

# THE FINAL KINGDOM

Horizons of the Fourth Political Theory  
and Geopolitics of the Apocalypse



PYOTR VOLKOV

ORTHODOX LOGOS PUBLISHING



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HORIZONS OF THE FOURTH POLITICAL THEORY

AND GEOPOLITICS OF THE APOCALYPSE

by Pyotr Volkov

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# PROLOGUE TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE VERSION, BY BORIS NAD.

Pyotr Volkov's book *The Final Kingdom* belongs to the books that open a much-needed and necessary discussion about the Fourth Political Theory, originally proposed by Aleksandr Dugin. It points out to us - among other things - the necessity of the emergence of the Fourth Political Theory itself: "Summarizing the various reactions provoked by the emergence of the Fourth Political Theory in the West (as well as in the East, where the book was also translated and published)," says its author Dugin, "I agree that ideas live their own lives, independent of the author. The idea belongs to the one who understands it. If you agree with the logic of the fourth political theory - that liberalism is a totalitarian and openly nihilistic ideology, if you reject it because of that and if you want to go further than communism and fascism - the fourth political theory is yours as much as mine."

The fourth theory is an open intellectual project. "If you accept its basic principles, you can propose or make your own version of the fourth political theory." Pyotr Volkov belongs to those authors who seek to develop it further. It is a necessity. "The fourth political theory is neither left, nor right, nor center," Volkov himself says, "since people are extremely complex, we are more than a sector in the political spectrum." And also: "To a greater or lesser extent, we mix parts of different thoughts when situations require it, and moral pragmatism must displace labels that are useless, and which only cause divisions." I believe with complete certainty that a good ideology should be based on seeing such a comprehensive and transferable reality as thinkers achieve, because improving knowl-

edge about things opens the door to improving the power of creation. “Volkov’s book, in fact, has the ambition to transcend modernity itself, with Dugin’s book serving as his “basis and inspiration”.

The purpose of this preface is to introduce the reader to the world of Pyotr Volkov, to bring him closer to the world of his ideas and the problems we are talking about here. But before that, it should be said that Volkov strongly opposes any universalism, which tries to separate the world from its vital multipolarity: first of all, the universalism of the West, which possesses its resources and which is superior and thus more dangerous, because it tries to destroy any alternative, as which also opposes the universalism of the Vatican, which opposes Orthodoxy.

His considerations, moreover, come at a time when liberalism itself is dying, in the form of postliberalism and postmodernism, which destroys liberal rationality, giving birth to totalitarianism which seeks to destroy the very soul of the people. At a time when divisions like the left and the right are already obsolete, when their fall marks the arrival of a new era for the whole world and in which old ideologies must also be overcome, and societies need to understand themselves in a new light. And that is the breaking point. At that point, it is necessary to reject the old paradigms of civilization and establish new ones. It is necessary, in one word, to establish a “new Nomos of the Earth”, and that is not an easy task. It will be the “Fourth Nomos of the Earth”, a new relationship with the Earth and a new “agreement that will be valid for all the peoples who inhabit it”.

In this regard: “The challenges of the 21st century will not be faced with a completely new way of thinking or just an ancient thought, but with a synthesis of both.” The author’s proposal, which goes in that direction, is “Normativism”: normativism as a “synthesis of diverse ideas and systems of history, without representing an impossible utopia, but on the contrary, a valid alternative.” “It can be understood as an ideology that reconciles mankind’s thoughts. It is a synthesis of an asinificant part of the world’s political and philosophical thinking and possesses the capacity to represent a synthesis of everything and at the same time a denial of a large part of the whole. Because, finally, do nations want their own ruin (because that is exactly the path that leads to ruin) since old ideologies do not understand conflicts and misery in those societies,

the loss of power that the people possess? The people are the “strength of its workers, owners, culture, overall economy, values and spirituality”, which is opposed by “international capital”, leading to erosion and destruction, but only to a point: the one where the collapse of society will deepen. That is the point at which prosperity will disappear as a result of the work of generations. The struggle for prosperity is a struggle for the welfare and preservation of many and diverse peoples. It is a struggle to open the horizon of our past, present and tomorrow. “In a world as globalized as today’s world, global prosperity is possible only if it is based on the well-being of societies in each country, so by contributing to the well-being of our peoples we help the well-being of the world by maintaining and repairing its essential part.”

Volkov’s considerations range widely: from the fall and rebirth of Russia, to the beginnings and foundations of capitalism, from the failure of communism to the history of the Roman Church in the fight against “Eastern schism”, all the way to Hitler and the “new schism of 2018”, Including the ancient beginnings of Russian civilization. The second part of his book has an intriguing title: “Geopolitics of the Apocalypse”...

