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Who is (still) afraid of spectres haunting Europe?

Comparing the concepts of “Judeo-Bolshevism” and “Cultural Marxism” in their respective notions of ecology.

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Abstract

The concepts of “Judeo-Bolshevism” (used between approx. 1917-1945) and “Cultural Marxism” (used 1973-today) seem to have a lot in common: both are derogatory concepts used to classify the political opponent. This thesis aims to create a first insight into the meaning of the concepts of Judeo-Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism and the relation between them, with methods derived from Conceptual History and Critical Discourse Analysis, using primary sources as written by the far right. These concepts, embedded in their respective specific historio-political context, are rooted in a specific ontology and notion of ecology corresponding to the far right, which this thesis seeks to explain with help of a so-called “Framework of Oppositions”, in which the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism is elaborated upon using Marxist historical-materialist theory, while Cultural Marxism is elaborated upon with help of theories building onto the legacy of the Frankfurt School. This self-reflexive methodology uncovers that even though the concepts have different features making up the concepts, both are rooted in a similar notion of alienation, hierarchical ecology and existential anxiety, leading to tactics of palingenesis/palindrome. Therefore, I consider the concepts to be substantially comparable.

Keywords: **Judeo-Bolshevism, Cultural Marxism, Conceptual History, Critical Discourse Analysis, Historical Materialism, Marxism, Frankfurt School, Critical Theory.**

"Until very recently and then only in passing has the radical right's obsession with "cultural Marxism" and the Frankfurt School even been noticed, let alone systematically analyzed."

- Martin Jay¹

¹ Versobooks. "#VersoBookClub" and Jay, *Splinters*.

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been written in a turbulent time, not only for myself, but for the world in general. While the world was facing the COVID-19 pandemic, locking many of us in our homes for weeks on end including myself, isolated from social gatherings and events, I juggled dealing with terrible economic prospects. Many who had caught COVID-19 throughout the world died or experienced mild to severe respiratory problems and fever. Some governments closed their borders, some governments denied the existence of the problem, and some governments used the pandemic as a means to intensify the control over the people. The pandemic was far from over, when in the USA, George Floyd got robbed from his life by a police officer who choked the black man for so long, holding his cop knee on the man's neck that even the words "I can't breathe" was not enough for the police officer to remove his knee. This situation and these few words said so many things at once. It showed us the existence of systemic racism, embedded as it is in our societies, embedded as it is within us. It showed us who and what governments care about in times of a global pandemic. It shows us who is allowed to breathe, and who is supposed to be choked in this system we have built. I can hardly understand why there are people who want to keep this system as it is. That is exactly what this thesis is about: to understand why people oppose change for the better. I believe that we must change, and I hope to be able to contribute, no matter how little, by looking at ourselves.

This thesis could not have been written without the critical eye, great help and good notes from my dearest friend Milan. It was Milan who helped me convert my generally vague and wandering thoughts and descriptions into explicit ones. Without his recommendations, I would most probably have gotten my wheels stuck in the mud, with explanations wandering around in generalities. Moreover, whenever I felt insecure about the produced material, it was always him who knew to address the right issue, both academically and personally. I would also like to thank Hikmet, whom I had the delight of meeting at the legendary Political Ecologies of the Far Right Conference in Lund in November 2019, after which we developed a good friendship, both personally and academically. One can easily get lost in the process of thesis writing, but his encouraging words and constant flow of interesting sources have been of true help, for which I am more than grateful. Last but not least, I want to thank Andreas for having so much confidence in me. You have no idea how encouraging that has been, and still is.

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Introduction

It was during my daily commute between Lund and Copenhagen, while reading a book with the Dutch title *Cultuurmarxisme*, when a Swedish man, sitting opposite from me in the train, looked at me and asked: “Do you think it exists?” Baffled by that question, realising that Swedes usually are not too talkative to strangers, I realised that this man must have asked, because he had a strong opinion on the subject, and I interpreted the question about whether or not I believed in its existence as a political one. I, however, wanted my conversational partner to confess first: does *he* think it exists? It was a rather uncomfortable conversation, as we were both clearly not willing to show our political stance first, until we arrived at the station where the man had to leave the train. He stood up, nodded, and said in all seriousness: “Don’t fall for it!” and walked on.

This conversation shows one very crucial aspect of the concept of Cultural Marxism: it seems only to be valid or “real” for a group with a certain political belief, corresponding to the far right. The term is not used to describe *oneself*, but is primarily *attributed to others*, in this case to the political enemy. What is it that so-called Cultural Marxists are accused of?

The conspiracy-like Cultural Marxist theories claim that there is a group of people, so-called Cultural Marxists, who intentionally aim for the extermination of the Western world as we know it, with the help of feminism, multiculturalism, gay rights and atheism.² Or, as a proponent of the term Cultural Marxism would describe it: it is a form of “self-hatred that destroys our country and our civilisation.”³

This specific fear of being replaced sounds frighteningly familiar to an anxiety we might recognise from earlier times: the start of the twentieth century to be precise. Back then, it was the idea of “Judeo-Bolshevism”, which in short can be described as a “struggle” or “fight”, against a so-called Bolshevik mind, represented by Jews, who also represented Russian communism. In this, “Marx is made a symbolic archenemy, as he represents both Judaism and Communism,” as observed by a critic in the 1930s, who also recognised that only “*völkisch* citizens can participate, as it is the culture of a particularly German ‘Nordic’ race.”⁴

How did we get from Judeo-Bolshevism to Cultural Marxism? According to the Cultural Marxist theory, once the Russian Revolution had failed to spread to western Europe, scholars from the Frankfurt School such as Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer, and closely related scholars such as Antonio Gramsci and György Lukács “understood that some ramparts had to be removed: things like Western culture and the Christian religion,” by mixing in “a bit of Freudian theory to also dissolve the

² Wilson, “Cultural Marxism”.

³ This citation is taken from Thierry Baudet and is printed in: Cliteur, Jansen & Pierik, *Cultuurmarxisme*, 6. Own translation.

⁴ Renner, *Kulturbolschewismus?*, 6, own translation.

traditional family and normal sexuality.”⁵ Whereas the initial Marxist project was to create a revolution by mobilising the working class, the “new” aim was to mobilise all types of minorities: “instead of open class conflict, they pursued identity politics and ‘political correctness’.”⁶ The idea was purportedly that Marxism had to focus on *culture* instead of on the economy, hence *Cultural Marxism*.⁷ But, what exactly do these concepts of Judeo-Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism entail, and are these concepts even comparable? If yes: how?

In this master’s thesis, I seek to make a first attempt at understanding the meaning of the concepts “Judeo-Bolshevism” and “Cultural Marxism” and how they relate to each other. These concepts need to be studied in their specific historical contexts, embedded as the concepts are in a certain political history, philosophy, notion of ecology and ontology. In looking at the ecological aspect, I believe that the ontological implications behind ideologies or political beliefs can come to light, as we shall see. Moreover, as Adorno already argued in 1932, human and natural history are intertwined, and the task of philosophy is to demonstrate this.⁸ Therefore, we must look at both.

The main research question of this master’s thesis can be formulated as follows:

To what extent are the concepts of “Judeo-Bolshevism” and “Cultural Marxism” comparable in terms of their respective notions of ecology?

In order to answer this question, the following sub-questions need to be answered:

- What do the concepts of “Judeo-Bolshevism” and “Cultural Marxism” entail?
- Which ecological understanding is at the base of both concepts?
- How can these ecological understandings be explained theoretically?

Aim of the study

This research project aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the possible relationship between the concepts of Judeo-Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism in their respective ecologies. There is not a lack of sources elaborating on Judeo-Bolshevism, and so there is a growing number of sources investigating the idea of Cultural Marxism on both sides of the political spectrum so to speak, but so far there has not yet been made an advanced attempt to establish a clear and more systematic overview of how these concepts relate to each other, or how (and if?) the one flows into the other, let alone to explain these concepts in

⁵ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Cliteur, “Cultuurmarxisme en de drie,” 16.

⁸ Cook, *Adorno on Nature*, 1.

their respective notions of ecology. What are the differences and similarities, or maybe even more important: are these phenomena actually even comparable? Furthermore, as far- and alt-right movements and conspiracy theories today seem to gain in popularity, it is undoubtedly valuable to gain insights into these concepts, in order to find ways to deal with the consequences that these views elicit.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis starts with an elaboration on the research methodologies used. As one main aim of this thesis is to get a deeper understanding of the contents and meaning of two concepts, theories as developed by Conceptual History and Critical Discourse Analysis proved to be fruitful. This section on research methodologies also elaborates on the limitations of these methodologies and of this thesis in general.

The subsequent section presents the theoretical framework for this thesis, which I will call a “framework of oppositions”: the existence of the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism can be considered reactionary towards Marx’s historical materialist approach, while the existence of the concept of Cultural Marxism can be considered more reactionary towards the Frankfurt School and related theories, even though not always expressed so explicitly, also considering that Frankfurt School writings could be conceived as inherently part of Marx’s legacy and therefore not seen as another force or entity.

This framework of oppositions forms the structural basis for this thesis: the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism will first be explained with help of both primary sources (i.e. written in the start of the twentieth century by authors perceiving the concept as having a real referent) and secondary sources (i.e. written by authors—at the time or afterwards—who do not necessarily perceive any such reality behind the concept). Subsequently a Marxist, historical materialist attempt is made to explain the notion of ecology that I believe to lie at the very core of the concept.⁹

The same structure will be maintained for presenting the concept of Cultural Marxism: using both primary and secondary sources, the contents of the concept are set out. Hereafter, making use of scholarly work in the Frankfurt School research tradition, an attempt is made to explain the notion of ecology I believe to be lying at the very base of the Cultural Marxist concept.

Finally, the concepts will be compared, not only in terms of the actual “features” making up the concepts, but more importantly also in terms of its exploitation and its underlying notions of ecology.

Research methodology

As the study of concepts is a matter of philosophy, history, language, culture and so on and so forth, it calls for an interdisciplinary approach. Therefore, I am following the methodological approach of the Critical Discourse School (from now on “CDS”), called “Critical Discourse Analysis” (from now on

⁹ In this thesis, the word “Concept” is understood and employed in a historical conceptual tradition.

“CDA”). As this paradigm prescribes this interdisciplinary approach, it does *not* set out a single set of methods to use, but instead prescribes to use methods fit for the specific subject of investigation.

As the aim of this thesis is to get a better overall understanding of concepts, I find conceptual historical methodologies of great value, as the aims of Conceptual History “are to study similarities and differences in the use-patterns (‘meanings’) of terms and then, on that basis, to describe the congruities or incongruities of individual concepts.”¹⁰ Just like CDS, Conceptual History, developed out of the field of history of ideas, advocates for an interdisciplinary approach, emphasising interpretation rather than “the truth” or “the good”.¹¹

Even though there are some disputes concerning to what extent CDA and Conceptual History are compatible due to a difference in focus, I believe that the two methodologies can very well be used in combination with each other. While Conceptual History focuses on the meaning of one or more concepts, CDA places a concept “within a broader field of terms, expressions and phrases,” which I believe is necessary in order to better contextualise these concepts.¹²

This thesis makes use of a few crucial words or terms, such as “*Weltanschauung*”, “worldview” and “ontology”. Definitions as employed in this thesis can be found in Attachment 1.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The CDS paradigm departs from a problem-oriented point of view, and its “approaches are characterized by the common interests in deconstructing ideologies and power through the systematic (...) investigation of semiotic data,” in which the researcher is supposed to remain self-reflective throughout the complete research process.¹³ This self-reflectiveness is especially important in this thesis, in which the aim is to explain reactionary concepts with help of theories that the concepts themselves refer to—further elaboration on this matter can be found in the theoretical framework section. CDS builds upon the critical work of Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (and the Frankfurt School in general) in the sense that it aims to reveal power structures and lay out ideologies with the aim to “critiquing and changing society as a whole”, instead of merely understanding it.¹⁴ Ideology in this sense is not to be “understood in a positivistic way, i.e. ideologies cannot be subjected to a process of falsification.”¹⁵ Therefore, results from this investigation cannot be fully generalised. However, it is characterised by a focus on the wholeness of a society, which is embedded in a specific historio-ecological context.¹⁶

¹⁰ Steinmetz, Freeden & Sebastián, *Conceptual History*, 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

¹² *Ibid.*, 29.

¹³ Wodak & Meyer, *Methods*, 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

The CDA scholar Norman Fairclough argues that discourse analysis consists of different “semiotic modalities”, such as language, understanding semiosis as an umbrella term for an abstract, general “element of the social process which is *dialectically* related to others—hence a ‘dialectical-relational’ approach.”¹⁷ The CDA methodology in the form of a dialectical-relational approach can therefore be seen as a variant of Roy Bhaskar’s “explanatory critique”, exploring the “neglected semiotic issues” in Critical Realism.¹⁸ Fairclough holds a rather Marxist idea of what ideologies entail, and sees ideologies as “representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” which may show in the way people interact (including in texts) and “inculcated in ways of being identities.”¹⁹ Therefore, he argues that analysing texts “is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique.”²⁰

Conceptual History

As the name already implies, Conceptual History focuses on the meaning of concepts in a certain context in history. It sees concepts as

focal points of interpretation and understanding; as identifying regularities and differences in human discourse; as windows through which we can appreciate how comprehensions of the world are organized and brought to bear on action; as milestones in the changing course of the evolution of knowledge; as constraints on the messiness of human thought and enablers of its transformation; and as rational and emotional containers of social logic and imagination.²¹

The aim of Conceptual History is therefore *not* to linguistically investigate the build-up of texts, but to assess what is *meant* with the used language. In doing so, it is of crucial importance to acknowledge that concepts and their meanings are not static: the meanings are first and foremost embedded in a certain temporality and spatiality, meaning that the contents of concepts can change over time, and moreover: may differ in different environments, geographical locations or languages.²²

There are two ways of investigating concepts: “onomasiological”—starting from a certain meaning or contents (*inhalt*), in order to find the correct expression (*ausdruck*) for it—and “semasiological”—starting from a certain expression to investigate its concrete contents or meaning.²³

This thesis can be considered to be a (comparative) semasiological investigation, as the aim is to investigate to what extent the two concepts have similar contents. Conceptual History considers expressions to be equivalent if they turn out “to have a similar use-value or position in arguments used to

¹⁷ Fairclough, “A Dialectical-Relational Approach,” 87.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹⁹ Wodak & Meyer, *Methods*, 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Steinmetz, Freedon & Sebastián, *Conceptual History*, 1-2.

²² *Ibid.*, 26-27.

²³ *Ibid.*, 22.

contend with the problem or situation investigated.”²⁴ The overall goal is therefore not to give a clear demarcated definition of the two concepts in question; this would ignore and even contradict the very idea of Conceptual History, as it would undermine the idea that concepts are subject to constant mutation.

