

‘Green Crescent, Crimson Cross’:
The Transatlantic ‘Counterjihad’ and the New
Political Theology

Ed Pertwee

A thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology of the London
School of Economics for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London,
October 2017

Declaration

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the MPhil/PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that it is the work of others (in which case the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it).

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. Quotation from it is permitted, provided that full acknowledgement is made. This thesis may not be reproduced without my prior written consent.

I warrant that this authorisation does not, to the best of my belief, infringe the rights of any third party.

I declare that my thesis consists of 87,083 words.

Acknowledgements

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Chetan Bhatt, for his support and encouragement over the past four years. He has been a constant source of inspiration and I owe him an enormous intellectual debt.

I am also grateful to the Economic and Social Research Council and to the London School of Economics for their generous financial support, without which this research would not have been possible.

I spent several days exploring the *Searchlight* Archive at the University of Northampton, which was a treasure trove of information. My thanks go to Dan Jones, who was invaluable in helping me to navigate the collections. I am similarly grateful to those who took part in interviews for this project, many of whom also supplied me with resources and information.

My thanks also go to all my friends and colleagues in the Department of Sociology and Centre for the Study of Human Rights at the LSE.

Abstract

This thesis explores the EuroAmerican ‘counterjihad’, a transnational field of anti-Muslim political action that has grown significantly since it first became visible in the mid-late 2000s. Its key symptoms have included ‘Defence Leagues’ and ‘Stop Islamisation’ groups in various national contexts, grassroots mobilisations against mosques and minarets, campaigns to ‘ban the burqa’, as well as a very wide network of anti-Muslim online spaces. The thesis argues that the counterjihad can be seen as a transnational political movement, and its discursive, aesthetic, organisational and tactical repertoires are all critically explored. It will be shown that the heterogeneous political tendencies that constitute the counterjihad are united by a shared narrative of Western crisis, decline and impending catastrophe; several overlapping conspiratorial narratives that attempt to explain this predicament; and, finally, a spectrum of compensatory political projects that seek to reinvigorate a sense of Western civilizational and white ethnic identity in a post-Cold War context where those identities are increasingly contested. The thesis also argues that the counterjihad is one aspect of a more general phenomenon: the striking reemergence in ‘late’ modernity of a number of ‘countermodern’ or ‘traditionalist’ political theologies. These new political theologies overlap with, but are not identical to, the ones that flourished during the long crisis of ‘classical’ European modernity in the early twentieth century (notably, ‘classical’ Italian Fascism and German National Socialism). Finally, the thesis considers the sociopolitical conditions that have fostered the reemergence of such phenomena today.

Contents

1	Introduction: Fear and Loathing in Fortress Europe	1
I	Contexts	19
2	Working in the ‘Grey Zone’: a note on methodology	20
	Conclusion	35
3	‘The Appeals of Heredity’: on countermodernisms and political theologies	36
	‘A true present’	40
	‘Eternal land and eternal blood’	43
	‘Something existentially different and alien’	49
	‘Only a God can save us’	57
	Conclusion	65
4	‘Peoples of the Forest, Tribes of the Desert’: countermodern ideologies and Islam prior to the counterjihad	67
	At the ‘Eleventh Hour’	70
	‘A strategy of euphemism’	75
	The ‘New Alliance’	81
	‘The threat that can bring us to power’	88
	Conclusion	96
II	The Counterjihad	98
5	‘Welcome to the Counterjihad’: anatomy of a political movement	99

The European Counterjihad	101
The North American Counterjihad	117
Networking the Counterjihad	125
‘Extreme but not fringe’	137
Conclusion	141
6 ‘Almost Midnight in the West’: the Eurabian cultural apocalyptic	142
‘The Second Fall of Rome’	147
‘A stranger in my own country’	156
‘The demographic timebomb’	166
‘A recipe for cultural suicide’	172
Conclusion	176
7 The ‘Red-Green Axis’: on counterjihadist demonology	177
‘A global Dark Ages’	180
‘A house burned down’	186
‘The Eurabia Code’	190
‘Civilization Jihad’	194
‘They were to a man, Jewish’	196
Conclusion	211
8 ‘Our Ancient Heritage’: the new political theology	214
‘Taking care of your own’	217
‘Holger Awakens’	223
On ‘Hallowed Ground’	231
‘A declaration of pre-emptive war’	247
Conclusion	251
III Conclusion	253
9 Conclusion: Fascism, Past and Pending	254
A Appendix: Websites Analysed	266

B Appendix: Research Statement	271
Bibliography	273

List of Figures

1.1	Pegida UK demonstration, Birmingham, February 2016.	4
4.1	Hitler meets the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Berlin, 1941.	74
4.2	Cover of Derek Holland’s pamphlet <i>The Political Soldier</i> (1984).	85
4.3	Front cover of <i>National Front News</i> , March 1988.	87
4.4	British National Party anti-Islam campaign, autumn 2001.	89
4.5	Covers of British National Party magazine <i>Identity</i> after 9/11 and 7/7.	95
5.1	The online counterjihad network.	132
5.2	The online counterjihad network: key interfaces.	136
5.3	Donald Trump attends the launch of The United West, March 2011.	140
6.1	Graphic: ‘Stop Islamisation of Europe’.	153
6.2	Leaflet: The Islamic Timebomb.	154
6.3	Placard: ‘Cultural Enrichment?’.	162
6.4	Cartoon: ‘The Other Islamic Bomb’.	169
7.1	Graphic: ‘A House Burned Down’.	187
7.2	Stills from the film <i>Political Correctness: the Frankfurt School</i>	204
7.3	William Lind and Donald Trump, April 2016.	212
8.1	English Defence League emblem and motto.	232
8.2	White nationalist images produced by the North West Infidels.	244
8.3	Front cover of Anders Breivik’s ‘manifesto’ <i>2083</i>	249

List of Tables

2.1	Details of research participants.	32
2.2	Details of observation sites.	33

Note on Referencing

Academic secondary literature and long-form journalistic articles are cited using in-line references within the text. Fieldwork data, news agency reports, websites and the like are referenced using footnotes.

Chapter 1

Introduction: Fear and Loathing in Fortress Europe

It was a cold, grey and wet Saturday afternoon in February. I was standing huddled underneath a bridge outside Birmingham international rail station, a few miles east of central Birmingham in the town of Solihull, with perhaps two or three hundred other bedraggled and shivering people. The occasion was the inaugural demonstration of Pegida UK, the UK offshoot of the German anti-Muslim protest movement *Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes* (Pegida; Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West), which first came to international attention in late 2014 when its weekly rallies in central Dresden began to attract crowds of thousands, peaking at around 25,000 in early 2015, shortly after the Paris offices of the satirical publication *Charlie Hebdo* were attacked by gunmen pledging allegiance to *Al Qaeda* (Dostal, 2015; Virchow, 2016). The UK group was one of a number of affiliates that had been set up, hoping to emulate the success of the Dresden movement.

Fronting the Pegida UK march were its leader, Paul Weston, head of the tiny far-right party Liberty GB and frequent contributor to the US-based blog *Gates of Vienna*, and Anne Marie Waters, director of Sharia Watch UK and former parliamentary candidate for the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), who in September 2017 came second in the contest for that party's leadership. Joining them in the role of 'coordinator' was Stephen Yaxley-Lennon ('Tommy Robinson'), former leader of the English Defence League (EDL), the grassroots anti-Muslim street movement

that had organised chaotic and often violent demonstrations in multiethnic towns and cities across Britain from the summer of 2009 until it went into decline following Robinson's departure in late 2013. During its relatively short lifespan, the EDL had become a model for similar 'Defence League' mobilisations across Europe and beyond, and had formed important alliances with American Tea Party activists and other parts of the dissident US right (Copsey, 2010; Jackson, 2011).

At just after 2pm, the small crowd, made up mostly but not exclusively of young white men, began a 'silent walk' of a few hundred yards to a purpose-built stage in the adjacent industrial estate where they gathered to hear speeches by the Pegida UK organisers. Many marchers wore pre-printed stickers with the Pegida logo and the words 'Save Us' over their mouths as a symbol of their silence. Somewhat incongruously a rainbow flag, the symbol of LGBT emancipation, and an Israeli flag, the Star of David on a white and blue background, fluttered in the wind alongside the red cross of St George, a symbol associated with both English nationalism and the medieval crusades against Islam. The incongruity would, however, be familiar to anyone who had witnessed demonstrations by the EDL, whose attempts to forge a multiethnic and multiconfessional alliance against the 'Islamisation' of Britain had involved the creation of LGBT and Jewish 'divisions', the latter of which had links to the far-right Jewish Defence League and Jewish Task Force (Bhatt, 2012; Jackson, 2011).

Many of those joining the Birmingham demonstration carried placards with slogans such as 'Nazism = Islamism', "'Rape culture" is being imported', 'Protect our children', and an image of the British-born ISIS fighter Mohammed Emwazi ('Jihadi John') brandishing an evil-looking knife with the ironic caption 'Cultural Enrichment?'.¹ One popular placard bore the image of the then-Republican US presidential candidate, now President, Donald Trump, with the words 'Trump is Right'. The reference was to Trump's December 2015 call for a ban on Muslim migration to the US, which Trump justified at the time by citing a poll of American Muslims conducted for the Washington D.C. 'think tank' the Center for Security Policy, that purported to show significant support for replacing the US Constitution with Sharia law.^{2 3}

¹Fieldnotes, February 2016.

²<https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/06/23/nationwide-poll-of-us-muslims-shows-thousands-support-shariah-jihad/> [Last accessed 21st September 2017].

³<http://nymag.com/scienceofus/2015/12/survey-company-trump-is-misusing-our-survey.html>

The Pegida UK event in Birmingham was part of a coordinated ‘Day of the European Patriots’ organised by Pegida and affiliated groups across Europe.⁴ A few days before, on 23rd January 2016, members of Pegida Dresden had met in Roztoky in the Czech Republic with grassroots movements and political parties from across the continent to form the *Festung Europa* (‘Fortress Europe’) network, which included the Czech *Usvit* (Dawn) party and the *Blok proti islámu* (Bloc Against Islam), one of whose events had been addressed by the Czech President, Miloš Zeman; the *Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond* (Conservative People’s Party of Estonia; EKRE); the Polish *Ruch Narodowy* (RN; National Movement); the Italian *Lega Nord* (LN; Northern League); and Pegida offshoots from Austria, Bulgaria and the Netherlands. These groups became co-signatories to the ‘Prague Declaration’, the text of which prophesied the imminent end of ‘the thousand-year history of Western Civilization’ through an ‘Islamic conquest of Europe’, one that had been brought about by an act of betrayal on the part of the ‘European central government’ and the ‘global elites’.⁵ The Declaration asserted the need to protect ‘our common European roots, traditions and values’ and ‘our common way of life’, speaking in quasi-religious terms of a ‘sacred right’ of European citizens to protect their borders and describing an ‘obligation to future generations’.⁶

The speeches at the Birmingham rally, held under leaden skies, rehearsed similar themes. The future of the UK was prophesied to be ‘very grim’, with one speaker painting an apocalyptic picture of impending ‘civil unrest’ and intercommunal ‘war’ between Muslims and non-Muslims.⁷ Islam was emphatically ‘not a religion of peace’, and figured within Pegida UK’s rhetoric as a conquering, totalitarian political ideology indistinguishable from Nazism, whose very name means ‘submission’, and which was routinely associated with violence, especially sexual violence against white women. A recurring theme was that all Muslims are bound by fate to act out the literal word of the Koran, and to emulate the actions of the prophet Mohammed, ‘the perfect man

[Last accessed 21st September 2017].

⁴<http://www.dw.com/en/pegida-meets-with-european-allies-in-the-czech-republic/a-19000895>
[Last accessed 21st September 2017].

⁵<http://gatesofvienna.net/2016/01/tatjana-festerling-in-dresden-the-prague-declaration/> [Last accessed 21st September 2017].

⁶Ibid.

⁷Fieldnotes, February 2016.

This image of the Pegida demonstration has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 1.1: Paul Weston speaks at the inaugural Pegida UK demonstration, Solihull, 6th February 2016. Anne Marie Waters is standing to the left of Weston, partially obscured. Stephen Lennon ('Tommy Robinson') is standing to the right of Weston, in the foreground. Photo © the author.

in Islam'. Key targets for all the speakers were a series of enemies within, including the 'lefty multicultural morons that run our media', 'leftist councils' and the established Church among other purveyors of 'political correctness'. But also accused were politicians of the centre right such as German Chancellor Angela Merkel, condemned for allowing into Europe 'one and a half million young, fighting age, war-hardened... Muslim men', and former British Prime Minister David Cameron, alleged to have decided 'that strangers from faraway lands are more important than we are', and to be committed to 'importing people who hate us... who want to destroy us, our way of life, our ancient heritage, our beautiful Britain'.⁸ Hanging over the entire event was a palpable sense of anxiety, dread and foreboding.

* * *

The foregoing paragraphs, which implicate a heterogeneous set of actors ranging from ephemeral street protest movements, to political parties, bloggers, professionalised ad-

⁸Ibid.

vocacy groups, and even European and North American heads of state, might serve as the briefest topographical sketch of the ‘counterjihad’, a transnational field of anti-Muslim political action that has expanded significantly since it first became visible in the mid-to-late 2000s. Important early symptoms of this tendency were the emergence of specifically anti-Muslim political movements in various national contexts, the growth of grassroots mobilisations against mosques and minarets, campaigns to ‘ban the burqa’, and the proliferation of numerous anti-Muslim online spaces. Many, but not all, of the figures described above would view themselves as part of an organised transatlantic ‘counterjihad movement’, whilst others form part of a broader political milieu that has nurtured the movement and fertilised the soil within which it has grown. Today, many of the discursive repertoires incubated within the counterjihad are routinely mobilised by politicians from Marine le Pen of the French *Front National* (FN; National Front), to Geert Wilders of the Dutch *Partij voor de Vrijheid* (PVV; Party for Freedom), to Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, and, not least, Donald Trump.

The political geography of the counterjihad is primarily EuroAmerican, although its wider political networks extend as far as Israel and Australia. The European and North American ‘wings’ of the movement are somewhat distinct entities in terms of their political genealogies and organisational repertoires, yet they are also densely interrelated phenomena that exist in a symbiotic relationship with one another. The counterjihad began to coalesce as a transnational political movement in the late 2000s, when important international connections were formed through the ‘Stop Islamisation’ network, the International Free Press Society (IFPS) and the International Civil Liberties Alliance (ICLA), which sponsored a series of international counterjihad conferences between 2007 and 2013 in Copenhagen, Vienna, Zurich, London, Brussels and Warsaw. However, the European and North American wings had formed independently of one another some years before this.

During its roughly decennial existence, the European counterjihad movement has encompassed ‘Defence Leagues’ in England, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Germany, Greece, Italy and Poland, among other countries, and ‘Stop Islamisation’ campaigns in various national contexts including England, Denmark, Sweden and

Norway, as part of a pan-European umbrella group (Stop Islamisation of Europe) (Bhatt, 2012). These mobilisations were modelled on, respectively, the English Defence League (founded 2009) and *Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark* (SIAD; Stop Islamisation of Denmark) (founded 2005) (Bhatt, 2012; Denes, 2012; Sedgwick, 2013). More recently, Pegida has usurped these older groups to become the most important counterjihad street protest movement in Europe, and also functions as an international activist network. Other groups that have been operative at various points have included Counterjihad Europa, *Mission Europa Netzwerk Karl Martell* and Cities Against Islamisation (Bhatt, 2012). European political parties that have been actively involved with the movement include the *Sverigedemokraterna* (SD; Sweden Democrats), the *Schweizerische Volkspartei* (SVP; Swiss People's Party) which led the successful 2009 referendum campaign against building minarets in Switzerland, and the Flemish-secessionist *Vlaams Belang* (VB; Flemish Interest) (ibid.). Geert Wilders has long been its key political figurehead.

The European counterjihad groups form part of a wider continental resurgence of far-right political activity, which has taken a number of different organisational and ideological forms (for a recent survey see Fekete, 2016b). In some contexts, there has been a revival of political forms that openly associate themselves with 'classical' Italian Fascism and German National Socialism. However, avowedly fascist and Nazi organisations remain politically marginal, perhaps with the exception of the Greek *Chrysi Avgi* (Golden Dawn) (ibid.). More important are parties, often dating from the 1970s and 1980s, that have historical associations with fascism, Nazism or their wartime collaborators, but which have prospered electorally since the 1990s, in part by moderating their rhetoric, dissociating themselves from interwar fascism and working within the framework of parliamentary democracy. The British National Party (BNP), which enjoyed sporadic electoral success at the local and European levels during the 1990s and 2000s, and the *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* (FPÖ; Freedom Party of Austria), whose candidate for president, Norbert Hofer, was narrowly defeated in a re-run election in 2016, both exemplify this tendency. However, by far the most important example is the French *Front National* (FN; National Front), whose leader Marine le Pen's progression to the second round of the French presidential election

in May 2017 was more keenly anticipated than that of her father, Jean-Marie, to the same stage in 2002.

Finally, other parties have evolved in relative organisational and ideological isolation from neo-fascism yet seemingly share considerable philosophical space with it. For instance, the political platforms of the Dutch Party for Freedom, the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD; Alternative for Germany), the UK Independence Party and the Scandinavian 'Progress' parties are deeply illiberal and inegalitarian, but the majority of their members and supporters do not have backgrounds in organised fascism or violent neo-Nazism. Together, all of these parties are dedicated to, as Geoff Eley has put it, 'simultaneously maintaining boundaries both national and European - of defending the nation from inside the larger battlements of fortress Europe' (Eley, 2016, pp. 109-10).

The electoral ascent of the far right should not detract attention from its extra-parliamentary forms, which eschew party politics altogether in favour of more informal and less hierarchical modes of organisation. Of importance here is the 'identitarian' movement exemplified by the French youth organisation *Génération Identitaire* (GI; Generation Identity) and associated groups such as the German *Identitäre Bewegung Deutschland* (IBD; Identity Movement of Germany). The identitarian movement is, in part, the activist wing of the originally French but now pan-European *Nouvelle Droite* (ND; New Right), an intellectual movement that has since the late 1960s been engaged in a far-reaching project to rethink the fascist political vision, drawing on minority strands of the interwar far right, especially the Weimar 'conservative revolutionary' movement. There is today a dense network of think tanks, publishing houses and online spaces linked to these movements, with offshoots in the US (the North American New Right) and Russia ('neo-Eurasianism').

European counterjihad groups have, for the most part, evolved outside the organisational and ideological spaces of neo-fascism and neo-Nazism. Whilst the EDL and Pegida have both included activists with pre-existing links to these milieux, a key source of recruits for both were football hooligan 'firms', whose primarily local (club) allegiances and changing demographic make-up means they have complex, shifting and sometimes antagonistic relationships with organised neo-Nazism. Many grass-

roots activists and supporters seem to have been relatively apolitical prior to their involvement with the counterjihad. Moreover, the Dresden Pegida movement (but not the EDL) was successful in attracting support from ordinary members of the lower middle-classes, without which its rallies would have been considerably smaller (Dostal, 2015; Grabow, 2016). The understandable desire of journalists and anti-racist activists to highlight evidence of neo-Nazi personnel and symbols at EDL or Pegida demonstrations (which is not hard to find) should not distract us from the more important point: the demonstrable potential for anxieties about 'Islam' to serve as a unifying agenda around which elements of the provincial middle classes, working-class whites and the football hooligan fraternity can coalesce (de Genova, 2015).

Such is the fluidity of the situation at the time of writing, and such is the velocity of ideational and personnel exchange across organisational and national boundaries, that taxonomic categorisation can seem a futile exercise. For most of its lifespan, however, the European counterjihad movement has been marked out from other far-right tendencies not only by the extent of its preoccupation with Islam and Muslims, but also by its Atlanticist orientation, professed philo-Zionism and its disavowal of historical fascism and biological racism. This has distinguished it, for instance, from neo-Nazism, which would consider support for Israel and political alliances with conservative Jews to be anathema. It has also distinguished the counterjihad from the New Right, which has tended to follow its conservative revolutionary forebears in viewing Europe as a geopolitical bulwark against both Russia and America. Finally, it distinguishes the counterjihad from parts of the extreme right that are sympathetic to (and in some cases materially linked with) the authoritarian regime that inhabits post-Soviet Russia, and which tend to take a dim view of 'American-Zionist imperialism'. The boundaries between these movements have, however, always been blurred and have become increasingly so over time.

In contrast to the European counterjihad movement, its North American sibling is dominated by professionalised and often well-resourced advocacy groups, rather than ephemeral protest movements or marginal political parties. Key right-wing 'think tanks' aligned with the movement include the Center for Security Policy (CSP), the organisation whose polling data was used by Trump in support of his 'Muslim ban',

and the David Horowitz Freedom Center, which supports the website *Jihad Watch*, a key site of the counterjihad. At a grassroots level, the most important group is ACT for America, which is little known outside the US, but gained some international media attention when it organized a ‘March Against Sharia’ in twenty-eight US cities in June 2017.⁹ Many prominent American counterjihad activists have backgrounds in the national security establishment, the ‘counterterrorism’ industry and, especially, the (Christian and Jewish) religious right, rather than the organised white nationalist movement. A formative moment for the American wing of the counterjihad came with the 2010 protests against the so-called ‘Ground Zero Mosque’ in New York, organised by the activist group Stop Islamization of America (SIOA), addressed by Geert Wilders and attended by international supporters including a contingent from the EDL.¹⁰

The US counterjihad movement is one of a number of heterodox right-wing political tendencies to have emerged from the post-Cold War ferment of American conservatism (the discussion here of American conservatism and its discontents draws especially on Hawley, 2016). The modern American conservative movement took shape in the mid-twentieth century as a coalition of religious traditionalists, national security hawks and free marketeers, a fortuitous political alliance that was held together for half a century by a shared opposition to Soviet Communism. The philosophical underpinnings of the movement were provided by intellectuals such as Russell Kirk and William F. Buckley, who aspired to turn conservatism into a coherent political ideology, in part by excluding some of the more avowedly nativist, anti-Semitic and isolationist tendencies that had often characterised the pre-war ‘old right’. The Republican party became the electoral vehicle of post-war conservatism, which coalesced around the 1964 presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater, before reaching the peak of its political power with the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980.

