



FASCISM IN GLUKHOVSKY'S *METRO 2033*, *METRO 2034*, AND *METRO 2035*

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Abstract. This research explores the representation of fascism in Dmitry Glukhovsky's Metro Trilogy, that includes *Metro 2033*, *Metro 2034*, and *Metro 2035*. Through the lens of William Ebenstein's seven principles of fascism, the study aims to analyze how fascist ideology is portrayed and how it impacts society within the fictional dystopian world of Moscow's underground metro system. The research uses a descriptive qualitative method with a Marxist literary criticism approach. The data are collected from narration, character dialogue, and plot development across the novels, focusing on two prominent factions that reflect fascist elements: The Fourth Reich and The Spartan Order. The analysis applies Ebenstein's principles, including Distrust of Reason, Denial of Basic Human Equality, Code of Behavior Based on Lies and Violence, Government by Elite, Totalitarianism, Racialism and Imperialism, and Opposition to International Law and Order. The findings indicate that fascism is portrayed through the actions, structure, and ideology of certain factions, especially the Fourth Reich, which mirrors Neo-Nazi ideologies. The Spartan Order also exhibits fascist tendencies in its authoritarian behavior. Fascism is shown to thrive in post-apocalyptic conditions where fear, control, and the need for order dominate. Its presence significantly affects individual characters and societal structures, often leading to violence, exclusion, and the suppression of rational thought and equality. This research concludes that Glukhovsky's work serves not only as dystopian fiction but as a political critique of authoritarianism. By highlighting the dangers of fascist ideology in a fictional future, the Metro Trilogy reflects ongoing concerns about the resurgence of authoritarian values in real-world societies.

Keywords: Dehumanize, Dystopia, Faction, Fascism, Violence

INTRODUCTION

Fascism is one of the most influential and dangerous ideologies to have emerged in the modern era. Rooted in nationalism, authoritarianism, and a rejection of liberal democracy, fascism has shaped the course of 20th-century history and continues to be a topic of significant interest in contemporary political, historical, and literary studies. According to Roger Griffin (1995), fascism is defined as a form of political ideology characterized by palingenetic ultranationalism, a belief in national rebirth after a period of perceived decline. Meanwhile, Gasset's (1932) argues that fascism is an anti-individualistic ideology that glorifies the state above all else, subordinating personal freedom and democratic values under the leadership of a single, powerful authority.

In literature, fascism is often explored not only as a political system but also as a sociological and cultural force that manipulates identity, suppresses dissent, and controls every aspect of life. Literary works provide unique insight into the nature of fascist ideology, often depicting dystopian worlds where fascist regimes rule through fear, propaganda, and militaristic discipline. Such narratives reflect the human struggle under authoritarian control and the consequences of blind obedience, racial supremacy, and totalitarian surveillance. (Carroll, 1995)

This study focuses on the representation and the impacts of fascism within Dmitry Glukhovsky's *Metro Trilogy*, that consisting of *Metro 2033*, *Metro 2034*, and *Metro 2035*. The trilogy is set in a post-apocalyptic Moscow where humanity has retreated into the underground Metro system following a nuclear war. The reason for choosing this topic is Glukhovsky's sharp and provocative depiction of how fascist ideology can survive and mutate even after the collapse of civilization. Through the experiences of main and other characters, the Metro novels explore how fear, propaganda, and ideological indoctrination sustain fascist power structures. This study aims to analyze the ideological elements of fascism within the novels by identifying Ebenstein's (1973) seven principle of fascism such as Distrust of Reason, Denial of Basic Human Equality, Code of Behavior Based on Lies and Violence, Government by Elite, Totalitarianism, Racialism and Imperialism, and Opposition to Intentional Law and Order.

To explore these themes, this research uses a combination of literary fascism theory and political philosophy, drawing on the works of Griffin, Ebenstein, and other scholars of fascist ideology. Literary fascism, as described by scholars like Carroll, refers to the representation of fascist ideas, symbols, and systems in fictional narratives. Thus often intent to criticize, satirize, or warn against real-world authoritarianism. Glukhovsky's work fits into this tradition, blending science fiction with socio-political commentary.