Spatio-temporal frame of the subject

This thesis is built on roughly two spatio-temporal frames: In terms of primary sources on the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism, the time-frame runs from approximately 1917 until 1945. This does not mean that the concept did not have any meaning before or after this period. However, it was between this time that the concept was most widely used in written sources. The greatest majority of primary sources used in this thesis derives from Weimar Germany and National Socialist Germany, due to the “popularity” of the subject and the political consequences of the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism in this area. Google Books Ngram Viewer, a search engine which charts the use of terms in frequency in sources known by Google Books, supports this trend²⁵:

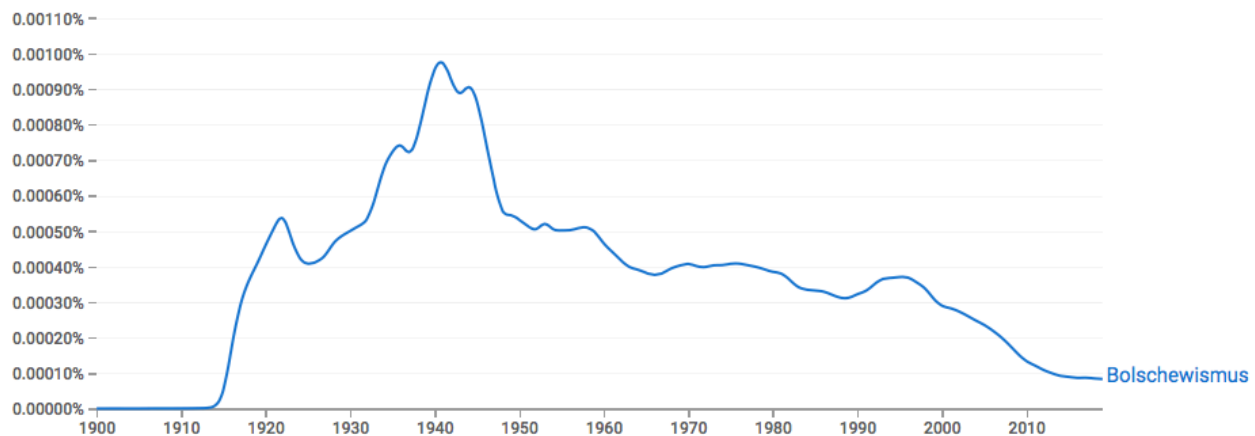


Diagram 1:

The use of the term “Bolschewismus” in German written books, published between 1900 and 2010, as available via Google Books Ngram Viewer. See Attachment 2.

In terms of primary sources on the concept of Cultural Marxism, the chosen spatio-temporal frame in this thesis is Northwest Europe, using sources from between 1973 and today.

²⁴ Ibid., 23.

²⁵ For more information on Google Books Ngram Viewer, sources and a more elaborated notes and remarks on these diagrams, please see Attachment 2.

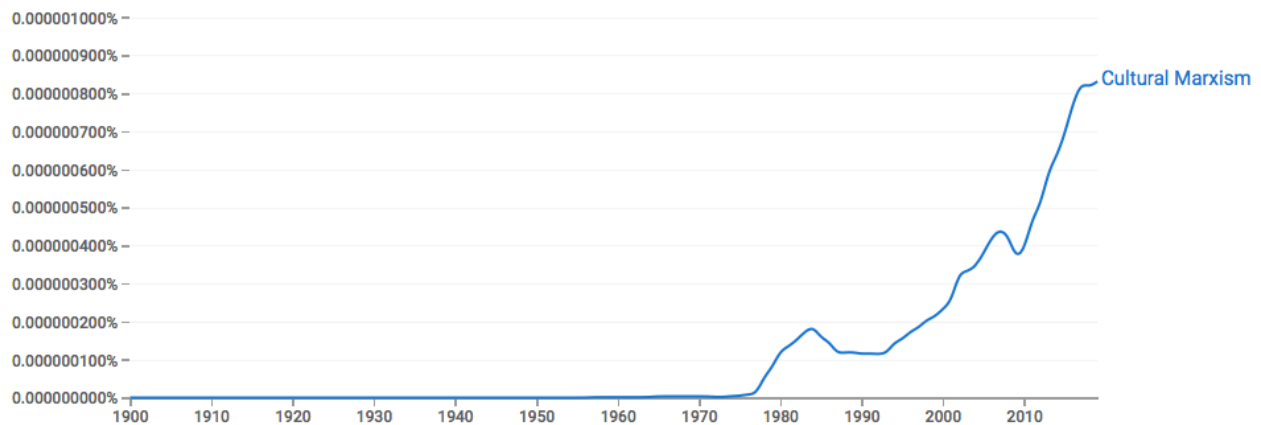


Diagram 2:

The use of the term “Cultural Marxism” in English written books, published between 1900 and 2010, as available via Google Books Ngram Viewer. See attachment 2.

Due to the limited scope of this thesis, I have chosen for both concepts to focus on a combination of published (printed) material and manifestos. For studying the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism, special attention will be given to primary sources written by National Socialist ideological theorists such as Alfred Rosenberg, Edouard Stadtler and Fritz Nonnenbruch. For the concept of Cultural Marxism, I equally have chosen to limit the amount of sources to a lower number of written or published works or manifestos. Distinct attention is given to Anders Behring Breivik’s (now Fjotolf Hansen) manifesto and Brenton Tarrant’s manifesto, supplemented with published written works from ideological theorists active in Northwestern Europe. I have chosen these sources as the authors have used the expressions of their ideology as justification for the massacre of presumed Marxist opponents. The impact of their writings has therefore been significant.

A few of remarks have to be made on these spatio-temporal frames. First of all, it needs to be noted that these spatio-temporal frames are way more “fixed” in time and more limited in scope than the actual occurrence and usage of the concepts themselves. Although the reactionary concepts are inherently tied to a specific political construction, and therefore seem to have (had) the clearest prevalence in Northwest Europe and the USA, the occurrence is not necessarily tied to borders, nor time.

This brings us to the second point, being the fact that no special attention is given to the occurrence of these concepts (and Cultural Marxism in particular) in the United States of America and the potential differences it might entail. As I would not be able to do the complex subject of the Northern American political landscape any justice within the scope of this thesis, I have chosen to focus on the Northwestern European realm instead, in order to avoid overly generalised conclusions. This does not mean that the concepts have no (or have not had any) appearance in the Northern American realm, nor that *all* Northern American sources have been banned from being included in this thesis. Given the

importance of some Northern American sources for the spread of the concept of especially Cultural Marxism, also within the European realm, some of these sources have been included for historical accuracy.

A third remark needs to be made in regards to the type of sources used. Especially the concept of Cultural Marxism has spread (and still does) with the help of websites and fora on the internet. I am aware of this deficiency, and I believe that future research on this subject needs to take the great amount of digital-born research data into consideration, by integrating a systematical investigation of contributions on different well-known internet sources such as 4chan, 8chan, Breitbart News, and the like.²⁶ In line with the conceptual historical tradition, it is important to emphasise that it is not necessary to include *each and every source*, in order to say something meaningful about a concept, as the goal is not to obtain a demarcated definition of a certain expression, but to investigate a concept's contents in a certain (not always just as clearly demarcated) spatio-temporal frame.

Methodological limitations

Besides a number of limitations related to the spatio-temporal frame set in this thesis, also the chosen methodologies used inherently come with a number of limitations that deserve elaboration. Firstly, this thesis is limited to the Western realm. This seems to leave little space and attention for the world outside, and might therefore in the worst case even (seem to) contribute to the maintenance of a Western hegemony. However, it is of crucial importance to recognise that even though these concepts have (had) most presence in the Western realm, this does not mean that they are not fundamentally embedded in global power (im)balances. As becomes clear throughout this thesis, the concepts in question are essentially tied to notions of race, tradition, power, hegemony, and the relations of the Western realm to other areas on this planet. As a result, even though not specifically elaborated on in this thesis, the topic is inherently linked to, and can therefore be easily supplemented with, feminist and de- or post-colonial studies and subjects such as (ecological) justice. A more thorough investigation of the role of power in discourse would be a valuable addition to this specific topic, as knowledge spreads through discourse. As Michel Foucault famously argued, discourse “transmits and produces power, it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.”²⁷

²⁶ The primary sources used in this thesis can be perceived as more static than internet forum contributions, meaning that the sources used in this thesis remain (relatively) unchanged throughout time, unlike on platforms where messages can appear, disappear and be edited according to one's liking more easily. At first sight, this might sound as if it undermines the conceptual historical idea of the “un-staticness” of concepts. However, even though a text may be a static entity in itself, the meaning of certain concepts might still change over time, as the meaning of a concept is not set from *one* source, but from different sources.

²⁷ Gaventa, *Power after Lukes*, 3. This quote is originally from Foucault, *The history of sexuality*, 100-101.

Of crucial importance is also to acknowledge that this thesis will lay out how I *interpret* that the concepts are understood by those for whom these concepts are perceived as real. As this thesis makes use of CDA and Conceptual History, the focus of these studies lies on interpretation, which is inherently subjective, making self-reflection of essential importance. Moreover, as the character of the methodologies used forces a focus on the *contents* of written sources, more than the actual number of sources used, this means that quantitative methods are not made use of within this thesis. However, included in Attachment 2 is a visualisation of the use of the terms “Bolshevism” and “Cultural Marxism” with help of Google Ngram Viewer, which shows good potential for further quantitative research.²⁸ The focus on the contents of specific (written) sources, a certain amount of subjectivity and a lesser focus on the quantitative aspect means that results from this investigation cannot be generalised across time and space. The question is also to what extent this generalisability is desirable or necessary. As Conceptual History accepts and departs from the idea that concepts are subject to change and embedded in a very specific historical context, generalisability could become undesirable if it means that the specific historical context gets undermined. This does not mean that Conceptual History is incommensurable with quantitative methods. Supplementing this research project with a more systematic investigation of (online) contributions on the subject in order to include a quantitative aspect to the topic could be of value in order to weigh the importance of features within the concepts in question.²⁹

Lastly, this thesis will not go into detail when it comes to concrete occurrences or events as a result of a belief in the existence of Judeo-Bolshevism or Cultural Marxism. In line with the Conceptual Historical tradition, the main focus will remain on the specific ideology and worldview behind the belief in the concepts, regardless of the moral status of these ideologies.³⁰ Suggestions for further reading and research can be found in the running text or in the footnotes. This thesis is a study of extremes. That means that it might seem as if nuances are not taken into consideration. However, it is important to keep in mind that also in matters of the extreme, situations are not black and white and specific spatio-temporal situations may differ in nuance. Again, the aim of Conceptual History is to identify focal points of interpretation and understanding, not to create definitions. Therefore, noted sources are important for further studies in order to create a nuanced understanding of the totality of a concept.

²⁸ It must be stated that the choice for searching for the term “Bolshevism” instead of “Judeo-Bolshevism” is deliberate. The Ngram results show how the use of the word “Bolshevism” was more prevalent in the start of the twentieth century than “Judeo-Bolshevism” was. This means that concept and word do not necessarily match or correspond. Further elaboration can be found within Attachment 2.

²⁹ Nagle, *Kill All Normies* shows the value of doing research online. This book is a good starting point to get an overview of the different platforms on which far-right theories spread. Also see Attachment 2.

³⁰ Steinmetz, Freedon & Sebastián, *Conceptual History*, 30.

Theoretical framework

As mentioned in the section on the structure of this thesis, the existence of the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism shows itself distinctly reactionary towards Marx's historical materialist approach, while the existence of the concept of Cultural Marxism leans more towards being reactionary towards the Frankfurt School and related theories. The investigation of these two dichotomies lies at the very core of this thesis, and forms the very basis of the framework which I call the "Framework of Oppositions".

In order to take the step from describing to *interpreting* these oppositions that lay at the very basis of the existence of the concepts of Judeo-Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism, historical materialist theories will form the theoretical framework for interpreting the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism, while theories based on Frankfurt School teachings will form the theoretical framework for the interpretation of the concept of Cultural Marxism. In doing so, the specific notions of ecology that lay at the very core are of crucial importance to explain the existence of the two concepts.

This framework of oppositions does imply that I am making use of a theoretical framework and theories which exactly have been targeted by the far right *as* Judeo-Bolshevist and/or Cultural Marxist. This means that this thesis is an attempt to make sense of these two conspiracy theories by using instruments from the very conceptual apparatus they attack. I can see that this approach could be argued as a weakness by some. However, as I believe that there are far bigger weaknesses in approaches claiming to be objective, and I strongly believe that full objectivity is impossible, I doubt if there in fact are any approaches more fit to not only describing, but also *interpreting* and *understanding* the concepts in question. I believe that the presumed weakness can be turned into a major strength, if done thoroughly and thoughtfully, as this approach could be argued as a deep form of self-reflection. This thesis can be seen as a dialectical conversation between two parties opposite of each other, embedded in a pair of concepts. In line with Theodor Adorno's theories on negative dialectics, I believe that a conceptual totality can only be covered by specific concepts to a limited degree.³¹ In other words: there is always a remainder, a part of non-identity, a part that is not explained within a concept as such, which, as I will argue in this thesis, is inherently part of the very existence of the concept of Cultural Marxism. Therefore, I do not believe that the dialectical conversation as laid out in this thesis will lead to a Hegelian thesis-antithesis-synthesis type of dialectics, in which a totality is covered and included in a single synthesis (read: conclusion), but instead, I aim to lay out and explain the very existence of the concepts in question with help of theories that I believe to be uttermost self-reflexive.

At last, it is necessary to elaborate on the theory of conspiracy theories, and what they imply, as this thesis makes use of the term "conspiracy theory" multiple times. The very recently published

³¹ Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*.

Routledge Handbook of Conspiracy Theories, a vast 700-paged handbook (and in particular the chapter on Conceptual History and conspiracy theory), offers a very solid base to draw upon. First of all, it is important to acknowledge that the term “conspiracy theory” is conceptually often not neutral, as it is generally used as a pejorative term.³² However, following the handbook and developments within this field of studies, I believe that conspiracies are to be taken seriously, instead of setting them aside as “inherently flawed.”³³ Research from the past decades has shown that conspiracy theories are politically often used in a reactionary way.³⁴ Following Andrew McKenzie-McHarg’s conceptual historical studies on conspiracy theories, I understand the concept “conspiracy theory” not as an unambiguously defined term, but as a “historically variable, epistemically complex phenomenon.”³⁵

1. Judeo-Bolshevism

1.1 Cultural Bolshevism as the expression of Judeo-Bolshevism

At a first glance, it would sound more logical to make a comparison between the terms Cultural Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism, as these two terms seem to have a certain linguistic resemblance. *Kulturbolschewismus* is, as a Swiss National Socialist, S. Haas, expressed it in 1933, an “alien plant” (*Fremdgewächs*) and a “fatal charisma of an Asian barbarism and the fantastic (*phantastischen*) madness against the ancient Western European morality and culture.”³⁶ Around the same time, in 1932, Paul Renner published a booklet, *Kulturbolschewismus?*, in which he elaborates on the growing popularity of this term amongst National Socialists.³⁷ Renner, an opponent of the term himself, focuses on the apparent connection between race and culture, valued so dearly by the National Socialists, and how this racial-cultural connection is expressed through art, or better said, what was considered inappropriate and ill in regards to this connection, which the National Socialists started classifying as *Entartete Kunst* (degenerate art).³⁸ In an extensive conceptual study on the concept of *Kulturbolschewismus*, Björn Laser elaborates on the term in an unprecedented manner, arguing that the term *Kulturbolschewismus* followed the terms *Kunstbolschewismus* (Art Bolshevism) and *Musikbolschewismus* (Music Bolshevism), which were artistic expressions in the visual arts and in music, classified as “Bolshevist”. The term “Cultural Bolshevism” could thus be considered the (cultural or artistic) *expression* of a certain specific worldview which can be

³² McKenzie-McHarg, “Conspiracy Theory,” 16-17. This is also mentioned in the general introduction of the handbook.

³³ Butter & Knight, *Handbook of Conspiracy Theories*, 3-4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁵ McKenzie-McHarg, “Conspiracy Theory,” 26.

³⁶ Haas, *Kulturbolschewismus*, 5.

³⁷ Renner, *Kulturbolschewismus?*

³⁸ Laser, *Kulturbolschewismus!*, 73-80.

referred to as Judeo-Bolshevism. This does not mean that the term *Kulturbolschewismus* may never have been used incidentally to refer to the worldview as a whole.³⁹

1.2 Bolshevism: from political movement to ideology

The Bolsheviks were initially just a political faction within the revolutionary Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, which split from the Menshevik faction within that party. Hereafter, the Bolsheviks founded their own party, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1912.

