victory in the Great Continental War, Russia must expel Atlantic influence from Eurasia and eliminate any borders under Atlantic influence. Then the land forces will be able to confront the Atlantic naval forces on a global scale. In order to achieve this goal, Russia must develop good relations with the large areas under the influence of Atlantic hegemony. These relations will consist of an “empire of empires” in Eurasia with strategic alliances between an expanded Russia, Germany, Japan, and Iran.)Dugin launches the idea of a "strategically unified Eurasian continent" through an alliance between Germany, Japan and Iran. This alliance envisions a redivision of the spheres of influence between Russia and Germany in Eastern Europe. Europe should be integrated under German leadership and independent of American influence, isolating the United Kingdom. He sees Japan as the most suitable partner in the East. Dugin sees Germany and Japan as two countries with a history of "anti-Western geopolitical dynamics", while India and China lack such dynamics, so this bloc cannot ally with them. Iran was chosen as the ideal ally for the integration of southern Eurasia due to its large area, close ties to Central Asia, and hostility to the United States. Iran could also be the outlet for the Russian Federation to the warm seas, as well as the traditional approach that Iran follows towards society and religion.

Fourth: Western civilization is not comprehensive.

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

Because of these contradictions, the United States of America seeks to implement the idea of the centrality of Western civilization, as the superpower sponsoring the globalization project based on the concepts of Western civilization by using all possible means. On the one hand, it uses hard means such as military force, economic sanctions and political pressures on countries to make them adopt democracy, market economy and human rights models. On the other hand, the United States uses soft means by promoting and claiming that globalization represents the human will and not the will of the United States and that it will bring benefits to peoples when they enter this project. Therefore, the United States of America developed the concept of (the universality of Western civilization), and used to spread this concept all the huge potential and resources it possesses in the fields of thought, media, art, culture and economy, international governmental and non-governmental organizations and advanced technology, all of which work to promote globalization as a natural development of human civilization and hide the truth of globalization as an American ideology, for the purpose of convincing international public opinion that there is no ideology in Western politics.)Dugin explains that the hard form of Atlantic unipolarity is represented by the global dominance of the United States of America, while the soft form of Atlantic unipolarity is represented by Western civilization as a civilizational unipolarity and is called (multilateral unipolarity). Dugin emphasizes that Western civilization represents only a specific regional axis of the various civilizational axes, and the West has no right to impose a cultural and civilizational pattern at the expense of erasing the civilizations and cultures of other peoples.)From this standpoint, Dugin emphasized in the Fourth Political Theory the adoption of a philosophy that believes in pluralism and the right and freedom of peoples to adopt the prevailing civilizational values in them, without any dominance of central Western values ()To achieve this, Dugin calls for preserving some nation-states that constitute an obstacle in the path of the globalization project and the spread of Western civilization. These are the countries that have the ability to preserve their own culture, and thus preserve the civilizational, social and cultural pluralism in the world, which is the essence of multipolarity. The most prominent of these countries are Russia, China and Iran. As for the nation-states that leave their own culture and adopt Western culture and values in light of globalization, they are countries that do not need to remain in light of the theory of multipolarity.)

Conclusion

Political theories constitute a fundamental pillar of Western political thought, and these theories in their content represent the opinions of the most prominent thinkers and philosophers with political orientations, and they represent the pinnacle of political thinking, and express intersecting and conflicting ideological theses and perceptions, the values and principles of their theorists and the nature of the society they represent. In this study, we have tried to shed light on the most important political theories in contemporary Western thought according to the point of view of (Alexander Dugin), which are the liberal theory, the communist theory, and the fascist theory. He considered his theory the heir to these theories, and that it is capable of drawing the features of the new world order. It has been based on a set of principles and ideas that represent an approach to Russian foreign policy, its relationship with other countries, and its future vision that sees the necessity of establishing the Russian Empire and restoring Soviet glories.

Conclusions

- The fourth political theory is one of the most important Russian geopolitical theories in contemporary Western thought, as a result of its great influence on Russian strategic decision-making, especially with regard to Russian foreign policy in the Eastern European region.
- The fourth political theory relied in its intellectual premises on Eurasian philosophy, with its distinction in expansionist tendencies (neo-Eurasianism), and the necessity of establishing the Russian Empire on the borders of the former Soviet Union.
- 3 - The fourth political theory was distinguished by its conflicting nature with the liberal Western countries, especially the United States of America, which, in addition to its dominance over the international system, is trying to impose its dominance of civilizational and cultural values at the expense of the cultures and civilizations of other nations and peoples.
- 4 - The fourth political theory believes that confronting unipolarity can only be done through forming alliances with countries that reject the current reality, such as China and Iran, as well as emerging countries such as India and Brazil, in addition to alliances with countries that have a history of confrontation with Western countries such as Germany and Japan.

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