This study will focus on two key research questions:

1. How is fascism portrayed in Glukhovsky's *Metro 2033*, *Metro 2034* and *Metro 2035*?
2. What are the impacts of fascism on society as depicted in Glukhovsky's *Metro 2033*, *Metro 2034* and *Metro 2035*?

By answering these questions, this research seeks to contribute to the understanding of how fascist ideologies continue to influence human societies, even in fictional or futuristic settings. Glukhovsky's novels serve not only as thrilling post-apocalyptic adventures but also as powerful political allegories, warning readers about the dangers of repeating the totalitarian mistakes of the past.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous studies have been conducted in the area of fascist representations in literary works. According to Fajar (2017), in his thesis on *Assassin's Creed: Unity*, demonstrates how fascist ideologies can surface within revolutionary narratives, using William Ebenstein's principles to interpret authoritarianism within a fictional French setting. Though the scale and historical context differ, the study underscores the adaptability of fascism in narrative form.

According to Piette (2021) explores fascism allegorically through Sylvia Townsend Warner's *The Corner That Held Them*, drawing parallels between the Black Death and the ideological contagion of fascism. His Marxist-feminist lens highlights how fear and authoritarianism intersect during crises and insights that resonate with Glukhovsky's portrayal of post-nuclear Moscow.

According to Kannan (2023) examines symbolic fascism in *Death in Spring*, emphasizing the insidious normalization of violence and ritual under Franco's regime. Like Glukhovsky's dystopia, fascism in Rodoreda's work is embedded in daily life, functioning as an ambient force rather than an explicit dictatorship.

According to Ebenstein's (1973) framework to identify and analyze seven key elements of fascism which includes: Distrust of Reason, where fascist regimes reject rational discourse and critical thinking, favoring emotional manipulation and dogmatic loyalty. Denial of Basic Human Equality, which fascist systems institutionalize social and racial hierarchies. Code of Behavior Based on Lies and Violence, when fascist power thrives on propaganda and sanctioned brutality. Government by Elite, where fascism centralizes authority in a select ruling class or figure, often portrayed as heroic or infallible. Totalitarianism, in which fascist regimes extend control beyond politics into every aspect of life such as culture, education, and private behavior. Racialism and Imperialism, when fascism promotes nationalist expansion and ethnic superiority. Opposition to International Law and Order, in which fascist ideologies reject pluralistic governance in favor of unilateral force.

While these studies engage with fascist themes across diverse genres and contexts, this research is distinct in applying Ebenstein's full theoretical framework to a contemporary, post-Soviet dystopian narrative. It highlights how fascist ideologies persist and mutate across time, geography, and literary form. Offering fresh insights into the intersection of ideology and survival.

METHOD

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative method to analyze the representation of fascism in Dmitry Glukhovsky's *Metro 2033*, *Metro 2034*, and *Metro 2035*. According to Kumar (2011) the qualitative analysis is grounded in literary interpretation and providing lengthy description without any treatment to the object of the study. Therefore, this study particularly emphasis on thematic and ideological elements related to fascism, following William Ebenstein's theoretical framework. The study applies a Marxist literary criticism approach, which According to Kumar (2015) considers literature as a reflection of material conditions, ideology, and power structures. Given the *Metro* trilogy's post-apocalyptic setting and marked by economic collapse, authoritarian resurgence, and social fragmentation. Marxist analysis allows for critical engagement with the socio-political subtext embedded in Glukhovsky's narrative. This approach also aligns with the study's focus on how fear, scarcity, and crisis enable fascist ideologies to resurface in fictional societies.

Primary data is drawn directly from the three novels, including narrative passages, character dialogues, and plot events that exemplify the presence of fascist principles. The analysis focuses on novels *Metro 2033*, *Metro 2034* and *Metro 2035*, as key representations of fascist structures. Passages were selected through close reading and categorized according to Ebenstein's seven elements of fascism.