From the 1970s onwards, the movement became home to the so-called ‘neoconservatives’, dissident liberals who had accepted the New Deal but were more sceptical of Lyndon Johnson’s ‘Great Society’ programmes and of the 1960s New Left. Many

⁹<https://www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/act-for-america> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

¹⁰<http://afdi.us/historic-911-stop-the-mosque-at-ground-zero-rally/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

of these political refugees were Jewish, and a number of them had studied under the Chicago-based political philosopher Leo Strauss. Neoconservatism, a vague political phenomenon whose defining feature is perhaps a hawkish attitude towards foreign policy, had come to dominate the US right by the early twenty-first century. Neo-conservatives were prominent advocates of US military interventionism after 9/11, ostensibly for purposes of global democracy promotion. Consequently, and especially in contemporary Europe, the US political right is often regarded as synonymous with support for American military adventurism and imperialism. However, this elides a long tradition of isolationism and deep scepticism towards international entanglements that has often predominated on the American right. Moreover, the acquiescence by the post-war US conservative movement in relatively high levels of public spending and the expansion of governmental bureaucracy are perhaps best seen as contingent responses to the perception of an existential threat from the Soviet Union, rather than as permanent ideological realignments (ibid.).

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, heterodox right-wing tendencies - some new, some very old - have emerged to challenge the conservative movement from the right. These include Buchananite 'paleoconservatism', far-right-wing libertarianism, the 'Tea Parties', the Patriot and armed militia movements and resurgent forms of white nationalism (not mutually exclusive categories) (Berlet and Lyons, 2000; Hawley, 2016). Especially since the 2016 US presidential campaign, media and political discourses have used the term 'Alt-Right' in an expansive sense to refer to various of these tendencies, often without differentiation. However, the term 'Alt-Right' also has a more specific meaning, having been coined by white nationalist Richard Spencer to refer to a specific white separatist political project, heavily influenced by the European New Right and its North American offshoots, that seeks to foster a 'white racial consciousness' and eventually to create a white 'ethno-state' in North America (Nagle, 2017). The more expansive usage of the term is analytically limiting insofar as it conflates a diverse set of political actors engaged in divergent and sometimes incompatible political projects, but it does usefully foreground the coalescence of these forces around the 2016 presidential campaign of Donald Trump. The North American counterjihad can be viewed as one current within this new right-wing

political milieu.

During the 2016 US election campaign, figures associated with the US counterjihad movement worked in an advisory capacity on the campaigns of several Republican presidential candidates, including that of Donald Trump, but also those of Ted Cruz and Ben Carson. Since the inauguration of Trump in January 2017, counterjihadist ideas have been influential on administration policy, mediated through key administration figures such as former Chief Strategist Steve Bannon, former National Security Advisor Mike Flynn, Attorney General Jeff Sessions and Trump's speechwriter Steven Miller, amongst others, all of whom have links to US counterjihad groups.

Trump's inauguration address and his July 2017 speech in Warsaw belong to the same discursive formation as Fortress Europe's 'Prague Declaration' and the speeches I heard at the Pegida UK demonstration in Solihull. In his inaugural speech, Trump spoke in apocalyptic terms of 'American carnage', of 'mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities,' of 'rusted out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation,' and of a nation blighted by 'the crime and the gangs and the drugs', whilst also pledging to 'unite the world against radical Islamic terrorism' which he vowed to 'eradicate from the face of the Earth'.¹¹ A few months later, in front of a large crowd in Warsaw, Trump claimed that the 'fundamental question of our time is whether the West has the will to survive', urging the need to 'celebrate our ancient heroes, embrace our timeless traditions and customs', because '[o]ur freedom, our civilization, and our survival depend on these bonds of history.'¹²

The influence of counterjihadist ideas on Trump's presidency is evident in the January 2017 executive order banning travel from seven Muslim-majority countries (a slightly, but not very watered-down version of the campaign proposal) and the mooted designation of the Muslim Brotherhood as a foreign terrorist entity (an idea that seemed to be in abeyance at the time of writing, probably due to the enormous diplomatic and logistical problems that would need to be overcome). Both of these measures have long been advocated by US counterjihad groups like the Center for

¹¹<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/20/donald-trumps-full-inauguration-speech-transcript-annotated/> [Last accessed 21st September 2017].

¹²<http://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/06/politics/trump-speech-poland-transcript/index.html> [Last accessed 21st September 2017].

Security Policy and ACT for America. Neither measure makes any sense as counterterrorism policy, and they can only be understood in the context of counterjihadist narratives of the Islamic ‘conquest’ of the West, and conspiracy theories concerning Brotherhood infiltration of the US government. Arguably, the counterjihad has been a more important influence on administration *policy* than have the avowed white nationalists of the ‘Alt-Right’, notwithstanding Trump’s August 2017 description of the latter as including ‘some very fine people’.¹³

This thesis seeks to apprehend the counterjihad as it has evolved over the past ten-to-fifteen years, viewing it as one of several tributaries of what I term the ‘new political theology’. By this I mean the sacralization of collective identities, group boundaries, political institutions and forms of social authority, across a spectrum of geographical and cultural spaces, in a context of rapid sociopolitical change. In a EuroAmerican context, the new political theology encompasses ‘Judeo-Christian civilizationism’ and ‘Christian nationalism’ as well as avowed forms of ‘white nationalism’. Moreover, these coexist with a multiplicity of regionalist and secessionist tendencies, and heterogeneous national and local cults of tradition. Outside EuroAmerica the term could equally apply to, for instance, the Hindu nationalist *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP) that has governed India since 2014, and its associated paramilitia organisation, the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), an organisation founded in 1925 that consciously sought to emulate interwar European fascist movements. ‘Political theology’ (sometimes also ‘political religion’) could similarly apply to the *salafi-jihadi* paramilitia groups such as *Al Qaeda* and *Daesh* (Islamic State; IS) against which the counterjihad nominally defines itself.

More specifically, it will be argued that the counterjihad exemplifies the striking reemergence in ‘late’ modernity of various ‘*countermodern*’ political theologies. The defining characteristic of these phenomena is their reactionary inflection of the temporality of modernity, in which a mythic past becomes the basis for a future-oriented political project. Symptomatic of this tendency is the fusion of technological modernity with forms of political premodernity, faith, superstition and anti-rationalism,

¹³<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/trump-defends-white-nationalist-protesters-some-very-fine-people-on-both-sides/537012/> [Last accessed 21st September 2017].

a synthesis evident across a number of political movements today. These are emphatically *not* forms of conservatism, if by ‘conservatism’ we mean a form of politics oriented towards the preservation of what ‘is’. Instead, they are counterrevolutionary in the temporal sense: they aim at the reversal of an existing tendency or state of affairs (Osborne, 1995). Hence, contrary to the taxonomic approaches of EuroAmerican political science, I will argue that it is not some shared ideological belief (however defined) that unites such diverse political phenomena as ‘classical’ Italian Fascism, Nazism, the ‘New Right’, the ‘Alt-Right’ and the counterjihad movement, and which justifies their collective characterisation as ‘far right’. Rather, it is their common temporal structure. Today, this counterrevolutionary temporal structure is inscribed in such popular slogans as ‘take *back* control’ and ‘make America great *again*’.

The parallel emergence of these phenomena across a range of national contexts has given rise to heated public and academic debates concerning the applicability of ‘fascism’ as a generic term, and the nature of the ‘fascism-producing crisis’ (Eley, 2016). These debates have divided those who see important continuities between today’s insurgent ultra-right and interwar European fascist movements, from those who want to insist on the exceptional nature of ‘classical’ Fascism and, especially, German National Socialism. They have also divided those who wish to draw parallels between the cleansing nation-statisms of mid-twentieth-century Europe and the cleansing violence of contemporary religious paramilitia groups like *Al Qaeda* and ISIS, from others for whom neologisms such as ‘Islamofascism’ are yet further evidence of fascism’s increasingly debased coinage. Finally, they have divided those who, influenced by a long Marxian sociological tradition that views fascism as the product of capitalist economic crises, theorise resurgent EuroAmerican racism as a by-product of white working class economic distress, from those who argue that such economic explanations amount to evasions of glaring structural racism and white supremacy. I do no more than register these debates here, as I will return to them in the conclusion to the thesis.

Broadly, however, I want to insist on the need to apprehend *both* the continuities between contemporary and historical forms of countermodern political theology on the one hand, *and* the ‘conjunctural specificities’ (Eley, 2016) of the present on

the other. It will be argued that there are indeed important affinities between the countermodern political theologies of the early twentieth century and those of the early twenty-first. These stem from a shared diagnosis of their respective historical presents as moments of crisis, decline and impending catastrophe, which leads to strikingly similar survivalist logics of bordering, boundary-making and cultural purification. However, the nature of these 'crises', which, contrary to Marxian theories of fascism are always discursively constituted and never structurally 'given', are in many respects quite different.

One obvious difference between interwar fascist movements and contemporary xenophobic and nativist forces, is that today much far-right hatred and bigotry is directed towards Muslims specifically. This has led to important debates on the causes of anti-Muslim hatred, and the extent to which contemporary bigotry and violence towards Muslims can be understood on the analogy of historical racisms and classical anti-Semitism. However, what sometimes gets lost in these debates is the broader point that the external enemy in fascism has a very specific function: that of generating group unity and identity through hostile polarisation against a third party. The invocation of such an enemy is, by implication, typically symptomatic of an unresolved 'endogenous' social conflict. Moreover, fascist enmity need not be *strictly* 'racial' in the classical sense of that term (although it often is) and religious or cultural antagonisms can also become the basis for fascistic solidarity. As it was famously put by the Nazi legal theorist Carl Schmitt, the enemy is simply 'the other, the stranger; and it is sufficient for his nature that he is, in a specially intense way, existentially something different and alien' (Schmitt, 2007b, p. 27).

In the tumultuous context of interwar Germany, Adolf Hitler and the Nazi movement radicalised the conservative revolution against the 'Spirit of 1789' (and, by implication, that of 1776) and its animating principles of *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité*, turning it into a specifically anti-Jewish revolution (Mosse, 1998, p. 292). Drawing on, but also going beyond, a long history of European anti-Semitism and Christian hatred of Jews, Nazism declared that all the things conservatives complained about - liberalism, democracy, socialism, feminism, pacifism - were products of a 'world-Jewish conspiracy'. In this way, the guilt for a range of concrete sociopolitical prob-

lems - German military defeat, economic crisis, and Weimar political paralysis - was transferred onto the collective body of the Jews, whose extirpation from the face of the Earth was taken to be the condition of possibility for the restoration of peace and normality. Hence, in the specific sociohistorical context of interwar Europe, the invocation of a 'world-Jewish conspiracy' served to generate the affective energies necessary for a violent counterrevolution against the 'Spirit of 1789' and its political offspring.

In a similar way, I will argue, the invocation of an Islamic enemy and a 'red-green axis' today, in a quite different sociohistorical context, functions to generate the requisite affective energies for a colossal international counterrevolutionary assault on the 'Spirit of '68' and the political legacy of the New Left. Throughout what follows we will encounter the same theme repeated with monotonous regularity: that the 'Islamisation of the West' is consequent upon a crisis of Western civilizational confidence that has been brought about by the erosion of traditional group identities, territorial boundaries and forms of social authority, through 'cultural relativism', 'political correctness', feminism, anti-racism, 'globalism' and a range of other political catastrophes. Hence, for many on the political far right today, the real enemies are not so much the ones allegedly threatening to storm the gates of Fortress Europe from without, but rather those within who stand accused of leaving the gates unlocked.

The thesis is divided into two parts. **Part I** constitutes the methodological, theoretical and contextual framework for the thesis. In **chapter 2** I describe how I came to this topic and how I have gone about researching such a vast, complex and rapidly-evolving phenomenon. The chapter sets out the research design and the methods used, and discusses the ethical decisions that I have made during the course of the project.

The literature review that follows is divided into two parts. In **chapter 3**, I set out my theoretical and conceptual framework, and develop my core concepts of 'counter-modernism' and 'political theology'. To do this, I contrast a classic expression of the 'attitude of modernity' in the political philosophy of Immanuel Kant with three exemplary 'countermodern' thinkers: Oswald Spengler, Carl Schmitt and Martin Heidegger. The chapter argues that the 'attitude of countermodernity' expressed in their writings constitutes a contingent affective response to what the historian of religion,

Mircea Eliade, has called the ‘terror of history’ (Eliade, 1954). Using the writings of Spengler, Schmitt and Heidegger, I try to show how their reactionary inflection of the temporality of modernity involves a conception of time as governed by fate, insofar as the exercise of human agency in the present is subordinated to determinations of the future (the site of imminent disaster) and the past (mythologised as one of safety and security). Building on Emmanuel Levinas’ seminal writings on the ‘philosophy of Hitlerism’ (Levinas, 1990b), the chapter also argues for an indissociable link between temporal fatalism and political particularism, wherein Kantian universalism, cosmopolitanism and the idea of the ‘abstract subject’ are displaced in favour of conception of the subject as bound by fate to a particular culture.

In **chapter 4**, I use a genealogical approach, in the Foucauldian sense of that term (Foucault, 1991a), to explore how Islam and Muslims have figured in various countermodern political theologies prior to the counterjihad, the better to illustrate the specificity of the latter. The aim of the chapter is not to provide an exhaustive history of far-right orientations towards Islam and Muslims, but rather to show how such orientations have been historically contingent and often fiercely contested. Tendencies considered within the chapter include neo-Nazism, the European New Right, international ‘third positionism’ and white racial nationalism. The chapter also serves as an occasion for considering some broader trends within the EuroAmerican far right, including increasing transnationalisation and the diversification of political strategies (Griffin, 2000). Furthermore, the chapter seeks to unsettle a key assumption of Anglophone ‘fascism studies’: that a definitive extrahistorical ‘essence’ of fascism (the ‘fascist minimum’) can be isolated based primarily on comparative study of inter-war European fascisms (e.g. Griffin, 1993; Eatwell, 1996).

In **Part II**, I apply the conceptual and theoretical framework developed in the first part to the specific case of the counterjihad movement. **Chapter 5** draws on online social network analysis, analysis of key websites and organisational literatures, interview data and scholarly literature to provide an overview of the counterjihad, its political geography, its key organisational and tactical repertoires, and its main international networks. The chapter argues that the counterjihad can be viewed as a transnational social movement, with a division of labour between its intellectual,

political and activist ‘wings’. The chapter examines first the European and then the North American sides of the movement, before turning to consider the political spaces in which activists from different national backgrounds have encountered one another. Finally, the chapter discusses the political influence that the movement has been able to wield. Throughout the chapter, the organisational and political eclecticism of the movement are emphasised.

The following three chapters explore the shared narratives that have enabled the heterogeneous group of organisations and individuals described in chapter 5 to view themselves as part of a common political project.

Chapter 6 explores the dystopian narrative of Western civilizational crisis, decline and impending capitulation to ‘Islamisation’ that has come to be shared across a broad spectrum of groups in Europe and North America. First, the key intellectual resources for this narrative are critically explored, as is the sociopolitical context within which it has emerged. The chapter goes on to discuss the key elements of the narrative, including its apocalyptic visions of ethnoreligious civil war, and its diagnoses of cultural capitulation to ‘Islamisation’ and of demographic submersion under a rising ‘green tide’. In the language of social movement theory, this chapter corresponds to the task of ‘diagnostic framing’ that is a necessary component of all collective political action (Benford and Snow, 2000): before blame can be attributed or solutions proposed, a political problem must first be identified (although the priority involved here is a logical and not necessarily a temporal one).

Chapter 7 explores the conspiratorial narratives that seek to explain the predicament diagnosed in the previous chapter. It will be argued that there are at least three, overlapping conspiracy theories circulating within the counterjihad: the transformation of Europe into ‘Eurabia’ as a deliberate project of European elites and the Arab-Muslim world; the idea of a Muslim Brotherhood ‘Project’ to infiltrate major US political institutions through a ‘stealth jihad’; and finally the discourse of ‘cultural Marxism’, which alleges leftist infiltration of key cultural institutions including the mass media and the academy. The first two of these are specific to the counterjihad, whilst the third, which is derivative of the Nazi idea of *Kulturbolschewismus* or ‘cultural Bolshevism’, is shared much more widely within the far right. Moreover,

these narratives circulate within a wider, extremely fertile conspiracist milieu that includes, for instance, 'birtherism', but also theories of greater longevity such as the 'New World Order'. The chapter situates the counterjihadist narratives within a broader US conspiracist tradition: what Richard Hofstadter famously termed the 'paranoid style' (Hofstadter, 1996). In the language of the social movement literature, this chapter corresponds to the task of problem 'attribution': of identifying those responsible for the political predicament that has been diagnosed (Benford and Snow, 2000).

Chapter 8 examines the compensatory political imperatives to which these diagnoses and attributions give rise. The chapter argues that the counterjihad is engaged in a novel 'countermodern' political project, one that has affinities with older countermodern philosophies (classical Fascism, Nazism, Revolutionary Conservatism, the New Right) but is not a simple continuation of any of these. The chapter examines the logic of this political project: its mobilising myths, its main performative repertoires and its potentiality for violence. In the language of social movement theory, this chapter corresponds to the tasks of 'prognostic' and 'motivational' framing: of articulating solutions and mobilising people for ameliorative action (Benford and Snow, 2000).

The concluding chapter, **chapter 9**, returns to consider the question raised earlier in this introduction, of the meaning and relevance of the term 'fascism' in times and spaces remote from the interwar European regimes and movements for which the term was originally coined. It will be argued that both Marxist (structuralist) and liberal (culturalist) approaches to 'fascism' are analytically insufficient, and that neither is capable of apprehending the complex political realignments unfolding on the far right today. A new approach will be proposed, and the salience of 'fascism' and the nature of the 'fascism-producing crisis' will be reconsidered in this context.

Part I

Contexts

Chapter 2

Working in the ‘Grey Zone’: a note on methodology

The world described in the introduction to this thesis seems very different to the one in which I began this research project in October 2013. At that time, America’s first black president, Barack Obama, was a few months into his second term, having won a convincing victory over the Republican Mitt Romney in November the previous year. Donald Trump was best known as a reality TV star who occasionally used his media profile to amplify ‘Birtherist’ scepticism about the legitimacy of Obama’s presidency, and was hardly considered a viable political candidate even by conservatives. Very few people had heard of a movement called the ‘Alt-Right’. On the other side of the Atlantic, David Cameron governed the UK as part of a coalition with the Europhile Liberal Democrats, and the prospect of the UK holding a referendum on its membership of the European Union, much less voting to leave, seemed fanciful. The acute phase of the so-called ‘migrant crisis’ stemming from the increased flow of refugees from Syria, Iraq, Somalia, Eritrea and elsewhere seeking sanctuary in Europe, still lay nearly two years in the future. Narendra Modi, who had spent his formative political years in the Hindu fundamentalist RSS, was still some months away from becoming prime minister of India. *Al Qaeda* was in retreat, much of its leadership in Afghanistan and Pakistan, including its founder Osama bin Laden, having been killed. ISIS had yet to lay claim to leadership of the international *salafi-jihadist* movement by declaring a global ‘caliphate’. Moreover, the threat of anti-civilian violence by these groups in

Europe and North America had seemed to be receding. Whilst the impetus for undertaking this research was, in part, a vague sense that something ugly was bubbling away beneath the surface of liberal democratic politics, the political realignments that have unfolded during the research process have been rapid and difficult to anticipate.

I first became interested in this area whilst studying for an MA at Birkbeck College, University of London, between 2011 and 2013. As part of that course in Culture, Diaspora and Ethnicity, I read several articles on the English Defence League, at that time a comparatively new phenomenon. Struck by the visible presence of Israeli and rainbow flags on EDL demonstrations, symbols that sat somewhat awkwardly with characterisations of the group as 'fascist', I decided to make the EDL's engagement with queer politics the subject of my MA thesis. During the course of that research, it quickly became clear that the presence of an LGBT division within the EDL was not solely propagandistic as I had first suspected, even if the EDL's understanding of queer politics was rather different to that of the mainstream LGBT movement. Whilst it was not the focus of my research, it was clear that the same was true of the Jewish division. These divisions were among the EDL's most active, especially online. Moreover the volume of discussion of ideas, tactics and strategies in non-public-facing online spaces made it very unlikely that they existed purely for show.

What also struck me during the course of that research was the extent to which the EDL and groups like it were networked across national borders, and the extent to which they were making use of new media technologies such as blogs, Facebook and Twitter. These tendencies had been documented by academic observers of the far right for some time (e.g. Back, Keith, and Solomos, 1996; Back, 2002b), and they only seemed to be growing. However, it also became clear that there was a large and important gap in the literature. Discussions of growing 'Islamophobia' tended to operate at a discursive or ideological level, with the growth of organised anti-Muslim activism featuring only tangentially, if at all (e.g. Allen, 2010; Runnymede Trust, 1997). Moreover, where the literature did discuss organised anti-Muslim activism, it tended to do so either at an organisational or national level, with an individual group (the EDL) or a single country (the UK) taken as the unit of analysis (e.g. Allen, 2011). Strikingly absent was a developed literature on what, it seemed to me, we were seeing:

the emergence of a transnational anti-Muslim social movement. Consequently, there was a dearth of analysis of the emergent political networks, or the intellectual and material resources being mobilised. This has changed somewhat over the intervening years (see e.g. Berntzen and Sandberg, 2014; Bhatt, 2012; Denes, 2012; Ekman, 2015; Gardell, 2014; Hafez, 2014), although I would argue that it is still a relatively understudied area. Consequently, I decided that I wanted to pursue this line of research further, and enrolled on the doctoral programme in Sociology at the London School of Economics.

