

# Vanguardism

Ideology and Organization in Totalitarian Politics

Phillip W. Gray



# VANGUARDISM

Providing an innovative conceptualization of extremist political movements founded upon “world-historic” populations and vanguard party organizations, *Vanguardism* sets out a new path in investigating the intellectual and historical influences that created extremist politics, the totalitarian movements and regimes of the twentieth century, and a framework for interpreting extremism in the present.

Expanding its view across the turbulent intellectual currents of the nineteenth century, Phillip W. Gray illustrates how these ideas shaped the shared ideational and organizational structures that would develop into Leninism, Fascism, and Nazism in the early twentieth century. Moving beyond the Second World War, the book explicates how vanguardism did not vanish with the war's conclusion, but was modified throughout the period of national liberation movements and Western extremist groups over the ensuing decades. Concluding in the present with an eye to the future, Gray presents a framework for comprehending the extremist movements of today, and how organizational shifts can give us clues to the forms of totalitarian politics of tomorrow.

Original and provocative, *Vanguardism* will become essential reading for everyone looking to understand totalitarianism and extremist politics of our time.

**Phillip W. Gray** is an Assistant Professor at Texas A&M University at Qatar. Previously, he taught at numerous institutions in Hong Kong as well as at the United States Coast Guard Academy. His research focuses on research ethics, comparative political ethics, extremist organizations and ideology, and terrorism.

“‘Vanguardism’, a new animal joins the menagerie of political concepts, but thanks to Phillip Gray’s combination of inventiveness and scholarship, this one adds to our understanding of the deep mythic logic behind extreme illiberal movements and states which still tend to be dismissed as nihilistic, barbaric, or ‘evil’, and underestimated as an existential threat to the hegemony of liberal democracy. His book thus has a resonance far beyond the cloisters of academia and extends not just to the genocidal politics of Bolshevism and Nazism but to the bombed-out cars of Iraq and the weaponized vehicles of European capitals.”

—Roger Griffin, *Emeritus Professor in Modern History,*  
*Oxford Brookes University, UK*

“*Vanguardism* is a timely, readable, and important book. It establishes Phillip Gray as one of the world’s leading experts on political extremism.”

—George Hawley, *Associate Professor of Political Science,*  
*University of Alabama, US*

“In this book Phillip Gray makes an important contribution to the study of political radicalism and extremism. He does so by expanding the attention given to ‘vanguardism’ and, more saliently still, by substantially innovating that concept. By taking his cue from recent studies of totalitarianism – but making a good case that his implications go far beyond it – Gray successfully shows the range of political phenomena to which vanguardism applies. Thereby, in addition to repackaging the familiar twentieth-century examples, Gray has interesting things to say both about recent ‘subaltern’ variants of vanguardism (focused around colonised peoples and racial minorities) and, in phenomena like identity politics, its potential mainstreaming.”

—Richard Shorten, *Senior Lecturer in Political Theory,*  
*University of Birmingham, UK*

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First published 2020  
by Routledge  
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

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*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*  
A catalog record for this title has been requested

ISBN: 978-0-367-33165-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-33166-5 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-31825-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo  
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

The research for this book illustrated numerous instances of vanguardism's sheer inhumanity against those viewed as "obstacles" or "Enemies" – far too many instances to count. For whatever reason, one story reverberated in my mind above the others. Although I have been unable to relocate it, the story remains very clear. The Holodomor having already progressed for some time, two members of the Komsomol were sent to investigate conditions in a particular village. Upon arriving, the activists found the village was starved and dead, with no evidence of living beings, human or animal. But to their surprise, the Komsomol members heard a noise in one of the dwellings. In searching for the origin of the sound, they discovered a young woman, driven to insanity by hunger, gnawing on a table leg. There was no further information on the woman, but one can surmise that she did not come to a happy end. Her name unknown, with all who knew her likely already dead, she became another nameless "excess" of the vanguardist imperative for social revolution. It is to her, and to the millions of similarly nameless victims of vanguardist politics, that this book is dedicated.



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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Texas A&M University at Qatar for its faculty start-up funds, faculty research allowance, and use of its library resources. Without such aid, this book would not have been possible.