The researcher functioned as the main instrument, employing interpretive methods rooted in literary criticism. By applying reflective reading and theoretical framing, the study traces how fascism is not only represented but also critiqued through the aesthetic and narrative structure of the *Metro* trilogy. Therefore, the methodology enables a detailed examination of the narrative's ideological undercurrents and supports the idea that Glukhovsky's fiction serves as a politically engaged commentary on the resilience and evolution of authoritarian ideologies in post-catastrophic societies.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Fascism Elements in Metro

The analysis is divided based on seven principles of fascism by William Ebenstein, that include Distrust of Reason, Denial of Basic Human Equality, Code of Behavior Based on Lies and Violence, Government by Elite, Totalitarianism, Racialism and Imperialism, and Opposition to International Law and Order.

1. Distrust of Reason

The first example of Distrust of Reason element occurs when Homer and Hunter try to explain about the situation of the pandemic at Tula station, to Andrei Andreevich, leader of Dobrynin metro station. During their encounters, both Hunter and Andrei Andreevich get into fierce debate about what should they do for the infected station. Finally, Andrei Andreevich tries to reason with Hunter, but in the end it only leads to catastrophic meltdown.

‘I sent couriers to Polis, to find out about a vaccine,’ said Andrei Andreevich, wiping away his perspiration with his sleeve.

‘There is hope that . . .’ ‘There is no vaccine! There is no hope! Stop burying your head in the sand!’ (Glukhovsky, 2009:198)

The quotation above reveals, the brief debate between Andrei Andreevich and Hunter which exemplifies William Ebenstein's principle of Distrust of Reason within fascist ranks. Andrei Andreevich brings narrations of hope based on reasonable, evidence-based action that he has dispatched messengers to Polis to find out more information about a possibility of vaccination. However, Andrei Andreevich's cautious intension is swiftly and angrily dismissed by Hunter by saying that “There is no vaccine!” “There is no hope!”. Therefore, this debate demonstrates how emotional fatalism crushes rational investigation and scientific inquiry. Hunter, rather than supporting evidence-based solutions, demands that everyone accept hopelessness without any kind of reason. According to Ebenstein, in fascist systems, rational behavior is mocked as delusional, and absolute emotional despair is embraced as truth.

The second example of Distrust of Reason element is exemplified when Miller, despite his concerns, delivers Hunter a token, authorizing the bloodshed, as shown in the quotation below.

‘Wait! Take a token!’ He fumbled hastily under his tunic and held out a perfectly ordinary looking flat metal badge to Hunter, who had stopped dead in his tracks. ‘I authorise you . . .’ The brigadier raked the token out of the bony fingers, stuck it in his pocket and nodded without speaking, aiming a long, unblinking stare at Miller. (Glukhovsky, 2009:244)

The quotation above reveals that Miller's act of submission represents how rational thought and ethical debate are suppressed in favor of emotionally charged action. Hunter's world-view allows no place for questioning, discussion, or compassion. Only absolute destruction in the sake of an vaguely defines greater good. Finally, according to William Ebenstein's theory of Distrust of Reason, those who recognize the system's absurdity, are still forced to comply, demonstrating how distrust of reason eventually erodes moral resistance and transforms individuals into unwilling collaborators in atrocities.

2. Denial of Basic Human Equality

Human equality has been almost a necessity part in our society. But in fascist societies this human equality idea is certainly becoming taboo and banned among their society. Many persons in fascist society believe that a person who doesn't meet their criteria of

what makes them a human being, shouldn't exist within their society. The example of Denial of Basic Human Equality is reflected in novel Metro 2033, happens during Artyom imprisonment by the Fourth Reich and waiting for his execution. Inside the prison cells, a quiet but deeply disturbing exchange occurs when Artyom meets a fellow prisoner named Ruslan.

‘What’s your name?’ his neighbour asked. ‘Artyom.’

‘I’m Ruslan. My brother was called Ahmed, and they shoot him straight away. But I don’t know what they do with me. My name is Russian – maybe they don’t want mistake.’ (Glukhovsky, 2002:223)

The quotation above, the novel powerfully depicts William Ebenstein’s principle of fascism known as the Denial of Basic Human Equality. Ahmed’s execution for his name alone indicates a system in which the right to life is conditional rather than universal. Fourth Reich fascist ideologies are based on precisely this logic and that is, identification is destiny, and only those who correspond to the dominant ethnic, racial, or national ideal are awarded full humanity. Ruslan’s unsettling reflection that his Russian name may save him illustrates the dread of living under a fascist state, when even tiny deviations from a supposed norm are grounds for execution. Names become defensive tools, and survival depends on conforming to a carefully defined identity. Therefore, In the Metro, as in the Fourth Reich fascist systems, equality is not a right, but it is a privilege granted to the right kind of people.