This thesis, which is the product of my doctoral research, moves away from the narrow focus of my earlier interest in the EDL, and seeks to explore the broader ‘counterjihad’ movement of which the EDL was an important, but relatively short-lived, part. The thesis explores the shared narratives that have enabled a heterogeneous group of organisations and activists from quite different national contexts to view themselves as part of a common political project. It examines the movement’s key discursive, aesthetic, organisational and tactical repertoires. In doing so, it seeks to answer a core research question: how should we understand the transnational ‘counterjihad’ in sociological terms? In particular, I wanted to explore whether the tempting analogies with historical racisms and fascisms were genuinely useful ones, or whether they might limit our understanding of important ideological and organisational transformations that are better theorised in their own terms.

To attempt to understand the complex realignments unfolding within the contemporary EuroAmerican political right is inevitably to enter what the sociologist Les Back has called ‘the grey zone’, borrowing a phrase from the Italian chemist and Auschwitz survivor, Primo Levi (Levi, 1988; Back, 2002a). It might be argued that since the publication of Back’s stimulating reflections on his experience of interviewing former British National Party (BNP) leader Nick Griffin during the early 1990s, some of the ‘greyness’ has in fact dissipated and been replaced by starker polarities of black and white. For instance, one important recent development is undoubtedly the reassertion of *avowedly* racist and anti-Semitic ideologies, ones that *openly* associate themselves with interwar fascism and Nazism. However, in other respects things have, if anything, become even murkier. For instance, one quite different but equally

striking tendency has been the disavowal of ‘classical’ fascism and biological racism by some parts of the far right, and their appropriation of the languages of secularism, democracy, human rights, womens’ rights and gay rights, of which the EDL’s LGBT division is a prime example.

The complexities of the contemporary terrain for researchers as well as for anti-racist activists are perhaps best illustrated by way of some specific examples, drawn from the UK context. When the EDL mobilised against the East London Mosque, parts of the British anti-fascist movement mobilised counterdemonstrations in support of the mosque, which is linked to the Islamic Forum of Europe (IFE) and the far-right *Jamaat-e-Islami*, a political party implicated in war crimes in Bangladesh during the Liberation War (Bhatt, 2012). Much of the street-level opposition to the EDL was mobilised by Unite Against Fascism (UAF), which has close links to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), an organisation considered anathema by many on the British political left, not least for its recent failure to adequately investigate allegations of rape made by a member against one of its senior officials. UAF’s leadership has included a number of figures who have histories of association with the Islamic religious far right, and the group has co-organised events with the IFE. On one occasion, a small number of UAF supporters joined a counterdemonstration organised by the now-proscribed Islamist group Muslims Against Crusades, against the secularist group One Law For All (OLFA). OLFA was formed in 2008 by the Iranian-born human rights activist Maryam Namazie to oppose gender-based discrimination in Sharia and other religious courts. OLFA claims to have received no reply to a letter sent to UAF demanding an explanation, a silence that OLFA took to mean ‘that UAF is willing to ally itself with Islamists if Muslims are threatened by the EDL’ (Miller, 2013, p. 56).

More recently, in 2015, the British anti-fascist organisation Hope not Hate, which is distinct from and sometimes critical of UAF, published a report on the counterjihad movement. Among other things, the report drew attention to the presence within counterjihad networks of some heterodox Muslim figures, who variously described themselves as ‘ex’, ‘former’, ‘secular’, ‘non-observant’ Muslims, ‘apostates’ and the like. Hope not Hate was subsequently accused by Maajid Nawaz of the Quilliam

Foundation of conflating anti-Muslim racism with legitimate criticism of Islam, and of endangering reformist Muslim voices (many of them, Nawaz noted, non-white and female) by associating them with the anti-Muslim far right.¹ Quilliam, a self-described ‘counter-extremism organisation’, had in 2013 facilitated the departure of Stephen Lennon from the EDL, along with his deputy Kevin Carroll, despite its expertise lying in the area of Islamism and its lack of previous experience working with ex-members of the far right. It later transpired that Quilliam had made a number of financial contributions to Lennon in the context of his departure from the EDL, despite it quickly becoming clear that he had not changed his political beliefs. In response to Nawaz’s criticisms, Hope not Hate removed one of the individuals named in the report, but otherwise rejected his accusations as disingenuous.

Both examples raise important terminological and methodological issues: how, in a rapidly changing and contentious area of politics, where terminology is fiercely contested, can we begin to define the object of study or delimit the boundaries of a research project? One of the issues at stake is the meaning and relevance of the term ‘fascism’ when applied to phenomena remote in time and space from Mussolinian Italy, Hitlerite Germany and the other interwar European regimes and movements that the term historically described. OLFA’s charge against UAF was essentially that it had a narrow, Eurocentric understanding of ‘fascism’ and the ‘far right’, and that its ‘anti-fascism’ was consequently of a highly selective variety, as evidenced by UAF’s willingness to form alliances with authoritarian and anti-democratic representatives of the Muslim community to whom the term ‘fascism’ might at least *arguably* be applied. In contrast, the charges levelled at Hope not Hate illustrate the potential risks of more expansive understandings. One of the criticisms made of their report was that their criteria for defining the ‘counterjihad movement’ or the ‘anti-Muslim far right’ were highly subjective, and that the reasons for including certain organisations and individuals (especially heterodox Muslim figures) were unclear.²

The approach I have taken in this thesis began from an ‘emic’ perspective, by trying to identify the boundaries of the counterjihad network that were perceived as real

¹<http://www.thedailybeast.com/the-lefts-witch-hunt-against-muslims> [Last accessed 26th September 2017].

²Ibid.

by movement participants. Scott (2013) describes this as a ‘realist’ approach to apprehending a social network, as opposed to a ‘nominalist’ one where the boundaries are defined using a formal criterion pre-determined by the researcher. I started the research online, using social network analysis to map out the online counterjihad milieu. This is an approach that has increasingly been found to be useful in studies of the far right (and other communities) online (see e.g. Caiani and Wagemann, 2009; Caiani and Parenti, 2013; Lee, 2015). From an initial ‘seed set’ of known counterjihad websites, web crawler software was used to map outbound hyperlinks to other sites, thereby discovering new online spaces and new organisations. As the online social network analysis progressed, I conducted a qualitative analysis of the sites thus discovered. In parallel, I approached an initial set of known counterjihad activists for interview. Qualitative interviewing has been an effective approach in the study of far-right movements, allowing participants to explain their beliefs and motivations in their own terms (e.g. Blee, 2002; Goodwin, 2011). In addition, these knowledgeable informants were asked to identify other movement participants and further potential interviewees (‘snowballing’).

As the research progressed, I shifted to more of an ‘etic’ perspective. In order not to privilege the perspective of counterjihad movement insiders, I also approached movement antagonists for interview, including anti-racist and anti-fascist activists. At the same time, I immersed myself in the academic secondary literature on the contemporary and historical far right, looking for both continuities and discontinuities between the counterjihad and other movements. I also conducted archival research at the archives of the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*, based at the University of Northampton,³ to better understand how Islam and Muslims had figured in far-right discourses prior to the emergence of the counterjihad. These archives include historical issues of *Searchlight*, as well as literatures produced by far-right parties and movements. Throughout the research process, I developed my analysis in an iterative and dialogical way, testing my interpretations and constructions against those of people active within the field.

The resulting thesis is a historically and comparatively informed qualitative case

³<http://library.northampton.ac.uk/archive/?p=collections/controlcard&id=14>

study of the counterjihad movement. A quantitative approach, using a statistically representative survey of counterjihadists would not have been possible because the ‘population’ is not known. The counterjihad is a loose and evolving network of organisations and individuals spanning multiple countries across several continents. Many of the organisations that are part of the movement are non-membership organisations with transient, ephemeral and overlapping support bases, and grassroots organisations often have a relatively short life-cycle. In addition, due to the contentious nature of the field of political action in which they are engaged, some activists choose not to disclose their identities or the nature of their involvement with the movement.

The remainder of this chapter elaborates in more detail on the methods used, the characteristics of the research participants and field sites, and the ethical decisions I have made.

The online social network analysis, which formed the starting point for my analysis, was developed in an iterative process over a period of two years. After experimenting with a number of different software applications, I eventually selected VOSON⁴ for the webcrawl. VOSON (Virtual Observatory for the Study of Online Networks) is a web-based data collection and processing service developed by the Research School of Social Sciences at The Australian National University. The VOSON service comprises a web crawler that crawls ‘seed sites’ entered by the user, discovering hyperlinks between these and other sites. Whilst VOSON offers some in-built network analysis functions, it also allows data to be exported to more powerful external network analysis software. I found VOSON to be superior to many similar applications, because it can crawl to a greater page ‘depth’ and because it is compatible with a wide range of third-party social network analysis tools.

Peer-reviewed secondary literature was used to select relevant counterjihad seed sites. Given the contentious nature of the research area, I deliberately avoided using partisan sources to identify seed sites, such as activist reports by movement participants or antagonists. I restricted the selection to peer-reviewed articles from academic journals, and only included organisations and web spaces that were mentioned in more than one article. However, due to the length of the academic peer-review

⁴<http://www.uberlink.com/>

and publication process, some new organisations had emerged since these articles had been written. Consequently, a small number of additional seed sites were added at my discretion. These included, for instance, websites of splinter groups that had formed in the interim, but also included one major new organisation, Pegida. This resulted in an initial seed set of 37 sites.

These seed sites were inputted to VOSON, and an exploratory crawl was initiated on 28th July 2016 and completed the same day. The new sites discovered through the crawl were analysed in order to identify further potential seed sites for a second iteration of the crawl ('snowballing'). In the first instance, new sites that had fewer than two links to one of the sites in the initial seed set were excluded. This was done to ensure that potential additional seed sites were considered valid by a minimum of two of the original seed sites. Further sites were removed that would clearly be unsuitable as seeds, for instance websites of software providers such as Adobe, online retailers such as Amazon, and major news outlets like the BBC or CNN. The remaining new sites, 34 in total, were added to the 37 original seeds, and the expanded seed set of 71 sites was used as the basis for a second iteration of the webcrawl.

The second and final crawl, with the expanded seed set of 71 sites, was launched on 31st July 2016 and completed the same day. This resulted in a network of 5,645 sites, which would have been too large for a single researcher to analyse and would have been likely to suffer from 'topic drift' (Ackland, 2011). In order to arrive at a network of a size that could be realistically analysed, the results were again filtered to exclude sites that had fewer than two links to sites in the (expanded) seed set, resulting in 4,558 sites being excluded. Each of the remaining 1,087 sites was then individually and manually inspected. Non-English-language websites were excluded from the analysis unless they could be positively identified from counterjihad movement sources or from secondary academic literature. Other websites were placed in one of three categories:

1. **Counterjihad movement actors.** Entities for whom resisting 'Islamisation' (or 'creeping sharia', the 'stealth jihad' or the like) is their sole or major reason for being.
2. **Counterjihad supporters, enablers and sympathisers.** Entities for whom resisting 'Islamisation' is not their sole or principal reason for being, but which

have supported counterjihad organisations, for example by providing resources, platforms or sympathetic commentary.

3. **Other.** Entities not falling into either of the above categories.

Various factors were taken into account in placing entities within one of these categories: the entity's self-described purpose (the 'about us' or 'who we are' section on its website); the perception of the entity by other movement participants and antagonists; the volume of counterjihad-related material on its website; the presence of 'friendly' links to other counterjihad websites; and, if the entity also has an offline presence, whether it has been active in key movement networks, events and the like. Data from interviews with counterjihad movement participants and antagonists were considered alongside the website analysis during the classification process.

Counterjihad movement actors (i.e. entities placed in category 1 above) were further classified by organisational type (political parties, research and advocacy organisations, political movements, blogs and other online spaces, and individuals). The supporters, enablers and sympathisers category (i.e. category 2 above) has been further disaggregated according to their field of activity (the main ones being: conservative media, heterodox Muslims, national security and counterterrorism, pro-Israel, religious right, nativist and anti-immigrant, white nationalist and far right, right-wing blogs, and conspiracy theorists). Organisations placed in category 3 were excluded from the analysis at this stage. A complete list of websites analysed can be found at Annex A. Category 1 organisations (counterjihad) are listed in table A.1 and category 2 entities (supporters, enablers and sympathisers) are listed in table A.2.

The resulting network was analysed using NodeXL, an open-source plugin for Microsoft Excel.⁵ NodeXL is a data mining, analysis and visualization tool, which enables users to calculate various social network analysis metrics for any set of relational data. Key metrics calculated included measures of network cohesion (e.g. 'density' and 'average distance') and measures of importance or prestige for different sites within the network (e.g. 'indegree' and 'betweenness centrality'). These metrics, their significance, and how they should be interpreted are discussed in more detail in chapter 5, where the results of the social network analysis are presented.

⁵<https://nodexl.codeplex.com/>

The online social network analysis was used as the basis for an analysis of counterjihad movement literature. Organisations and online spaces placed in category 1 as described above were accessed and their ‘canonical’ materials (party manifestos, mission statements, aims and objectives, etc.) were downloaded. Blogs and similar online spaces did not always have a manifesto, mission statement or equivalent, but most identified key entries or webpages that described the agenda, purpose or ideology of that particular online space. In the few cases that did not, the site’s homepage was taken as the unit of analysis. In total, 418 web pages were downloaded and analysed from 97 separate sites.

The materials downloaded from online spaces were imported into NVIVO,⁶ a qualitative data analysis software package. Within NVIVO, the data were analysed using thematic analysis to identify key themes. Initial codes were generated by looking for words or phrases indigenous to the counterjihad discourse, for instance ‘Islamisation’, as well as recurring topics and ideas. These initial codes were then aggregated into higher level ‘themes’. Emerging themes were kept under review as the research progressed, and their number gradually winnowed down through the development of ‘integrative’ and ‘overarching’ themes as recommended by Saldana (2016).

The qualitative interviews add depth and richness to my analysis of political networks and organisational literatures. Since the aim was not to construct a representative sample of counterjihadists or their political opponents (something that would in any case be impossible, since, as I have already noted, in neither case do we know the ‘population’), I purposively selected an initial ‘seed set’ of interviewees who were involved in organising or networking within counterjihad circles. Some of these had also been involved in grassroots activism. These interviewees were asked to suggest additional participants (‘snowballing’), which most, but not all, did. Further interviewees were also identified using emerging data from the online social network analysis. Similarly, when recruiting interviewees from within anti-racist and civil rights communities, I purposively selected people with specific experience of monitoring or organising against counterjihad groups. Again, these interviewees were asked to suggest other prospective interviewees.

⁶<http://www.qsrinternational.com/product>

Before interviews could commence, I had to seek approval from the LSE Research Ethics Committee in line with the School's Research Ethics Policy. As part of this, I had to consider the process for obtaining informed consent from research participants, how to minimise potential risks associated with the research, and processes for ensuring confidentiality. I prepared a short, one-page research statement with information about the project in non-technical language (included as Annex B). This included details of the project funding body and some brief biographical information. Due to the contentious nature of the research area, and the possibility that potential participants might be reluctant to engage with an academic researcher, I considered it of paramount importance to ensure that interviewees felt confident about participating in the research and able to speak freely to me. Consequently, I decided to offer interviewees the choice of speaking to me 'on' or 'off' the record. I also decided to allow interviewees to choose the interview medium and setting that they were most comfortable with (in person, Skype, phone, email). Interviews took place in public settings, workplaces and interviewees' homes. Interviews (except those conducted by email) were recorded with the interviewee's consent. Consent was obtained either in writing or verbally and, if given verbally, recorded and included in the interview transcript.

The initial approach to interviewees was made by email. I introduced myself as a doctoral student researching the emergence and development of anti-Jihad, anti-Sharia and anti-halal movements in Europe and North America. I explained that the purpose of the research was to explore how these new movements can be understood in sociological terms, and that I was particularly interested in: their aims and objectives, activists' and supporters' motivations for getting involved, how groups are organised and the relations between them, and how their political and ideological orientations might be characterised. A copy of the research statement was appended to the email.

These approaches were met with mixed responses. In general, I was surprised at how willing people were to speak to me, although some prospective interviewees were (understandably) keen to know more about the research before agreeing to take part. Several people were quite generous with their time, and a couple went out of their way to assist me, for instance by sending me resources or putting me in touch with

other activists, despite clearly realising that I did not share their political beliefs. In only one case did someone (a very prominent counterjihad activist) take the trouble to write back and explain in no uncertain terms why he would not be taking part in my research project: because it was inevitable, in his view, that I would try to smear him as a 'racist' and a 'fascist'. More often, if people did not want to take part, they simply did not respond.

Interviews were semi-structured and based on a topic guide. I wanted to give my interviewees latitude to discuss their beliefs and motivations, but there was also some core information that I wanted to get out of each interview. Core topics covered with all interviewees included:

- their organisational or group affiliations;
- their role within their organisation or group;
- their motivations for getting involved;
- the aims and objectives of their activism;
- who they saw as the key actors within the area of study; and
- who else they would recommend that I speak to as part of the research.

Given the heterogeneity of the individual research participants and the organisations they represented, questions had to be adapted to make them relevant.

Getting interviewees to talk freely was not as difficult as I had feared, and the interview data I have collected are very rich. This is likely to be in part because I am white and male, and it would have been much harder to conduct this research had I been non-white or female. The main barrier I had to overcome was suspicion of me as an academic researcher. As we will see in subsequent chapters, there is a strong anti-intellectualist current within the far right and a deep suspicion of universities, perceived as left-leaning institutions. These suspicions were occasionally articulated by interviewees, as will be seen in the interview data presented in later chapters.

Interviews were transcribed, imported into NVIVO, and analysed using the same approach (thematic analysis) applied to the movement literature. Although many interviewees had been happy to speak 'on the record', I eventually took the decision

	Description	Location	Gender	Interview medium
1	Counterjihad street movement activist and organiser	UK	Female	Phone
2	Party political activist	UK	Male	Phone
3	Counterjihad blogger and activist	US	Male	Email
4	Counterjihad blogger and activist	US	Female	Email
5	Counterjihad street movement activist and organiser	UK	Male	In person
6	Counterjihad activist and politician	UK	Female	Phone
7	Party political activist (counterjihad sympathiser)	UK	Male	In person
8	Politician (counterjihad enabler)	UK	Female	In person
9	Anti-fascist activist	UK	Male	In person
10	Counterjihad blogger	UK	Male	Phone
11	Counterjihad blogger	US	Male	Email
12	Anti-fascist activist	UK	Male	In person
13	Civil rights activist	US	Male	Skype
14	Anti-fascist activist	UK	Male	In person
15	Civil rights activist	US	Male	Skype
16	Counterjihad activist / group spokesperson	US	Male	Skype
17	Blogger (non-counterjihad)	US	Male	Skype
18	Muslim civil rights activist	US	Male	Phone

Table 2.1: Details of research participants.

during the writing-up process to anonymise all the interview data. This decision was taken in the context of a changing political climate, especially over the final twelve months of the project. I felt that the risks associated with participating in the research may potentially have changed, but it would not have been practicable to re-contact all interviewees to confirm how their data should be used. Since some interviewees had requested anonymity in any case, I decided that the simplest approach was to anonymise all of the interview data. In addition to being anonymised, transcript excerpts quoted in the thesis have also been lightly edited for readability.

Information about the interviewees is set out in table 2.1. Of the eighteen people interviewed, nine were actively involved in counterjihad organisations and can therefore be unambiguously placed in category 1 as described in the previous section (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11 and 16). Three might best be described as supporters, enablers or sympathisers of the counterjihad and therefore belong in category 2 above (interviewees 7, 8 and 17). The remaining six can be characterised as movement antagonists (interviewees 9, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 18). Due to the decision to anonymise all interview data, and the relatively small and tight-knit nature of some of the groups and networks within the field of study, I have had to be selective with the information included in table 2.1.

	Description	Location	Date
1	English Defence League demonstration	Dudley	7th February 2015
2	Pegida UK demonstration	Newcastle	28th February 2015
3	Britain First High Court injunction hearing	London	26th June 2015
4	Britain First demonstration	Luton	27th June 2015
5	Pegida UK 'silent walk'	Birmingham	6th February 2016
6	Britain First counterprotest, UN Anti-Racism Day	London	19th March 2016
7	English Defence League demonstration	London	16th July 2016

Table 2.2: Details of observation sites.

The combination of social network analysis, thematic analysis of organisational literatures, and qualitative interviews with activists reflects my primary research interest in the counterjihad as a transnational political movement and the shared narratives that hold together heterogeneous actors from a variety of different national and organisational backgrounds. Whilst I have not set out to produce an ethnography of grassroots counterjihad activism, I did take the opportunity to observe a limited number of public events by UK counterjihad organisations in order to explore the possible connections between the thematic content of organisational literatures and interview transcripts, and the forms of political action, modes of congregation, routines and rituals of grassroots activist groups. I have compared my own observations and field-notes with published ethnographies of grassroots counterjihad activism (e.g. Busher, 2016; Pilkington, 2016).

The main grassroots counterjihad organisations active in the UK during the period of study were the English Defence League and the UK Pegida movement. A third organisation, the political party and activist movement Britain First, has also been active within the same political space, but, as we will see in later chapters, Britain First is somewhat distinct as it has organisational and ideological links to the British neo-Nazi milieu and is considered 'fringe' or 'too far right' by other parts of the counterjihad movement. However, the discourse and activities of Britain First offer a useful point of comparison and contrast with those of the EDL and Pegida UK. I carried out overt observation of seven public events by these groups between February 2015 and July 2016. Six of these events were public protests. The seventh was a court hearing relating to a police application to ban a proposed event by one of the groups. Information about the events observed is set out in table 2.2.