During the long process of research, writing, rewriting, and completing this manuscript, numerous individuals provided various levels of insight, critique, guidance, and encouragement. I would especially like to thank Peter Baehr, Hassan Bashir, Justin P. Gray, A. James Gregor, Roger Griffin, Heather Irwin, Cary J. Nederman, Benjamin Tkach, and the anonymous reviewers for Routledge. Additionally, my thanks to an anonymous reviewer from the *Journal of Political Ideologies*: his/her review of a much earlier article on a related topic focused my attention on the centrality of category-based epistemology, which would serve as a significant foundation for what would become this book. All errors, of course, are mine alone.

The editorial staff of Routledge was quite supportive and professional, and I am very thankful for my editor, Natalja Mortensen. Her attention and focus throughout the publication process was a great help, and I am most grateful to her for all of her excellent work.

One person deserving of particular praise is my frequent co-author, constant source of intellectual engagement, and one of my dearest friends, Sara R. Jordan. For (many, many) years, she has dutifully put up with my various tangents on ideological reasoning, organizational minutiae, and the like, where she would bring order where too often there was chaos. Her insights, as well as her encouragement, helped make this research possible, and this book a reality.

# 1

## INTRODUCTION

In a way, all revolution is reaction.

*(Weber 1974: 35)*

To remake the world requires a people – not “The People”, but *a* people.

This work begins with questions – questions that have bedeviled much greater minds in this century. When looking at some of the worst regimes and movements of the twentieth century, how is it that groups with such diametrically opposed ideologies and constituency-populations also evinced strong and uncanny similarities? Are these regimes and movements part of some larger dynamic, and thus possess similar traits? Are the similarities a popular illusion brought about by the nearness in time and place between these types of groups? If the similarities are real, do they reflect more fundamental correspondences, or are they but a “fluke” – a historical accident based more on mere contingency than on anything else?

This text intends to answer this question, or at least present a framework within which to analyze these questions more thoroughly. That framework is “vanguardism”, a term used here to indicate a certain form of political phenomena based upon an intermeshing of ideology and organizational form. On the ideological level, vanguardism is based upon an epistemology that holds that only some types of people – based on some traits – are capable of seeing the “truth” of historical and social dynamics. This population of the epistemologically privileged, in turn, will reshape the world into something new and better, based on their ability to perceive reality as well as on their own world-historic role in the dynamic of history itself. The ideology influences and shapes the creation of organization, but the party organization itself then shapes the ideology. On the organizational level,

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vanguardism takes the notion of epistemology and moves it to a practical party: all of those within the epistemologically-privileged population will not be similarly “advanced”. Rather, there will be an “advanced wing” within it, responsible for enlightening the advanced population to its “mission”, to mobilize the population for future action, to ensure orthodoxy to the “truth”, and – most important of all – to coordinate and activate the population when the “ripe” moment arrives for social revolution. It is this “advanced wing” of the “advanced population” that is the vanguard party, and its organizational form will influence and shape the ideology from which it arose.

It is this undergirding ideological/organizational infrastructure that is the basis of commonality between these various extremist groups and systems. Their differences are not superficial, however. The ideological/organizational infrastructure is the same, but the basis for their respective worldviews – the epistemologically-privileged population – varies considerably. It is these different “world-historic” populations – based on class, nation, race, or other qualities – that create the fundamental conflicts between them. These populations are not interchangeable: the population type that is viewed as “advanced” will shape the specific ideological and organizational structures of the vanguardist group beyond the basic infrastructure. Vanguardism focuses on social revolution, pushed forward by the specific epistemologically-privileged population and directed by its “advanced wing”, as bringing forward a new world, and, with it, a new humanity.

### Vanguardism and Totalitarianism

One thing to note at the beginning is that this analysis of vanguardism is not simply an investigation of totalitarianism under a different name. The two phenomena are similar and overlap in many ways (theoretically and historically), but there are clear differences between the two. These differences are important to note, as a key debate in recent decades centers on whether “totalitarianism” itself is a meaningful concept. Various historians have questioned its utility (Gorlizki and Mommson 2009; also see Geyer and Fitzgerald 2009), while others see much of its use deriving from political contingencies of the Cold War or “neoconservative” ideology (Gleason 1995: 121–142, 190–209). For clarification’s sake, we will list three of them here. The first difference is definitional. Many of the more rigorous analyses of totalitarianism specifically focus on regimes, with the movements or organizations in the period before regime control investigated as precursors to the political systems arising later. As a definitional matter, this narrow focus is appropriate; while ordinary language may use the term in an elastic fashion, “totalitarianism” as a concept – whatever else it entails – presumes a political regime that can maintain and enforce such a system. The difficulty that arises in this narrow focus is in attempting to determine what was, or was not, a relevant precursor to an established totalitarian regime, and whether a regime is truly “totalitarian” it is taken on the terms used by precursor movements and leaders. This analysis of