3. Code of Behavior Based on Lies and Violence

This Code of Behavior Based on Lies and Violence element also reappears in Dmitri Glukhovsky’s last novel Metro 2035, which is represented by Miller, the leader of the Spartan Order. When, Letyaga, Artyom and their companion, are tasked to deliver the humanitarian aids to help with the famines that happens inside the communist faction, Red Line is controls metro station. Artyom discovers that the aid is not a humanitarian one but instead it is an ammunition to resupply the Red Line communist faction. “They’re Reds!” Artyom wheezed. “Let go of me! We brought the cartridges for the Reds! They’re Reds!” (Glukhovsky, 2015:364). Therefore, this quotation serves as the first example of insight the lies that the Spartan Order has committed.

The second example of Code of Behavior Based on Lies and Violence also appears later following the second example. Letagya tries to once again manipulates Artyom’s thinking about the ammunition.

“You’re lying!” Artyom yelled, blowing his top. “You’re fucking lying, you bastard! You scumbag! You’re a traitor! To them! And me! All of them whowere killed! Our boys! Both of you! You and that old rat! You’ve betrayed everybody! What was it for? What did they croak for? So we! Could give? The Reds! Weapons? Cartridges?” “Easy now, easy. It’s aid! It’s not cartridges. They’ve got a famine. They’re going to buy mushrooms with those cartridges. From Hansa. From Hansa. All of their own harvest has rotted.” “I don’t believe you! Any of you!” (Glukhovsky, 2015:365-366)

The quotation above once again reflects what William Ebenstein describes as fascism elements of Code of Behavior Based on Lies and Violence. Artyom begins to question Letagya about the ammunition that they deliver to the Red Line, supported by Letyaga’s statement, “It’s aid! It’s not cartridges. They’ve got a famine. They’re going to buy mushrooms with those cartridges.”, in his explanation about the ammunition, which serves as an indication of the fascist manipulation of the information and to controlled the individual opinion about the facts of the information.

4. Government by Elite

The fascist system of government always comes from certain group, and it usually comes from undemocratic system of government. The fascist usually chooses the leader that is based on the same political party, the ethnicity, or even the military. The example of this element appears during Artyom, Homer, and Lyokha visit inside the Fourth Reich controls stations. When, they arrive at the station they are accompanied by one of the Fourth Reich Unteroffizier named Dietmar. Later, Dietmar explains about what are the changes that are already implemented in their station and also praises the current situation. In the end, Dietmar represents an unexpected transformation inside the Fourth Reich faction government that rules their underground metro station.

“You won’t recognize the entire Reich!” said the Unter.” After the general line of the Party was changed … The reforms began. We’re becoming a modern state. Without any excesses.” (Glukhovsky, 2015:141)

The quotation above reveals that this reference to the “general line of the Party” being changed refers to a top-down reorientation of their ideology, in which William Ebenstein describes as common in fascist institutions. Ideological developments in such regimes are not driven by the people or democratic debate, but rather by elite leadership in an attempt to maintain power or react to external circumstances. What stays constant is who wields power, and not how that power is used or justified. The Unteroffizier’s statement “without any excesses” implies that the Fourth Reich acknowledges previous atrocities, and not to condemn them, but to distance itself from their image. Furthermore, the Unteroffizier’s statement assumes that, despite its purported reforms, the Fourth Reich continues to exist as an organized power structure. This continuity type of government means that fascism does not always vanish, but rather evolves. To survive, the leadership adjusts its policies and rhetoric, citing modernization, reform, and national efficiency as new forms of legitimacy.

5. Totalitarianism

The first example of this Totalitarianism element occurs when Hunter and Homer visit Dobrynnin station. After, fierce debate between Hunter and Andrei Andreevich the commander of the Dobrynnin station, Hunter throws an ultimatum to Andrei Andreevich. By doing so, he just threatens him and also allows the movement of Spartan Order troops passing through Dobrynnin station.