The German journalist and founder of the *Anti-Bolshevist League* Edouard Stadtler, argued in 1919 in *Der Bolschewismus und seine Überwindung* (Bolshevism and its overcoming) for classifying the Mensheviks as the “moderates”, and the Bolsheviks “radicals”.⁴⁰ In that same year, Stadtler held a speech, *Bolschewismus und Wirtschaftsleben* (Bolshevism and Business) depicting how he draws the line from Bolshevism as a political movement to Bolshevism as an ideology. Bolshevism, with its home in Russia, according to Stadtler, was for Lenin “nothing more than the most consistent Marxist socialism, and the most adequate expression of the principles established in the international Marxist social democracy, even though not scientific, but party-dogmatic and tactical for the needs for daily agitations.”⁴¹ In other words: Bolshevism was a set of tactics, which Stadtler attributed to the Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin. As the cultural historian Martin Jay points out, a distinction has to be made between Marxism as “a doctrinaire ideology of legitimation by a tyrannical regime” and Western Marxism as a philosophical tradition.⁴² It seems to be that Alfred Rosenberg, theorist of the Nazi ideology and later editor of the Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*, actually slightly does this in his book *Pest in Russland: Der Bolschewismus, seine Häupter, Handlanger und Opfer* (Plague in Russia: Bolshevism, its leaders, henchmen and victims) which first appeared in 1922. In this book, Rosenberg seems to be aware of the distinction between Marxism as a worldview, and the Bolsheviks as a political force, arguing that “Bolsheviks consider themselves, and” according to Rosenberg “absolutely rightly so, to be the true executors of the Marxist *Weltanschauung*.”⁴³ This worldview, opposite as it was to the National Socialist worldview, was therefore perceived as a threat, which was hot topic in the start of the twentieth century. Among those who expounded on it was Robert Wilton, a British journalist who had lived in Russia, spreading the vision that Bolshevism, in opposition to Stadtler’s belief, in fact did not have its roots in Russia at all. Instead, he thought, Bolshevism originated from the Jews, after impoverished, outraged

³⁹ Even though there is much to say about the concept of Cultural Bolshevism, unfortunately, there is no possibility to elaborate on this in further detail in this Thesis. For further reading, I can highly recommend Laser’s extensive conceptual studies: *Kulturbolschewismus! Zur Diskurssemantik der “totalen Krise” 1929-1933*.

⁴⁰ Stadtler, “Der Bolschewismus und seine Überwindung,” 1.

⁴¹ Stadtler, “Bolschewismus und Wirtschaftsleben,” 3, own translation.

⁴² Jay, *Marxism and Totality*, 1-2.

⁴³ Rosenberg, *Pest in Russland*, 6, own translation.

Jews had reached for Karl Marx's works: Marx, of course, being a German Jew.⁴⁴ And with Jews "everywhere", it could easily spread, was the idea. As the historian Paul Hanebrink acknowledges, fear of the revolution spreading outside of Russia seemed not implausible, in a period in which Germany, among other European nations, experienced sweeps of labour unrest.⁴⁵ For many, social insecurities made them look for a truth, propelling existing prejudices and myths into a total conspiracy. Wilton was far from alone in believing in strong ties between Bolshevism and Jews. Where did the idea of these ties come from?

1.3 Bolshevism is "Jews"

According to CDA linguist Ruth Wodak, the Jewish-Bolshevik connection originates from the Russian Civil War, in which the Jews were held responsible for the assassination of the Tsarist family.⁴⁶ It was initially not Adolf Hitler being a driving force behind the spread of the Judeo-Bolshevik myth. As historian and Nazi Germany expert Lorna Waddington points out, Hitler had no clear opinion on the Bolsheviks nor the October Revolution until 1920.⁴⁷ In German writings, it was primarily Rosenberg who was among the earliest ones to articulate his ideas about the influence he believed the Jews played in the Bolshevik movement.⁴⁸ The Nazi theorist did not only come up with the argument of Trotsky (a Jew) playing a major role in the Bolshevik movement, but also that of the 550 known *commissars*⁴⁹, 447 were Jewish.⁵⁰ Jews, he believed, possessed major roles in important positions, not only in the Bolshevik movement, but also internationally, at the very top of the capitalist system. I will return to this argument in the following paragraph. These Jews, Rosenberg argued, were then followed by a bunch of "political sycophants (*Streber*), speculators from the intellectual yeast from within Europe, and uncritical fanatics who confuse Marxism with socialism," the latter here understood as a community spirit, or *Gemeinschaftsgeist*.⁵¹ He saw them everywhere: even behind many Russian names were Jewish figures, as they adopted other names, trying to "hide" their heritage.⁵²

We may assume it is true that a number of Jewish intellectuals felt attracted to a Bolshevik-communist idea for several reasons. Jewish revolutionaries might have "gravitated toward Bolshevism for

⁴⁴ Hanebrink, *A Specter*, 33.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁶ Wodak, *Politics of Fear*, 102.

⁴⁷ Waddington, *Hitler's Crusade*, 14.

In case of specific interest in the (international) political context of the Jewish conspiracy theory and concrete measurements taken by the National Socialist government in order to oppose and combat Bolshevism, this book can be highly recommended.

⁴⁸ Waddington, *Hitler's Crusade*, 22.

⁴⁹ *Commissar* is the English translation of the Russian "комиссар", which is a term that is amongst others associated with military functions under Bolshevik rule.

⁵⁰ Rosenberg, "Spur des Juden," 266-7, own translation, and Rosenberg, *Pest in Russland*, 18.

⁵¹ Rosenberg, *Pest in Russland*, 6, own translation.

⁵² Rosenberg, "Erste Aufzeichnungen," 112, own translation.

the same reasons that so many other Jews in the Russian Empire and across Europe embraced Zionism or assimilationist nationalism: to slip the bonds of traditional communities, to embrace the social and cultural opportunities that modernity offered, or to feel themselves part of the sweep of history.”⁵³ Moreover, it turns out that Rosenberg’s numbers were either incorrect, or selected with clear bias; the historian Oleg Budnitskii discovered that in 1917 actually only six out of twenty-one leaders within the Bolshevick faction were of Jewish origin.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, disregarding which number is exact, a connection between the Bolshevik worldview and the Jew was born. Those who felt threatened turned their eyes on Jews and figured out that, in fact, many of them did have proper positions in business, the media and, last but not least, in the banking world.⁵⁵ It was this last-mentioned observation that led to a believe that Judeo-Bolshevism was equal to “capitalism”.

1.4 Judeo-Bolshevism is “Capitalism and anti-capitalism at once”

Of course it was Rosenberg, who had a few words to say about the role of Jews in finance, who believed that Jews had “planned the expansion of their financial dictatorship,” which would combine very well with “monopolisation of the complete industry by the Jewish leaders in Moscow.”⁵⁶ Even Hitler “regarded the liberal ideology of progress through industry, hard work and free trade as nothing more than a lie spread by Jewish propagandists.”⁵⁷ After all, there were Jews at the head of the state bank, uniting all financial institutes within that state. Rosenberg concluded that it was a Jewish head, Aaron Scheinmann, a friend of Lenin, who had signed trade agreements between Russia and Germany: it was not only through interests, but according to the Nazi theorist also through usury, that Jews had gained their economic power, previously directly, now indirectly via banks and stock exchanges.⁵⁸

This trade agreement Rosenberg was referring to must have been the provisional trade agreement between Russia and Germany which was signed on May 6, 1921. According to Zara Steiner, a historian specialised in international political relations from the beginning of the twentieth century, the provisional agreement actually stabilised precarious Russo-German relations.⁵⁹ After all: Germany had to pay for expensive reparations after World War I, causing economic impact that lead to unrest, and after a trade treaty with Great Britain, German industrialists feared rejection from the Russian trade market. The agreement would force Germany to recognise Bolshevism as the sole Russian representative, making it

⁵³ Hanebrink, *A Specter*, 25.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁵ Waddington, *Hitler’s Crusade*, 13.

⁵⁶ Rosenberg, *Pest in Russland*, 22. Own translation.

⁵⁷ Tooze, *The Wages*, 8-9.

⁵⁸ Rosenberg, “Spur des Juden,” 320.

⁵⁹ Steiner, *The Lights that Failed*, 161.

more an economic move than an ideological one.⁶⁰ This Jewish conspiracy of a “continental alliance masterminded and bankrolled by the Jewish bankers” which now ruled “not only in Washington and London but in the Bolshevik dictatorship as well” was believed to “force Germany into defeat” once again after the first World War.⁶¹

Interestingly enough, at the same time Jews represented anti-capitalism. This ostensibly contradictory combination is not as contradictory as it seems at first. Ruth Wodak has given it the term “syncretic antisemitism”, which entails that “Jews are viewed as evil (finance) capitalists *and* as representing Bolshevism—and these motives do not so much compete against each other as combine.”⁶² How so?

In *Bolschewismus und Wirtschaftsleben*, Stadtler describes Bolshevism in a few words as “a political movement that in economic and socio-political terms wants to radically eliminate the capitalist economic order,” in that sense that it wishes for the end of capitalism, and the emergence of a common economy (*Gemeinwirtschaft*) instead of a private economy.⁶³ In order to get there, these Bolsheviks would make use of communist-revolutionary methods, leading to a “struggle of the international proletarian class against the international capitalist class.”⁶⁴ So the belief is that the goal of the Bolsheviks (in the Nazi eye identical to something like a bunch of Jews, hungry for power) is to destroy capitalism in order to be able to establish a communist state. To be able to get rid of capitalism, one of course needs to obtain powerful positions—which the Jews thus seemed to have obtained—in order to destroy the existing capital order from the inside out, while convincing the rest of the world of the deeds of socialism in order to harvest recognition.

It was partly not the anti-capitalist vision as such the National Socialist primarily disagreed with. According to Rosenberg, it was all very dependent on how one understood capitalism: “If one understands capitalism as the highly advanced exploitation of the masses by a very small minority, then there has never been a state in history that has been more capitalist than the Jewish Soviet government since the October days of 1917.”⁶⁵ Instead, 19th century capitalism had to be overcome “orderly and organically”, and through this way Stadtler believed it possible to defeat Bolshevism as well.⁶⁶

This notion of “organically” is not to be ignored too easily, as it points at the deeper lying conviction of the Bolshevik *Weltanschauung* being inherently “inorganic”. It seems as if Stadtler did not use the term “organically” the same way Karl Marx did, but instead, seems to employ it to discredit the

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Tooze, *The Wages*, 8.

⁶² Wodak, *Politics of Fear*, 102.

⁶³ Stadtler, “Bolschewismus und Wirtschaftsleben,” 4, own translation.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Rosenberg, *Pest in Russland*, 20, own translation.

⁶⁶ Stadtler, “Der Bolschewismus und seine Überwindung,” 15, own translation.

historical materialist idea that historical progress is unlinear and dependent on disruptive events.⁶⁷ In other words: it discredits the idea of history through revolutionary transformation. Bolshevism, according to Stadtler, means permanent revolution, sucking its elixir of life from political and economic shocks such as those from after the first World War.⁶⁸ It appears as if Stadtler uses “organic” in a more Ricardian manner, which Tony Wrigley later called “organic economy”: the Malthusian idea that the economy and energy sources were limited to the amount of land available, dependent on human and animal power, until the industrial revolution made this limitation dissolve. According to Ricardo, this structural change was still reversible.⁶⁹ That meant that in the Ricardian understanding, it was still possible to get back to an organic economy, in which humans depended fully on the land and its photogenetic output in terms of resources. A Marxist understanding of historical progress would not understand this structural change as reversable, which the National Socialist could possibly have understood as the belief that the historical materialist human being refuses the organic, and therefore has created a divide between humans and nature.

Also Rosenberg’s extensive explanations on the Bolshevik anti-capitalist stance do not serve the purpose of discrediting this stance *itself*. When he argued that Russia never went through a state of capitalism through industrialisation before going over to communism, it was, also here, not with the intention to argue in favour of a capitalist society; it was with the intention to discredit historical materialist theory, and the whole socialist labour movement in general. The Nazis considered Bolshevism *as such* anti-capitalist in nature, but Jews on the other hand were believed to use capitalism as a tool in their aim to destroy nation states in order to obtain an international anti-capitalist sort of communism based on a materialist understanding of the world, which thus had a substantially different vision of the meaning of nature, which was incommensurable with the nationalist form of anti-capitalism the Nazi ideologists claimed to stand for. What exactly made National Socialist anti-capitalism differ from the Bolshevik variant? Rosenberg made it clear in one of his earliest writings already. It were not Marx’s ideas, which Rosenberg in fact considered as “nothing new”. New to the game was the factor of “internationalism”, of course directly opposing anti-capitalism based on radical national protectionism.⁷⁰

1.5 Judeo-Bolshevism is “Internationalism”

There are different theories circulating about the roots of this “internationalist” label. While Ruth Wodak leads it all the way back to the thirteenth century’s antisemitic myth of the permanently wandering Jew, Hannah Arendt leads it in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* back to the fifteenth to sixteenth

⁶⁷ Cooke, “Forever Resistant?,” 589.

⁶⁸ Stadtler, “Der Bolschewismus und seine Überwindung,” 9-11.

⁶⁹ Malm, *Fossil Capital*, 22-25 and Grabowski, Self & Shields, *Economic Development*, 36.

⁷⁰ Rosenberg, “Erste Aufzeichnungen,” 105-106, own translation.

century, a period in which the relationship between Jews and Gentiles were “at an all time low.”⁷¹ Unfortunately, it is way beyond the scope of this thesis to go deeper into the roots and details of antisemitism as a phenomenon. It would be valuable, though, to elaborate on the different approaches to the history of antisemitism in further research.

Clear is that with the establishment of European nation states and a corresponding growth in nationalist tendencies after the period of Enlightenment, the Jew got increasingly typified as disloyal to the nation state and as being rootless, or even as “parasites” within nations.⁷² In other words: Jews lacked a homeland, and thus, a connection to their lands. Also Hitler picked up on the belief that Jews used the teachings of Karl Marx—which were international—as an instrument “to seduce the masses into despising their own nationality.”⁷³ Hitler believed the racial battle between Aryans—which he perceived as racially superior—and Jews to be a “permanent feature of history.”⁷⁴ Their internationalism made Jews racially impure, reproducing indiscriminately and without any boundaries, now being a “race within other races”, and a “state in other states.”⁷⁵ To Hitler, Marxism was merely a means for the Jew to create disorder (*Völkerchaos*) in order to undermine personalities and to weaken the nation state.⁷⁶ The combination of Bolshevism and the stateless, rootless (sometimes even referred to as the “Eastern” or “Asiatic”) Jew created the key ingredients for a comprehensive conspiracy in which Bolshevism, Judaism, capitalism, communism, Marxism and internationalism (or anti-nationalism), were all and the same thing.⁷⁷ To its opposite were the nationalist, völkish, often pagan ideals, rooted in a deep form of biological racism.

In clear opposition to the internationalism of the Bolshevik Jew was thus the sense of rootedness in one’s *Heimat* (homelands). Already before the rise of the National Socialists, a romantic-intellectual bridge between nature and nation got established under the influence of a number of intellectuals in different areas within Europe, in which especially the forest started to play a crucial role.⁷⁸ Under Nazi rule, this connection unfolded even further, uniting this human-nature connection with a clear racial dimension, especially visible within the *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil) movement. This movement, popularised by Nazi minister of food and agriculture Richard Walther Darré, glorified a combination of mythical history, mysticism, localism, peasantry, anti-semitism and Aryan racial purity.⁷⁹ As the belief

⁷¹ Wodak, *Politics of Fear*, 101, Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, xiv.

⁷² Wodak, *Politics of Fear*, 101. This quote is originally taken from Musolff, *Methaphor*.

⁷³ Waddington, *Hitler’s Crusade*, 16.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁷⁶ Rosenberg, “Erste Aufzeichnungen,” 74-75, own translation.