vanguardism, in contrast, views totalitarian regimes as a further point of vanguard party movements with continuity over time, founded upon the aim “to replace the totality of experience, motivations, mobilisation, and social cohesion found within traditional religions by their new, secular ideologies and *Weltanschauung*” (Gray 2014: 538). Viewed in this manner, an investigation of vanguardism need not limit itself to those movements that managed to gain political power, but instead view those organizations that did achieve success in comparison to the numerous parties that failed to achieve this end.

The second difference focuses on a reverse problem from the first – specifically, overly broad definitions of “totalitarianism” rather than narrow versions. Loose uses of “totalitarianism” as a term often appear more in popular and/or ordinary language and writing, but this issue can arise in academic work as well (see Wolin 2008). More broadly, one encounters the impression that extreme levels of political violence and oppression are *ipso facto* totalitarian, perhaps a reflection of what Adriana Caverero calls “horrorism” (2009). In using a focus upon vanguardism instead, one can make clearer distinctions between types of violent organizations, clarifying those that are vanguardist versus those groups or events – such as Augusto Pinochet’s regime in Chile, or the groups responsible for the Rwandan genocide – that, while highly violent, are of a different type.<sup>1</sup> Although the relationship between vanguard groups and extreme violence is not contingent or accidental, extreme violence itself is not evidence of vanguardism (as it is not evidence of totalitarianism in the narrower definitions).

Third, the analysis of totalitarianism in political theory and philosophy often touches on larger issues of politics in itself. Two major thinkers who exemplify this tendency are Hannah Arendt and Eric Voegelin, although certainly others could also be put in this list. In the case of Arendt, her examination of totalitarianism (1968) focuses upon the combination of forces in the nineteenth century of the rising “mass”, anti-Semitism, and imperialism in the creation of the Nazi regime specifically. While focused on this specific phenomenon, the categorization of thought she uses places her analysis well within her broader political philosophy (see Arendt 1958). For Voegelin, totalitarianism is the product of a larger “pneumo-pathology”, based upon the inability to accept the *metaxy* (“in-betweenness”) nature of humanity (Voegelin 1952; see also Voegelin 1967: 261–264). Voegelin notes instances of this desire to “immanetize” Paradise as far back in history as Joachim of Fiore of the twelfth century, but argues that this tendency accelerates in the modern era. Voegelin first described totalitarian movements as “political religions” before moving to the language of “Gnosticism” (see Heilke 1994; Wiser 1980). Both Arendt and Voegelin provide many insights, much more than can be hinted at in these brief summaries. The problem in this style of investigating totalitarianism, however, is its all-encompassing nature. Starting with an analysis of totalitarianism as a means of entry into the foundational elements of the political, be it in modernity or in general, is a perfectly acceptable – perhaps even laudable – endeavor.

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But if we want to have a better understanding of these movements and regimes themselves, and how they viewed themselves, a better approach may be one that is limited: it is in this limited focus that an investigation of vanguardism is distinguished from these types of examinations of totalitarianism. As such, this analysis of vanguardism is more akin to the investigations of totalitarianism recently undertaken by Richard Shorten as well as David Ohana. Ohana's argument centers on the late nineteenth century, noting that "in modern totalitarianism the innovations are ideological consciousness, party organizations, the mobilization of the masses and the use of new technology for unification and control" (Ohana 2009a: 11). His emphasis is on the rise of nihilism, be it directly from Nietzsche, or in derived forms from Sorel, the Futurist movement, or others. Similarly, Shorten's recent work (2012) looks at a similar time period, emphasizing a tripartite set of influences on totalitarian regimes, which include scientism, utopianism, and revolutionary violence. One might certainly find broader conclusions about the political in this style of "narrow" investigation, but the primary aim remains the explication of a specific political phenomenon without necessarily making larger normative claims.<sup>2</sup>