‘Shut up immediately,’ Hunter told him in a quiet voice. ‘And listen. I’ll come back in one day with a squadron. I have to be allowed through all the guard posts without hindrance. You will keep Serpukhov Station closed off. We’ll move on to Tula and purge it. If necessary, we’ll purge Serpukhov too. We’ll pretend it’s a small war. You don’t have to inform Central. You won’t have to do anything at all. I’ll do it . . . I’ll restore stability.’

The exhausted commandant nodded feebly, as limp as a deflated inner tube from a bicycle tyre. He poured out some more infusion for himself, sniffed at it and, before he drank it, asked quietly: ‘But you’ll be up to your elbows in blood. Doesn’t that bother you?’ ‘Blood’s easy to wash off with cold water,’ the brigadier told him. (Glukhovsky, 2009:199)

The statement involving the character Hunter demonstrates one of the fascist principle stated by William Ebenstein, particularly those concerning the Totalitarianism. Hunter’s role as a Spartan Order military member is portrayed in undoubtedly authoritarian terms. Hunter’s command to “shut up immediately” effectively silences debate, representing the

notion of suppressing individual liberties. There is no place for democratic debate, and thus, his word is law.

The second example of this Totalitarianism element happens during tea session inside Ilya Stephanovich's houses. After, the tea party, Homer and Ilya Stephanovich get into fierce debate and in the end, Unteroffizier Dietmar uses force to threaten Homer and Artyom into submision.

“Well now, why don’t we take a look at what our honorable historian writes in his book?” Dietmar leaned across the table, dipping his uniform jacket in the salad, and deftly grabbed the notebook out of Homer’s hands. Artyom jumped to his feet, but Dietmar lowered his hand onto his holster. “Sit down!” “Stop this!” said the old man. Narine came running in. Her face was wrinkled up, and her eyes were gleaming. It was too frightening to fight Dietmar in this little room: A stray bullet could hit anyone.

Narine huddled against her husband in fright.

“Everything’s all right, my dear.”

“Ilya Stepanovich, give me your opinion!” Keeping one hand on his holster, Dietmar handed the notebook to the teacher. “Gladly,” the teacher said with a grin. (Glukhovsky, 2015:148)

Through heated interpersonal situations, the authoritarian processes of oppression are powerfully reflected. One such scenario which Dietmar seizes a notebook from Homer, shows William Ebenstein's Totalitarianism in fascist beliefs. The quotation also shows how autocratic leadership, intellectual freedom repression, and knowledge control, are all hallmarks of totalitarian regimes. Unteroffizier Dietmar's unilateral seizure of Homer's notebook demonstrates the primacy of the state and the assumption that the government has the authority to disregard personal property and privacy.

6. Racialism and Imperialism

The example of this Racialism and Imperialism element appears during Artyom encounter with the officer and his squad from the Fourth Reich Iron Legion volunteers. When, Artyom inside Tsvetnoi Boulevard station bar, he gets drunk and does not realize that he just sits down beside the Fourth Reich Iron Legion party. Finally, one of the officer offers him a drink and in the end one of the Fourth Reich Iron Legion member utters a statement that reflects the Racialism and Imperialism that occurs within fascist societies.

“Just look at this stalker, eh? Getting his dander up! Fascists! You haven’t been following the Führer’s speeches! There haven’t been any fascists around for ages. A change in the general line! Even the nigg— Right! All men are brothers—are you taking this in? If their genes aren’t broken! People have to stick together. Against the freaks! Because to survive the Metro, there’s only one way to go … A-a-a-and …”

“Purity! Of genes! Salvation! Of the people!” they yelled in chorus. (Glukhovsky, 2015:123)

The quotation above powerfully exemplifies what William Ebenstein's fascist principles, particularly on Racialism and Imperialism. The quotation also illustrates the persistence of xenophobia, supremacist ideology, and ideological dominance disguised as survivalist logic. One of the Fourth Reich Iron Legion member use of a racial slur, “Even the nigg— Right!”, is especially instructive. Despite the stoppage, the message is clear, and racial prejudice exists just beneath the surface. The fast shift to politically correct terminology is not true acceptance, but rather a rhetorical evasion that exposes the underlying racism. Therefore, the rhetorical moment reveals the performative aspect of tolerance in fascist ideology, in which the true belief stays intact but is thinly disguised by strategic language.