‘Overt’ observation in this context does not mean that I could disclose my identity as a researcher to everyone present in the public spaces where these events were held. In some cases, the events took place in spaces with thousands of people in them, including demonstrators, counterdemonstrators, police and members of the public. Instead, I have taken ‘overt’ demonstration to mean two things. First, I confined myself to recording data concerning the ‘primary action’ (modes of congregation, speeches, group rituals, organisational symbols) and aggregate data (numbers of protestors, the age, gender and ethnicity of the crowd, modes of dress), all of which can be considered part of the public performance. I did not record any potentially identifying data about individual participants. Secondly, where I interacted with event participants, I ensured that I disclosed my identity as an academic researcher early on in the conversation, so that the person could make an informed decision about whether they were willing to speak to me. Some were, but many were not. ‘I don’t want to speak to anyone from a university’, was a response that I had on more than one occasion.

Finally, I spent several days in the *Searchlight* archives at the University of Northampton. The reason for doing this was to better understand how the far right (in a UK context at least) was oriented towards Islam and Muslims in the years immediately prior to the emergence of the counterjihad. The main far-right organisation active at that time was the British National Party whose key publications, the magazines *Identity* and *Spearhead*, I read from the late 1990s until the mid-to-late 2000s. The material obtained from these archives is interwoven with secondary literature as part of the genealogy presented in chapter 4.

One of the key limitations of the research is a linguistic one. Contemporary anti-Muslim mobilisations inherently transcend national and linguistic boundaries, and I am not competent in all of the languages spoken by activists within these movements. Whilst this has resulted in an inevitable bias towards the Anglophone counterjihad movement (the US and the UK) the restriction of my research to English-language materials is not as much of a limitation as it might first seem. English is the *lingua franca* of the counterjihad movement, and many websites outside the US and the UK have English-language versions, or at least have key materials translated into English. Consequently, whilst the interview data is Anglo-American, and the observa-

tions are confined to the UK, the online research partly offsets this bias. In total, I have examined counterjihad websites from fourteen different countries (the UK, US, Canada, France, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Australia).

Conclusion

The subject of this thesis - the contemporary transnational mobilisation against Islam and Muslims - is a vast, amorphous and complex one that has evolved significantly over the period of study, and I cannot claim to have apprehended all aspects of it. However, the approach I have taken, starting with online social network analysis, has enabled me to identify the key organisational and individual actors operating within this field and the relationships between them, whilst the qualitative interviews and analysis of movement literature has enabled me to identify the key ideological and discursive repertoires being mobilised.

Before we turn to the results of my analysis of the counterjihad in Part II of this thesis, the next two chapters set out the theoretical framework and historical context within which it should be viewed. It is to the theoretical framework that we turn first.

Chapter 3

‘The Appeals of Heredity’: on countermodernisms and political theologies

In this chapter I develop the key theoretical concepts of ‘countermodernism’ and ‘political theology’ that I will later use to apprehend the counterjihad movement. Countermodern political theologies are *modern* in the full temporal sense of that term, inasmuch as they involve a critical or reflective relationship towards a present, typically seen as a moment of crisis and decline, that they seek to transform and overcome in a revived future. They are *countermodern* inasmuch as their image of that future is based on a mythic past that may be partly real or wholly imagined. Hence, what is involved is a specific *reactionary* inflection of the temporality of modernity. Countermodernism is therefore distinct from *antimodernism*: what is involved is not so much a *return* to a premodern past, as a recourse to (what are taken to be) its guiding values and ideals, which become the basis for a future-oriented politics. A key characteristic of countermodernism is the fusion of technological modernity with forms of political premodernity, faith, superstition and anti-rationalism. Implicit in this is a (re-)sacralisation or (re-)mythologisation of politics.

The term ‘political theology’ is consequently used to designate phenomena that confound the conceptual distinction and practical separation of ‘religion’ and ‘politics’ that is typically assumed by democratic politics and secular social science. There is

now a growing literature that seeks to apprehend fascism, Nazism and related phenomena as 'political religions' (e.g. Gentile, 1990, 2005; Vondung, 2005). I prefer the term 'political theology' to the alternative 'political religion' for two reasons. First, the separation of 'religion' from 'politics', and the relegation of the former to the private or personal sphere, are specific to Western modernity and consequences of Enlightenment secularism and rationalism. The hybrid term 'political religion' may seem to imply that it is their fusion in some political movements that is anomalous and which calls for explanation, when from a broader historical perspective it is their assumed separation that may seem unusual. Second, as will become clear, my usage of the term is heavily influenced by the work of Carl Schmitt, so I retain his term in order to make this debt explicit. Specifically, I am indebted to Schmitt's thesis of a structural correspondence between a society's theological and metaphysical image of the world on the one hand, and its characteristic forms of political organisation on the other (Schmitt, 1985).

In this chapter I will argue that the reactionary inflection of the temporality of modernity inherent to countermodern political theologies involves a conception of time as governed by fate, insofar as the exercise of human agency in the present is subordinated to determinations of the future (the site of imminent disaster) and the past (mythologised as one of safety and security). For Emmanuel Levinas, writing in 1934, the notion of fate - 'a burning feeling of natural powerlessness... in the face of time' - was central to understanding what he called the 'philosophy of Hitlerism' (Levinas, 1990b, p. 65). Nazism was, for Levinas, a resurgent form of pagan religiosity that threatened both liberal and Christian universalism. Crucially, for Levinas, the opposition between liberal or Christian universalism and the racist particularism of Nazism was not fundamental, but rather the derived form of a deeper opposition between two different conceptions of the temporal structure of reality. The basic form of paganism, according to Levinas, is the intuition that time is governed by impersonal fate. The basic form of monotheism (of which Levinas regarded liberalism as a modern, secularised form) is the intuition that time is governed by subjective freedom. In the first conception, the individual subject is bound by fate to a particular culture and particular territory, whereas the second conception anticipates the eman-

cipation of the subject from ties of tradition and kinship and its entry into a universal, cosmopolitan political order.

Building on Levinas' argument, I will argue that the 'attitude of countermodernity', of which the racial paganism of Nazism was an especially radical form, constitutes a specific affective response to what the historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, has called the 'terror of history' (Eliade, 1954). I will develop this idea with special reference to three exemplary 'countermodern' thinkers: Oswald Spengler, Martin Heidegger and Carl Schmitt. They are in many ways quite different thinkers, although consideration of their specific differences can also help to foreground their affinities. Schmitt and Spengler were closely associated with the 'conservative revolution', an intellectual movement that flourished in Weimar Germany and whose key characteristic was, according to Jeffrey Herf, 'the embrace of modern technology by German thinkers who rejected Enlightenment reason' and 'the political values of the French Revolution' (the 'Spirit of 1789') (Herf, 1984, p. 1). As against the then-prevailing *antimodernism* of the German right, exemplified by the *völkisch* movement, the conservative revolutionaries argued that Germany could not be culturally strong whilst also remaining technologically backward. Their key achievement, claims Herf, was to transpose technology from the semantic world of an alien, Western *Zivilization* (associated with Enlightenment rationalism, universalism, egalitarianism and scientism), into an organic component of German *Kultur* (associated with uniqueness, spontaneity and individuality), a fusion encapsulated in Joseph Goebbels' phrase, 'steellike romanticism'. Hence, the conservative revolution was instrumental in laying the political ground for Nazism by effecting a reconciliation of technology and unreason (Herf, 1984, pp. 2-3).

Besides Schmitt and Spengler, other key figures of the conservative revolution included Hans Freyer, Ernst Jünger, Werner Sombart, Edgar Julius Jung, and Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, who coined the phrase 'The Third Reich'. Heidegger was a more ambiguous figure. He did not share the conservative revolutionaries' enthusiasm for modern technology, but he did share their view that the existing society was not worth conserving, that what needed to be 'conserved' had already been lost and must be created anew, and he consequently shared their hopes for a Germanic spiritual rebirth. One thing that unites the three figures considered in this chapter,

and which they also share with Hitler and the Nazis, is an apocalyptic vision of the world-historical situation as one of crisis, decline and impending catastrophe.

Schmitt and Heidegger both joined the Nazi party in May 1933. Schmitt became president of the National Socialist Jurists Association in November that year and published a number of works supportive of Nazism (Strong, 2005). Heidegger enthusiastically supported National Socialism during his rectorship of Freiburg University from April 1933 to February 1934, and made a number of speeches supporting Hitler during this time, most famously his 'Rectorship Address' of 27th May 1933 entitled 'The Self Assertion of the German University' (Heidegger, 1993b). Heidegger later became disillusioned with Nazism and eventually came to see it as one of the symptoms of the modernist disease to which he had thought it was the antidote, although he was never moved to apologise for his political entanglement. Spengler, by contrast, had an antagonistic relationship with the Nazi party due to his undiluted elitism and open disdain for mass movements, and died in 1936 long before the Second World War and the Holocaust.

My thesis is of a fundamental interrelationship between the affective, the temporal, the ontological and the political. This argument can in part be stated in terms derived from the three countermodern figures discussed in this chapter. Schmitt's political theology, with its thesis of a homologous relationship between a society's metaphysical image of the world and its forms of political organisation, forces us to reckon with an overfamiliarity between the ontological and the political. Heidegger, in turn, subordinates the ontological (and by implication the political) to the temporal: 'whenever Dasein tacitly understands and interprets something like Being, it does so with *time* as its standpoint' (Heidegger, 1962, p. 39). To their arguments I add my own: that there is in all three cases an overdetermination of the temporal by the affective. This occurs in a general way in Spenglerian pessimism and in the apocalyptic visions of crisis and decline shared by all three figures. However, it also occurs in more specific ways. One example is the privileged disclosive role accorded by Heidegger to anxiety in bringing the subject to awareness of its mortality, which awareness, he argues, is the condition of possibility for any form of temporalisation (and, by implication, any form of ontologisation) whatsoever. Another example is

the generative role attributed by Schmitt to hatred as the ontological ground of ‘the political’ (Schmitt, 2007b).

To make this argument, I will contrast the countermodern philosophies of Spengler, Schmitt and Heidegger with a paradigmatic figure of philosophical modernity: Immanuel Kant. What follows should not be read as an unqualified defence of Enlightenment rationalism and universalism. Rather Kant is used here simply as a representative of philosophical and political modernism, in order to bring the specific phenomenon of ‘countermodernism’ into sharper view. The chapter begins with a brief outline of Kant’s political philosophy, relating it to a specific form of time-consciousness. The chapter then turns to consider first Spengler, then Schmitt and finally Heidegger.

‘A true present’

‘Modernity’, as Michel Foucault has argued, is best understood as an ‘attitude’ rather than a period of history: it is a ‘mode of relating to contemporary reality’, a ‘voluntary choice made by certain people’, a ‘way of thinking and feeling... of acting and behaving’ (Foucault, 1991b, p. 39). This ‘attitude’ is characterised by Foucault, drawing on Baudelaire, as a ‘heroization’ of the present that is ‘indissociable from a desperate eagerness to imagine it... otherwise than it is’ (ibid., pp. 40-41). ‘Modern man’, by consequence, ‘is not the man who goes off to discover himself, his secrets and his hidden truth; he is the man who tries to invent himself’ (p. 42). Moreover, Foucault notes, ‘the attitude of modernity, ever since its formation, has found itself struggling with attitudes of “countermodernity”’, one example of which is those painters, who Baudelaire made fun of, ‘who, finding nineteenth-century dress excessively ugly, want to depict nothing but ancient togas’ (pp. 39-40).

Kant’s 1784 essay *Was ist Aufklärung?* (‘What is Enlightenment?’) (Kant, 1970a) is seen by Foucault as an inaugural gesture in the philosophical discourse of modernity. ‘Enlightenment’ is, for Kant, ‘mankind’s exit from its self-incurred immaturity... the inability to make use of one’s own understanding without the guidance of another’ (ibid., p. 54). The idea of a sovereign free reason that creates its own laws and norms

without the guidance of history or tradition is encapsulated in Kant's motto of the Enlightenment: '*Sapere aude!* Have the courage to use your *own* understanding!'. As Peter Osborne observes in *The Politics of Time*, Kant's 'conception of the autonomy of reason... is internal to the time-consciousness of a self-transcending present which cuts itself off, in principle, from the determinations of the past' (Osborne, 1995, p. 21). Alternatively, in Levinas' more poetic formulation, 'true freedom' requires 'a true present, which, always at the peak of a destiny, forever recommences that destiny' (Levinas, 1990b, p. 65).

The time-consciousness of a pure present that severs itself from all determinations by the past is not, in Levinas' view, an invention of the eighteenth century, but had been prefigured in both Christian and Jewish theological metaphysics. The ideas of repentance and redemption in Judaism and of salvation in Christianity constitute a 'rebellion' against the idea of sin, one that brings about a paradoxical subordination of the past to the present (Levinas, 1990b, p. 65). Here freedom triumphs 'by tearing up the bedrock' of natural and historical existence (*ibid.*, p. 65). The power attributed to the Christian soul to detach itself from the determinations of nature and history, confers on it an abstract and noumenal nature which is the 'ultimate foundation of the individual' (*ibid.*, p. 65). It is also the basis of egalitarianism, the 'equal dignity of each and every soul' (*ibid.*, p. 66), whose condition of possibility is the power attributed to the soul to free itself from what has been.

The classical idea of the 'abstract' subject, whether as the Cartesian *ego cogito* or the Kantian autonomy of reason, can be seen as a secularised version of the Christian notion of the soul. As Levinas puts it, whilst modern political liberalism 'evades the dramatic aspects' of the soul's liberation through repentance and redemption, 'it does retain one of its essential elements in the form of the sovereign freedom of reason' (Levinas, 1990b, p. 66). Hence modern philosophical and political thought 'replaces the blind world of common sense with the world rebuilt by idealist philosophy, one that is steeped in reason and subject to reason' (*ibid.*, p. 66). 'Liberalism is the translation, the political-theological translation, of the Judeo-Christian heritage', claims Simon Critchley, summarising Levinas' argument. 'In the world of liberalism we're no longer weighed down by history, we're free' (Critchley and Dianda, 2015, p. 37).

The radical freedom imputed by Kant to the human subject gives rise to a unilinear, progressive theory of history in which ‘the free exercise of the human will *on a large scale*’ promises ‘a steadily advancing but slow development of man’s original capacities’ (Kant, 1970b, p. 41), which ‘opens up the comforting prospect of a future in which we are shown from afar how the human race eventually works its way upwards into a situation in which all the germs implanted by nature can be developed fully, and in which man’s destiny can be fulfilled here on earth’ (ibid., p. 52). This is recognisably a secularised version of Christianity’s eschatological theory of history, one involving an immanentised eschatology that can be brought about through human agency ‘here on earth’. Kant foresaw the emergence of a universal and cosmopolitan political order, one that would be embodied in ‘a federation of peoples in which every state, even the smallest, could expect to derive its security and rights not from its own power or its own legal judgement, but solely from this great federation (*Fædus Amphictyonum*), from a united power and the law-governed decisions of a united will’ (Kant, 1970b, p. 47).

This conception of human nature and history has, of course, long been contested. Levinas claims that the first doctrine to do so was Marxism. Marxism denies the sovereign freedom of reason proclaimed by idealist liberalism, subordinating it to material determinations. In the Marxian view, Being determines consciousness, rather than the reverse. However, Levinas suggests, Marxism’s break with liberalism ‘is not a definitive one’, insofar as the individual subject still retains the power to shake off false consciousness. ‘To become conscious of one’s social situation is, even for Marx, to free oneself of the fatalism entailed by that situation.’ (Levinas, 1990b, p. 67)

Levinas’s claim that Marxism was the *first* doctrine in Western history to contest the idea of ‘human spirit as pure freedom’ (ibid., p. 66) is contentious. Kant’s universalism and cosmopolitanism was assailed in his own lifetime by Johann Gottfried Herder, who might serve here as a representative of romantic *antimodernism* (Reiss, 1970). Herder criticised Enlightenment rationalism, and opposed Kantian universalism with a particularistic conception of humanity as divided into distinct cultures, each expressing a unique ‘folk-spirit’ (*Volksgeist*). It was this tradition of romantic, *volkisch* nationalism, that the conservative revolutionaries would later seek to marry

with an embrace of modern technology. As we will see, there are strong echoes of Herder's conception of cultures as natural organisms in Spengler's theory of history.

Although neither Kant, nor Foucault commenting on Kant, say so explicitly, one of the conditions of possibility for Kantian 'universal history' was the eschewal of Christian apocalypticism in which the future is already filled with presentiments of the imminent end of the world. As Osborne observes, '[o]nly at this point was a conceptual space available for an abstract temporality of qualitative newness which could be of epochal significance, because it could now be extrapolated into an otherwise empty future, without end, and hence without limit' (Osborne, 1995, p. 11). Indeed, the only limit on the extrapolation was the finitude of the human population; consequently, humanity's exit from the 'self-incurred immaturity' of its reliance on custom and tradition, and its entry into a universal, cosmopolitan political order governed by human reason, was, for Kant, only a matter of time (Kant, 1970b).

It is true that the attitude of modernity has been confronted with attitudes of countermodernity 'ever since its formation', as Foucault put it. However, I want to argue that attitudes of countermodernity have flourished especially in times and spaces that are filled with apocalyptic forebodings and presentiments of doom, contexts in which the condition of possibility for universal history has been more difficult to fulfil. One of the most dramatic flourishings of countermodern political theologies occurred in Europe in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, notably in Germany and Italy, where the traumatic experience of modern warfare intersected with a range of social anxieties related to those countries' experience of modernisation and (in comparative historical terms) belated unification. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the specific articulations of the 'attitude of countermodernity' contained in the writings of Oswald Spengler, Carl Schmitt and Martin Heidegger.

'Eternal land and eternal blood'

Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (*The Decline of the West*) is undoubtedly the most famous expression of interwar European cultural pessimism. Indeed, as Jeffrey Herf notes, Spengler's 'dubious judgments on the causes of the rise and

decline of civilizations' are far more important as an index of the contemporaneous mood of 'impending disaster and possible salvation... than for any serious insights into the past they might provide' (Herf, 1984, p. 52). *The Decline of the West* is permeated throughout by Spengler's personal despair at Germany's military defeat in 1918, and a sense of foreboding that Germany would decline and collapse like imperial Rome. For Spengler, writing in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, linear and progressive theories of history were 'becoming more and more preposterous with each century'. A deep sense of fatalism is evident in his claim that the war was not 'a momentary constellation of casual facts due to national sentiments, personal influences or economic tendencies... but the type of a *historical change of phase* occurring within a great historical organism of definable compass at the point *preordained for it hundreds of years ago*' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 47).

Spengler's historical pessimism was not only an immediate and reflexive response to Germany's military defeat, however. It also expressed a more general disdain for modern mass society, and especially urbanism, which he saw as destructive of traditional identities, ways of life and forms of social authority:

In place of a world, there is a *city, a point*, in which the whole life of broad regions is collecting while the rest dries up. In place of a type-true people, born of and grown on the soil, there is a new sort of nomad, cohering unstably in fluid masses, the parasitical city dweller, traditionless, utterly matter-of-fact, religionless, clever, unfruitful, deeply contemptuous of the countryman and especially that highest form of countryman, the country gentleman. (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 32)

Hence, for Spengler, the war of 1914-18 was merely one of a number of symptoms of what he called 'the great crisis of the present' (ibid., p. 34).

Spengler's view that this crisis, including Germany's catastrophic military defeat, was 'preordained' is bound up with his conception of human history as governed by fate and destiny rather than by human volition. Spengler draws an analogy with the natural world to link the notions of fate and destiny with that of 'form':

No one, looking at the oak, with its millennial life, dare say that it is at this moment, now, about to start on its true and proper course. No one as

he sees a caterpillar grow day by day expects that it will go on doing so for two or three years. In these cases we feel, with an unqualified certainty, a limit, and this sense of the limit is identical with our sense of the inward form. (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 21)

Because history is governed by fate and not by human volition, all human societies are destined to pass through the same developmental phases, just as all oaks and caterpillars do. Consequently, the modern West figures in Spengler's account not as 'the highest point of an ascending straight line of world history' that signifies 'a limitless tending upwards and onwards for all time', but as a 'transitional phase which occurs with certainty under particular conditions', and as 'a single phenomenon of history, strictly limited and defined as to form and duration, which covers a few centuries and can be viewed and, in essentials, calculated from available precedents' (Spengler 1938, vol. 1, p. 39).

Spengler contrasts two possible modes of comprehending the world ('morphologies'), the one 'organic' or 'physiognomic', the other 'mechanical' or 'systematic' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 100). The latter is associated with systems, laws, causal relations, abstractions, formulas and science, whilst the former is associated with aesthetics, historicity, vitality, intuition, analogical reasoning, destiny and form. Key terms here are 'destiny' and 'form': 'destiny' expresses an *inward* necessity of development which reaches its fulfilment in the final 'form' of a thing, whereas 'causality' has connotations of external, law-governed relationships. The 'mechanical' or 'systematic' mode of understanding has been in the ascendancy in the modern West but is fated to decline, whilst the time of the physiognomic has yet to come. Spengler regarded his own speculations on the rise and decline of civilizations as providing a map of world history from a 'physiognomic' perspective (Herf, 1984, p. 53).