⁷⁷ Waddington, *Hitler’s Crusade*, 8.

⁷⁸ Wilson, *German Forest*, Staudenmeier, “Fascist Ideology,” 1, and Kuran & Van den Heuvel, “Seek (Autarky)”.

⁷⁹ Bassin, “Blood or Soil?” and Kuran & Van den Heuvel, “Seek (Autarky)”.

thus was that the Judeo-Bolshevik aim was to exterminate the Aryan race, racial purity was believed to combat this struggle.⁸⁰

1.6 Judeo-Bolshevism is “A technical mind”

It might be crystal clear by now that Judeo-Bolshevism was not just a political movement gone a little out of hand, so to speak, in the eyes of the early twentieth century far-right nationalist. The concept represented a complete worldview. It was believed that Jews were spreading this worldview through art and cultural institutions, which would have as its highest goal “a banal realism, in a mimicry of nature, religion, stripped of its symbolic value, “explained” purely historical materialistically.”⁸¹ In other words, a materialist understanding of a human-nature relationship in which humans are understood as material substance would strip humankind from all that the National Socialist believed to be naturally and inherently present within human (Aryan) race. It seemingly takes away a certain form of agency, or power, by reducing everything to mere matter, as it would inherently mean that humans (or Aryans in particular) are not of higher importance or distinct in nature, undermining the complete blood and soil ideology. Seeing both humans and nature as sole matter would, in the mind opposite to the historical materialist, leave little space for the appreciation of nature. It would mean no more sacred trees, sanctified forests, undermining the idea of *Heimat* and the racial connection to the land.

In order to stop the spread of the materialist *Geist* which was connected to the Jewish or Bolshevik worldview, it was considered of utter necessity to banish this in its totality.⁸² Jews were believed to be everywhere, in all public spheres, at important positions, including universities and even the Catholic church.⁸³ It was precisely for this reason Stadtler wrote that “it is important in the German national interest to make an end to the world-historical ideas that are at play in the Bolshevik experiment (...) in order to save what can be saved.”⁸⁴ Particularly distinct in the Judeo-Bolshevik *Geist* was believed to be their so-called technical way of thinking. As Rosenberg wrote in *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* (The trace of Jews through time), published in 1920:

The word ‘culture’ should only define the expressions of the people, which are the result (be it felt or invented/imagined) of a worldview. This includes religion, philosophy, morality, the arts and sciences, the industry; I would call it the technology of life. To me it seems to be an important insight in the being/nature (*Wesen*) of the Jewish mind (*Geist*), calling it a predominantly technical mind. In all areas that I consider as being part of this technology of life, we have seen that he [the Jew] has always been active with

⁸⁰ Vincent, “La protection”. This article discusses the work of the French historian Johann Chapoutot.

⁸¹ Rosenberg, *Pest in Russland*, 5.

⁸² Rosenberg, “Erste Aufzeichnungen,” 74-75 and Stadtler, “Der Bolschewismus und seine Überwindung,” 13.

⁸³ Chapoutot, *Law of Blood*, 70.

⁸⁴ Stadtler, “Der Bolschewismus und seine Überwindung,” 13, own translation.

persevering energy and big success. But even where culture arises, it is only the outer, the technical part of it in its various forms (*Gestaltungen*), that he has shaped or appropriated.⁸⁵

This technical *Geist* was a “fundamentally anti-metaphysical” way of thinking, which Rosenberg believed to have “turned morality into a system of prohibitions and commands.”⁸⁶ Metaphysics, a discipline which also has been called “first philosophy”, as it is concerned with the philosophical understanding of “Being” as such, has its roots with Aristotle. With this philosophy, attempts could be made to understand the final causes of Being, leading back to the question of the origins of the creation of Being on earth, which, according to Aristotle would lead to the existence of an unmoved power of a so-called “unmoved mover”, or in other words: the divine. It was this which the heavens and nature were dependent on.⁸⁷ Being, in the eyes of the National Socialist, firmly tied to race, was thus considered to be some form of fixed, unchangeable state of Being, containing a specific, distinct nature.

Although the National Socialist argued for the technical mind to be in opposition to the mind of the true Nordic-Germanic Nazi, Fritz Nonnenbruch, a journalist for the National Socialist newspaper *Völkische Beobachter*, argued that it was not technology as such that was in opposition to the National Socialist Being or nature; it was a *different* vision of technology that was inherently connected to the race. In *Die Dynamische Wirtschaft* from 1936, Nonnenbruch explained that he saw racial classification (*Rassenlehre*) as “an outflow of our Nordic will to technology,” in the sense that it would awaken the racial spirit.⁸⁸ Nonnenbruch considered racial classification policies to be technical in the highest sense. While the Judeo-Bolshevist approach to technology would have made its worldview lose all its symbolic value, rejecting divinity, the National Socialist technology was romantic (or “divine”) through and through, although, according to Nonnenbruch, it was a different form of romanticism: “not an escape from reality, but full of reality,” connected to, and as an expression of, the Nordic-Germanic racial spirit.⁸⁹ In this light, Nonnenbruch even considered “the flight, the journey by car, the thundering sound of the railways (*Hochbahn*), the after-life like (*jenseitige*) landscape of the battlefields, the glowing stream of molten iron in blast furnaces in the terrifying night” to be of romantic nature.⁹⁰ The National Socialist approach to technology thus differed from the materialist technical mind in the former’s containment of the racial spirit in the technology itself, a form of romanticism, a divinity, not only in the National Socialist understanding of technology, but in the human-nature relationship in general.

⁸⁵ Rosenberg, “Spur des Juden,” 282, own translation.

⁸⁶ Idem, 284, own translation.

⁸⁷ Kenny, *Western Philosophy*, 86-90.

⁸⁸ Nonnenbruch, *Dynamische Wirtschaft*, 151, own translation.

⁸⁹ Ibid., own translation.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 153, own translation.

1.7 Judeo-Bolshevism is “Materialism”

Rosenberg illustrates his understanding of Jewish materialism with a quote from Goethe, in which Goethe denies tolerating Jews, questioning how one could allow the Jew to participate in the “highest culture if he denies the very nature and origins of it?”⁹¹ The Jew would have no *own*, objective, inherent nature, culture or intellectual personality but instead, would believe the experiences of all history/occurrences (*Erftgegebene allen Geschehens*) to be purely the result of external forces.⁹² Materialists with their abstract, anti-metaphysical worldview, lacking some all-encompassing, rooted, and infinite explaining of the self would be guilty of creating separations between mind and nature, between culture and the laws of life, between nature and the divine, and it was time to end this “unhealthy division” and return to a belief in some holistic “unity of all things”, in which humans, animals, plants, everything was subjected to nature, which was governed by its own laws.⁹³

The rapidly changing and industrialising world impacted the way we look at and understand the world around us, the sciences and their epistemologies, and as the French historian and Nazi Germany expert Johann Chapoutot writes in *The Law of Blood, Thinking and Acting as a Nazi*, “Life became science, and science, statistics,” making life and its biological reality “a simple matter of numbers, data, averages, and standard deviations,” which the early NSDAP member and professor Kurt Schilling believed to have its origins with the Stoics.⁹⁴ The idea rose among National Socialists that there were two forms of law: firstly the so-called Jewish law based on the principle of equality, which was, as Chapoutot nicely put it, a “potpourri of antagonisms”, in which Jewish law was considered anarchist, normative, liberal, Marxist, individualist and materialist all at once, and secondly there was the National Socialist “natural” law, based on the principles of racial differences, in which not the individual but the family or the community was said to be of greater importance.⁹⁵ According to Rosenberg, “the most important thing cannot be achieved by any decree: a German culture.”⁹⁶ You are either biologically and naturally of German race, or you are not, and your culture is inherently linked to that. This “cultural racism” had its starting point in Social Darwinism.⁹⁷

When Hitler held a speech to the Reichstag in 1936, he said:

When today my international opponents confront me with the fact that I refuse to practice this cooperation with Russia, I must counter this assertion with the following: I rejected and continue to reject this

⁹¹ Rosenberg, “Erste Aufzeichnungen,” 75-76, own translation.

⁹² Rosenberg, *Pest in Russland*, 5.

⁹³ Chapoutot, *Law of Blood*, 25-27 and 164. In this unbeatable work, Chapoutot sketches the worldview and “way of thinking” of the Nazis. Much of this thesis is (implicitly) built upon his extensive research and explanations. In order to get a more thorough understanding of the National Socialist worldview/ontology, this work is a must.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 79.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 74-95.

⁹⁶ Rosenberg, “Spur des Juden,” 321, own translation.

⁹⁷ Waddington, *Hitler’s Crusade*, 15.

cooperation not with Russia, but with the Bolshevism which lays claim to world rulership. I am a German, I love my people and am attached to it. I know that it can only be happy if allowed to live in accordance with its nature and its way.⁹⁸

When Hitler wished his people “to live in accordance with its nature” he thus referred to a human ecology of some sorts, grounded in an understanding of the human-nature relationship based upon German-Nordic myths. Simultaneously, after the losses of the first World War, the beginning of the twentieth century marked a period in which industrialisation intensified, including under Nazi rule, as Robert Overy shows in his book *War and Economy in the Third Reich*.⁹⁹ While the process of rationalisation became more and more prominent, the fear and feeling of alienation because of industrialisation resulted for some National Socialists in an urge to “go back to nature”, which can be seen in their laudation of the countryside, paganism, and organisations such as the *Blut und Boden*-movement. Under the name *Heimatschutz*, (loosely translated as homeland protection), ideas had been voiced within the Nazi party, for example by the German garden and landscape architect Alwin Seifert, to diversify nature, after industrialisation had led to a loss of biodiversity.¹⁰⁰ The German geographer Carl Troll sought an explanation of a National Socialist human ecology in old, pagan traditions, in which the landscape was associated with old German-Nordic myths, connecting the landscape to an imagined racial character of the Nordic people.¹⁰¹ This quest to re-find a connection to the land made even Anna Bramwell, who was one of the first scholars in the 1980s discussing National Socialist ecology, believe the Nazi’s to be “green” of some sort, calling the Nazis “the first radical environmentalists in charge of a state.”¹⁰² This highly controversial statement has been, and must be, questioned. In his book *Ecocriticism*, Greg Garrard classifies different forms of environmentalism. While the Nazis do follow the criteria for deep ecogism in the very sense that they identify “the dualistic separation of humans from nature” and demand a certain “return to a monistic, primal identification of humans and the ecosphere”, they do take an instrumental approach to nature, which the deep ecogist does not: the deep ecogist values *all* entities of equal importance for the biosphere, while the Nazis practised a clear hierarchical system.¹⁰³ As Chapoutot points out, for the National Socialist, nature needed to produce and give goods, nutrition and energy efficiently, so as to benefit the German race.¹⁰⁴ Humans—inherently part of nature—that were considered minor in the Nazi

⁹⁸ Ibid., 3. The quote is originally from: Domarus, *Hitler*, 587.

⁹⁹ Overy, *War and Economy*.

¹⁰⁰ Rollins, “Whose Landscape?,” 494-520.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 503. The original quotes are from: Troll, “Geographic Science,” 113, and Sieferle, *Fortschrittsfeinde?*, 200f.

¹⁰² Bramwell, *Ecology*, 11.

Both Bramwell in her works and Greg Garrard, known for his works on ecocriticism, more recently in his article “Heidegger Nazism Ecocriticism”, rightly argued that those ecological ideas brought into the regime by some key Nazi figures could not be accredited to the Nazi regime specifically, as many of these ideas were actually already existing, or drafted, in the Weimar period. See: Bramwell, *Blood and Soil*, 4, Anna Bramwell, *Ecology*, 5, and Garrard, “Heidegger Nazism Ecocriticism,” 257.

¹⁰³ Garrard, *Ecocriticism*, 24.

¹⁰⁴ Vincent, “La protection”.

eye, needed to be fully exploited in order to be useful for the superior Nordic-Germanic race, as can be seen by the way Jews, handicapped, Gypsies and others were treated in the Third Reich. Preservation of natural resources and nature would therefore be for human (Aryan) benefit only, as the Aryan human being, even though considered part of nature as a whole, did occupy the highest place in their superiority rankings.

1.8 A historical materialist attempt to explaining the human ecology of a National Socialist

In *Marx and the Earth: an anti-critique*, John Bellamy Foster and Paul Burkett explain alienation due to labour to be dependent on alienation of humans from nature, creating a metabolic rift.¹⁰⁵ Karl Marx based his human-nature relationship on Hegel's dialectical approach on the relations between organic versus inorganic material, which are dialectically interconnected.¹⁰⁶ Nature, in this, was described as "the inorganic body of humanity".¹⁰⁷ Therefore, "nature is linked to itself, for man is part of nature."¹⁰⁸ For Marx, the human-nature relationship develops through tool-making (technology)" enabling humans to appropriate nature in order to "extend the organs of the human body in the production of the means of subsistence."¹⁰⁹ This development, which is the very core of the historical materialist view, thus recognises that the specific natural conditions under which humans lived impacted the development of human-social history.¹¹⁰ As shown, it is this materialist thought, that Nonnenbruch and others wished to oppose with a form of idealism, divinity and symbolism.

In Marx's eyes, it was capitalism that created a metabolic rift between humans and the soil.¹¹¹ While the connection to the land for Marx is dependent on historical (and thus technological) development, the Nazis sought their connection to the land in their need for *Lebensraum* and their racial ancestry: forefathers who had lived and worked the same land for decades and decades.¹¹² Thoughts, closely related to this last mentioned understanding of the meaning of land and the human-nature relation have echoed in German academic circles for long after, amongst others with Rolf-Peter Sieferle, an influential scholar who moved from "a radical mouthpiece of '68ers" into "an echo chamber for reactionaries" as a player in this debate by the end of the twentieth century.¹¹³ Building upon years of scholarly research, Sieferle's argument of coal being a subterranean forest, and with it, "the determinant

¹⁰⁵ Bellamy Foster & Burkett, *Marx and the Earth*, 77. (Bellamy Foster coined the term "metabolic rift" in Bellamy Foster, *Marx's Ecology*.)

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 73

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹¹² See also: Tooze, *The Wages* and Chapoutot, *Law of Blood*.

¹¹³ Turnbull, "Energy".

relation between wood scarcity and coal use as self-evident, a means of naturalising a linear rationality some believed to be inherent to capitalism,” fed into an at that time upcoming philosophy on the far right frightfully well, as I will return to in the next section on Cultural Marxism.¹¹⁴

The interesting thing is that the matter of disagreement is not the presence of a feeling of alienation *as such*. It is the *solution* to overcome this issue. Alienation, according to Marx, is a “social-material separation between the inorganic conditions of human existence and the active existence of human beings”, not the “estrangement of the spirit from a nature that is exterior to it”, as the National Socialist rather would explain it.¹¹⁵ Not only did the developments during the industrial revolution affect us humans, also the processes and cycles of nature were disturbed by it, creating a rift between the conditions in which we live and the Being, so to say, decoupling the human existence from the conditions that have been part of human development, creating a cut in the dialectic metabolism.

As for the Nazis, capitalism was believed to be a Jewish plot to create a financial dictatorship, with the aim to create disorder in order to weaken the nation state and slowly to eliminate the German race, it seems likely to conclude that the feeling of alienation, which seemed just as much present in the mind of the National Socialist, needed to be given a cause. The National Socialist found it in the Bolshevik Jew, who represented the historical materialist worldview. It is for this very reason Ruth Wodak argues that the “figure of the anti-national Jew was therefore also used as a projection surface for the unacknowledged uncertainties, fragilities and antagonisms of the modern nation state.”¹¹⁶ While the Marxist wanted the metabolic rift between humans and the soil, and with it its feeling of alienation, to be overcome by replacing the exploitative modes of production by giving the workers back the control over the means of production, the National Socialist instead chose to funnel their feeling of alienation into an anxiety for the “other”, deeply embedded in a right-winged imaginary of a homogenous nation, in which the complexity of life can be explained through easy-to-understand nationalist tropes. The Nazi solution was therefore to block out and eliminate all that *seemed* alien to them: in this case, amongst others, but mainly, all that represented Judeo-Bolshevism.