7. Opposition to International Law and Order

Fascist ideology emphasizes injustice, brutality, racism, imperialism, and war, thus it leads to the Opposition to International Law and Order. Therefore, the element serves as the outcome of fascism, in which the Spartan Order and The Fourth Reich faction help creates. The first fascist faction that shows the outcomes of this fascism Opposition to International Law and Order element, is the Fourth Reich faction's decision to mobilize their entire population. This decision appears when their leader, the Führer, performs a speech to rise up the moral of his people, for the upcoming battle against the Red Line faction.

“Enemies Of The Reich! Enemies Of Mankind! A Horde Of Freaks! Stands At The Gates!”

“If We Do Not Fight To The Last! We Are Threatened With Total Annihilation!”

“Having Learned Of The Treacherous Plans Of The Red Line To Violate The Peace Accord! To Seize Teatralnya Station! I! Have Decided To Strike A Preemptive Blow!”
(Glukhovsky, 2015:230)

From the first quotation above, the speech opens with an immediate appeal to existential fear. The dehumanizing language not only portrays the opposing side as subhuman or “freaks”, but it also strips them of any normative order's protection. According to Ebenstein, international law is not only ignored, but actively reviled in fascist ideology since it signifies weakness, compromise, and constraints on state violence. In this case, the Führer prevents all diplomatic procedures, rejecting the concept of mutual respect between parties by depicting the enemy as a chaotic force incapable of reasoning. Furthermore, the speech also demonstrates fascism's typical skepticism of treaties and legal agreements. Under fascist ideology, peace treaties are viewed not as tools for stability, but as traps established by opponents to prolong inevitable battle. Regardless of the absence of real violence from the opposite side, the option to strike first is portrayed as a moral duty. This is reminiscent of previous fascist regimes that utilizes fear-mongering and imagines betrayal to justify aggressive wars, most notably Nazi Germany's conquests under Hitler, which frequently violates existing treaties.

The second fascist faction that shows the outcomes of this fascism Opposition to International Law and Order element is the Spartan Order faction's decision to remains in power. Despite the previous massacre of Tula station population, the irrational thinking about possibility of second attack from the western nation, and the Spartan Order help in arming their opposition, the communist Red Line faction. Later, after an attempts of assassination on Colonel Miller, Timur who is a veteran officer in the Spartan Order make a speech which, he states that they will still in control over Smolensk Station in pretexts to protect the Polis council, not the people of Moscow, from the enemy that doesn't even existed.

Timur was speaking jerkily, in a husky smoker's voice. The best intelligence officer in the Order. Letyaga's senior colleague and teacher. What was he planning?

“The base of the Order at Smolensk Station remains ours. We will hold an honest election for new commanders. However, we consider that in the new circumstances a continuation of conflict is impermissible. Therefore, as a new command, we swear an oath of allegiance directly to the Council of Polis. We swear to be loyal and undertake to defend Polis. Against all enemies. Both overt and covert.”

He swung round towards the man in brown and saluted him. First a single clap rang out, then another; and then, like a scattering downpour, there came a rustling, a pattering, a drumming.

“Bravo! Hoorah! Glory!” (Glukhovsky, 2015:461)

A pivotal moment happens when Timur, an elite intelligence member of the Spartan Order, declares a dramatic shift of loyalty, swearing an oath not to his comrades or the Metro's fragile democracy, but to the alleged Council of Polis. This moment is more than just a story twist, and thus it is a striking depiction of fascist ideology. Based on William Ebenstein's principles of Opposition to International Law and Order, Timur's statement reveals a classic fascist maneuver, in which the abolition of legitimate authority in favor of militaristic obedience and theatrical governance. Furthermore, Timur's emphasis on protecting against “covert” opponents introduce the concept of internal purification, which is another fascist hallmark. Thus, international law is based on clear differences between war and peace, enemy and ally, but fascism blurs these borders by characterizing ideological disagreement as treason. Timur's use of martial terminology and paranoia reveals a system that no longer values legal difference, diplomacy, or transparency, and all of which are despised by the fascist ideology.