Consequently, for Kantian universal history, Spengler sought to substitute a 'morphology of world history' which would subsume all domains of knowledge within 'a single vast Physiognomic of all things human'. In this organic conception of history, a particularistic political ontology based on the division of humanity into distinct 'cultures' is indissociably linked with a cyclical theory of time in which each 'culture' passes through analogous age-phases (birth, childhood, adulthood, old age) to those of the

individual human organism:

I see, in place of that empty figment of one linear history which can be kept up only by shutting one's eyes to the overwhelming multitude of the facts, the drama of *a number* of mighty Cultures, each springing with primitive strength from the soil of a mother-region to which it remains firmly bound throughout its whole life-cycle; each stamping its material, its mankind, in *its own* image; each having *its own* idea, *its own* passions, *its own* life, will and feeling, *its own* death. Here indeed are colours, lights, movements, that no intellectual eye has yet discovered. Here the Cultures, peoples, languages, truths, gods, landscapes bloom and age as the oaks and the pines, the blossoms, twigs and leaves - but there is no aging "Mankind." (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 21)

In abandoning universal history, Spengler also eschews the 'ideal abstract "man" of Kant', that 'new sort of nomad, cohering unstably in fluid masses, the parasitical city dweller, traditionless, utterly matter-of-fact, religionless, clever, unfruitful' individual whom Spengler so derided. In the place of the abstract subject there is '*actual man* as he has inhabited the earth during historical time, grouped... by peoples', and 'stamped' in the image of the culture into which he was fated to have been born (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 23). Each culture has 'its own peculiar "Nature" which no other sort of man can possess in exactly the same form', which pre-determines the nature of its individual members, 'who are separated only by minor distinctions' (ibid., p. 131).

Within this deeply fatalistic worldview, Kant's liberal individualism and humanism is displaced by a mystical, unanimistic conception of cultures as externalised forms of a concealed collective 'soul' or 'life force', each of which remains rooted within a particular landscape. 'A culture is born in the moment when a great soul awakens out of the proto-spirituality of ever-childish humanity, and detaches itself, a form from the formless, a bounded and mortal thing from the boundless and enduring':

It blooms on the soil of an exactly definable landscape, to which plant-wise it remains bound. It dies when this soul has actualized the full sum of its possibilities in the shape of peoples, languages, dogmas, arts, states, sciences, and reverts into the proto-soul. (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 106)

In Spengler's 'physiognomic' conception, the visible artefacts of a culture - its political and cultural institutions, forms of social and economic organisation - are comprehended as externalisations of its collective 'soul' or 'life-force'. Hence '[t]here is not *one* sculpture, *one* painting, *one* mathematics, *one* physics, but many, each in its deepest essence different from the others, each limited in duration and self-contained, just as each species of plant has its peculiar blossom or fruit, its special type of growth and decline' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 21). Such is the force of individuals' fatalistic attachment to their unique cultures that it effectively rules out meaningful intercultural understanding: 'it is quite impossible for us to penetrate completely... a soul that is quite differently constituted from our own' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 131).

'Civilization' figures in Spengler's historical schema not as the ultimate and most advanced stage of a common human history, but as the final, most external and artificial form of each unique 'culture':

The aim once attained - the idea, the entire content of inner possibilities, fulfilled and made externally actual - the Culture suddenly hardens, it mortifies, its blood congeals, its force breaks down, and it becomes Civilization, the thing which we feel and understand in the words Egypticism, Byzantinism, Mandarinism. (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 106)

It is this 'inward and outward fulfilment, the finality, that awaits every living Culture' that, for Spengler, 'is the purport of all the historic "declines,"' including the unfolding 'decline of the West' that he prophesied would 'occupy the first centuries of the new millennium', although it is 'heralded already and sensible in and around us today' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, pp. 106-107).

A key symptom of that decline, for Spengler, was urbanisation, which he regarded as an 'uprooting' force. He writes with great feeling about the countryside with its 'woodland rustlings', its 'meadows and... copses', the village 'with its quiet hillocky roofs, its evening smoke, its wells, its hedges, and its beasts', which 'lies completely fused and embedded in the landscape' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 2, p. 94). He is particularly enamoured of the peasant, that 'son of the soil' who has a 'profound affinity' with the earth, and the farmhouse, that 'great symbol of settledness' and of property 'in the most sacred sense of the word' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 90-91). By contrast,

Spengler associated the city with intellectualism, rationalism, science and commerce. The city represents resistance to the feudal powers of 'blood and tradition', it 'upsets thrones and limits old rights in the name of reason' and advances the cause of democracy (Spengler, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 96-97). After the village came the country town, then the city, and finally the 'megalopolis' or 'world city', the 'monstrous symbol and vessel of the completely emancipated intellect' (ibid. p. 98). Compared to the world city, even other cities seem provincial, hence a new social cleavage is engendered between 'cosmopolitans' and 'provincials', which comes to eclipse all other social antagonisms.

The most important agent of the rationalisation of the world was, according to Spengler, money. The idea of money 'as distinct from goods' represented 'the abstraction of values from things'. Whereas 'the earth is actual and natural... money is abstract and artificial, a mere "category" - like "virtue" in the imagination of the Age of Enlightenment' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 2, p. 98). The 'dictatorship of money' threatened to subject the natural rhythms of life and the intrinsic values of specific goods to an abstract and artificial logic that has no end other than its own perpetuation. Urbanisation and monetisation were indissociably linked in Spengler's mind: 'The City means not only intellect, but also money' (ibid. p. 97).

Urban life and the dictatorship of money lead directly to cultural demise, in Spengler's view, insofar as they contribute to the 'sterility of civilized man' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 2, p. 103). Whereas the peasant was 'rooted' in his house and his family not as a 'temporary connexion of person and thing for a brief span of years', but as 'an enduring and inward union of eternal *land* and eternal *blood*', modern urban life severs these roots and 'eliminates the terror of death' (ibid. p. 104). Consequently, the cosmopolitan inhabitant of the world city takes pleasure in recreation, relaxation and temporary distractions (examples of which include 'cinema', 'boxing contests', 'nigger dances', 'poker' and 'racing' (ibid. p. 103)):

That which strikes the true peasant with a deep and inexplicable fear, the notion that the family and the name may be extinguished, has now lost its meaning. The continuance of the blood-relation in the visible world is no longer a duty of the blood, and the destiny of being the last in line is

no longer felt as a doom. Children do not happen, not because children have become impossible, but principally because intelligence at the peak of intensity can no longer find any reason for their existence. (p. 104)

The defiance of natural necessity and organic logic leads to depopulation and ‘race suicide’, the dying out of the old noble families and the elimination of the ‘best and oldest’ stock (ibid. p. 106). Hence, modern, cosmopolitan and urban existence ‘sacrifices first the blood and soul of its creators to the needs of its majestic evolution, and then the last flower of that growth to the spirit of Civilization - and so, doomed, moves on to final self-destruction’ (ibid. p. 107).

Despite Spengler’s political romanticism, he must ultimately be seen as a countermodern and not an antimodern thinker. As Herf observes, *The Decline of the West* ‘does not end on a note of despair and resignation’:

It is a call to action, the manifesto of a flawed modernism. Politics, blood, and tradition must rise up to defeat the power of *Geist* [spirit] and *Geld* [money]. Democracy and liberalism, about which Spengler wrote not a single favorable word, brought with them the ‘triumph of money’ over the deeper forces of blood and instinct. (Herf, 1984, p. 57)

But the ‘battle of *Kultur* against *Zivilisation* cannot be won by German Luddites spouting the clichés of *völkisch* ideology. Preservation of “blood and tradition” requires the most modern technological resources’ (ibid., p. 58).

‘Something existentially different and alien’

Carl Schmitt’s apocalyptic visions of a coming ‘global civil war’ (*Weltbürgerkrieg*) were linked to the collapse of European international law (the *jus publicum Europaeum*) in the aftermath of the First World War, and its attempted replacement with universalist institutions such as the League of Nations (Palaver, 2007). Whereas Kant had considered the elimination of antagonisms *between* states a necessary precondition for the elimination of political disorder *within* states, and had foreseen ‘a federation of peoples in which every state, even the smallest, could expect to derive its security

and rights not from its own power or its own legal judgement, but solely from this great federation (*Fædus Amphictyonum*), from a united power and the law-governed decisions of a united will' (Kant, 1970b, p. 47), Schmitt took the opposite view. For him, political order *within* states was contingent on the ever-present possibility of conflict *between* states. Hence, far from sharing Kant's conception of 'a universal cosmopolitan existence' as 'the highest purpose of nature' and 'the matrix within which all the original capacities of the human race may develop' (ibid., p. 51), Schmitt feared that this would be destructive of traditional international law and traditional forms of political authority, and would unleash violent and anarchic forces on a global scale.

As is well known, Schmitt saw the ontological ground of 'the political' as the distinction between friend and enemy, where 'friend' and 'enemy' are to be understood 'in their concrete and existential sense' and not as derivative of moral, aesthetic, sociological or biological categories (Schmitt, 2007b, pp. 27-28). The political enemy is simply 'the other, the stranger':

it is sufficient for his nature that he is, in a specially intense way, existentially something different and alien, so that in the extreme case conflicts with him are possible. (ibid., p. 27)

Any form of social antagonism - religious, moral, economic, ethnic, cultural and so on - can become political 'if it is sufficiently strong to group human beings effectively according to friend and enemy' (p. 37). Consequently, the concept of 'the political... does not describe its own substance, but only the intensity of an association or dissociation of human beings whose motives can be religious, national (in the ethnic or cultural sense), economic, or of another kind and can effect at different times different coalitions and separations' (p. 38). In Schmitt's political existentialism, the power to determine the enemy is indissociably linked with the existence of a people as a sovereign body politic and cannot be delegated: only 'the actual participants' are 'in a position to judge whether the adversary intends to negate his opponent's way of life and therefore must be repulsed or fought in order to preserve one's own form of existence' (p. 27).

The naturalisation of hatred as the foundation of collective identity that is implied in Schmitt's friend-enemy distinction is a primary example of the overfamiliarity

between the affective, the ontological and the political. It is the 'distinction of friend and enemy', a distinction that expresses 'the utmost intensity of a union or separation, of an association or dissociation' (2007b, p. 26), that constitutes the body politic:

The enemy is not merely any competitor or just any partner of a conflict in general. He is also not the private adversary whom one hates. An enemy exists only when, at least potentially, one fighting collectivity of people confronts a similar collectivity. The enemy is solely the public enemy, because everything that has a relationship to such a collectivity of men, particularly to a whole nation, becomes public by virtue of such a relationship. The enemy is *hostis*, not *inimicus* in the broader sense... (ibid., p. 28)

Hence hatred has a generative function for Schmitt insofar as everything held in common by a national (or other political) community, everything that unites it, comes into existence through its individual members standing in the same relationship to a shared enemy (Sokoloff, 2015).

Schmitt's insistence that the 'ever-present possibility of combat' is inherent to the 'enemy' concept, and that the friend-enemy distinction finds its meaning in 'the real possibility of physical killing' (2007b, pp. 32-33) does not express a *desire* for interstate wars, as Palaver has emphasised (Palaver, 2007, p. 74). War 'does not have to be common, normal, something ideal, or desirable', yet 'it must nevertheless remain a real possibility' (Schmitt, 2007b, p. 33). Rather, as was recognised by Schmitt's admirer, the political philosopher Leo Strauss, the ever-present threat of lethal conflict with an external enemy was necessary to overcome the *internal* conflicts that are latent within any society:

The ultimate foundation of the Right is the principle of the natural evil of man; because man is by nature evil, he therefore needs *dominion*. But dominion can be established, that is, men can be unified, only in unity *against* - against other men. Every association of men is *necessarily* a separation from other men. The *tendency* to separate (and therewith the grouping of humanity into friends and enemies) is given with human

nature; it is in this sense *destiny*, period. (cited in Palaver, 2007, at p. 73; emphasis mine)

Starting from the premise of ‘the natural evil of man’, the separation of humanity into antagonistic groups becomes inevitable: it is ‘destiny, period’, and not a temporary state of immaturity that can be overcome by the collective exercise of human reason.

As Strauss’ comments imply, the difference between Schmittian particularism and Kantian universalism stems from their contrary views of human nature. Schmitt acknowledges that a universal, cosmopolitan political order of the kind envisaged by Kant would liberate people from the authority of national governments, but notes that what precisely it would free them to do depends on one’s conception of human nature (Schmitt, 2007b, pp. 57-58). Indeed, Schmitt goes so far as to claim that people’s inclinations towards authoritarianism or libertarianism are essentially consequences of ‘whether they consciously or unconsciously presuppose man to be by nature evil or by nature good’ (ibid., p. 58). Liberalism and anarchism assume in different degrees that people are essentially good: this is the basis of the (radical) anarchist view that national states and governments should be abolished, and the (less radical) liberal desire to subordinate states and governments to a self-regulating socioeconomic sphere (ibid., pp. 60-61; see also 1985, pp. 56 ff.).

The ‘rationalism of the Enlightenment’, of which Kant is a paradigmatic example, came down on the libertarian side of the divide: ‘man was by nature ignorant and rough, but educable’ (1985, p. 56). Schmitt leaves his reader in no doubt about which side of the debate he comes down on, citing Machiavelli, Hobbes, Fichte and others to support his claim that ‘all genuine political theories presuppose man to be evil’ (2007b, p. 61). Moreover, he notes that in the cases of the Catholic political philosophers of the Counter-Enlightenment, Bonald, de Maistre and Donoso Cortés, their theories were often closely bound up with the theological dogma of man’s essential sinfulness (1985, p. 58). ‘Because the sphere of the political is in the final analysis determined by the real possibility of enmity,’ Schmitt argues, ‘political conceptions and ideas cannot very well start with an anthropological optimism’ (2007b, p. 64), a sentiment that may seem reminiscent of Spengler’s famous dictum, ‘optimism is cowardice’.

Herein lies the core of the Schmittian critique of liberalism. Liberalism has at-

tempted to neutralise and depoliticise all political conceptions, transforming the political notions of battle and enmity into economic competition, intellectual discussion and endless parliamentary debate. Consequently, the united body politic is dissolved into a culturally interested public on the one hand, and a mass of producers and consumers on the other, whilst 'the political' is subordinated to abstract laws and norms (2007b, pp. 69-72). Especially disastrous are the individualist premises of liberal thought, which eliminate any rationale for political sacrifice:

In case of need, the political entity must demand the sacrifice of life. Such a demand is in no way justifiable by the individualism of liberal thought. No consistent individualism can entrust to someone other than to the individual himself the right to dispose of the physical life of the individual. (ibid., p. 71)

Because liberalism views any compulsion for the individual to fight against his will as a form of repression and a denial of individual liberty, it assigns to the state a tightly circumscribed role of securing the conditions for freedom and preventing any curtailment of liberty. But a universal, cosmopolitan order could not be brought about 'by evading every political decision': 'If a people no longer possesses the energy or the will to maintain itself in the sphere of politics, the latter will not thereby vanish from the world. Only a weak people will disappear' (ibid., p. 53).

For Schmitt, liberal modernity, 'the age of neutralizations and depoliticizations', is a consequence of the process that Max Weber called 'the disenchantment of the world' (Weber, 2009): a *de-sacralization* brought about by the progressive elimination of miracles, mystery and magic from the modern worldview, creating a lawful and predictable cosmos and a polity. Weber's narrative of 'disenchantment' supported his claim for the exceptional nature of Western modernity, which alone has transcended a superstitious and primitive pre-modernity. According to Robert Yelle (2010), this claim of the exceptional nature of Western modernity is predicated on its supposed disbelief in the possibility of ruptures in natural law through miracles and magic, its alleged supersession of tradition, and the myth of an original 'event' (the Enlightenment) when all of this purportedly came about. Yet it is unclear whether these claims do any more than re-encode traditional Christian (and especially Protestant) myths of

a release from history and tradition, and a transcendence of pagan superstition (*ibid.*).

At a descriptive level, the key thesis of Schmitt's 'political theology', a thesis with which I concur, is of a structural correspondence between a society's theological and metaphysical image of the world on the one hand, and its forms of political organisation on the other. 'All significant concepts of the modern theory of state', Schmitt claimed, are merely 'secularized theological concepts' (1985, p. 36). For instance, 'juridic formulas of the omnipotence of the state are, in fact, only superficial secularizations of theological formulas of the omnipotence of God' (2007b, p. 42). The evolution of modern liberalism and the tendential elimination of sovereign power through its subordination to abstract laws and norms are related by Schmitt to developments in the European worldview, in which Christian theology was displaced by the scientific worldview of the seventeenth century, which was itself succeeded first by Enlightenment rationalism, then by the economism of the nineteenth century, and finally in the twentieth century by a technological worldview and a quasi-religious faith in the existence of technical solutions to every problem (Schmitt, 2007a).

Forms of political organisation have mirrored these changes:

The idea of the modern constitutional state triumphed together with deism, a theology and metaphysics that banished the miracle from the world. This theology and metaphysics rejected not only the transgression of the laws of nature through an exception brought about by direct intervention, as is found in the idea of a miracle, but also the sovereign's direct intervention in a valid legal order. The rationalism of the Enlightenment rejected the exception in every form. (Schmitt, 1985, pp. 36-37)

Hence Schmitt shared Weber's view that modern liberal democratic politics involved the routinization of charisma, the replacement of traditional and charismatic forms of authority with legal-rational authority and bureaucracy, and the attempted subjection of the political and legal orders to rational control. One effect of this was that whereas previous eras had great leaders and decision-makers, in the twentieth-century bureaucratic and technological society everyone had become interchangeable (Strong, 2005).

Where the Catholic Schmitt differed from the Protestant Weber, however, was

that he tended to see 'disenchantment' as a powerful political myth rather than as a neutral description of modern liberal-democratic politics. Liberalism's attempt to subject the political and legal orders to rational control was doomed to fail because the law cannot interpret itself, so there will always been a need for some sovereign authority to decide between competing interpretations; moreover, legislators cannot envision all possible future circumstances and codify them in advance. Hence, over time, abnormal or extraordinary circumstances were bound to arise that cannot be resolved by reference to the existing legal order, what Schmitt calls a 'state of exception':

The exception, which is not codified in the existing legal order, can at best be characterized as a case of extreme peril, a danger to the existence of the state, or the like. But it cannot be circumscribed factually and made to conform to a preformed law. (1985, p. 6)

In a state of exception, the locus of sovereignty is revealed through the suspension of the entire existing order in the moment of decision. Hence the famous opening sentence of Schmitt's *Political Theology*: 'Sovereign is he who decides on the exception' (ibid., p.5). To the extent that Schmitt's 'exception' is 'analogous to the miracle in theology', as he claims it is, it corresponds closely to Mircea Eliade's conception of 'the Sacred' as a rupture in ordinary, profane experience (Eliade, 1959). 'In the exception the power of real life breaks through the crust of a mechanism that has become torpid by repetition' (Schmitt, 1985, p. 15).

The essence of the sovereign decision in the state of exception consists in the determination of 'friends' and 'enemies'. Because the existence of a law-governed political order presupposes a 'normal' rather than an 'exceptional' situation, the sovereign must be able to guarantee 'total peace within the state and its territory'. This is the 'pre-requisite' for legal norms to be valid, whereas 'no norm can be valid' in an 'abnormal situation' (2007b, p. 46). Once the friend-enemy determination has been decided, secondary forms of politics such as political parties, civil society association and the like arise. These derivative forms of politics still express the friend-enemy antagonism even where awareness of its has been suppressed. Only in a state of exception does it become clear that the political and legal orders ultimately rest on a decision and not on laws or norms.

Whilst Schmitt considered himself a Catholic Christian, Wolfgang Palaver has argued that his friend-enemy distinction can be interpreted as an attempt to resurrect a form of pagan, sacrificial, culture in order to stem the anarchic and subversive long-term implications of the biblical revelation and of Christ's commandment to love one's enemies (Palaver, 2007). To make this argument, Palaver draws on René Girard's work on 'generative scapegoating', which sees 'the political' as a product of the 'scapegoat mechanism', whose name derives from a ritual described in *Leviticus* whereby a goat was 'sent alive into the wilderness, the sins of the people having been symbolically laid upon it' (Girard, 1987, p. 73). In Girard's theory, traditional forms of closed societies had their origins in such rituals, whereby blame for threats to the safety or harmony of the community was unconsciously transferred to some arbitrarily chosen victim, typically a foreigner or outsider who had recently arrived. 'Even if the scapegoat is really an insider', Girard argues, 'the threat transforms him into an outsider, and the remaining insiders feel united as they never did before':

They form a new and tighter inside. The alien threat displaces everything else; internal quarrels are forgotten. A new unity and comradeship prevails among those who, feeling attacked as a group, also feel they must defend themselves as a group. [...] Beyond a certain threshold of intensity - all other circumstances being favorable - the hostile polarization against a victim must empty the group of internal hostility, unifying it so tightly that a cultural rejuvenation can really occur. (Ibid., pp. 90-91)

The ritual expulsion or sacrifice of the 'stranger' served to channel latent, internal conflict towards the outside world, transforming open violence into a form of structural violence that creates conditions of peace within the political community, but which can be remobilised against internal and external enemies at any time (Palaver, 2007, pp. 76-78).

For Girard, the undermining of sacrificial cultures by the biblical revelation had the effect of destroying traditional, closed societies based on some version of the scapegoat mechanism, a process that 'began in the Middle Ages and has now led into what we call "globalization"', which he regards as 'only secondarily an economic phenomenon' (cited in Palaver, 2007, at p. 84). This process will, in Girard's view, eventually destroy

modern nation states in the same way that it destroyed archaic societies. Consequently, for Palaver, drawing on Girard, Schmitt's political theology cannot in the end be seen as a purely Christian or monotheistic one, but instead expresses a form of pagan or sacrificial Christianity, whose spirit is aptly expressed in the dictum of the second-century pagan, Celsus, that 'the most high God reigns but the national deities govern' (cited in *ibid.*, at p. 80).

The implications of Schmitt's political theology for national politics are well summarised by Tracy Strong. Against 'the myth of the creative power of the democratically equal populace', whose 'historical concrete manifestation' was the French revolution, it was necessary to oppose a counterrevolutionary myth 'of a hierarchically ordered and unified people', instantiated by the 'exceptional acts' of a sovereign who expressed the *Volksbewusstsein*, the common consciousness of the people (Strong, 2005, pp. xxviii-xxix). At a geopolitical level, in opposition to Kantian universalism and cosmopolitanism, Schmitt favoured a new *nomos* (law) of the earth predicated on the division of the globe into a plurality of *Großräume* ('great spaces') as the surest way of preventing a global civil war (Schmitt, 2006).