The preceding discussion is not meant to deny any connection between vanguardism and totalitarianism. As noted earlier, it is not an accident that vanguard organizations create totalitarian regimes when in power, and indeed often have totalitarian-like elements within their internal organization even if they lack political power. For vanguard parties, their aim of reshaping the totality of experience, their belief in the epistemological supremacy of a specific population, their faith in the historical inevitability of victory, and their fixation on Enemy populations as attempting to subvert social revolution, provides ample incentives – organizational and ideological – to form totalitarian regimes. That vanguard organizations will be totalitarian in regimes under their control, however, is a separate issue from whether totalitarian regimes are inherently vanguardist. On this issue, this text (and its author) is agnostic; it may indeed be the case that vanguardism and totalitarianism are essentially linked, but it is also fully possible that totalitarianism can arise from numerous sources, with its vanguardist style being merely a historical accident of the early twentieth century. One can safely say that, although not all vanguard organizations succeed in bringing about totalitarian policies, their ideologies are inherently totalitarian; it would require a separate investigation to determine whether totalitarian systems are inherently vanguardist.

Finally, a note on terminology. For the most part, this work avoids the usage of "left" and "right" when discussing vanguard groups, except insofar as these labels play a significant role in the self-identification of these groups themselves. These directional terms for political ideology are intimately tied to time and place, which can lead to misunderstanding at the least regarding a specific vanguard organization's ideology. While terms like "left-Nazi" or "right-Bolshevik" can make sense in discussions focused only on a particular time (Germany before the "Night of the Long Knives" and Russia in the interregnum before Stalin's rise,

respectively), such terminology will at best cause confusion in a work that looks across time and place. Similarly, the usage of “right/left” in the American context fits poorly with vanguardism: if being a “rightist” means an emphasis on the free market, then almost all vanguard groups were leftist; if being a “leftist” means an emphasis on greater direct democratic control of political office, then almost all vanguard organizations were rightist. Rather than engaging in a likely fruitless exercise of bringing consistency to such terminology, the use of it is minimal in this text. The usage of “left” becomes more significant for our purposes when discussing subaltern forms of vanguardism, as the self-identification as “left” plays a major role in alliance formation between otherwise disparate groups. Additionally, this text does not delineate some vanguardist groups as “revolutionary” and others “reactionary” for definitional reasons that are evident in the cases analyzed. By seeking radical social revolution and revision, *all* vanguardist groups are inherently revolutionary. In contrast, a reactionary group would seek to make society “the way it used to be”, usually in some imagined sense of a previous status quo; while some vanguardist groups do look to the past for inspiration or guidance, these organizations do not view themselves as merely making an attempt to recreate the past, but rather to make something radically new.

## What Follows

Chapter 2 provides an overview of what “vanguardism” entails as a concept. After a brief discussion of the literature on vanguard parties, the chapter expands upon the six key elements within vanguardism. First is “category-based epistemology”, which provides the basis for understanding the social world and the centrality of a particular population, and implicitly leans toward elitist systems. The second element is the understanding of History, which bases itself upon specific dynamics and tends in a directional sense. Third is the notion of “science” based upon this view of History. The fourth element regards the totalism that derives from the first three elements. Fifth is the central importance of the Enemy category, in effect, the perceived antagonist in the “drama” of History. Sixth and finally, the organized vanguard party itself – its structure and relation to the previous five elements – is discussed.

Chapter 3 provides a “prehistory” of vanguardism, focusing upon events and dynamics (mostly) in the nineteenth century that provided space for vanguardism to develop before its “golden age” of success in the first half of the twentieth century. Specifically, the chapter notes the influences of Jacobism as a “proto-vanguard”, the importance of Hegel and Marx in the vanguardist formulation of History and of the “world-historic” population within it, the rise of mass politics and the response of elite theory, the spread of scientism as a form of moral discourse, concluding with the importance of the “crisis of Marxism” and, later, the First World War in creating space for vanguardism.

The following three chapters focus upon the major forms of vanguardism to come to prominence during the “golden age” (which could roughly be placed in

time as starting around 1910 and ending in about 1953). Perhaps the best manner to distinguish these groups is through their foundation in category-based epistemology, in other words, whether the “category” is based on economic class, cultural nation, or biological race. All three of these types share significant overlaps in ideational and organizational structure, with many of their (not-minor) differences arising from their varying starting populations.