2. Cultural Marxism

The term “Cultural Marxism” seems to have originated from a work by Trent Schroyer in his book *The Critique of Domination: The Origins and Development of Critical Theory* from 1973, in an attempt to synthesise Marxism and the Frankfurt School.¹¹⁷ The term was not meant as to be referring to a conspiracy, before the far right hijacked it. The usage and spread of the term Cultural Marxism referring

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Bellamy Foster & Burkett, *Marx and the Earth*, 78 and Malm, *Progress*, 177-185.

¹¹⁶ Wodak, *Politics of Fear*, 101.

¹¹⁷ Blackford, “Cultural Marxism”.

to the conspiracy started in the USA via figures such as Paul Weyrich, who amongst others “hosted weekly lunches for Republican leaders, mentored a generation of ultra-conservative politicians, started his own TV channel and founded both the Heritage Foundation and ALEC,” and William S. Lind, a conservative American author believing in a Marxist plot, appearing regularly on Weyrich’s TV channel.¹¹⁸ Ever since, the term has been used increasingly by cultural conservative nationalists as a pejorative term for its political opposition, crossing the ocean to Europe where the conspiracy soon got caught on, with a huge contribution made by amongst others Anders Behring Breivik (now Fjotolf Hansen), writing his manifesto in regards to Cultural Marxism under the name “Andrew Berwick”. I will refer to his text using this *nom de plume*. In this more than 1500 paged manifesto, *2083: A European Declaration of Independence*, published online in 2011, Berwick sets out his lines of thought with help of several works or articles, which more or less share the same vision, but with slightly different focus or wording, making the manifesto an interesting anthology of some strange sorts.¹¹⁹

Besides copying full passages of Lind’s book from 2004, “*Political Correctness: A Short History of an Ideology*”, one of the writers cited (or simply copy-pasted) the most is Peder Are Nøstvold Jensen, under his pseudonym “Fjordman”. Even though Jensen expressed it to be “terribly uncomfortable” to be cited in the manifesto, rejecting the use of violence in order to obtain a certain goal, there is a certain ontology which these men share, opposing themselves to the phenomenon they call “Cultural Marxism”.¹²⁰

2.1 Cultural Marxism: The origins

In his manifesto, Berwick starts off with what he perceives to be the historical roots of Cultural Marxism, equating Cultural Marxism with “Political Correctness”, arguing that it originated with the Bolsheviks, after the “failures” of communist and Bolshevik governments had “created a quandary for the Marxist revolutionaries in Europe,” after oppressed workers did not cause a social revolution when the possibilities were seemingly there.¹²¹ At that point, the Marxist intellectuals of the Frankfurt School and related scholars realised that Marxism was not necessarily the answer to an *economic* question, but to a *cultural* one. Hence, Cultural Marxism.¹²² In fact, Berwick and other far-right figures drawing a line from Marxism to the Frankfurt School are right about the existence of one such strand—a turn towards culture—in the evolution of Marxist thought: cultural historian Martin Jay shows in *Marxism and Totality*

¹¹⁸ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

¹¹⁹ An interesting effect of the setup of this manifesto is that by reading through the text, similar points, arguments or situations are repeated over and over again, which gives the reader the impression that they “already know it”. This vague feeling of familiarity adds on to the feeling of “trustworthiness” and thus of the information “being true”. Even though Berwick does cite the same authors constantly, the effect seems quite powerful.

¹²⁰ Vikås et. al., “Peder Jensen”.

¹²¹ Berwick, *2083*, 12-15. Berwick himself writes “Political Correctness” with capital letters.

¹²² Lukkassen, “Gramsci,” 51, and Berwick, *2083*, 15.

how the Marxist philosophy has developed throughout generations across different scholars, concentrating on different issues depending on the social context of that time. That meant that some Marxist scholars shifted focus from the Bolshevik Revolution in the start of the twentieth century, to the rise of fascism, to influences from psychoanalysis, existentialism and structuralism.¹²³ The far right has gotten wind of this evolution, and picked Antonio Gramsci as one of their few scapegoats, blaming Gramsci for besmirching traditional values. After all, it was Gramsci who had argued it was important to break with the hegemony of the capitalist state by breaking with traditional bourgeois values. The long march through the institutions that Gramsci envisioned was taken as enough evidence that the man wished to violently destroy all institutions as we know them: the government, the military, judiciary, schools, the media and Christian religion.¹²⁴ Other scapegoats were found in György Lukács, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Max Horkheimer, who developed their societal critics by integrating psychological research in their works. Or, in Berwick's words: their ideas were mixed with "Freudian psychoanalysis to criticise the bases of Western culture, including Christianity, capitalism, authority, the family, patriarchy, hierarchy, morality, tradition, sexual restraint, loyalty, patriotism, nationalism, heredity, ethnocentrism, convention and conservatism."¹²⁵

The very fact that these concepts were questioned by the critical theorists contributed to the idea amongst cultural conservative nationalists that the Frankfurt School and its allies pledged for a matriarchal society with full acceptance of (what might, outside of the far right, seem rather harmless) matters such as androgyny and non-traditional forms of being, but even, if we may believe some far-right figures, of paedophilia.¹²⁶ After all, Herbert Marcuse, "proclaimed his goals of a radical transvaluation of values; the relaxation of taboos," and last but not least, "cultural subversion," which was proof enough for some that Marcuse would approve of paedophilia.¹²⁷ Cultural conservative nationalists like Lind, Fjordman and Berwick have interpreted the Frankfurter writings as if the Cultural Marxist holds the white, male, middle aged men guilty of *all* evil in this world, especially of the oppression of minorities. How so?

2.2 Cultural Marxism is "The minority"

According to Fjordman, the Cultural Marxist is plagued by two "psychological tendencies": the first one being "feelings of inferiority", in which the Cultural Marxist would have constant (repressed) feelings of

¹²³ Jay, *Marxism and Totality*, 6.

¹²⁴ Lukkassen, "Gramsci," 51.

¹²⁵ Berwick, 2083, 15-16.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

It has been Lukkassen in "Gramsci," 57, who has commented on the very fact that it were the Cultural Marxist communists who were linked to pedophilic groups in Belgium.

¹²⁷ Berwick, 2083, 17.

guilt, depression, powerlessness and self-hatred. The second tendency is “over-socialisation”, meaning that due to the feeling of inferiority, the Cultural Marxist would overly identify oneself with “inferior groups”, especially the ones high on the “victim hierarchy”, such as women, Muslims and homosexuals.¹²⁸ Interesting is Fjordman’s claim never to have suggested that these groups *are* inferior; it would be the Cultural Marxist himself that sees them as such, by persistently identifying their “problems”.¹²⁹

Because of these two psychological tendencies, the Cultural Marxist would harbour a deep hatred towards everything that represents strength, superiority and cold rationality, and thus, Western civilisation.¹³⁰ It is exactly this feeling of hatred against the “own” culture, which the British conservative philosopher Robert Scruton has coined “Oikophobia”.¹³¹ Even though Berwick mentions Scruton multiple times, he does not mention the term itself. Besides the brand new think-tank *Oikos*, set up by the Sweden Democrats in order to combat Cultural Marxism, the term “Oikophobia” has been used for Thierry Baudet’s book titled *Oikofobie*, published in 2013 (before Baudet entered the far-right political stage in the Netherlands).¹³² Oikophobia, he explains after Scruton, is the opposite of xenophobia: not an anxiety for the alien, but a perverse aversion to the home, or one’s natural, own, familiar surroundings. According to Baudet, our homeland, the *Oikos*, is being destroyed by multiple phenomena, reinforced by the current Western ontological hegemony. The main phenomenon putting pressure on our social cohesion, creating a unrecognisable living environment, would be open borders and multiculturalism.¹³³

The Cultural Marxist concept of multiculturalism, built upon the principle of equality, stands in opposition to the principle of hierarchy—as in “hierarchy is natural”—which the National Socialist stood for, and the cultural conservative nationalist stands for today. It becomes clear in Berwick’s manifesto, when he considers equality “to clash with Mother nature”, as nature and life on our planet earth are perceived competitive in its very nature.¹³⁴ Ever since “people are different,” Berwick reasons, “they end up unequal, regardless of the starting point—society will not accord with it unless forced.”¹³⁵ Deriving from this philosophy is that one’s own nature, equal to one’s own territories in which one is supposed to be rooted due to old family heritage, needs to be kept unchanged and defended with combat.¹³⁶

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, 373-374.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, 374.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ The term has been coined in Scruton, *England*.

¹³² Poohl, “SD:s nya tankesmedja” and Baudet, *Oikofobie*.

¹³³ Baudet, *Oikofobie*, 9-10.

¹³⁴ Berwick, *2083*, 391-392.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, 13.

¹³⁶ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

2.3 Cultural Marxism is “Multiculturalism”

So, as Paul Cliteur claims in a contribution in the book *Cultuurmarxisme* from 2018, “it is not the government, not the legislator that robs us from our freedom; we do it ourselves. We distance ourselves from our freedom, because we have planted cultural Marxist’s morals in our heads.”¹³⁷ Berwick in his turn calls multiculturalism a form of “social engineering” or “demographic warfare” led by Cultural Marxists.¹³⁸ In other words: we Western people are like guinea-pigs for the Cultural Marxist’s experiments, continuously injected with some multicultural medicine making us believe that multiculturalism is admirable, and that we must change ourselves and our environments.

Berwick’s manifesto considers multiculturalism to be a result of a “lack of cultural self-confidence,” which translates into a lack of nationalist pride—a process which he believes to have started after the Second World War, making people believe that nationalism inherently leads to new “Hitler’s” to emerge. Therefore, Berwick argues, nationalists feel “systematically being ridiculed, silenced and persecuted” by Cultural Marxists. At the same time, as the Cultural Marxist is believed to feel inferior, the combination with an open-border policy (believed to have emerged out of pity for refugees and minorities), creates a fertile ground for Muslims to increase their “Islamic colonisation” on European lands.¹³⁹ Multiculturalism would thus lead to an islamisation of Europe, and Cultural Marxists would do nothing against this process, as they are too anxious for a repetition of World War II-like events in which nationalism led to monstrosities. Simply put: World War II has smeared nationalism. Therefore, one should under all circumstances avoid talking about islamisation, supposedly making the subject a major taboo. This and other taboos are believed to have changed our political landscape, indoctrinating our political debates with “Political Correctness” (or “PC”, as it has been abbreviated), on which aforementioned William S. Lind has written a complete work.¹⁴⁰

A “pro-Islamic stance”, accepting Muslims to enter Judeo-Christian European grounds would lead to what Bat Ye’or coined “Eurabia”, a world in which the Western, democratic continent is forced into making changes, if Muslims become the majority in Europe, creating an environment which the Western man will no longer understand nor recognise, making Europe end up as “an appendix to the Arab world.”¹⁴¹ For the European cultural conservative nationalist, the Western world, based on Judeo-Christian tradition, and the Islamic world are incommensurable: as, according to Baudet, in “opposition to Christianity, Islam has a strong magisterial character,” as it “does not only provide a religious doctrine

¹³⁷ Cliteur, Jansen & Pierik, “Een spook,” 11, own translation. Paul Cliteur has not only been Baudet’s PhD promotor, but can also be considered the *actor intellectualis* within Baudet’s political party Forum for Democracy. Other than that, Cliteur is chairman for the Renaissance Instituut, the research institute connected to the Forum for Democracy.

¹³⁸ Berwick, 2083, 364.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-9.

¹⁴⁰ This work Lind, “*Political Correctness*”.

¹⁴¹ Fjordman, “2.97,” 729. Behind the name “Bat Ye’or” is the pseudo-historian Gisèle Littman, who believes the Arab world to take over, after they have made the West dependent on their oil. Also see The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

and ritual rules, but also a detailed societal system which aims to cover all domains of life. While the separation between church and state, between religion and politics is connected to the very being of Christianity, Islam is teaching the very opposite.”¹⁴² Therefore, to accept Muslims into the Western world is argued to be a ticket to a Shari’a law dominating over Western jurisprudence.

Such rhetorics resemble Nazi rhetorics and disapproval of Jewish influence on jurisprudence (as discussed in the part on Judeo-Bolshevism)—a type of law still present in the Western world today, which the cultural conservative nationalist currently perceives as a non-religious, rational (and therefore superior) type of law. Whereas the Nazis saw the “rationalist Jewish” law as inherently flawed, opting for a “natural” kind of law which was believed to be inherently present in the Aryan, National Socialist human being, the enemy of the cultural conservative nationalist now represents the “irrational” Islamic Shari’a law. The discord has thus shifted from a clearly biological-racial dimension to a more religious-political dimension, although the racial dimension has anything but fully disappeared, which showed when Thierry Baudet said he wished to save our “boreal world”. With this term (which has been introduced to the Dutch language in March 2019 after Jean-Marie Le Pen already used it in 2005) deriving from the Northern winds, Baudet refers to the old myth of the supposedly Nordic roots of the “primordial” (as in the German *ursprunglich*) Indo-European civilisation—a myth which Nazi Germans spread as well, saying that the Aryan race derived from the mythical province of “Hyperborea”.¹⁴³ This idea of saving the boreal world from the evil enemy changing it, has been coined “palindefence” by the Zetkin Collective. Palindefence is a variant of the term “palingenesis” (palin: “again”, genesis: “birth”), which has been coined by Roger Griffin, the academic who has spent his lifetime studying the essences of fascism. Palingenesis means the “rebirth of the great nation,” after a period of decay robbed the country from its greatness. Palingenesis does not necessarily wish to return to a previous state, it only “pictured that past as a launching pad for a sparkling future.”¹⁴⁴ Palindefence is a variant hereof: the enemy, who has been threatening the existence of the boreal world eternally, has returned once again, and the boreal world our ancestors have built needs to be saved from change for the new boreals to come. Or, in the words of Brenton Tarrant, the far-right “kebab removalist” terrorist who killed 51 innocent people and wounded many more at Al Noor mosque in Christchurch in same month of March in 2019, writing in his manifesto that he wanted to “take revenge on the invaders for the hundreds of thousands of deaths caused by foreign invaders in European lands throughout history,” in order to “ensure the existence of our

¹⁴² Baudet, *Oikofobie*, 68, own translation.

¹⁴³ Den Boon, “Borealisme” and Kruk, “Thierry Baudet”. Though, while the Nazis saw Aryans as inherently opposed to Jews, anti-semitism has gotten far more complex in Western Europe, also within the far-right of the political spectrum. See also Badiou, Eric & Segré, *Reflections*, Sand & Renan, *On the Nation*, Hanebrink, *A Specter*, and Brossat & Klingberg, *Revolutionary Yiddishland* for a more historical perspective on the matter.