'Only a God can save us'

Heidegger fully shared the conservative revolutionaries' apocalyptic visions of the world-historical situation and their diagnoses of crisis, decline and impending catastrophe. As late as the 1950s, he claimed:

That people today tend once again to be more in agreement with Spengler's propositions about the decline of the West, lies in the fact that (along with various superficial reasons) Spengler's proposition is only the negative, though correct, consequence of Nietzsche's word, 'The wasteland grows.' We emphasise that this word is thoughtful. It is a true word.
(cited in Zimmerman, 1990, at p. 26)

As Zimmermann notes, the 'wasteland' refers here to 'the devastation of the earth, the flight of the Gods, and the darkening of the world' (*ibid.*). For Heidegger, as for Schmitt and Spengler, Germany's military defeat and the ensuing economic and

political turbulence of the Weimar years were merely symptoms of a much deeper malaise. Heidegger is a more complex thinker than either Spengler or Schmitt, and a full consideration of his philosophy is beyond the scope of this chapter. Consequently, I will restrict my attention to those aspects of his thought that situate him as a 'countermodern' thinker whilst also highlighting some key differences with the conservative revolutionaries, in order to illustrate the range and versatility of 'countermodern' philosophies.

Heidegger, who had grown up in the provincial Swabian town of Messkirch, shared Spengler's political romanticism, his nostalgic attachment to the countryside, rural life, and the peasantry, and his antipathy towards 'technology, economics, and world-commerce... symbolized by the great city that turns against the soul, against life and smothers it and compels culture to decline and collapse' (cited in Zimmerman, 1990, at p. 26). However, Heidegger considered the explanations of Western decline offered by Spengler to be rather superficial. Moreover, as Herf points out, he did not share the conservative revolutionaries' conviction that modern technology could be disembedded from the world of *Zivilization* and redeployed in defence of the *Kulturturnation* and an authentic, *völkisch*, existence (Herf, 1984, p. 109). Yet Heidegger's position overlapped considerably with that of the conservative revolution by virtue of their common, countermodern temporal structure, notwithstanding the specific differences concerning the issue of technology (Osborne, 1995, p. 164).

Heidegger, like Spengler, repudiated the idea of the 'abstract subject', and, as in Spengler's case, this was indissociably linked with his departure from the 'vulgar' understanding of time as an infinite, linear series of instants. In Heidegger's early philosophy, most fully developed in *Being and Time* (Heidegger, 1962), the subject is reinterpreted as *Dasein* (literally 'being there'), a concrete and determinate self that is bound by fate to a particular culture. Human beings are not, for Heidegger, disembodied consciousnesses or isolated egos (Kant's sovereign free reason), but forms of involved agency that are always already dwelling in a lifeworld. The metaphysics of the subject, theoretical cognition, and the geometric and chronological understandings of space and time, are products of modern philosophical abstraction that conceal more basic and fundamental modes of 'Being-in-the-world'. Importantly, the situation

into which *Dasein* is 'thrown' forms the horizon of its possibilities and circumscribes its potential forms of self-understanding and agency.

Whilst *Being and Time* claimed to provide a 'universal phenomenological ontology' (Heidegger, 1962, p. 62), an account of *Dasein* as such, it is difficult not to read it as, at least in part, 'a negative political evaluation' of everyday life 'in the specific historical circumstances of urban-industrial society' (Zimmerman, 1990, p. 17). Heidegger's phenomenological description of everyday life in *Being and Time* is strikingly similar to Spengler's indictment of cosmopolitan, urban life in *The Decline of the West*, especially in the characterisation of the dictatorship of *das Man*, the 'they-Self' or the 'anyone-Self':

In utilizing public means of transport and in making use of information services such as the newspaper, every Other is like the next. This Being-with-one-another dissolves one's own *Dasein* completely into the kind of Being of 'the Others', in such a way, indeed, that the Others, as distinguishable and explicit, vanish more and more. In this inconspicuousness and unascertainability, the real dictatorship of the 'they' is unfolded. We take pleasure and enjoy ourselves as *they* [*man*] take pleasure; we read, see, and judge about literature and art as *they* see and judge; likewise we shrink back from the 'great mass' as *they* shrink back; we find 'shocking' what *they* find shocking. (Heidegger, 1962, p. 164)

Moreover, a sense of Heidegger's personal homesickness and alienation is seemingly conveyed in his description of 'a new kind of Being of everyday *Dasein* - a kind in which *Dasein* is constantly uprooting itself' (Heidegger, 1962, p. 217).

Unlike Spengler's *Decline of the West* or Schmitt's *Concept of the Political*, *Being and Time* does not contain an *overt* political argument but this does not make it an 'apolitical' work. Indeed, as Peter Osborne suggests, such is its permeation by a sense of (Heidegger's) personal and (Germany's) political crisis, not to mention unexamined and contextually-specific sociological assumptions (the homogenising effects of modern transportation and communication, the *Volk* as the natural and inevitable basis of politics), that it is ultimately impossible to strip the political content *out* of the text in order to isolate a purely deconstructive or existential meaning (Osborne, 1995, p.

169). Moreover, even if *Being and Time* does not contain an overtly political message, it nevertheless held out the prospect of an escape from the levelling effects and conformist pressures of modern society, and the possibility of a more 'authentic' mode of being, which Heidegger claimed could be brought about through a conscious acceptance of one's mortality revealed by 'anxiety'.

The privileged disclosive role that Heidegger accords to anxiety is an exemplary case of the overdetermination of the temporal and the ontological by the affective. Anxiety for Heidegger is the most basic of all moods, and he characterises it as a generalised state of dread, an indefinite threat, not to be confused with the fear of a specific thing (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 230-35). Insofar as anxiety brings *Dasein* into awareness of its own mortality, it removes the possibility of relying on the public world of the 'they', which is revealed as incapable of protecting the individual against death (Hoffmann, 2006, p. 203). 'Anxiety thus takes away from *Dasein* the possibility of understanding itself... in terms of the "world" and the way things have been publicly interpreted.' (Heidegger, 1962, p. 232) Insofar as *Dasein* withdraws its assent from the shared, public interpretation of reality, it is 'thrown back' onto the unshakeable certitude of its own convictions (Hoffmann, 2006, p. 203).

Contrary to Heidegger, however, anxiety is not an essential feature of human existence but a distinctive psychological state that is produced in specific circumstances. From a Marxist perspective, for instance, it could be argued that anxiety results from the commodification of labour within the modern capitalist market and the alienation of workers from the products of that labour (Zimmerman, 1990, pp. 24-25). I would suggest that one's perspective on this issue is crucial to one's interpretation of *Being and Time*. If one concurs with Heidegger's claim that anxiety is an essential feature of human existence, then one would tend to see the argument that follows as applying to all *Dasein* everywhere. However, if one sees anxiety as a socially and historically specific phenomenon, and not as a permanent human condition, then what Heidegger is really describing in *Being and Time* is a contingent affective response to a specific set of sociohistorical conditions, not the essential structures of *Dasein* as such. From this perspective, the withdrawal of assent from the prevailing public interpretation of reality and the search for a more 'authentic' mode of existence could be seen as a con-

tingent reaction to the anxieties engendered by life in a modern industrial society, or more specifically to the mood of anxiety that gripped interwar Germany, or perhaps even something highly specific to the 'war generation'.

The anxious anticipation of death is, for Heidegger, the origin of *Dasein's* time-consciousness. Only insofar as human beings understand themselves as finite and mortal does time matter to them. *Dasein's* sense of itself as a finite, mortal being is intimately related to its basic state of 'care', with care and mortality being 'equiprimordial' in Heidegger's language. Put simply, it matters to human beings how we lead our lives because our lives are finite, but conversely, were we indifferent to how we lead our lives then our mortality would cease to matter to us (Hoffmann, 2006, p. 201). Hence care is the condition of possibility for *Dasein's* agency, its potentiality for acting. Importantly, care is inherently self-directed: 'the expression "care for oneself" ... would be a tautology' (Heidegger, 1962, p. 237). The sense of finitude and mortality, revealed in anxiety and inscribed in the care structure, confers on *Dasein* a temporal structure that is fundamentally different to the instantaneity of the Kantian subject, one in which the future, rather than the present, becomes determinative.

Anxiety can engender either a 'resolute' acceptance of one's mortality ('authenticity') or an evasion of it through a flight into everyday distractions ('inauthenticity'). In 'inauthenticity', *Dasein* surrounds itself with temporary pleasures and material comforts, seeks social acceptance above all else, and is indifferent to the past except insofar as it furthers these goals. (Again, it takes some effort *not* to read this as an indictment of life in modern mass society, despite Heidegger's claims to be engaged in an exercise of 'fundamental ontology'.) 'Inauthentic' temporality involves a disconnected temporalisation, in which *Dasein* lives from one moment to the next rather than understanding its life as a unified whole. Heidegger associates chronological time with 'inauthenticity': "time" as ordinarily understood... is derivative. It arises from inauthentic temporality' (Heidegger, 1962, p. 374). The ordinary understanding of time as a linear series of instants is a product of the public interpretation of the world, and a form of disconnected temporalisation.

The 'authentic' life, by contrast, requires an active response to one's finitude and mortality, which thereby brings *Dasein* into confrontation with its past, and enables

Dasein to comprehend itself as a unified whole ‘stretched along’ from birth to death. As Piotr Hoffmann describes, ‘when I anticipate and endure the menace of death I find myself to be a limited, determinate self, and this means also a self with certain definite historical roots, a self with a “heritage” and a “fate”’ (Hoffmann, 2006, p. 210). The ‘authentic’ relationship to the future is one of ‘anticipation’, in which *Dasein* faces up to the omnipresent threat of death. The ‘authentic’ present is the ‘moment of vision’ (*Augenblick*), in which *Dasein* recognises the public world of the ‘they’ as failing it, and abandons its pursuit of social acceptance. Finally, ‘authenticity’ involves a conscious appropriation of one’s heritage, an orientation towards the past that Heidegger calls ‘repetition’. In repetition, *Dasein* has a personal ‘fate’, inasmuch as its meaningful existence is bound up with specific values, traditions and history, and a ‘destiny’ that it shares with a broader historical community (*volk*) which provides *Dasein* with a repertoire of possible role-models (‘heroes’) from which to choose (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 434-39).

It is in the notion of ‘repetition’ that Peter Osborne locates Heidegger’s reactionary inflection of the temporality of modernity, since the only ‘authentic’ response to the ‘terror of history’ that Heidegger is willing to entertain is that of repeating the past. Consequently, he is ultimately unable to sustain ‘a genuine futurity in the face of the reassurance afforded by the myth of the nation’ (*volk*) (Osborne, 1995, p. 194). This circumscribed possibility also contains the key to the highly specific way in which countermodern temporality is gendered, inasmuch as other possible responses to the ‘terror of history’, such as ‘a bodily response to anxiety, of breaking down and weeping’ (Aho, 2007, p. 148), are either condemned as ‘inauthentic’ or simply elided. As John Caputo has argued,

The ‘fundamental ontology’ of *Dasein*, which was supposed to occupy a place of a priori neutrality, prior to the division between the genders, is deeply marked and inscribed by the traits of a very masculine subject, a knight of anticipatory resoluteness, ready for anxiety, a macho, virile figure out there all alone ‘without its mommy,’ as Drucilla Cornell once quipped. (cited in *ibid.*, p. 148)

The philosophies of Spengler and Schmitt are similarly permeated with a romantic,

male warrior ethos, whose guiding ideal is of self-sacrifice in the name of 'eternal land' and 'eternal blood'. All three value continuity over change, narrative unity over discontinuity, identity over difference, and 'authenticity' over empathy.

Heidegger's particularistic political ontology of humanity as divided into distinct *Volk* and his notion of 'authentic' historicity as 'repetition' may seem superficially similar to Spengler's cyclical theory of the rise and decline of cultures, yet there were important differences between their conceptions (Zimmerman, 1990, p. 26). Spengler understood the demise of a culture in biological terms, whereas Heidegger understood death in a strictly existential sense as a limit condition and not in physiological or medical terms as the perishing of an organism (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 284-85). Death in the existential sense was important for Heidegger, as Hoffmann notes, because it extinguishes *Dasein's* ability to choose its possibilities and consequently puts to rest the endless process of redefinition of individual and collective identities that characterises liberal modernity (Hoffmann, 2006, pp. 196-97). Moreover, 'repetition' for Heidegger was a creative process involving the appropriation of an 'origin' as the foundation for a new historical beginning. It was not a biological process, and certainly could not be understood by drawing analogies with trees or caterpillars.

The distance between the two may seem even greater in the light of Heidegger's later philosophy, in which he seeks to provide a historical account of the relationship between metaphysics and technology. In the epochal 'history of Being', modern industrial society figures as the final stage of a long process of decline that began two-and-a-half millennia ago in ancient Greece, in which the 'original sin', as it were, was the abstraction of concepts from things in Plato's metaphysics. The process of degeneration had passed through the Christian theological conception of the world and Enlightenment rationalism, ultimately culminating in the technological society of today, in which mechanical reproduction has put an end to all originality and authenticity. Heidegger, like Kant, foresaw 'the beginning of the world civilization that is based on Western European thinking', but unlike Kant, he did not welcome 'the triumph of the manipulable arrangement of a scientific-technological world and of the social order proper to this world' (Eubanks and Gauthier, 2011, p. 133).

From this perspective, Spengler's claim that the decline of the West had begun

around four hundred years ago seemed narrow and parochial. Furthermore, the abstraction of values from goods that is inherent to money, which Spengler had seen as the motor force driving the rationalisation of the world, is on Heidegger's account merely a derivative phenomenon. Moreover, from Heidegger's point of view, Spengler's organic and biologicistic account of history, far from being an antidote to mechanistic and rationalistic ones, expressed a form of metaphysical naturalism that was itself a symptom of the decline in Western humanity's understanding of 'Being'. Heidegger's disdain for naturalism and biologism distanced him not only from Spengler but also from the racial theories of 'official' Nazism. His personal myth of the Greek 'origins' of Western civilization was borrowed from eighteenth-century Hellenism and had little in common with the Aryan racial mythology of Alfred Rosenberg and other Nazi ideologues (Osborne, 1995, 167).

However, the tenability of this distinction between cultural particularism and biological particularism (or, to put this in Heideggerian terms, between 'facticity' and biological 'facts') insisted upon by Heidegger and his apologists is one of the things that Levinas' essay on the 'Philosophy of Hitlerism' forces us to reconsider (Critchley and Dianda, 2015). I am less convinced than Levinas that a 'society based on consanguinity *immediately* ensues' (my emphasis) from the Heideggerian 'concretization of the spirit' (Levinas, 1990b, p. 69). (Even Spengler's 'cultures' are as much metaphysical and mystical as they are biological.) Nevertheless, to speak of human populations as distinct 'cultures' governed by cycles of birth, life and death, is, at least implicitly to think sociopolitical change on the model of bio-organic change. Consequently, a form of 'organic' thinking is implied in these countermodern philosophies even where a strict biological racism is disavowed.

Furthermore, whilst there is clearly some distance between the 'countermodern' philosophies discussed in this chapter and Hitlerite biological racism and anti-Semitism, all three imply a form of nativism. For Levinas, the distinction between 'natives' and 'strangers' derived from the sense of attachment to place:

One's implementation in a landscape, one's attachment to Place, without which the universe would become insignificant and would scarcely exist, is the very splitting of humanity into natives and strangers. And in this

light technology is less dangerous than the spirits [genies] of the Place.
(Levinas, 1990a, p. 232)

From this perspective, 'the Heideggerian stress on place is inherently cruel because its demarcation between sacred and profane space reinforces the distinction between native and foreigner that underlies nationalism' (Eubanks and Gauthier, 2011, p. 138).

Whereas *Being and Time* can potentially be read as having a practical, activist message, and as expressing the hope for an escape into a more 'authentic' mode of existence, Heidegger's later philosophy is more profoundly fatalistic. In his famous final interview with *Der Spiegel*, Heidegger expresses scepticism about the ability of philosophy to provide any form of political guidance that might help avert the coming catastrophe, the title of the interview encapsulating his profound pessimism: 'Only a God Can Save Us' (Heidegger, 1993a).

Conclusion

For all the differences between Spengler, Schmitt and Heidegger, their shared 'attitude of countermodernity' means that the philosophical distance between them is small compared to the chasm that separates all three from the classical expression of the 'attitude of modernity' that Foucault saw in Kant's essay on Enlightenment. To the extent that the immense political problems of the contemporary world 'lose the character of being problems that are subject to a solution put forward by a sovereign free Self', which happens in different ways and to different degrees for each of the three 'countermodern' figures, then all become vulnerable to the 'mysterious urgings of the blood, the appeals of heredity and the past for which the body serves as an enigmatic vehicle' (Levinas, 1990b, p. 69). Herf suggests that Schmitt's decisionism and friend-enemy distinction divorced his politics 'from any normative foundation other than that of affirmation of the self' (Herf, 1984, p. 118), of one's 'own' identity and cultural heritage, and much the same could be said of Spengler and Heidegger. The loss of one's own identity and particularity is the fundamental anxiety animating the writings of all three.

In subsequent chapters of this thesis, I will use the theoretical framework sketched

out in this chapter to argue that the counterjihad movement can be viewed as a novel form of countermodern political theology, stemming from a particular affective response to the 'terror of history'. In the meantime, the next chapter, the final one in Part I, considers how Islam and Muslims have figured in a variety of countermodern political theologies prior to the emergence of the counterjihad movement. By exploring the orientations to Islam of Nazism, the *Nouvelle Droite*, and 'international third positionism' among other far-right political tendencies, we will be in a better position to understand the continuities and discontinuities that are represented by contemporary counterjihadist mobilisation against Muslims.

Chapter 4

‘Peoples of the Forest, Tribes of the Desert’: countermodern ideologies and Islam prior to the counterjihad

The 11th September, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon figure within the counterjihad discourse as a singularly traumatic event, a Heideggerian ‘moment of vision’ in which the received truths of the public world seemed to fail. It was the day that ‘our world changed for ever’ in the words of ACT for America,¹ a key grassroots counterjihad organisation, a profound shock for Americans who were ‘stirred from our slumber’, as the *Gates of Vienna* blog puts it,² by the brutal murder of more than three thousand civilians at the hands of *Al Qaeda*. If there is reason to be sceptical of such claims about the singularity of 9/11 - the mass murder of civilians is, after all, hardly a novel or exceptional event in human history - the events of that day doubtless did shatter some cherished popular myths concerning the distinction between civilian and military spaces, the prerogative of national governments to determine between conditions of war and peace, and the ability of national states to guarantee the security of their citizens.

Whilst much of the country remained in deep shock, for one group of US citizens the attacks were a cause of celebration, not of mourning. For many American

¹http://www.actforamerica.org/confronting_terrorism [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

²<http://gatesofvienna.net/2010/08/islam-mischief-and-the-right-to-kill/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

neo-Nazis, representatives of a political tradition that had always considered 'world Judaism' its primary enemy, 9/11 represented an important blow against the 'Jewnited States', its 'Zionist Occupation Government' (ZOG) and the globalist 'New World Order' (NWO) proclaimed by former president George H.W. Bush after the end of the Cold War. One supporter of the White Aryan Resistance (WAR) recounted how he had been 'listening to some white power music' when news of the attacks began to filter through:

After the second plane hit the other Jewish tower, I started paying attention with shouts of joy, Seig Heil salutes and white power chants as Wealthy Race Traitors, Capitalist Elitists and Negro janitors jumped out of windows. After the third plane hit the pentagon, I was ecstatic! Wow! The Jews really took a hit today! (cited in Durham, 2003, at p. 98)

A senior member of the National Alliance, the most important far right group in the US at the time of 9/11, explained the logic:

The enemy of our enemy is, for now at least, our friends. We may not want them marrying our daughter... We may not want them in our societies... But anyone who is willing to drive a plane into a building to kill jews is alright by me. I wish our members had half as much testicular fortitude. (cited in *ibid.*, at p. 100)

One recurrent theme within neo-Nazi discourses on 9/11 was that the attacks were the inevitable consequence of American support for Israel, and of the subservience of American foreign policy to 'Jewish world power'.

The divergent reactions described here might serve as one measure of the political distance between the counterjihad and more traditional far-right tendencies derived from German National Socialism. Moreover, 9/11 also exposed some divisions within the neo-Nazi milieu. For instance, the leader of the National Alliance, William Pierce, echoed his colleague's sympathy for Al Qaeda's motives, but nevertheless stated 'I am not in favour of killing Americans. Most of the people who got killed are *my* people, *white* people' (cited in *ibid.*, p. 100; emphasis mine). The Church of the Creator, an organisation set up in 1996 to prosecute a 'Racial Holy War', called for

an immediate end to Muslim immigration to the US but also declared its opposition to US military intervention in Afghanistan, demanding 'No More American Blood Spilled for Israel' (cited in *ibid.*, at p. 101).

Similar divisions were evident in a UK context when the newly elected Chairman of the British National Party (BNP), Nick Griffin, used the opportunity of 9/11 to launch a public campaign against Islam as part of his 'modernisation' programme, with the aim of capitalising on public anxieties about jihadist violence and dissociating the BNP from neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism. Griffin's strategy, whose discursive and symbolic construction of an Islamic threat prefigured some of the key themes of counterjihad discourse, involved tentative support for US-led military intervention in Afghanistan and was strongly opposed by the more orthodox white racial nationalists loyal to ousted party founder and veteran neo-Nazi John Tyndall, for similar reasons to those articulated by the American Church of the Creator.