Eurasianists (as myself) do not have to agree with Volkov in everything to enter into a special dialogue with him. One of the points where Eurasianists will disagree with Volkov is the question of Eurasianism versus Faye’s “Euro-Siberian paradigm”. The author stood upon the later paradigm, and therefore, in this book Russia is understood as “one of the last strongholds of true European identity” while China and the United States are regarded as “thalassocratic entities”.

This is certainly not the place to dispute the author’s conclusions. Let’s just say that Volkov’s claim that the civilization of Eurasia is an “artificial construction” opposes a number of dedicated researchers of Eurasian heritage in the so-called West and East, such as Danilevsky and Leontiev, who emphasize Russian “eastism” and “asianism”. Such disagreements with the Eurasian paradigm are perhaps inevitable, because the author of this book set himself a huge task: to go “beyond the horizon” and “beyond the past, present and future.” Perhaps the differences between Western Civilization and Russian (Eurasian) civilization, after all, are evidenced by the long-lasting and tenacious Russophobia, having its roots with the schism of 1054 and which occurs in various variants and

with various inspirations, starting from the theological ones, creating a situation in which “Western Civilization” and “Russian civilization” are by now two different projects instead of one identical civilization.

Pyotr Volkov’s book should be read first as an open call for dialogue: a dialogue that is conducted above established ideological divisions, such as the one on the left and right, dialogue with the past and the future, who want to have a future, not to dissolve and disappear forever in the sea of liberalism. It is, above all, a call to reconsider “one’s own definitions of economic, political and cultural systems.” It succeeded perfectly in that: it undoubtedly makes us more aware of the main political problems and helps us to search for their solution. It is, in a word, a book intended for those who intend to search for the truth.

**VOLUME I:  
HORIZONS OF THE FOURTH  
POLITICAL THEORY**





# INTRODUCTION

After the collapse of collectivist ideologies, there has been the statement claiming “the end of history”: capitalism and globalization were displayed as insurmountable things. Most people stopped pursuing true alternatives, and those who continued to do so, anchored their thinking to existing alternatives, with the bitterness of not seeing those alternatives come true, or with the disappointment of seeing it wasn’t what they were waiting for. We need a State and People capable of facing the problems regarding globalization, religion, immigration, and financial markets, but for doing so we must rethink our definition of economic, political, and cultural systems, and face dogma from liberalism, false religion, communism, and neo-fascism. This book aims, among other things, to help create an ideological approach that overcomes modernity, hence its title, so that the most fundamental political problems can be addressed and make people aware of them. This thought arises from an expansion of what was proposed by the Russian intellectual Aleksander Dugin. He had the decision to develop a fourth political theory to overcome modernity, opposing the three previous theories, liberalism, Marxism, and the third political theory (fascism and national-socialism).

Dugin served as a basis and inspiration for me to capture in this book what I believe should be the final structuring of this fourth political theory, a structure that I have decided to name “Normativism” since the purpose of it is to set standards in society, that is, ideals so that social sectors and economic, religious and political structures function as an organic body. The Fourth Political Theory must be, as Aleksander Dugin has said, something that does not belong to the left, neither to the right nor centrist political spectrum, but being something syncretic that integrate the useful thoughts of each one of the diverse schools of human thought. The Fourth Political Theory is an attempt to overcome

the other three theories that have already revealed their nefarious consequences, that is liberalism, fascism, and communism. It is also an attempt to create a political theory to fight against the hegemonies that seek to strengthen the different universalisms in the world, and which try pulling the world aside from its vital multipolarity since they seek to create enormous centers of power and universalize doctrines, considered as the only possible truth. The universalisms that inevitably remain the main enemies of the Fourth Political Theory are the liberal universalism that comes from the West, and the universalism of the Vatican, from which everything possible has been done to expand the creed of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church, with the Eastern Orthodox Church as one of its principal obstacles. Of these two universalisms, the most powerful and therefore the most dangerous is liberal universalism, which possesses the resources of the West, trying to destroy any alternative to its economic, political and cultural system which they want to make see as the only possible alternative.

This book will show essential guidelines that can help in the historical evolution of politics, religion, and economics, accelerating this evolution with thoughts and reflections on various issues that affect the lives of Russians and other peoples around the world. We must consider as very important the classification of the popular will in authentic will and manifested will while posing a different economic system to both capitalism and communism, new anthropology based in spiritual races instead of merely biological and material classifications, a new form of government and a reborn spirituality. Through these concepts, Normativism aims to represent an alternative to the ideologies imposed by liberalism, like materialism, capitalism, and liberal democracy. According to Dugin, in a framework where there is no competition from communism and fascism, liberalism is presently dying in the form of post-liberalism and post-modernity, which destroys the liberal rationality itself and that of the modern world, giving rise to totalitarianism that tries to be a transgressor of everything, in an attempt to destroy the very soul of the peoples.