B. Impacts of Fascism

Fascism has made a significant impact, particularly in the twentieth century. Fascist governments such as Adolf Hitler's in Germany and Benito Mussolini's in Italy have historically resulted in extensive conflict. Despite its overwhelmingly negative record, the fascist regimes also achieved certain positive impact, such as rapid industrialization, improved infrastructure, and national unity during times of crisis. While on the negative impact, fascism has been responsible for heinous human rights violations, genocide, war, and the abolition of democratic institutions. Therefore, it also frequently promotes racism, xenophobia, and totalitarian control. While fascism may bring short-term order or economic progress, its reliance on violence, oppression, and nationalism makes it an inherently dangerous and destructive ideology.

1. Positive Impact of Fascism

The second example of this positive side of fascism occurs during Artyom and Homer visit Chekhov or this time has been renaming to Wagner station in Metro 2035. Later, after their health examination, Unteroffizier Dietmar explains that many have changed for the last two years. Thus, the station under the influences of The Fourth Reich has change significantly. Both Artyom and Homer are amazes by the changes and in the end Dietmar offers them a second chance of health inspection, in their newly form hospital. The hand-daubed posters about the superiority of the white race had vanished, the long banners: THE METRO FOR RUSSIANS! Had disappeared. And of all the old slogans only one remained: A HEALTHY MIND In A HEALTHY BODY! And so it was: there were all sorts of different faces on all sides, not just with snub-noses, milky-white skin, and freckles. And most importantly of all—the people were all trim and erect, neat and tidy; like at ChekhovWagner, where they had been to first. He couldn't hear the wrenching cough that was a permanent fixture at Exhibition; there was no one with goiter from radiation exposure, and all the kids looked handpicked: two arms, two legs, cheeks like tomatoes from Sebastopol.

“Over there, round the corner in the old offices we have a hospital. Free, of course. And the entire population is given a medical examination twice a year. The children every three months! Will you go and take a look?” (Glukhovsky, 2015:137)

Related to William Ebenstein's Totalitarianism element from one of his seven principles of fascism the absence of overt racist messaging in this society implies a purposeful sanitation rather than a real ideological transformation. The slogan, “A Healthy Mind in a Healthy Body!” implies an intentional re-branding of fascist ideology. By removing its

most obviously offending symbols, the dictatorship maintains its essential beliefs under the illusion of neutrality. The new slogan, while seemingly innocent, mirrors the previous fascist emphasis on physical and mental purity, a disguised manner of enforcing uniformity and ideological conformance. Furthermore, the statement also emphasizes the creation of a structured public health system such as “medical examination twice a year. The children every three months!”. While this may appear to be a beneficent public good, the fact that these medical checks are mandatory suggests a totalitarian control. Health becomes a public duty rather than a privilege, serving as additional means of surveillance and punishment. Even generosity, in this setting, serves authoritarian goals, enforcing conformity rather than promoting well-being. Finally, the scene demonstrates how fascist ideologies, stripped of their most violent imagery, can nevertheless wield significant impact through aesthetics of cleanliness, health, and discipline.

2. Negative Impact of Fascism

The first example of negative impact of fascism can be seen within The Fourth Reich faction. Although, there are some positive sides of fascism, this ideology mostly has a negative impact on their societies, even when both of factions values the healthiness, cleanliness and discipline. As seen in the Government by the Elite element, the Spartan Order faction still uses caste system to maintain their station and daily operation. While in the Fourth Reich faction, they utilize the slavery to build their stations. This example of slavery or forced labor is one of many negative impact of fascism that the Fourth Reich has created. Later, in the Metro 2035, when Artyom is taken as prisoner he learns a hard truth that the Fourth Reich has used non-healthy person or a person that does not meet their criteria to build Pushkinskaya or this time renames to Schiller station. In the end Unteroffizier Dietmar explains that it is a necessity because it will not waste their potential.

“You use them as slaves?” Artyom asked.