In Chapter 4, we analyze the “vanguard of class”, specifically, those vanguard parties/organizations for which an economic class is the “epistemologically-privileged population”. As the first vanguard party to gain political power and maintain it (through the Bolshevik party), class-vanguards hold a place of importance historically. The chapter begins by noting key distinctions between class-vanguard parties in contrast to various forms of anarchist organization, while the rest of the chapter expands upon the qualities of class-vanguardism under the six-element rubric presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5 investigates the “vanguard of nation”, or those vanguard groups where the category of concern for epistemology is the nation and nationals. After explicating the important differences – ideological and organizational – between a nation-vanguard party and other forms of nationalist groups (such as militias), the chapter notes the unique aspects of national vanguardism. Of particular note in distinguishing nation-vanguards from the other two main types is its “idealist” versus “materialist” foundation; to put it another way, nation-vanguards tend to emphasize cultural or historical artifacts (language, custom, similar experiences) in contrast to the materialist (be it economic or biological) bases for the other two main vanguard types.

In Chapter 6, we turn to the “vanguard of race”, where the epistemologically-privileged population is founded upon some notion of biological race. For clarity’s sake, the chapter begins by noting the differences and distinctions between nation-vanguards and race-vanguards; as both types often use similar language, and as the two are linked in historical memory through the alliance of the nation-vanguard Italian Fascists and the race-vanguard German Nazis during the Second World War, it is of particular importance to ensure that we can clearly differentiate the two types. In addition, the chapter notes the overlaps between race and class-vanguards, as both emphasize a form of “materialist” category.

Chapter 7 concerns the period after 1953 and the ending of vanguardism’s “golden age”. The chapter notes the various changes arising in the aftermath of the Second World War, and the beginning of the American/Soviet “Cold War”, which created a much less amenable environment for vanguardist movements and parties to arise within the West itself. As a result, vanguardist organizations in a more “pure” form tended to arise in non-Western contexts, while vanguardist organizations within the West changed internally as well as in response/conjunction with the non-Western vanguard types. The result – one that typifies much of the situation up to the current period – is an ideologically derivative and organizationally haphazard form of vanguardism, which could be labeled

the “vanguard of the subaltern”. In this form, the epistemologically-privileged population becomes a *mélange* of the “oppressed” often based more on alliances rather than theoretical/ideological connection, resulting in the Enemy category and the notion of totalism gaining greater importance as a manner of maintaining these alliances. With these factors in mind, we refer to this period – going into the present – as the “subaltern transition”.

Chapter 8 examines a form of vanguardism that deviates in significant ways from the previous versions discussed, specifically, the vanguard of God. Based upon religious foundations, the vanguard of God diverges from other vanguardist forms in the centrality of a non-human “population” in the Divine. Arising historically in manners differing from the vanguards of class, nation, and race, and often acting parallel or in tandem to the subaltern-vanguard, religious vanguardism presents unique challenges in conceptualization. Additionally, the sheer variety of religious traditions from which the vanguard of God can surface makes this particular form all the more difficult to summarize. As such, this chapter provides a brief overview of the main structures in common within religious vanguardism, while also noting the sundry manners in which the vanguard of God has appeared in the contemporary era.

Finally, the Conclusion discusses the question “transitioning to what?” It begins by noting organizational changes, arising from technological innovations, which create incentives toward networked organized forms as well as for “leaderless resistance” forms of organization. These new forms have been particularly evident in contemporary religious vanguardism. Further, the chapter briefly discusses an “emergent” form of vanguardism in the contemporary era, specifically environmentally focused vanguardism (or “eco-vanguardism”). As with the vanguard of God, eco-vanguardism founds itself upon a non-human “population”. The implications of this non-human change for organization and ideology will be considered briefly. Finally, the Conclusion notes how various elements of vanguardism have been “mainstreamed”, and how that may influence future developments.

## Notes

- 1 For further examination of this point, see the discussion of anarchist groups in Chapter 4 and the discussion of militia groups in Chapter 5.
- 2 Vanguardism is a function of this increased focus on leadership and its organization. However, it is not the only one; while not discussed here, another prominent form of elite organization could be put under the rubric of technocracy: the rule of experts (Olsen 2016). The separation between vanguardism and technocracy is, to an extent, analytic; in practice, overlaps can be seen.

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## Conclusion

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