The parties calling themselves leftist and right-wing have become obsolete, their decline marks the arrival of a new era for the world, an era where the old ideologies must be overcome in the light of a new analysis of society. The intervention of the State will be crucial, in the

context of new rules in the playing field among institutions, rules whose purpose is to determine the way in which the State itself establishes its relationship with the sectors of society and the world, in its civilizing role. But the role of other agents, different from the State, will be equally crucial, so that we can follow an ideological path that fills true popular expectations, without mortgaging the future of following generations or plunging us into the false conceptions which led to dead ends. The book mentions the economic, spiritual, and philosophical aspects on which the Fourth Political Theory is based, including those that concretely define the Normative ideal.

In addition to healthy protectionism, through a simple system which I propose, the book shows how supply and demand can be leveled aimed at building an economic harmony based on the suppression of free mobility of business capital and the end of crises caused by capitalist accumulation. The concept of freedom is more appreciated in capitalism than the notion of equality, while in communism the concept of equality is more appreciated than the concept of freedom. We must put into practice a system where neither of the two concepts is more appreciated than the other. The last half of the book is devoted to spiritual concerns, including the existence of spiritual races and the mission of the Russian Orthodox Church. Patriotism, as stated in this book, is not the same as the nationalism of the third political theory, but a thought aimed at the cooperation between different peoples to fight against liberal universalism and the other universalisms.

The history of the prolonged conflict between the Eastern Orthodox Church and Rome is also reviewed, and reasons to defend and clarify the theological thought of the Russian Orthodox Church are shown, together with contributions related to theology, spiritual anthropology, and a new focus for explaining World history. The Normative model and project consist of seven pillars, the first is a new economic system that differs both from capitalism and communism, which appears in the first part of the book, the second is a protectionist economic policy based on patriotism, the third, in the case of Russia, is the reconstruction of Russian international power, the fourth is the strengthening and protection of Russian traditions and ancestral values and beliefs, the fifth is the expansion and reform of the Russian Orthodox Church thought, the sixth

it is the establishment of a new calendar different from the Gregorian calendar established by Rome, and the seventh and most important is to create a new consciousness in humanity.

This book is among other things an attempt to discredit liberalism, which is totalitarian because it coercively dominates the whole of society by imposing ideas and actions related to the chief idea of liberalism, which is that the concepts of liberalism must be accepted by all. The challenges of the 21st century won't be faced with totally new thinking or merely ancient thought, but with a synthesis of both. Normativism is a synthesis of the diverse ideas and systems of history, without being an impossible utopia and being, therefore, a valid alternative. It can be understood as an ideology that reconciles mankind's thoughts. It is a synthesis of a significant part of the world's political and philosophical thinking and possesses the capacity to represent a synthesis of everything and at the same time a denial of a large part of the whole. I have proposed to myself the task of sustaining a clear alternative to liberalism, fascism, Roman-Catholicism, and communism, and not rest until these phenomena stop disturbing societies because these phenomena imply conflict and misery within those societies, the ruin of their peoples, the betrayal of laborers, and long-term harmful effects not only for workers.

The inevitable result is the loss of strength that a People possesses, the strength of their workers, their owners, their culture, their entire economy, values and spirituality, and the struggle against the People and against the basis of that same People, a fight against greatness, honor, and freedom. This struggle will inevitably lead to the destruction of the elements that serve as the basis for our individual and social life, to the dissolution of people's strength, and to the degradation of life in them, where hundreds of civic organizations, ethnic groups, philosophies, and false religions will generate more and more division, along with confusion and political disintegration.

But international capital will rise above these divisions and establish itself as the only one that may have some benefit from this, but only for a moment, at least until the moment when the collapse of society deepens. The welfare resulting from the work of generations will continue disappearing, and we will continue perceiving how we gradually sink if we do not open a horizon from our past, our present, and our tomorrow. Our

struggle must be for the well-being and preservation of many peoples, and this struggle is one of the most significant reasons for our life, it is what makes it possible to work and build in the task of providing a new heart to our societies. In a world connected by globalization as today's world, global well-being is only possible if it is based on the well-being of societies in each state, so by contributing to the welfare of our peoples we are assisting the welfare of the whole world, maintaining and repairing an essential part of the structure of it.

We must gradually eliminate the processes that lead to the disintegration of our societies, and we will adhere to whatever is necessary to prevent our societies from degenerating thanks to civic associations and individuals who disintegrate them based on poisonous doctrines that must be fought with all our efforts, in the context of a gigantic ideological struggle. What makes lofty an ideology or a religion is the truth, and before sacrificing oneself in the struggle for justice, first, we should know what we must fight for. The sword of freedom is one disguised as many, and by service to it and God is that I write this book, being the service to God's laws. Justice remains an idea that obsesses human societies, but there can be no justice without the strength to carry it out, and to be stronger, our ideals must possess a firm basis.