This chapter takes the ideological morphology of the Griffinite BNP as a point of departure for considering how Islam and Muslims have figured within a variety of countermodern political theologies prior to the emergence of the counterjihad. The approach of the chapter is genealogical in the Foucauldian sense of that term. As developed by Foucault (1991a), drawing on Nietzsche but also under the influence of the Heideggerian '*Destruktion*' of metaphysics,³ genealogy is opposed to the metahistorical use of ideal significations, teleologies or the search for 'origins'. Consequently, the aim of the chapter is not to provide an exhaustive history of far-right orientations towards Islam and Muslims, or to locate the 'source' of a particular set of ideas or beliefs, but rather to illustrate how such orientations have been the product of highly specific sets of contingent historical conditions.

The genealogical approach of the chapter can be contrasted with the taxonomical approach that dominates the existing literature on fascism and the far right. In particular, the chapter works to unsettle the regnant assumption within Anglophone 'fascism studies', that a definitive extrahistorical 'essence' of fascism (the 'fascist min-

³The influence of Heidegger on Foucault is perhaps less often remarked. However, Foucault claimed in his final interview that '...Heidegger has always been the essential philosopher ... My entire philosophical development was determined by my reading of Heidegger' (cited in Dreyfus, not dated, not paginated).

imum’) can be isolated based primarily on comparative study of interwar European fascist movements (e.g. Griffin, 1993; Eatwell, 1996), and the corollary of this idea, that contemporary political movements and regimes whose ideologies deviate from these exemplary cases cannot be considered ‘fascist’. Whilst the analytical focus will be on the figuration of Islam and Muslims within various far right discourses, the chapter also serves as an occasion for considering some broader trends within the far right, including growing transnationalisation, the diversification of political strategies (Griffin, 2000), and the tendency of some far-right political ideologies to ‘disavow “classical” Italian Fascism and German National Socialism as emblematic of a dangerous modernity and a consequence of the western Enlightenment which they reject in favour of alternative “countermodern” genealogies of association, tradition, and antiquity’ (Bhatt, 2012, p. 310). Notwithstanding the ideological heterogeneity of the tendencies discussed in this chapter, which include ‘universal Nazism’, British neo-Nazism, the ‘New Right’, and ‘international third positionism’ they can all be seen as historically and contextually specific articulations of the ‘attitude of countermodernity’ described in the previous chapter.

At the ‘Eleventh Hour’

The party that Nick Griffin was seeking to reform at the time of 9/11 was one that was steeped in the British neo-Nazi tradition. Its founder, John Tyndall, had formed the party in 1982 following a long career within the British far right, starting in the 1950s in the League of Empire Loyalists (LEL), an anti-decolonisation lobby group that aimed to maintain white rule in Britain’s colonies, led by the conspiratorial anti-Semite A.K. Chesterton (Goodrick-Clarke, 2002, pp. 32-33). Leaving the LEL to form the National Labour Party (NLP) in 1958, Tyndall came under the influence of the leading figure in postwar British neo-Nazism, Colin Jordan, who had set up the White Defence League (WDL) in 1957 in order to ‘keep Britain white’ (Copsy, 2008, p. 9). Jordan was a key architect of postwar ‘Universal Nazism’, which stripped Nazism of its specifically German content and recast it as a global struggle for white world supremacy (Griffin, 2000, p. 167). Nazism was, to Jordan, a revolt

‘against the whole structure of thought of liberalism and democracy, with its cash nexus; its excessive individualism; its view of man as a folkless, interchangeable unit of world population; its spiritual justification in a debased Christianity embracing a sickly “humanitarianism”’ (cited in Goodrick-Clarke, 2002, at p. 39). One important organisation here was the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS), founded by Jordan and the leader of the American Nazi Party, George Lincoln Rockwell, in 1962. WUNS established sections in Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, the US, Argentina, Chile and Australia (ibid., p. 38).

An organisation called the British National Party had been formed in 1960 under Jordan’s leadership, through the merger of the WDL and the NLP, both of which had been instrumental in fomenting racial tensions in Notting Hill during the summer of 1958 (Copsey 2008, p. 9; Goodrick-Clarke, 2002, p. 33). The 1960s BNP was, however, a different organisation from the one founded by Tyndall in 1982. Within the 1960s BNP, Tyndall headed an elite uniformed paramilitary vanguard group known as ‘Spearhead’. However, Tyndall and Jordan’s overt neo-Nazism and paramilitarism caused dissension within the party and they left in 1962, with Jordan forming the National Socialist Movement (NSM) on 20th April that year, the anniversary of Hitler’s birthday. Tyndall subsequently split from Jordan in 1964, going on to form his own organisation, the Greater Britain Movement (GBM), which remained ideologically committed to National Socialism, as well as launching his magazine *Spearhead*. Tyndall went on to become a dominant figure in the 1970s National Front, which was formed in 1967 through a merger of the BNP and the LEL, serving as NF Chairman between 1972 and 1974, and then again from 1976 to 1980. Leaving the NF, Tyndall formed first the New National Front in 1980 and then the BNP in 1982.

The political ideology of Tyndall’s BNP reflected its founder’s Nazi convictions adapted to the political context of Britain during the 1980s and 1990s. The revival of Nazism in post-war Britain had occurred in the context of post-colonial migration from the Commonwealth, starting in the late 1950s, in much the same way as its post-war development in the US occurred in the context of the extension of civil rights to African Americans (Goodrick-Clarke, 2002, pp. 33-34). However, whereas Jordan remained an unreconstructed Nazi to the end, Tyndall’s Nazism was often fused with

a more traditional British patriotism. Tyndall nevertheless continued to share the apocalyptic worldview of Hitler and other leading Nazis. For him, Britain's 'entire national life' was 'in the grip of degenerative forces'. Tyndall's commitment to a form of biological holism was evident in his description of these forces as being 'like maggots invading a diseased carcass', with the nation repeatedly figuring in BNP discourse as a collective body (cited in Copsey, 2008, at p. 83). For Tyndall, the pathology afflicting the British organism was liberalism:

At the heart of the sickness is the doctrine of liberalism, which has atrophied every healthy national instinct for survival and growth. This doctrine of decay and degeneration contaminates almost every aspect of our national life - not only in the field of politics but also in those of religion, education, philosophy, the arts and much else. (cited in *ibid.*, p. 83)

Claiming that the 'cancer' of liberalism was killing the country, Tyndall ominously stated: 'We are at the Eleventh Hour: we do not have long left' (cited in *ibid.*, p. 83).

Tyndall similarly shared Hitler's manichaeic view of history as a struggle against the Jews, the 'evil enemy of mankind' (Vondung, 2005, p. 92). However his version of the 'Jewish world conspiracy' was heavily influenced by that of Chesterton, which located the headquarters of 'Jewish world power' in Wall Street, New York, rather than in a cemetery in Prague. From Wall Street, according to Chesterton, the Jews worked to undermine national identity and national sovereignty by spreading internationalist ideas and creating international institutions such as the European Economic Community (EEC) with the ultimate aim of bringing about a 'One World Federation' (Copsey, 2008, p. 91). In post-war British neo-Nazism, conspiratorial anti-Semitism was often conjoined to anti-black racism, through the idea that non-white immigration was part of a Jewish conspiracy to undermine British sovereignty and white identity. According to Tyndall, 'the Jew cleverly takes advantage' of the presence of 'dark-skinned sub-racials' to 'propagate the lie of racial equality... with the ultimate results of inter-marriage and race-degeneration that he knows will follow' (cited in *ibid.*, p. 89).

Within the Nazi tradition of biological racism and conspiratorial anti-Semitism, Islam and Muslims had long occupied an ambiguous position. In *Mein Kampf*, writ-

ten during the early 1920s whilst he was imprisoned for his role in the 1923 Munich *putsch*, Hitler had articulated an expansive form of anti-Semitism, one that applied primarily to Jews but also extended to Arabs and Muslims (Hitler, 1992). At other times, however, he and other leading Nazis, including Himmler, had venerated Islam as a martial religion that contrasted favourably with Christianity's alleged pacifism, and that they regarded as a potential ally against the Jews (Herf, 2014, p. 31). In the Third Reich, the official position was that Arabs and Muslims were considered different but not inferior, a view arrived at after Egypt threatened to boycott the 1936 Berlin Olympics (Herf, 2009, p. 717). During the Second World War, moreover, the Nazi regime launched a massive propaganda campaign directed at Arab and Muslim countries, in the hope of mobilising popular resentment against the British in the Middle East and North Africa and ultimately of expanding the Final Solution outside Europe, reflecting Hitler's belief that 'world Judaism' constituted the primary and existential threat to the Aryan race.

In the wartime propaganda campaign, the Nazis gained the enthusiastic collaboration of some ultra-conservative Muslims, most notoriously the virulently anti-Semitic Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini. Husseini, who took refuge in Berlin between 1941 and 1945, having been forced out of the Middle East by the British, became 'the most important public face and voice of Nazi propaganda aimed at Arabs and Muslims', according to Jeffrey Herf (Herf, 2009, p. 713). Finding common ground in their hatred of liberal modernity and the Jews, Husseini and others worked with the Nazi authorities to deliver anti-British, anti-American and anti-Semitic propaganda to a mass audience across the Middle East and North Africa using German short-wave radio and printing presses, a prime example of the countermodernist fusion of technological modernism with political anti-liberalism (*ibid.*, pp. 711-12). However, Herf's work also convincingly debunks the tendentious revisionist claim that it was Husseini's intervention, during a notorious meeting with Hitler in November 1941, that finally persuaded Hitler to shift from a policy of forced Jewish emigration to a policy of mass extermination. Whilst Herf is emphatic that Husseini had no impact on Hitler's decision to exterminate European Jewry, he does however argue that the Mufti played an important role in introducing themes from



Figure 4.1: Adolf Hitler meets with the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, in Berlin, 28th November 1941. Source: German Federal Archive (via Wikimedia Commons).

European anti-Semitism into an already extant tradition of Arab and Muslim anti-Zionism (Herf, 2014).

Reflecting its grounding in this same Nazi tradition, and a primary occupation with anti-Semitism and biological racism, Tyndall's BNP was not especially preoccupied with Islam *per se*, although individual Muslims could become *de facto* targets in virtue of being Asian or non-white. There were exceptions to this general indifference to Islam and Muslims however. In June 1989 the BNP organised a demonstration in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire, in advance of which it had advertised that a copy of the Koran would be burned. The aim was to exploit anti-Muslim public sentiment in the context of the February 1989 *fatwā* against Salman Rushdie by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. The demonstration ended in violence and the arrest of around eighty local Asian youths (Copsey, 2008, pp. 47-48).

'A strategy of euphemism'

When Griffin defeated Tyndall in the party's first leadership election in 1999, he sought to turn the BNP into a credible electoral force in time to exploit the coming 'globalist apocalypse', which Griffin predicted would come about in the early twenty-first century due to the increased pooling of sovereignty in international institutions, growing ethnic and religious diversity, and the erosion of physical and material security due to 'globalisation' (cited in Copsey, 2008, p. 101). To capitalise on these developments, the BNP needed to professionalise its party machinery and make more effective use of new communications technologies. It would also drop the 'march and grow' strategy used by the 1970s NF and the 1980s BNP, whereby publicity and new recruits were gained through staging deliberately provocative rallies and marches (ibid., p. 127).

Perhaps the most important element of Griffin's modernisation programme, however, was a transformation in the party's lexicon. Henceforth the BNP would speak of 'identity' rather than 'race', of physical and material 'security', of 'freedom' from state and EU bureaucracies, and of 'democracy', understood as the prioritisation of the needs and wishes of the ethnic majority (ibid., p. 103). Griffin was, however, keen to emphasise to his internal constituency that the rebranding exercise would be purely cosmetic, and that fascism remained the end goal: 'Of course, we must teach truth to the hardcore', he wrote in *Patriot* magazine, a key organ of the modernising faction, in 1999. However, 'when it comes to influencing the public, forget about racial differences, genetics, Zionism, historical revisionism and so on' (cited in ibid., p. 102).

The political model for Griffin's modernisation project was the French *Front National* (FN), founded in 1972 by a former paratrooper and veteran of the Algerian war, Jean-Marie le Pen (Copsey, 2008, pp. 102-03; Goodwin, 2011, pp. 66-67). The FN was a coalition of unreconstructed fascists, Catholic *intégristes*, monarchists, *Poujadistes* and supporters of *Algerie Française*. Following poor electoral performance during the 1970s, the FN had begun to make ground in the 1980s in the context of public concern over immigration. Its first electoral breakthrough came in 1983 when it got 16.7% of the vote in local elections, and it won nearly 11% of the vote in the

following year's European elections. The party's support was concentrated among the *pieds noirs* in the south of the country and in areas with large migrant populations in the north, especially in and around Paris. By the early 1990s, the FN was regularly polling between 10% and 14% (Eatwell, 2003, pp. 318-24).

The success of the FN may have been partly attributable to the growing sophistication of its lexicon. This in turn was related to the entry into the party of a number of leading ideologues of the *Nouvelle Droite* (ND), an intellectual and cultural movement that had emerged in the late 1960s, following the loss of French Algeria, and in the context of *les événements* of 1968, to which it was in part a response (Bar-On, 2011; McCulloch, 2006). The term *Nouvelle Droite* was not a self-appellation, but was coined in 1978 by a *Le Monde* journalist, Gilbert Comte, to designate a certain current that had since the 1960s been engaged in a conscious project to rehabilitate certain ideas of the interwar extreme right and adapt them to a new social and political context (McCulloch, 2006, p. 159). A number of leading ND members joined the FN during the 1980s and 1990s, including Bruno Mégret as delegate general, and Yvan Blot as a personal adviser to Jean-Marie le Pen (*ibid.*).

The involvement of some of its members in the FN was controversial within ND circles since a key part of the movement's philosophy was the primacy of the ideological and cultural spheres over that of electoral politics (an orientation sometimes rather pompously referred to as 'metapolitics'). This stemmed from the ND's diagnosis of the political situation both within and outside France in the late 1960s, which it saw as one of Leftist control of key social and cultural institutions including schools, universities and the mass media (Bar-On, 2011, p. 204). Especially under the influence of its intellectual figurehead, Alain de Benoist, the ND pursued a form of 'Right-wing Gramscianism', which sought to contest perceived Leftist 'cultural hegemony' in civil society (*ibid.*). But success could not be achieved through a revival of crude and discredited ideas associated with the interwar far right, such as the *fubrerprinzip*, Hitler-worship, and the like.

The ND's approach has been called a 'strategy of euphemism' (Bhatt, 2012; Ferraresi, 1987). This operates on a number of levels. On one level, offensive terminology is deliberately toned down, with terms like 'race' being replaced with ones like 'culture',

‘ethnic group’ or ‘Europe’s biocultural heritage’. More subtly, the ideas of the ND’s political opponents are selectively appropriated for its ‘Gramscianism of the Right’. In particular, the ND pioneered the selective mobilisation of New Left environmental, anti-racist, anti-fascist and democratic discursive frameworks, all of which acquired wholly different connotations to their generally accepted meanings. One characteristic inversion was ‘anti-French racism’, from which perspective the anti-racist movement was viewed as a conspiracy to undermine French national identity (McCulloch, 2006, p. 168).

The intellectual resources for the ND project were drawn from heterodox strands of the interwar extreme right, which, notwithstanding the political distance between them and ‘official’ Fascism and Nazism, ‘gave the ND a distinctly fascist–revivalist character’ (McCulloch, 2006, p. 162). The writings of the Weimar conservative revolutionaries were key here, including Spengler and Ernst Jünger but especially Schmitt and Heidegger. Other key intellectual forebears included Friedrich Nietzsche and the esoteric Italian fascist philosopher Julius Evola (of whom more later). ND ideas were disseminated through its ‘think tank’, the *Groupement de Recherche et d’Études pour la Civilisation Européenne* (GRECE; Research and Study Group for European Civilisation), the journal *Nouvelle Ecole*, and through the colossal literary output of Alain de Benoist. Moreover, the ND’s strategy of euphemisation has also reaped benefits, with de Benoist’s work appearing in the prestigious left-wing journal *Telos*, and for a time, even in the pages of the French national paper *Figaro* (Bar-On, 2011).

Some aspects of the ND vision found ready acceptance within the FN. The language of ‘anti-French racism’ was readily adopted, as was the idea of ‘national preference’, which sought to place the ‘defence’ of French culture and identity over other considerations, such as the civic rights of minority populations (McCulloch, 2006, p. 167). In other areas, there were tensions, however. One key tension was between the FN’s primary commitment to French nationalism on the one hand, and the ND’s primary commitment to a pan-European identity on the other. For the ND, the modern French state, a product of the revolution of 1789, was destructive of local and regional identities, and should be replaced with a pan-European empire within

which the identities of rooted and organic ‘ethnies’ would be preserved: a ‘Europe of a Hundred Flags’ (Bar-On, 2011, p. 208).

Moreover, the ND’s pan-Europeanism is of a decidedly pagan nature, which sat rather awkwardly with the Catholic *intégriste* wing of the FN. GRECE, for instance, has been avowedly pagan and opposed to what leading member Pierre Vial has called ‘monotheist totalitarianism’, viewing the advent of Christianity as a key moment in the destruction of Europe’s ‘original’ pagan cultures and the erosion of ‘natural’ differences and hierarchies. Vial has stated:

Saint Loup made me into a pagan. That is to say, one who knows that the only real task in two thousand years is to know whether one belongs mentally to the peoples of the forest or to that tribe of shepherds who in their desert proclaimed themselves the elect of a bizarre, ‘lying God’.
(cited in McCulloch, 2006, at pp. 169-70)

Elsewhere he has claimed:

Things are in fact very simple: on one side a *mondialiste* [globalist] ideology, universalist, cosmopolitan; on the other, a conception of a rooted world, communitarian and popular... The war of the peoples of the forest against the tribes of the desert. (cited in *ibid.*, at p. 170)

One force of ‘*mondialisme*’ opposed by the ND is the technocratic EU, which the ND wishes to see replaced with its pan-national European empire. However, following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, the US has come to be seen as the main force of ‘*mondialisme*’, hence in a post-Cold War context the ND has displaced an erstwhile anti-communism for a virulent anti-Americanism. Much like the American neo-Nazis described in the introduction to this chapter, de Benoist viewed 9/11 as a consequence of the US’s ‘detestable international policy’ (cited in Bhatt, 2012, at p. 317).

The philosophy of the ND has evolved significantly over time, from biological racism in the early 1970s to so-called ‘differentialism’ in the late 1980s, although particularism (whether understood in biological or cultural terms) and inegalitarianism (however expressed) have been consistent themes (McCulloch, 2006, pp. 175-76).

'Differentialism' claimed to be against ideas of racial superiority, asserting instead that all cultures should be able to maintain their distinctiveness and that there was a cultural 'right to difference', which needed to be upheld in order to preserve human diversity. In this context, de Benoist began arguing for political alliances between European and 'Third World' nations as a counterweight to American global hegemony, disingenuously equating the ND's project of white racial survival with that of decolonisation and black emancipation.

His communitarian wing of the ND also argued that non-white migration to Europe was a fact of life, and that repatriation had become a political impossibility. Consequently, Moroccan and Algerian communities could remain in France, and Muslim girls should be allowed to wear the veil in school due to the 'right to difference': what needed to be opposed was cultural *intermixing*. De Benoist, who has never ventured into practical politics, expressed his differences from the FN in the following terms:

The divergences between the extreme (*sic*) right and the ND appear to be insurmountable. 1- the FN is impregnated with a Catholic messianism incompatible with our paganist conception. 2- the FN's doctrine of identity is summed up in a typically narrow-minded French nationalism, whereas we are European... before being French. 3- the FN is opposed to Mosques, muslim veils... We are for the imprescribable right of peoples to remain the same; on our soil or elsewhere... (cited in McCulloch, 2006, at p. 172)

Yet this position has not been universally accepted within the ND, with former GRECE member Guillaume Faye criticizing de Benoist and the communitarian wing of the ND for failing to oppose the 'massive non-European invasion' and a 'conquering Islam'.⁴ Viewing Muslim migration as the primary threat to European identity, Faye no longer regards Jews as the 'principal enemy in the battle for white survival', and has advocated anti-Muslim alliances between white nationalists and Jews. Notwithstanding these disagreements, however, the ND's programme remains the most

⁴<https://web.archive.org/web/20120618005659/http://foster.20megsfree.com/468.htm> [Last accessed 1st October 2017].

sophisticated far-right philosophical challenge to democracy and modernity (Bhatt, 2012).

Today there are outgrowths of the ND across Europe. The German *Neue Rechte* is grouped around the paper *Junge Freiheit*, the magazines *Sezession* (Secession) and *Blaue Narzisse* (Blue Narcissus), and the Institut für Staatspolitik (IfS; Institute for State Policy) (Salzborn, 2016). The Italian *Nuova Destra* is primarily associated with the Florentine political scientist Marco Tarchi, a former youth leader of the neo-fascist *Movimento Sociale Italiano* (MSI, Italian Social Movement). In Belgium, the key figure has been Robert Steuckers and his journal *Vouloir*. The New Right in the UK, associated with the journal *New Imperium*, owes its 2005 foundation to the former National Front organiser Troy Southgate. There are similar ND-influenced groups in a variety of other European countries. *Metapedia* exists as a far-right alternative to *Wikipedia*, having been set up by ND supporters in Sweden (Bar-On, 2011, pp. 209-11). The ND has also influenced the ideologies and programmes of far-right political parties across Europe besides the FN, including the Belgian *Vlaams Belang*, the Italian *Lega Nord*, and the British National Party. The influence of ND ideas on Griffin's modernising project could be seen in the claims being made in party publications by 1999 that the BNP 'is not a racist party' but instead leading the 'political response to anti-white racism' (cited in Copsey, 2008, at p. 103).