“Why not? More humane than simply liquidating them, isn’t it? Let them do something useful! We’re expanding our living space. Such a huge flood of volunteers from all over the Metro, and nowhere to accommodate them,” Dietmar explained to him, straining to shout over the roaring of the freaks. When the reconstruction work is finished, there’ll be a garden city here! The largest station in the entire Metro! The capital of the Reich! A cinema, a sports hall, a library, and a hospital!” (Glukhovsky, 2015:237-238)

Based on William Ebenstein’s Racialism and Imperialism element from one of his seven principles of fascism, the conversation opens with Artyom’s direct question, “You use them as slaves?” and later Dietmar’s response is a perfect case of racialist justification. Rather of rejecting the claim, he frames it differently, “More humane than simply liquidating them, isn’t it?” This moral redirection is a common aspect of fascist beliefs, in which genocide or forced labor is justified as pragmatic or even merciful. The victims, known as “them” and “freaks,” are completely dehumanized. Their life is reduced to utility, and their uniqueness is lost in favor of group condemnation. Thus, this is an example of racialism at its most severe, based on the assumption that some groups are fundamentally inferior and only useful if they serve the superior race’s or state’s interests. Furthermore, The Reich’s objectives extend beyond simple survival or local order to encompass a fully-fledged fascist imperial vision. Dietmar is proud of their development and reconstruction of “a garden city” and “the capital of the Reich.” These terms are not neutral, and they suggest an enormous civilization mission. In which the Reich frames itself as a bringer of order, culture, and advancement. Finally, this utopia, however, is exclusionary, as are all fascist empires. In its promised institutions, such as cinema,

library, and hospital, are not intended for everyone, but for the in-group, the pure populace that profits on the enslaves labor and suffering.

CONCLUSION

This research has investigated the portrayal and impact of fascist ideology within Dmitry Glukhovsky's Metro Trilogy that includes *Metro 2033*, *Metro 2034*, and *Metro 2035*. Through the lens of William Ebenstein's seven principles of fascism, the findings affirm that Glukhovsky intentionally embeds elements of fascist ideology within the narrative and socio-political landscape of the post-apocalyptic Moscow metro, allowing a detailed exploration of totalitarian regimes, racial and ideological exclusion, and the consequences of unchecked authoritarian power. Through this literary criticism, the novels serve not only as dystopian fiction but also as a cautionary political commentary relevant to past, present, and potentially future societies.

The first research question explores how fascism is portrayed in the Metro Trilogy. Based on detailed analysis, the portrayal of fascism is most explicitly embodied by the Fourth Reich, a faction within the metro that reflects a Neo-Nazi ideology. This group enforces a rigid and violent social hierarchy based on race, excluding non-Russian and disabled individuals from their community, often subjecting them to humiliation, torture, or death. These actions directly correlate with Ebenstein's principles, particularly the denial of basic human equality, distrust of reason, and racialism. The narrative carefully constructs these fascist elements not as abstract or historical echoes but as living systems of oppression within the dystopian context, thereby making their relevance immediate and visceral.

Another aspect of the depiction is through the Spartan Order, a faction that at times mirrors fascist traits such as elite governance, totalitarian control, and the use of violence to maintain order. Characters such as Hunter and Miller embody authoritarian leadership styles that suppress dissent, manipulate information, and justify violence in the name of survival. Their decisions frequently rely on fear, secrecy, and sacrifice, mirroring the fascist code of behavior based on lies and violence. Even when characters show awareness of the ethical consequences, such as Miller's internal conflict in *Metro 2034* and *Metro 2035*, they ultimately prioritize power and order over compassion or truth.

The second research question explores how fascism impact on societies in the Metro Trilogy. The impact of fascism is multifaceted. At the individual level, fascist ideologies breed fear, paranoia, and moral numbness. Characters like Artyom and Homer struggle against a backdrop of manipulation, discrimination, and statesponsored violence. At the societal level, the metro becomes a fractured environment where mutual distrust, xenophobia, and ideological extremism replace solidarity and rational governance. Communities under fascist rule are depicted as brutal, stagnant, and dehumanizing, offering a stark warning of what society becomes when it embraces exclusion over inclusion, and authoritarianism over dialogue.

Finally, the novels suggest that fascism arises not solely from ideology, but from despair, isolation, and the need for structure amid chaos. In this way, Glukhovsky's work reflects the real-world sociological conditions under which fascism often gains traction. This insight is crucial in recognizing that fascism is not merely a relic of history, but a latent threat in any society experiencing systemic breakdown, economic instability, or cultural fragmentation.

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