Those who every day create the vital rhythm of human societies can do it where they want, but they must not forget that societies do not exist purely by the work of a government, a religion, of laborers or owners, but they depend on the creative capacity of each person in the different sectors of society and institutions. The belief in Normativism is the belief that man must not do any other thing than his authentic will. The Normative ideal represents not an ephemeral ideal that can disappear, it is an ideal that has always been within us, as far as we have wished that societies function on the basis of authentic will, that's to say the will to achieve true freedom of our self. The Normative ideal is achieved by mixing instinct with experience, experience with knowledge, knowledge with action, action with delicacy, and delicacy with devotion. The basis of this ideal must endure even if today it's arduous for millions to find themselves above narrow minds and false notions. We have already structured a belief that allows us to easily travel this road to make our authentic will, now it depends on the choice that each one wants to make.

Normativism is much more than an idea, a political movement, or a form of State, it is the expression of the desire for freedom embodied in an ideology. The Fourth Political Theory is neither left, nor right, nor center, since human beings are extraordinarily complex, we are more than a sector in the political spectrum. We mix to a greater or lesser extent the parts of different thoughts when the situations and morality dictate that pragmatism must displace labels that are useless, that only cause division. I believe with total certainty that a good ideology should be based on a vision of as comprehensive and transmissible of reality as the thinker can achieve, as improving the knowledge of things opens the door for improving the power to create.

With the worthwhile goal of fighting against the ruffians within politics and false doctrines that head us to the abyss, a fighting front must be set to create a political and economic system superior to capitalism and communism, and to safeguard traditions, including Christian values, currently threatened by liberalism and its decadent materialism, and even by the Vatican.

The decadence of our society can only be resolved if the rulers act to make authentic popular will a reality, not merely the manifested popular will, being concepts that I will explain in detail. For the authentic popular will to become a reality, we must fight against the attack and silence imposed by pro-western media, against an attack that also begins in the education that the youngest receive in their mind. Nothing that helped make our peoples great and make them joyous is safe from this attack, starting over that which makes us strong in the spiritual, economic, and military aspects, including the symbols and thoughts of exceptional persons in our history. Only one way can ensure the welfare of our People, and this is to generate the organic cohesion we need if we want to avoid falling into the abyss. That can be achieved only in a society whose essential parts do not collide with each other due to division by the economy, culture, ancestry, or misguided doctrines.





**PART I:  
THE REASONS  
FOR AN ALTERNATIVE**

# INTRODUCTION TO THE FOURTH POLITICAL THEORY

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE FOURTH POLITICAL THEORY

The Fourth Political Theory is an attempt to overcome modernity, starting with overcoming many of the words and concepts that emerged with modernity at the hand of liberalism, communism, and nationalism. Many of the words we use during social and political discussions and analysis are not ideologically neutral, words such as “individual,” “class,” “race,” and “nation.” According to Dugin, if completely out of ideological doctrines, those words lose their meaning or at least a significant part of it.

We can not display our attitudes to those words unambiguously, since the content of those words is modeled by context and semantics, and these three elements interact closely with each other. When we live in a state or a society with a clearly hegemonic ideology, it can be clearly seen how certain words are an indispensable part of certain ideological discourses. The meaning of words has an intimate link with ideology, transmitted through education in different societies around the world and is often clearly supported by an ideological and also active State apparatus. The State gives content to words and language in general, directing a significant part of the discourses, and setting the limits and moral nuances of the most significant set of concepts in politics and social sciences, as given in different parts of the world. To provide a

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Pyotr Volkov (born in Uruguay as Diego Daniel García), is an anthropologist and historian with a special interest in past and current events related to the great history of Slavdom and Orthodox Christianity. For an entire decade, he worked to create an ambitious book in which Orthodox Christianity is put at the center of all political, economical, philosophical, and anthropological considerations which shape our modern world. In this very encompassing book, the author provides the reader with special tools to reach an almost impossible task: a holistic Meta-ideology (Normativism), being characterized by comprehension of the parts of reality as intimately interconnected to the grand whole of the divine and earthly, the spiritual and material opposites. The long journey expressed through this book goes all the way from ancient religions, the developing of Christian Orthodoxy, and contemporary philosophers like the polemical Russian thinker Aleksandr Dugin, whose provocative Fourth Political Theory is an invitation for the creation of new alternatives in the path to human salvation through civilizational redemption.

Through the results of his research, Volkov made clear that this work is by no way just a political and theological manifesto, but more like his final political and theological testament and a clear warning to present and future generations about the grim future provided by liberal civilization and deviation from the immortal teachings of the Holy Fathers. In addition, Volkov proposes bold planning to safeguard the great legacy of what Guillaume Faye called “Euro-Siberia”: a new geopolitical paradigm different from both Eurasianism and Atlanticism, thus an opportunity for Christian Orthodoxy to overcome its great challenges.

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