¹⁴⁴ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

people, and a future for white children.”¹⁴⁵ According to Berwick, the cultural conservative nationalist movement exists only because Cultural Marxists marched through institutions in order to change the world as we know it, from which Europe needs to be protected, and is therefore “a purely defensive movement.”¹⁴⁶

Who the enemy exactly is, seems to be subject to some change. In some countries, the cultural conservative nationalist seems to enjoy putting the anti-Semitic label onto the political left for expressing criticisms on Israel, or do not mention Jews in any plot at all. In other countries, Jews are included as “the enemy” and anti-Semitism is still very prevalent. This latter situation is not only the case in the USA or the UK, but also in Hungary, where George Soros (the wealthy Hungarian Jew) is believed to be responsible for the current refugee “crisis”, as his money would be responsible for the open-border policies.¹⁴⁷ The Kalergi plan is another European example of an anti-Semitic conspiracy in which the Austrian-Japanese pro-Pan European politician Richard Nikolaus Eijiro, Count of Coudenhove-Kalergi was believed to have plotted an immigration plan in the first half of the twentieth century in order to mix races, leading to a conspiracy theory “which alleges that there is a deliberate plan to undermine European white society by a campaign of mass immigration, integration and miscegenation conducted by sinister (and often Jewish) elites.”¹⁴⁸ Interestingly enough, Hitler already mentioned the politician as a political opponent as early as 1928, in his *Zweites Buch*.¹⁴⁹ The Austrian neo-Nazi Gerd Honsik has published a book on the alleged Kalergi plan as recent as 2005.¹⁵⁰ As Reza Zia-Ebrahimi shows in his article “When the Elders of Zion relocated to Eurabia,” (past and present) anti-Semitism and current Islamophobia do share similar racial dynamics.¹⁵¹ Michał Biłewicz, sociologist at the University of Warsaw, even argued that “the more people are anti-Muslim, the more they’re anti-Semitic.”¹⁵² Further elaborations on contemporary anti-semitism in Western Europe and the USA in regards to the belief in Cultural Marxism as an existing concept in further studies would therefore be of unprecedented value.

Less diverse and complex is the cultural conservative nationalist’s opposition to Islam, not necessarily because of assumed *biological* differences between Muslims and “boreals”, but more because of a difference in the very nature of Being or culture corresponding to Islam. To put it crudely: “Judeo-Bolshevism now goes under the name of Islamisation.”¹⁵³ The idea of islamisation has been voiced most clearly in the conspiracy theory of the Great Replacement, popularised by the French Renaud Camus in

¹⁴⁵ Tarrant, *Great Replacement*, 5-6.

¹⁴⁶ Berwick, 2083, 655.

¹⁴⁷ For a more detailed explanation on this matter, see The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

¹⁴⁸ Lawrence, “Exposed”.

¹⁴⁹ Hitler, *Zweite Buch*, 131.

¹⁵⁰ Honsik, *Rassismus legal ?*

¹⁵¹ Zia-Ebrahimi, “Elders of Zion,”: 314–337.

¹⁵² The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*. Original quote from Snyder, “Anti-Semitism”. Quote from Michał Biłewicz.

¹⁵³ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*, and Hanebrink, *A Specter*, 274-282.

2011 with his book *Le Grand Remplacement*.¹⁵⁴ Camus does not refer to any clear anti-Semitic conspiracy, but instead refers to the evils of the Muslim population only. The conspiracy claims that the white, Western society is being replaced by a Muslim majority, similar to the Eurabian myth. Like Camus, Tarrant titled his manifesto *The Great Replacement*.

In order to prove the point of Islam and all Muslims being the bearer of pure evil, Berwick includes pages and pages on all that is supposedly wrong with the Islamic world, shifting from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to Turkey, to Lebanon, to Yugoslavia, and so on and so forth. According to Baudet, this type of generalising (i.e. *all* Muslims are evil) is an important element of science in order to draw conclusions, also about Islam.¹⁵⁵ Now, the main problem may not necessarily be Islam itself, as long as “it” stays in the Arab world. The main problem is the Cultural Marxist for not only neglecting this “threat” of islamisation of the West, but even reinforcing it with a multiculturalist agenda. Fjordman recognises three enemies: Muslims, “Eurabians” who aim for the breaking down of nation states, and institutions such as the media and academia having an “anti-Western bias”.¹⁵⁶ These last two mentioned could be collected under the Cultural Marxist name.

Multiculturalism is the factor that the Cultural Marxist supposedly shares with liberals, capitalists and libertarians, and the general cultural conservative nationalist therefore shares an ambiguous stance towards capitalism as such, as the Cultural Marxist is usually politically left-wing and anti-capitalist. Whereas the National Socialist and the Bolshevik sort of shared an anti-capitalist stance—though ideologically fundamentally different—the cultural conservative nationalist seems to have a more ambiguous attitude towards capitalism and mainly seems to wish to oppose themselves to the alleged Cultural Marxist’s form of anti-capitalism, at least if we may believe Berwick’s writings and citings. Indicative of the ambiguous stance, Berwick’s manifesto, being a collection of different texts, shows itself contradictory on this matter in many places. On the one hand, it shows an anti-capitalist stance, citing anti-capitalist material arguing that Marxists are not the problem in this capitalist society, but that the big multinational companies are. However, whereas the Marxist sees those companies as problematic due to their structural exploitation of time (labour) and space (resources), the cultural conservative nationalist judges mainly on their internationalism, as these companies do not show any loyalty to any country.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, the manifesto shows a pro-capitalist view, although it distances itself from the unrestrained libertarian kind of capitalism as is more common in the USA, due to it favouring an open-border policy. Baudet endorses this.¹⁵⁸ The cultural conservative nationalist type of capitalism seems to be

¹⁵⁴ Camus, *Grand remplacement*.

¹⁵⁵ Baudet, *Oikofobie*, 67.

¹⁵⁶ Berwick, *2083*, 378.

¹⁵⁷ Berwick, *2083*, 403.

¹⁵⁸ Baudet, *Oikofobie*, 129-130.

of a reactionary kind: ever since the (cultural) Marxist wants to get rid of capitalism, the cultural conservative nationalist should *not* favour this, but capitalism must be nationalised. Roger Scruton's typology of the Marxist economy as "a form of economic determinism", being "invariably revolutionary" needs to be opposed. It represents an ontology demanding an all-encompassing structural change which the cultural conservative nationalist believes to be based on so-called "cultural relativism".¹⁵⁹

2.4 Cultural Marxism is "Cultural relativism"

Cliteur believes that he can discern a number of Marxist "trends", among which he mentions postmodernism (which he calls "institutionalised defencelessness"), cultural relativism (explained as the "tabooisation of the aim to see democracy as essentially better than autocracy or theocracy"), identity politics (described as the "subversion of a democratic culture oriented on the nation state" while instead having a focus on minority cultures), and the criminalisation of islamophobia (which would mean that criticising or rejecting the Islam is being criminalised).¹⁶⁰

According to Berwick, Cultural Marxism equals "cultural relativism": Cultural Marxists are "cultural relativist elites", operating "under the guise of humanism."¹⁶¹ For the Cultural Marxist, there is no such thing as a single truth. On the other hand, Berwick believes their analyses to be merely "linguistic" in the sense that all can be deconstructed, meaning "that any 'text,' past or present, illustrates the oppression of Muslims, women, homosexuals, etc. by reading that meaning into words of the text (regardless of their actual meaning)."¹⁶²

This relativist thinking has been thought to have seeped through most of the academic disciplines, making the majority of brilliant academic minds fall under the category of Cultural Marxists, "not because they are more intelligent, but because a much higher proportion of cultural Marxists among the best minds devote themselves to those intellectual pursuits which in modern society give them a decisive influence on public opinion."¹⁶³ In other words: these people *want* to spread their theories, ontologies, visions and ideals, no matter their intellectual value, because it is their so-believed essential goal to mess up the human mind in order to carry out the plan of conquest.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the media and the academic system cannot be trusted, corrupted as they are thought to be due to Marxist indoctrination.

The academic cultural relativism would thus have led Marxist scholars to "dismiss reason, science, objective reality," which has affected the way in which humans can question what reality is, if

¹⁵⁹ Berwick, 2083, 56.

¹⁶⁰ Cliteur, Jansen & Pierik, *Cultuurmarxisme*, 26. Own translation.

¹⁶¹ Berwick, 2083, 5.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 364.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 652.

there is no such thing as objectivity.¹⁶⁵ If objective, rational truth is rejected, and all reality is relative, what is then left for the Cultural Marxist to believe in?

2.5 Cultural Marxism is “Emotionalism”

The Dutch far-right figure Sid Lukkassen argues that the only idea that remains standing in both economic Marxism and in Cultural Marxism is the “battle of victims against a bourgeois-national culture which needs to be overthrown by mobilising these very same victims,” in which the connection with the lower classes has been lost, as Cultural Marxists would only occupy themselves with “uncovering colonial and imperial contrasts,” making them more Hegelian than Marxist “due to their preoccupation with the upper class.”¹⁶⁶ He sees this victim battle to be nothing more than moral blackmailing, in which Cultural Marxists occupy the “moral high ground” using minorities as “voting kettle” only.¹⁶⁷ In other words: the only thing left for the Cultural Marxist is their appeal to emotion. It is exactly this Lukkassen believes the Frankfurter philosophers to appreciate in Marx’s writings, rejecting abstract, idealistic philosophies and believing in a “tragically suffering humanity that needed to bring about true change.”¹⁶⁸ This hostility on the far right towards emotion also explains Adorno’s (et al.) conclusion in *The Authoritarian Personality* which states that an appeal to emotion or sympathy does not work on the potential fascist.¹⁶⁹ No wonder that in the cultural conservative nationalist mind, climate change is seen as a Cultural Marxist plot: the very nature of climate change, environmental degradation, environmental tipping-points and other anxiety-provoking scenarios are especially appealing to emotion, endangering the existence of the world as we know it, the enemy being ourselves and our living standards, which the cultural conservative nationalist tries so hard to preserve. The reaction of the far right to climate change has so far been generally two-fold: either it denied the danger—and thus the emotion, or it accepted it, and blamed others, for example immigrants, for it. The very fact that the so-called Cultural Marxist instead hold themselves responsible for the damage done, it is taken as proof for self-hatred. Or, as a cultural conservative nationalist could have said it: what other reason would the Cultural Marxist have for putting a child like Greta Thunberg up front to start crying in front of all the world’s leaders?

2.6 A Frankfurt School attempt to explaining the human ecology of a cultural conservative nationalist

Cultural conservative nationalists (rightfully so) understand the Frankfurt School ideology as a certain continuation of the Marxist philosophy. Interesting is how Marxist explanations in regards to alienation

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 375.

¹⁶⁶ Cliteur, Jansen & Pierik, *Cultuurmarxisme*, 40.

¹⁶⁷ Lukkassen, “Gramsci”, 49 & 63.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 53.

¹⁶⁹ Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Nevitt Sanford, *Authoritarian Personality*, 971-976.

have been used to explain the ontology of the Cultural Marxist in the eye of the cultural conservative nationalist, believing that it was a feeling of alienation that led the Cultural Marxist to harbour a deep aversion towards one's own culture (explained as "Oikophobia").¹⁷⁰ However, the focus has shifted from a mere racio-economic to a more cultural dimension, after Frankfurt School philosophers argued in favour of a cultural revolution.

The cultural conservative nationalist's ecology shows to be one based on nationalism, which can be seen as a reaction to existential danger. "It is by returning to the borders that we will save the planet," and "[t]he best ally of ecology is the border," are slogans to be found on the far-right side of the political spectrum, capturing it clearly.¹⁷¹ Or, as Tarrant put it: "Green nationalism is the only true nationalism."¹⁷² It was for this cause Tarrant went to Al Noor mosque on that day in March 2019 to create a bloodbath.¹⁷³ The aim is a monoculture in Western societies, in which changes to the living environment are limited as much as possible, which is perfectly illustrated in the very beginning of Berwick's manifesto taken directly from William S. Lind's book on political correctness (although not credited), in which an imagined, fully romanticised vision of a safe and familiar (perceived monocultural) world of the 1950s is described.¹⁷⁴ Explained as favourable because it would lead to less conflict, monoculturalism mostly seems to derive from fear for losing the privilege which the cultural conservative nationalist believes to have obtained naturally by having white, Western ancestors, who supposedly have built up our Western society on which we should be proud, instead of abhorred. The anxiety of not being able to recognise one's own future living environment evolves from a deep fear of losing control and power.

In order to understand this type of contemporary anxiety, Frankfurt School theories and Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's theories on the subject-object relation, concepts and (non-)identity in particular, turn out to be of unprecedented value. In *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, the two philosophers show which effects enlightenment thinking has (had) on human ontologies and the understanding of nature. Enlightenment, they explain, has replaced myths and an enchanted nature with science, but humans now "purchase the increase in their power with estrangement from that over which it is exerted," meaning that with the gained (scientific) domination that humans have gotten over nature, using nature for their benefit, they pay the price with alienation.¹⁷⁵ Enlightenment has resulted in the patriarchal belief that humans can overcome myths by gaining knowledge, and with it, to gain power, power over others, and power over nature. The ideal is then to have a "system from which everything and anything follows," an unchanged,

¹⁷⁰ Brinks, "Drievoudig falen," 101-102.

¹⁷¹ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*. Original quote from: Sapin, "Jordan Bardella".

¹⁷² Tarrant, *Great Replacement*, 38.

¹⁷³ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

¹⁷⁴ Berwick, 2083, 12, and Lind, "Political Correctness," 4-5.

¹⁷⁵ Horkheimer & Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 1-6.

fixed truth.¹⁷⁶ This thinking has altered the relationship between subject and object. In a compelling essay, “Fear and the Unknown: Nature, Culture and the Limits of Reason,” Shane Gunster draws upon these theories further demonstrating the subject-object relationship, between which there is a distance. This subject-object distance is the very basis of the idea of “non-identity”.

The subject-object relationship expresses itself in “concepts”, meaning that language (a word, a term) is used to express the being of the object. Concepts are “usually defined as the unity of the features of what it subsumes.”¹⁷⁷ However, crucial to (especially) Adorno’s understanding is that a concept is not primarily describing what the thing actually is, but rather is “becoming what it is not.”¹⁷⁸ Concepts can thus be a tool for describing, identifying and recognising objects, but also have the “potential to express the object’s potential to be something other than what it is.” Or as Deborah Cook puts it: “there is contradiction in the realm of ideas and concepts.”¹⁷⁹ Adorno believes that when we think, we always think about objects, but the concepts we use cannot capture these objects in its totality.¹⁸⁰ There is always an uncaptured “remainder”. Put shortly: non-identity means that a concept can be (partly) non-identical to the object, in the sense that there is a piece of lacking identification within the thinking entity, the subject, because full-coverage of the object within the concept is impossible, in part because it is exceeding our thoughts.

In terms of the cultural conservative nationalist and the concept of Cultural Marxism, this understanding of the “remainder” is crucial. As Cultural Marxism can be explained as the perceived force which enables the “alien force” to enter, seemingly complicating the process of identical conceptualisation, it widens the gap between concept and object, instead of eliminating this “remainder”. All forces and criticisms (subjectivism in science, feminism, multiculturalism, climate change, and so on and so forth) that seem to force to make changes to our living environment as we know it (which can be seen as the object) are believed to widen the gap between the concepts as used by the cultural conservative nationalist to describe the living environment, and the object. In other words: the object “living environment” as the cultural conservative nationalist understands it, can possibly no longer be captured by the concepts employed, creating a greater fear of not being able to cover, grasp and thus dominate the world around us. It is exactly therefore that all criticisms of the current culture as we know it, or calls for change, can be added to the Cultural Marxist concept, which so heavily needs to be opposed, leading to a totality of a conspiracy theory. Conspiracy theories offer theories that have the capability of closing all possible holes and gaps, leaving no space for coincidence. Or as political scientist

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 4.

¹⁷⁷ Horkheimer & Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 11 and Gunster, “Fear and the Unknown,” 214-215.

¹⁷⁸ Horkheimer & Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 11.

¹⁷⁹ Cook, *Adorno, Foucault and the Critique*, 23.

¹⁸⁰ Kramer, *Excluded Within*, 94.

Michael Barkun puts it: “nothing happens by accident; nothing is at it seems; and everything is connected.”¹⁸¹

For Horkheimer and Adorno, fear is an inherent product of our living environment, deriving from the social, cultural and material conditions around us, which is a historical materialist philosophy, but as Gunster recalls, humans (and probably the cultural conservative nationalist above all) “believe themselves free of fear when there is no longer anything unknown.”¹⁸² Therefore, in order to overcome this fear, humans “strive to reduce and even eliminate the difference between concept and object, between the representation of a thing and the thing itself,” in order to be able to cover our living environment in its totality.¹⁸³ The cultural conservative nationalist is thus afraid of change as change makes the pre-existing concepts unfit for explaining the environment around us. Change widens the gap between subject and object (and with it, the remainder), and therefore, the cultural conservative nationalist actively tries to eliminate this remainder, and the alienation that derives from it, by eliminating all that *seems* alien.

While immigrants embody the “alien”, the political left enables them, and climate change, recognised by the left as a long-term utterly destructive change of the global environment which calls for radical change of our Western way of living, does not eliminate the remainder, but widens it, as it calls for the release of dominance over nature and others.

Environmentalism in this regards is seen as a “leftist” matter; a connection that emerged at the end of the twentieth century, when it became clear that wealthy countries can dump their waste onto poorer countries for them to deal with it, which led to an environmentalism connected to environmental global justice.¹⁸⁴ This does not mean that all present-day environmentalism is leftist. As we already briefly saw earlier in the case with Rolf-Peter Sieferle: the line can be thin. The French *Nouvelle Droite* movement with their degrowth tendencies and neo-Nazi figures supporting green localism or nationalism are other examples where some sort of environmentalism seems to be at heart of the far right. However, it was the “environmental injustice” type of thought specifically that did not fit well with the idea of green nationalism (or eco-fascism), as green nationalism is only concerned with environmentalism within one’s own border. A recurring phrase amongst cultural conservative nationalists is that the “true” environmental problem is not any environmental injustice, but overpopulation. Tarrant even started off his manifesto repeating “it’s the birthrates” three times, meaning that Muslims and those on the African continent generally get more kids than people from the white West, supported with numbers as shown on

¹⁸¹ Butter & Knight, *Handbook*, 1. The original quote is from Barkun, *A culture*, 3-4.

¹⁸² Gunster, “Fear and the Unknown,” 215. The statement that people on the far right are more prone to believing in conspiracy theories is also endorsed by Maarten Reijnders, research journalist and author of the book *Complotdenkers*. See Bohlmeijer, “Complottheorie” and Trouw, “Complotdenkers per partij”.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin, Black Fuel*.

Wikipedia.¹⁸⁵ To the question: “Why focus on immigration and birth rates when climate change is such a huge issue?” Tarrant answers: “Because they are the same issue, the environment is being destroyed by overpopulation, we Europeans are one of the groups that are not over populating[sic] the world. The invaders are the ones over populating[sic] the world. Kill the invaders, kill the overpopulation and by doing so save the environment.”¹⁸⁶ This kind of thinking is very much rooted into a Malthusian theory, in which the surplus of humans is “produced by others—be they, as in the days of Reverend Malthus, the working poor, or Muslims or some other group of non-whites.”¹⁸⁷ Paul (and Anne) Ehrlich’s bestseller *The Population Bomb* from 1968, in which the Malthusian claim is put forward that overpopulation is the source of environmental and food security problems, suitable as it is with eco-nationalist ideas, has therefore been fitting well with eco-nationalist thoughts rising on the far right. It may be clear by now that the overpopulation theory is just another means of denying the necessity to change *ourselves*, as that would mean that concepts need to be redefined.

Marx’s notion of alienation was more or less predominantly economically grounded, in the sense that capitalism has led to working conditions which left us with a feeling of alienation, no longer being able to recognise the products we ourselves have made. Capitalism had therefore created a metabolic rift between humans and their environments. I argued that the feeling of alienation that this caused was funnelled into a goal to eliminate all that seemed alien. The critical theorists of the Frankfurt School and related philosophers have drawn further onto Marx’s concept of alienation, arguing that it is not solely a matter of working conditions and the economy, but just as much a matter of culture and our capacity of capturing (or the incapability hereof) this in concepts. The response to this type of alienation on the far right is the same: the wish to eliminate all that *seems* alien.

3. A comparison between Judeo-Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism

From the discourse analysis as worked out above, a comparison in regards to the respective concepts’ features can be extracted and delineated, as visualised in the following table:

¹⁸⁵ Tarrant, *Great Replacement*, 3.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 22, and The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

¹⁸⁷ The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin Black Fuel*.

Judeo-Bolshevism		Cultural Marxism
Represented by Jews	≇	Represented by (Muslims) sometimes Jews, but above all: people supporting minorities
Internationalism	≈	Multiculturalism
Anti-capitalism & capitalism at once	≠	Anti-capitalism (but the struggle is cultural, not economic)
Technical mind, rationalism, materialism	≠	Cultural relativism & emotionalism

Table 1:

Substantive Comparison between the Concepts of “Judeo-Bolshevism” and “Cultural Marxism”.

While it was primarily Jews representing Judeo-Bolshevism, there is no single “target group” representing Cultural Marxism. Cultural Marxism, in cultural conservative nationalist eyes, can be anywhere and is to be found within many. While in some countries old anti-semitic accusations still might hold, in other nations, contexts or sources Jews play no role in today’s Cultural Marxist concept. While Muslims today are primarily targeted as the enemy for the cultural conservative nationalist, the Muslims themselves are usually not considered to *be* Cultural Marxist. Instead, supporters of multiculturalist societies, open borders and consideration for minority groups are mostly considered to be Cultural Marxist. Because of the difference in target groups representing the concept, it can be considered somewhat showing the same features, but not equal to, which has been marked with a “not almost equal to”-sign.

The feature of multiculturalism, which the Cultural Marxists are indicated to represent, had its own name at the start of the twentieth century, where it was referred to as “internationalism”. Today, the term “internationalism” has changed meaning due to open (intra-EU-)borders, planes and the internet. However, at the start of the twentieth century, internationalism meant not the “possibility to relocate or travel easily” or “the cooperation of nations”, but, as discussed, the fact that Jews were not tied to a nation, but instead, lived *spread* across Europe, while having a similar kind of culture and ontology. This made a Jewish takeover to be considered very likely in the eye of the National Socialist, as Jews could easily spread their ideas across borders and therefore gain ontological power across many countries. Today, the same type of fear is to be found amongst the cultural conservative nationalists, under the term “multiculturalism”. In the eye of the cultural conservative nationalists, Muslims share the same religion, and therefore the same culture, values and ontology. As Muslims, due to various reasons, have been (and will be for multiple reasons) immigrating to Europe, spreading across different European countries, the fear of islamisation has risen amongst cultural conservative nationalists, believing that a Muslim takeover is likely. The Frankfurt School’s influence and theories are believed to have prepared our institutions like universities, governments and the media for this takeover, which resembles the belief of Jews having

prepared the (financial and academic) institutions for a takeover with Marx's influence and theories. The reaction to this existential fear is equally similar, and has been described as "palingenesis" or "palindefence", which is an appeal to nationalism. As the term itself has changed, but the contents of these two terms entail the same type of fear, I have marked it with an "approximately equal to"-sign.

At the start of the twentieth century, Judeo-Bolshevism represented both Bolshevik anti-capitalism and Jewish capitalism at the same time, which Ruth Wodak has coined "syncretic antisemitism". The discourse around economy has changed under Frankfurt School influence, having moved towards a heavier focus on cultural dimensions, which regularly is referred to as a "culture war".¹⁸⁸ Therefore, the stance on capitalism does no longer play such a crucial role in the concept of Cultural Marxism today, as it did within the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism. As discussed above, the reactionary capitalist stance of the cultural conservative nationalist is ambivalent, depending on specific contexts and changing from source to source. Therefore, this feature has been marked with a "not equal to"-sign.

Lastly, while Judeo-Bolshevism represents a so-called "technical mind", based on rationalism and materialism (or historical materialist theories), the Cultural Marxist concept has shown to represent cultural relativism and so-called "emotionalism". This difference can be led back to what exactly is set as the very base or core of the National Socialist or cultural conservative nationalist culture and ideology. As discussed, the National Socialist ideology builds more upon pagan history and myths and has anti-Christian tendencies. Nature was supposed to represent "the divine": a romantic vision in which humans and animals were all subject to the same hierarchical laws of nature. Being, in the National Socialist sense, was a static state, as opposed to the developing historical materialist understanding of history and Being. The same sort of static tendency can be found within the cultural conservative nationalist's worldview, in which change (of culture) is to be opposed with all might. However, the very cultural base set by the cultural conservative nationalist (although there are clear differences between different far-right groups within Europe which this thesis has not elaborated on in great detail) is more dominantly a Judeo-Christian one. Interesting is that for many cultural conservative nationalists, the Jewish heritage is equated to the Christian heritage, and taken as part of the self, instead of part of the opposition. Due to the differences in what is referred to as the very cultural basis in regards to the concepts in question, I have marked these features with a "not equal to"-sign.

The differences between the concepts as elaborated on above are mostly visible at surface level. When we look deeper, at how these concepts have been employed, there are clear similarities to be noted. The most remarkable similarity is that both concepts have a purely reactionary function, attacking a straw

¹⁸⁸ A few examples of articles are: Grunwald, "Culture war" and Malik, "The left".

man: both concepts are used, and practically only have a real referent for a certain group of people with a certain political standpoint (in this case predominantly groups on the far right of the political spectrum), with which the political opponent is to be classified. What is part of the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism respectively, is set by those who wish to distance themselves from the concepts and their respective contents. What exactly these features are that are to be opposed, is to a great extent dependent on the historical, political, and social context in which they are embedded. In line with historical conceptual theory, according to which concepts are seen as not-static, it is important to recognise that, as these (temporal and spatial) contexts change throughout time due to events in history, the exact features change along, get a different name, emerge or disappear, according to societal changes.

Another similarity is to be found in the retrospective aspect that lies behind the very existence of these two concepts. As the concepts are used to define the political opponent, we could argue that the contents of the exact opposite of Judeo-Bolshevism or Cultural Marxism are applying to those who employ the two concepts in question. Even though we do not have exact terms for these opposing ideologies, there is a certain foundation that people on the far right who employ the concepts are referring to as the very basis of a culture that is to be kept (and thus is conceived as threatened from existence *by* Judeo-Bolshevism or Cultural Marxism respectively). I argued that this foundation for National Socialists is a more romantic, pagan historical one, while the cultural conservative nationalists today often refer to a more Judeo-Christian heritage, although some far-right groups do refer to more pagan traditions.¹⁸⁹ This retrospective aspect of referring to the idea of some sort of original (*ursprungliche*) state, is what palingenesis and palindefence have in common as terms. So, even though I have argued that the very heritage that is referred to as the foundation for the National Socialist or the cultural conservative nationalist do differ, both concepts do clearly derive from a retrospective line of thought.

This leads us to a third similarity, which is that both concepts derive from a feeling of existential anxiety: there is something to be kept from becoming extinct, in this case, a very specific idea of what Western (or Northwest European) culture is, or should be. This existential anxiety on which both concepts are based, is rooted in a similar notion of ecology, in which nature is envisioned and understood as static and inherently hierarchical. As the main fear of the far right seemed and still seems to be a fear of being taken over by groups representing a dissimilar ontology, tactics of palingenesis/palindefence are set in use in order to tackle this ontological anxiety. As the human is believed to be free of fear when nothing is unknown anymore, being able to grasp and understand its surrounding environment to its entirety by uniform, simple concepts, attempts are made to eliminate the part of the unknown, decomplexifying the complexity of life, in which nationalist tropes and conspiracy(-like) theories fill the gaps of the unknown.

¹⁸⁹ For a more thorough elaboration on different far-right groups and their respective visions on what is regarded as the very “core” or “base” can be found in The Zetkin Collective, *White Skin, Black Fuel*.

The objective of a homogenous society naturally flows out of this type of reasoning, and so does the opposition towards for example environmentalism in which global injustices inherently are addressed just as much: it would mean such a change and enhanced complexity to the world as we know it and our environments, that it only increases the ontological fear that is tried to be eliminated. In Marxist terms, in which ideologies and their respective texts are regarded as contributing to establishing and maintaining specific relations of power, the concepts of Judeo-Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism can be understood as a way to reduce ontological fear, in order to uphold established power relations as present in the today's world.

Returning to the methodological framework, the statement that Conceptual History considers expressions to be equivalent if they show a similar use-value or position in arguments used to grapple with situations, needs to be recollected. As I believe that the two concepts in question do rest on a similar use-value, I regard these concepts as substantially comparable.

Conclusion

As discussed, the concepts of Judeo-Bolshevism and Cultural Marxism do not necessarily entail the exact same features. Although both concepts do entail a strong sense of internationalism and multiculturalism, there are differences to be found in who represents these concepts, the approaches to capitalism, and the philosophical foundations set. While Judeo-Bolshevism is represented by the Jews who on their turn represented internationalism, anti-capitalism and capitalism, and a rational, technical, materialist mind, Cultural Marxism is not so much represented by a single (biological) entity, but is mainly directed against everyone in support of minorities (particularly Muslims), multiculturalism, anti-capitalism and cultural relativism. The people to whom these two concepts were/are real define themselves as the very opposite of these concepts in question, especially as these concepts are/were primarily employed by those believing in their very existence.

I argued, following Marxist historical materialist theories concerning the metabolic rift between humans and nature, that National Socialists funnelled their feeling of alienation into a deep apprehension for the "other", compressed into the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism in which nationalist tropes functioned as uncomplicated answers to the complexity of life. After the horrors caused by this mode of dealing with the given situation, the Frankfurt School and related scholars added a crucial cultural dimension to this Marxist idea of alienation.

Following Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's idea of non-identity saying that the concepts we employ cannot fully cover the reality of our environment leaving a remainder (which creates ontological fear), I argued that this theory of the remainder is of crucial importance in order to understand the concept of Cultural Marxism. As the cultural conservative nationalist, for whom the concept of

Cultural Marxism has a real referent, believes him- or herself to be free of fear when nothing is unknown anymore, the cultural conservative nationalist actively tries to eliminate this remainder. In other words: the goal is to be able to grasp the environment in its totality with the pre-existing concepts, while equally wanting to eliminate all “alien” forces, in order to overcome a contemporary understanding of alienation, which is understood in cultural, rather than economic terms. The hierarchical foundation which is considered so natural to both the National Socialist and the cultural conservative nationalist, as opposed to the egalitarian Marxist approach, creates the need for dominance, both over nature and over others. Therefore, all forces that can make this current hierarchy tumble, create an existential and ontological fear. Change, whether it be changes to be made in order to combat climate change, societal changes in order to decolonise our institutions and ourselves, or economic changes in order to get rid of the exploitative modes of capitalism, creates a situation in which pre-existing concepts will be less and less capable of covering the environment as we know it.

As shown, the differences in features making up the two concepts in question can be explained historically, as these features are directed towards their respective historical, political and social context. The reactionary aspect of both concepts inherently contains and explains the specific differences. Moreover, as both terms are building upon notions of a glorified past, and are thus retrospective (i.e. palingenesis/palindrome) and both derive from an existential anxiety in order to deal with a certain feeling of alienation or sense of not being able to grasp the totality of our environments with pre-existing concepts, I have argued that both concepts are based on a similar notion of ecology, worldview, and fear of the need to adapt this worldview. Therefore, I do not conclude that the two concepts in question are *the same*, but that, due to the equivalent function and use-value of the concepts, rooted in a similar notion of ecology, the concepts can be regarded as substantially comparable.

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Attachment 1

Definitions:

Even though Wodak and Meyer do not make a clear distinction between “ideology”, “belief” and “*Weltanschauung*”, I am of the opinion that it is important to do so.¹⁹⁰ I therefore employ the following definitions:

- **Weltanschauung:** “A comprehensive conception or apprehension of the world especially from a specific standpoint.”¹⁹¹ An alternative word for this is “worldview”.
- **Ontology:** “the philosophical study of being in general, or of what applies neutrally to everything that is real.”¹⁹²

“Ontology”, thus, is the way we think about who we are, and how we perceive our *being* and *positioning* on this planet, which is inherently tied to how one perceives the planet as a whole. Therefore, these two concepts are not exactly identical, but do shape each other dialectically. I will use *Weltanschauung* or *worldview* as a more general term for the perception of the world, while *ontology* will be used in order to speak about the perception of *being* within that worldview.

Other important terms are “ideology” and “philosophy”:

- **Ideology:** “a form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones. It is a system of ideas that aspires both to explain the world and to change it.”¹⁹³
- **Philosophy:** “the rational, abstract, and methodical consideration of reality as a whole or of fundamental dimensions of human existence and experience.”¹⁹⁴

As I believe that philosophies are inherently political, I see philosophy and ideology as synonyms, together with “set of ideas” or “set of beliefs”. It is the dialectical relationship between *Weltanschauung* and ontology that shapes our ideology (= philosophy = set of ideas = set of beliefs).

¹⁹⁰ Wodak & Meyer, *Methods*, 9.

¹⁹¹ “Weltanschauung,” Merriam-Webster, accessed June 11, 2020, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Weltanschauung>.

¹⁹² Peter M. Simons, “Ontology,” Britannica, accessed June 11, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ontology-metaphysics>.

¹⁹³ Maurice Cranston, “Ideology,” Britannica, accessed June 11, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ideology-society>.

¹⁹⁴ “Philosophy,” Britannica, accessed June 11, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/philosophy>.

Attachment 2

Google Ngram Viewer gives the opportunity to check the frequency of the use of certain search terms (or strings), used in printed sources, available via Google Books. While using the tool, one can choose which language corpus to use. For my results, I have checked both the English and the German text corpora, for the purpose of comparing the concepts, mainly searching for the terms “Bolshevism”/”Bolschewismus” and “Cultural Marxism”/”Kulturmarxismus” (see Diagrams 4-7). For all searches, I have set the timespan between 1900 and 2010 to get visualisations which in fact are comparable in terms of trends.

The reason to choose “Bolshevism” instead of “Judeo-Bolshevism” as a term is deliberate. The search term “Judäo-Bolschewismus” in the German corpus gives no results, while “Judeo-Bolshevism” as a term shows that the term has been used increasingly from the 1990s onwards (see Diagram 3). These results seem to show that the term “Judeo-Bolshevism” is a current appropriate term for a certain phenomenon. It needs further investigation to see which phenomenon exactly is being referred to by this term as showed by Google Ngram Viewer, as that remains unclear, but my hypothesis is that “Judeo-Bolshevism” is the currently used common term for describing the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism as described in this thesis. It, however, also shows that the term is historiographically charged. As the term has no clear use pattern in the first half of the twentieth century, it shows/confirms that the concept as described in this thesis under the name of “Judeo-Bolshevism” has not been referred to as Judeo-Bolshevism as such during the first half of the twentieth century. Instead, other words were used to refer to the concept, such as “Bolshevism” (see Diagrams 4-7) and “Judëo” (see Diagram 8).

No conclusions can be drawn from these Google Ngram Viewer visualisations. However, it does show directions and trends, which prove to be interesting entrances for further investigation. Methods from Digital History and Digital Humanities could potentially be of great value in order to further investigate the use pattern and quantity of terminology used to refer to certain concepts.

For more information on Google Books Ngram Viewer, please see:

<https://books.google.com/ngrams/info>.

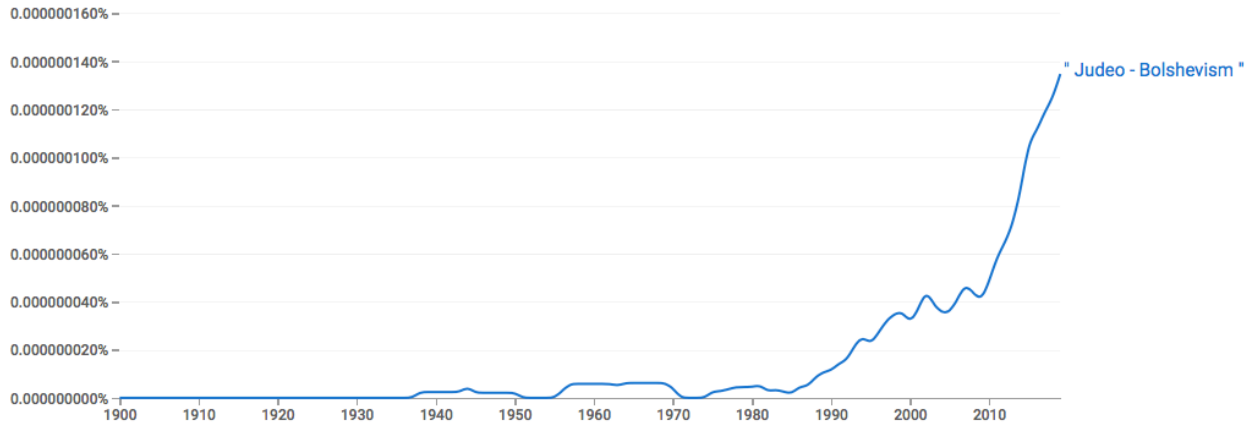


Diagram 3:

The use of the term “Judeo-Bolshevism” in English written books, published between 1900 and 2010, as available via Google Books Ngram Viewer. Accessed July 31, 2020 via:

https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=%22Judeo-Bolshevism%22&year_start=1900&year_end=2019&corpus=26&smoothing=3.

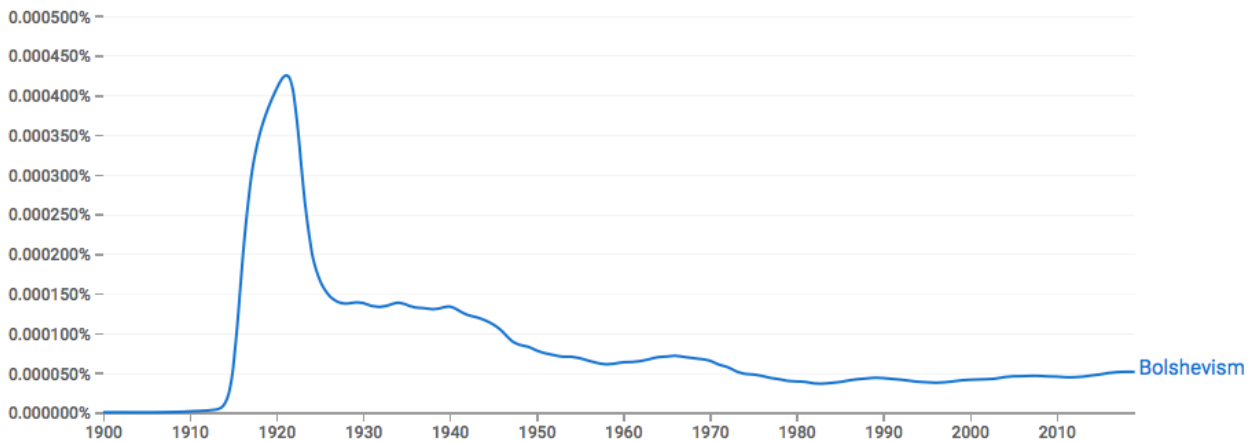


Diagram 4:

The use of the term “Bolshevism” in English written books, published between 1900 and 2010, as available via Google Books Ngram Viewer. Accessed July 31, 2020 via:

https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Bolshevism&year_start=1900&year_end=2019&corpus=26&smoothing=3.

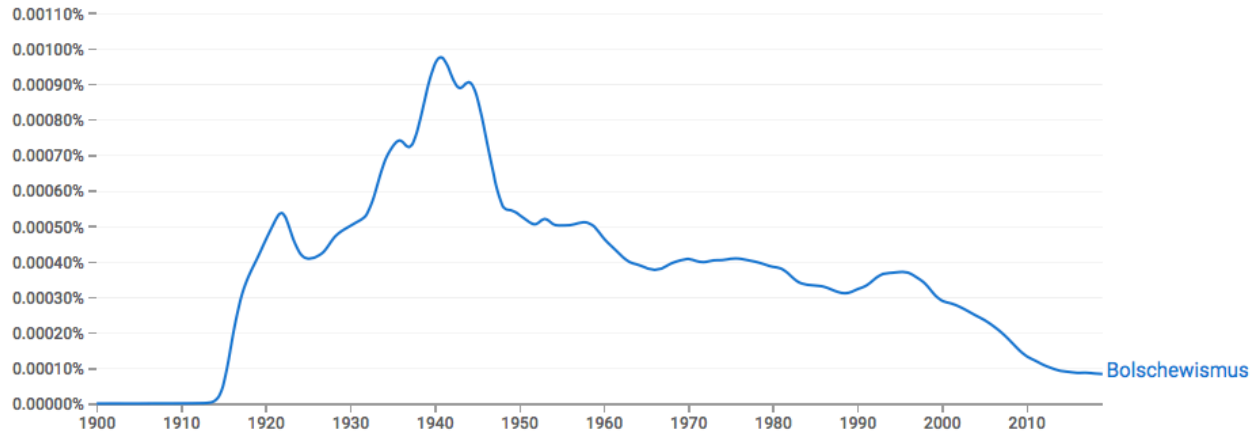


Diagram 5:

The use of the term “Bolschewismus” in German written books, published between 1900 and 2010, as available via Google Books Ngram Viewer. Accessed July 31, 2020 via: https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Bolschewismus&year_start=1900&year_end=2019&corpus=31&smoothing=3.

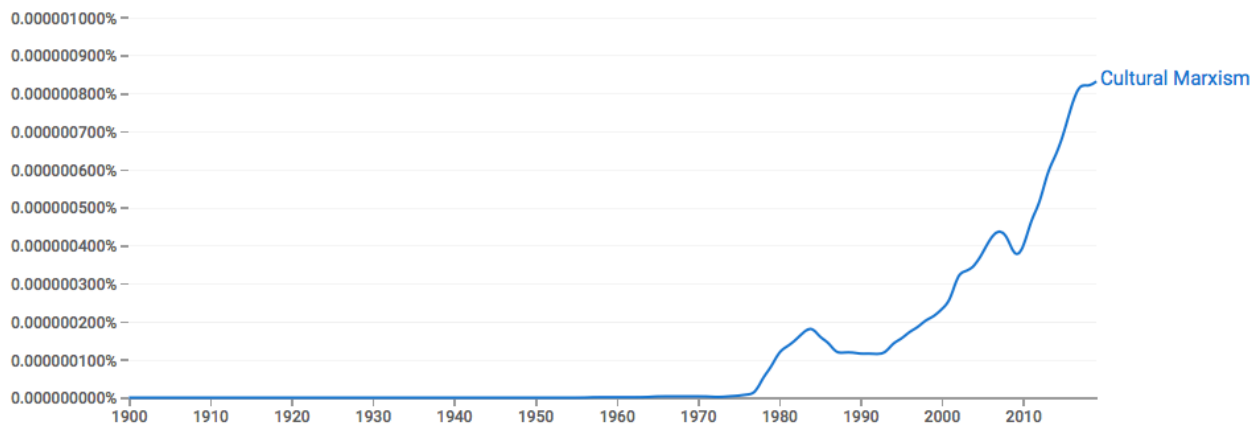


Diagram 6:

The use of the term “Cultural Marxism” in English written books, published between 1900 and 2010, as available via Google Books Ngram Viewer. Accessed July 31, 2020 via: https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Cultural+Marxism&year_start=1900&corpus=26&smoothing=3&year_end=2019&direct_url=t1%3B%2CCultural%20Marxism%3B%2Cc0.

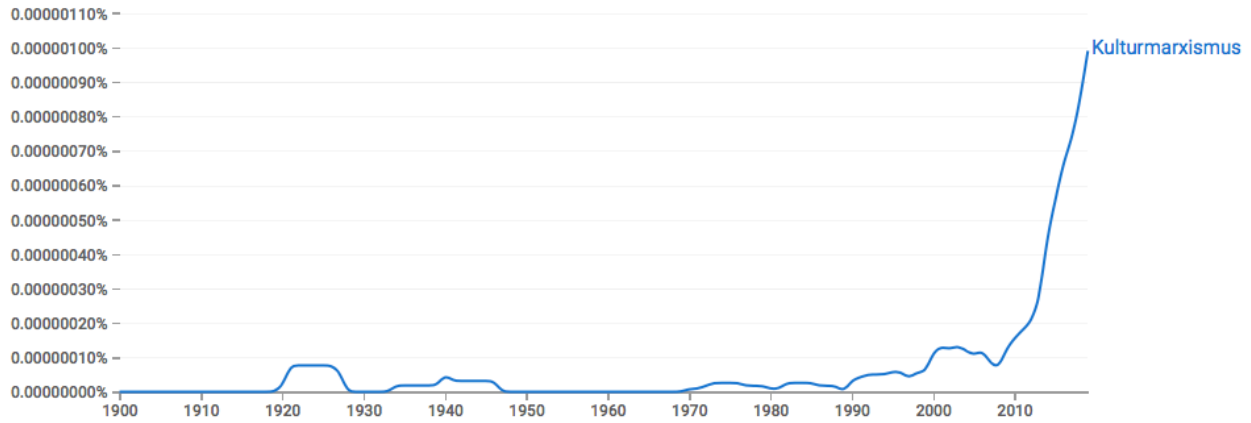


Diagram 7:

The use of the term “Kulturmarxismus” in German written books, published between 1900 and 2010, as available via Google Books Ngram Viewer. Accessed July 31, 2020 via: https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Kulturmarxismus&year_start=1900&year_end=2019&corpus=31&smoothing=3.

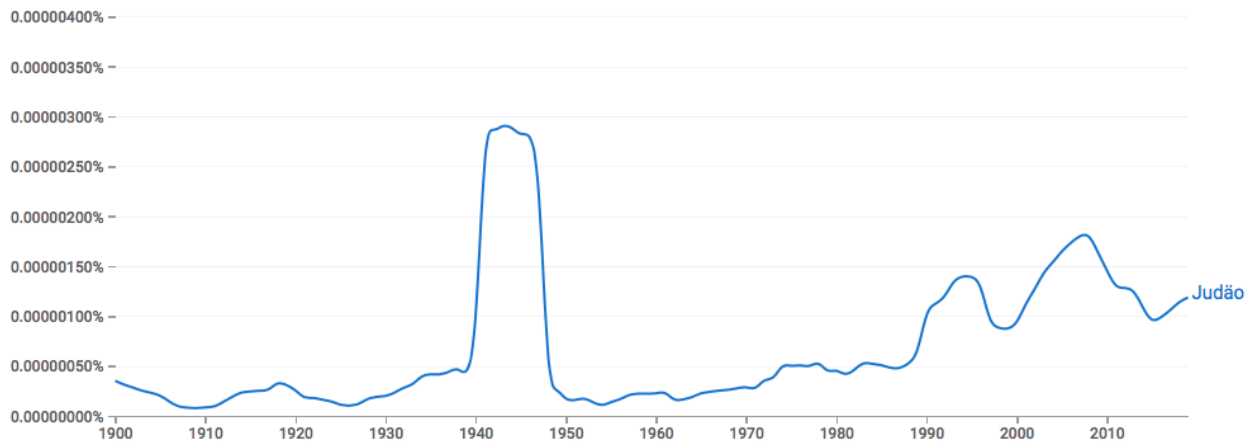


Diagram 8:

The use of the term “Judão” in German written books, published between 1900 and 2010, as available via Google Books Ngram Viewer. Accessed July 31, 2020 via: https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Judão&year_start=1900&corpus=31&smoothing=3&year_end=2019&direct_url=t1%3B%2CJudão%3B%2Cc0.