Offshoots of the ND also exist outside Europe. One such offshoot is the North American New Right associated with the publisher Counter Currents, *The Occidental Quarterly* journal, and the writers Greg Johnson, Michael O'Meara, Tomislav Sunic and Kevin MacDonald amongst others (Bhatt, 2012, p. 318). The more 'intellectual' strands of the 'Alt-Right' have also been heavily influenced by *Nouvelle Droite* ideas.⁵ Another is Alexander Dugin's 'neo-Eurasianism', a form of Russian supra-nationalism which regards its key geopolitical enemy as the 'Atlanticist conspiracy' headquartered in Washington. Dugin met de Benoist in Paris in 1990, and invited him to Moscow to speak at the Academy of the General Staff in April 1992, where de Benoist diagnosed post-Soviet Russia's political malaise as being due to its lack of a clearly defined enemy. The man who had introduced Dugin to the writings of Carl Schmitt told the audience

⁵See, for instance, the reading list on Richard Spencer's *altright.com* for an indication of the movement's intellectual influences: <https://altright.com/reading-list/> [Last accessed 23rd September 2017].

of Russian generals: 'All strategic conceptions are based on the understanding of a main enemy. Today, who is your enemy?' (Clover, 2016, pp. 175-204).

The 'New Alliance'

Nick Griffin was in many respects an unlikely reformist figure, and his attempted modernisation of the BNP, using the model of the FN and the theories of the ND, marked the latest in a series of political self-reinventions. During the 1980s, Griffin had been a key figure first in the radical 'Political Soldiers' faction of the National Front together with Derek Holland, Graham Williamson and Patrick Harrington, and then later in the 'International Third Position' (ITP), a form of revolutionary nationalism opposed to both communism and capitalism, with which the US White Aryan Resistance (discussed in the introduction to this chapter) was also associated. This radicalisation had come about after the comprehensive failure of the NF's 1979 election campaign, in which it was routed by Margaret Thatcher's Tories, and the subsequent departure of Tyndall as Chairman, who took much of the blame for the NF's losses. The NF subsequently underwent a transformation into a 'revolutionary' organisation, shorn of 'armchair nationalists, tin-pot dictators or refugees from old political parties', as its magazine *Nationalism Today* put it in 1985 (cited in Macklin, 2005, p. 304).

Part of the impetus for the radicalisation of the Front came from the arrival in Britain of fugitive Italian neo-fascist terrorists from the *Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari* (NAR; Armed Revolutionary Nuclei), led by Roberto Fiore, who were on the run following the 2nd August 1980 bombing of Bologna railway station (Goodrick-Clarke, 2002, pp. 68-69; Macklin, 2005, p. 303). Under the influence of Italian neo-fascism rather than the British neo-Nazism of Tyndall and Jordan, the 'Political Soldiers' turned away from electoralism and popular racism, becoming increasingly elitist, militant, anti-capitalist and esoteric. Revolutionary cadres were set up modelled on those of Corneliu Codreanu's Romanian Iron Guard, with Griffin running training sessions at his farm in Suffolk. Griffin's 'Smash the Cities' campaign expressed the 'back to the land' ethos of the Political Soldiers, in which ruralism and feudal values were coun-

terposed to urbanism and consumerism (Goodrick-Clarke, 2002, pp. 42-43, and pp. 68-69). The radical direction of the Political Soldiers did not find universal support within the Front, prompting the formation of the breakaway National Front Support Group.

One of the key philosophical inspirations for the Political Soldiers, introduced to them by the Italian refugees, was the heretical Italian fascist philosopher Julius Evola. Evola had been a marginal figure within Mussolini's Italy but was eulogised by Italian neo-fascists, including the leader of the *Movimento Sociale Italiano* (MSI; Italian Social Movement) Giorgio Almirante who described him as 'our Marcuse, only better' (cited in Sheehan, 1981, at p. 47). Evola criticised official Fascism, especially its compromises with modern party politics, the Italian monarchy and the Catholic church from a position further to the right, although Evola did enjoy the dubious distinction of having his esoteric racial theories endorsed by Mussolini as the basis of Italian Fascism's 'spiritual racism' as against Nazi biologism. Evola found Nazism crude and plebeian but admired the intellectual fascism of the German conservative revolution. Key influences on his thought included Nietzsche, Spengler (whose *Decline of the West* Evola had translated into Italian), the Roman occultist and neopagan Arturo Reghini, the Theosophy of Helena Blavatsky, and the French orientalist René Guénon, who wrote much on Hinduism but subsequently converted to Islam (Ferraresi, 1987). Concerning Evola, the theologian and philosopher Thomas Sheehan (Sheehan, 1981) has written that he knows of no other contemporary European thinker in whose work the rejection of the modern world is so absolute or so violent. That Evola consistently dates the beginning of the 'decline of the West' to somewhere between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. is a measure of his radicalism, although it is entirely consistent with his philosophy of 'Traditionalism'.

Evola's key thesis, set out in his 1934 work *Revolt Against the Modern World* (Evola, 1995), is that Western civilization is in terminal decline because it has become detached from the metaphysical realm of 'Being', the ontological arche or ordering principle that imparts form and order to the universe. Evola contrasts 'Traditional' civilizations, 'characterized by the feeling of what is beyond time, namely by contact with metaphysical reality that bestows upon the experience of time a very different, "myth-

ological” form based on rhythm and space rather than on chronological time’, with the modern, anthropogenic civilization, caught in the ‘illusion’ of continual development, change, and ‘progress’ (1995, p. xxxii). Historicity and temporality are specific to modern civilization, although any society based on them would display the characteristic attitudes, values and social forms found in the modern world. Conversely, any society based on supra-temporal principles would display the characteristics of a ‘Traditional’ civilization, namely order, hierarchy and stability.

Hence, Evola dates the decline of the West to the onset of ‘historical time’ in classical antiquity. There are affinities here with Heidegger, insofar as both agree that the decline of the West long predates the Enlightenment or the French Revolution. However, there is also an important difference: whereas for Heidegger the decline of the West was dramatised as a fall *into* metaphysics from a more primordial relationship to Being, for Evola it was dramatised as a fall *from* metaphysics (the world of ‘Being’) into historicity (the world of ‘becoming’). Particularly disastrous according to Evola was the Socratic elevation of discursive rationality (*logos*) over intuition and myth (*mythos*), which opened the door to scepticism and doubt, and paved the way for the emancipation of the individual, rational subject from the world of Tradition (Sheehan, 1981). A second phase of decline corresponds to the birth of Christianity and the fall of the Roman Empire, with Christianity’s egalitarian universalism being regarded by Evola as an especially destructive force (Evola, 1995, p. 287 ff.). A third phase related to the advent of humanism, and from then on the process has accelerated through the Enlightenment and the French revolution with the consumerist society of the contemporary United States representing the terminal phase of Western decline. In Evola’s cyclical historical scheme, we are currently living in an age corresponding to the Hindu *Kali Yuga*, a prelude to the apocalypse that will eventually lead to a new Golden Age where man is once again centred in the realm of ‘Being’.

Fidelity to the realm of ‘Being’ implied, for Evola, an organic, hierarchical social order in which everyone fills a pre-ordained place according to his or her proper status. Evola’s major social and political reference points were the Hindu caste system, ancient Rome and medieval Europe. Whilst none of these could be reconstituted exactly, he nevertheless hoped for a new political order that would approximate the

characteristic Traditional institutions of divine kingship, warrior aristocracy, and the caste system, and whose outward form would be that of an empire. All of these institutions must be oriented ‘upward’ toward the realm of Being; that is, they must have a sacred and not merely a secular foundation. There were, for Evola, two main ways of approaching the Sacred: contemplation (the domain of the priestly caste) and heroic action (the domain of the warrior caste). War, for Evola, must have a sacred function. One key reference point for him was the Islamic doctrine of *jihad* or ‘holy war’, which distinguished between a ‘greater’ and a ‘lesser’ holy war (Evola, 1995, pp. 116-128). In Evola’s writings, these acquire connotations similar to the Schmittian distinction between the ‘internal’ and ‘external’ enemies: the ‘lesser’ holy war is ‘the material war waged externally against an enemy population’, whereas the ‘greater’ holy war is ‘of an inner and spiritual nature’, it is ‘man’s struggle against the enemies he carries within’ (Evola, 1995, p. 118). Importantly, however, the ‘lesser’ holy war could become a means of carrying out the ‘greater’ one: the fight against the external enemy could become ‘almost a ritual action that expresses and gives witness’ to man’s struggle against his ‘inferior nature’, his ‘chaotic impulses and all sorts of material attachments’ (ibid.).

The key text of the radical NF faction was Derek Holland’s 1984 pamphlet *The Political Soldier* (see figure 4.2),⁶ which bemoaned the ‘mounting evidence of disintegration and of decay’ in Britain and Europe, of ‘political and economic decline’, and the ‘spirit of this age, an age which lives for the moment and where the word “instant” reigns supreme’.⁷ Channeling the esoteric philosophies of Codreanu and Evola and citing Oswald Spengler, Holland prophesied that ‘the culture of Europe is going to die out within our lifetime’, which would ‘signal the end of the White peoples forever’.⁸ Looking for salvation through a new elite, his pamphlet called for the creation of a ‘New Man’, the ‘Political Soldier’, who would ‘embody or express the spirit that our nation so desperately needs’.⁹ The ‘Political Solider’ was the man seized by ‘a spiritual and religious ideal that totally dominated their lives’, who would ‘live the National-

⁶Available online at <http://www.gornahoor.net/library/PoliticalSoldierA4.pdf> [Last accessed 22nd September 2017].

⁷Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁸Ibid., p. 7.

⁹Ibid., p. 9.

**This image of the front cover of
Derek Holland's pamphlet
'The Political Soldier' has been
removed as the copyright is owned
by another organisation.**

Figure 4.2: Front cover of Derek Holland's pamphlet *The Political Soldier*. Courtesy: *Searchlight* archive, University of Northampton.

ist way of life every day'.¹⁰ Holland looked to the Spartans, Roman centurions and Christian crusaders, but above all to Codreanu's Romanian Iron Guard, 'the most outstanding example of Political Soldiery'.¹¹

In its search for a neo-fascist 'third way' between communism and capitalism, the radical NF faction followed the Italian *terza posizione* in supporting anti-Western national revolutionary movements, including Ruhollah Khomeini's Iran, Muammar Gaddafi's Libya, and the black separatism of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam (Copsy 2008, pp. 45-46; Macklin, 2005, pp. 303-04). All of these were celebrated on the front cover of the March 1988 edition of *Nationalism Today* as part of a 'new alliance' (see figure 4.3) against what Holland had called 'the Slave States of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.'.¹² Holland's *Political Soldier* eulogised 'the Islamic Revolutionary Guards in the Iran of the mullahs', saluting their 'courage' and their 'contempt for death'. In September 1988, Griffin, Harrington and Holland travelled to Tripoli for a four-day visit as guests of the Gaddafi regime. The purpose of the visit, according to a subsequent report in *National Front News*, was to view at first hand 'the injustice and horror of the U.S. terror bombing of Libya' and to take 'an in-depth look at the way in which modern development in industry and retailing is being carried out in keeping with the Third Position ideology of Muammer Qathafi's *Green Book*'.¹³ If measured by the number of free copies of the *Green Book* with which the delegation returned, the trip could be judged an outstanding success.

These professions of admiration and attempts at alliance-building between putative racial enemies may seem unusual but they are not exceptional. As Paul Gilroy has documented, there have been similar associations between white supremacists and black nationalists in a US context, who have found common ground over their shared desires for racial purity and spatial segregation (Gilroy, 2000). One such association was between Marcus Garvey, the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and Edward Clarke, the second-in-command of the Ku Klux Klan, in the early 1920s (ibid., pp. 70-73). Later, Malcolm X would allege that Elijah

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 9-10.

¹¹Ibid., p. 10.

¹²Ibid., p. 13.

¹³*Nation Front News*, 111, p. 1.

**This image of the front cover of
National Front News has been
removed as the copyright is owned
by another organisation.**

Figure 4.3: Front cover of the March 1988 edition of *National Front News*, showing the 'New Alliance'. The figures depicted in the inset are, moving clockwise from top left to bottom right: Muammar Gaddafi, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and Louis Farrakhan. Courtesy: *Searchlight* archive, University of Northampton.

Muhammad, then leader of the Nation of Islam, had made similar contacts with the Klan and with Lincoln Rockwell's Nazis during the early 1960s, with the aim of securing some land in Georgia or South Carolina for a segregated black state (ibid., p. 74). The logic, Gilroy suggests, was that 'the Nazi and the Klansman are to be preferred to the liberal because they are open and honest about their racialized beliefs. At least you know where you are with a Klansman' (ibid., p. 74).

'The threat that can bring us to power'

The BNP's response to the 9/11 attacks reflected a tension between the desire to exploit public anxieties about jihadist terrorism and the need to respect the ideological convictions of committed party activists. Within hours of the news of the 9/11 attacks breaking, the BNP website announced the party's 'conditional support' for retaliatory strikes by US and British forces against Al Qaeda bases in Afghanistan. The three 'conditions' attached to the BNP's support, none of which was remotely realistic at the time, were that the US and UK governments should take action 'to remove the root causes of the hatred of the Islamic world for Uncle Sam and his faithful British poodle', by ending their support for Israel, ending the sanctions regime and bombing campaign against Iraq, and withdrawing US troops stationed in Saudi Arabia. At the same time, the BNP launched a national campaign against Islam in Britain, 'with the aim of alerting our people to the dangers posed by the extremist followers of this medieval superstition'.¹⁴ Thousands of leaflets were printed warning that Britain was turning into an 'Islamic Republic', and on 24th November, BNP activists staged an anti-Islam demonstration in Parliament Square in London, in which they carried placards reading 'Islam out of Britain' (see figure 4.4). Some demonstrators dressed up as Crusaders armed with swords and St George Cross shields, and two of these medieval knights put to the sword an effigy of Prime Minister 'Tony Bin Blair', who was dressed up in robes and a turban for the occasion.¹⁵

In a further effort to exploit public anxieties about Islam whilst disavowing its racist and fascist pedigree, the BNP formed an 'Ethnic Liaison Committee' that in-

¹⁴*Identity*, issue 14, October 2001, p. 5.

¹⁵*Identity*, issue 16, December 2001, p. 7. See also *Spearhead*, no. 395, January 2002, p. 27.

These images of the BNP anti-Islam campaign have been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 4.4: BNP anti-Islam leaflet, October 2001 (*top*). BNP demonstrators in Parliament Square, London, November 2001 (*bottom*). (Courtesy: *Searchlight* archive, University of Northampton.)

cluded 'a long-time Sikh activist and a Hindu who has made a personal in-depth study of Islam'.¹⁶ The aim was to 'give the lie' to accusations that the party was made up of 'racists' and 'haters'. One of the Committee's projects was to produce a 'professionally-wound cassette' containing 'the most detailed audio expose of the "Green Menace" ever produced'. *Identity* boasted that the 'Politically Correct lie... that Islam is a religion of "peace"', a rhetorical trope rehearsed by both Bush and Blair in the months after 9/11, 'is shattered into a thousand pieces by this project'.¹⁷ The strategy was continued during subsequent elections, with one BNP broadcast for the 2004 European elections introduced by a Sikh, who claimed that the BNP was the only party 'with the courage to speak out about the biggest danger facing this country today, Islamic extremism' (cited in Goodwin, 2011, at p. 69).

Griffin's strategy of exploiting public concerns about jihadist violence by trying to align the BNP with non-Muslim British Asians, and with a US military strategy whose architects included people with surnames like Wolfowitz, was met with dismay among some of the party's supporters. One reader of John Tyndall's magazine *Spearhead*, wrote in to the November 2001 issue to say that 'I could hardly believe my eyes when I clicked onto the British National Party website after the attacks on New York and Washington'.¹⁸ Whilst 'deploring' the attacks, the correspondent argued that nevertheless 'we should know what led to it - America's unswerving support of Israel and her determination to try to order the affairs of the whole world far beyond her borders'. The letter expressed disbelief that the party could be 'going along with Tony Blair in the latest of his demonstrations of servility to the American President', and argued that 'if the Americans are determined to continue in their policies of global mastery and support of Israel' then 'we most certainly should not help them'. The letter concluded by noting that the BNP's contrived public position on British Islam and the War on Terror showed 'that Mr Griffin has done a big about-turn since the days back in the 1980s when he visited Libya and went cap in hand to Colonel Gadaffi'.¹⁹

Griffin sought to explain and defend the BNP's heretical position in a series of

¹⁶*Identity*, issue 16, December 2001, p. 15.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Spearhead*, no. 393, November 2001, p. 22.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

opinion pieces published over the next few months in the official party magazine, *Identity*, at that time edited by an up-and-coming young activist named Paul Golding. The crux of Griffin's argument was brutally simple: 9/11 demanded in response a demonstrative act of overwhelming violence against non-whites lest it be interpreted as a symbol of declining white world power, in the way that, for instance, the British defeat at Singapore in 1942 had signalled the fundamental weakness of the Empire:

Billions of Third Worlders, who know little or nothing about who (*sic*) runs American foreign policy, saw only the White Man's technology being turned against him by non-whites armed just with Stanley knives... The only way to prevent September 11th becoming a lasting lesson in the weakness of the White World was for the White Man's military machine to wreak devastating death and destruction on those held to be responsible. As a matter of fact, for the purposes of symbolism and deterrence, it didn't even matter too much whether the right bunch of non-whites were hit; the important thing was to show the entire world that there is still a terrible price to pay for pushing the 'West' too far.²⁰

However, Griffin explained, the BNP's public position also reflected 'more prosaic but no less important' political considerations. Firstly, for a party seeking mainstream credibility, it would not have been politically expedient to be seen to be 'soft' on *Al Qaeda*, which, after all, represented a genuine national security threat. Secondly, it was politically useful for a party 'still falsely accused of being pro-Hitler' to temporarily align itself with the US and its Israeli ally.²¹

The BNP's campaign against British Islam also re-coded some key themes of archetypal fascism and anti-Semitism. *Identity* was quick to transpose one of the main tropes of classical anti-Semitism into an anti-Muslim key, warning that Muslims 'show disloyalty' to their countries of residence, 'recognise no governments anywhere' and 'deplore manmade laws', urging that it was 'time to root out the Islamic fifth column'.²² Evidently alive to criticisms from within, by December 2001 the official BNP position had shifted somewhat. In a rather tetchy article in that month's issue of

²⁰*Identity*, issue 16, December 2001, p. 4.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Identity*, issue 15, November 2001, p. 3.

Identity, entitled 'No British Blood for Afghanistan!'²³ Griffin emphasised the short-term and conditional nature of his support for air strikes against Afghanistan. The strikes had gone ahead and provided 'the necessary object lesson to any other Third World regime which might be tempted... to harbour terrorists who strike against the West'; consequently '[t]he message "Don't Mess With US" will have been received loud and clear over the whole planet'. But, Griffin added, 'that is enough' and to continue the war any longer would be a 'grave mistake', potentially creating 'the recipe for a global conflagration between hundreds of millions of followers of a 7th Century visionary, and the advocates of the equally irrational and Messianic drive for a 21st Century New World Order'. Moreover, the BNP did not accept 'that a single British soldier should die in Afghanistan'.²⁴

Griffin's 2001 campaign against Islam was strongly criticised by John Tyndall's magazine *Spearhead*, most notably in an April 2002 article entitled 'The BNP and Islam: time to start thinking straight'.²⁵ Whilst the writer, John Morse, noted that opposition to Islam as an 'alien force here in Britain' and to the 'creeping ethnic cleansing' of 'our own people' by 'Islamic encroachments' were things with which all white nationalists would 'surely agree', he nevertheless took issue with Griffin's emphasis on Islam 'as if it were the *only* threat to our identity and survival as a race and nation'. His main argument was that this focus 'misrepresents the real purposes of British nationalism':

[O]ur objection is to the occupation of any part of our land by *all* and *any* peoples radically alien to us in *blood* and *race*.²⁶

For Morse, cultural or religious 'alienness' were just particular aspects of this 'more fundamental factor' of race. Moreover, he claimed, there was a danger in the BNP giving the impression 'that it is only the Muslim presence we are worried about', because it might send the message 'that our claims about our own land are limited', that Muslims aside 'otherwise the matter is negotiable' and that 'we can thereby somehow cop out of the thorniest issue of all - that is, race'. Morse also questioned whether 'it

²³*Identity*, issue 16, December 2001, pp. 4-5.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Spearhead*, no. 398, April 2002, pp. 18-20.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 18.

would in any way profit us to ally ourselves with Sikhs or others purely for the sake of a crusade against Islam'.²⁷

In addition to questioning Griffin's strategic judgment, Morse's article also pointed out a number of more specific inconsistencies and self-contradictions in Griffin's opinion pieces, suggesting that 'within the chaotic architectural pastiche of *Identity*'s argumentation on this issue the drainpipe doesn't really reach up to the guttering'. Not only did the official BNP position go against 'the general view of nationalists that we should stay out of foreign quarrels', but deterrence was 'the last effect likely to be produced' by military intervention in Muslim countries. It was equally unlikely that getting embroiled in a 'no-win war against Islamic extremists abroad' would help to highlight the 'problems of immigration' at home, as Griffin had argued: rather, the geopolitics of the Middle East typically 'leaves voters cold'. Part of the reason for Griffin's strategic confusion, Morse suggested, was that he could not make up his mind whether the 9/11 attacks expressed an 'aggressive and fanatical desire for world domination' on the part of global Islam or, alternatively, an understandable response to 'Zionist imperialism' and 'US-sponsored globalism' on the part of a handful of Muslims.²⁸ In conclusion, Morse advocated an alternative position for nationalists to rally around: a new *nomos* of the earth involving a grand bargain between 'the West' and 'the Muslim world'. This would be based on Western renunciation of support for Israel and the affirmation of a principle of 'mutual non-interference in each other's respective regions of the world'. In practical terms this would mean Western military withdrawal from the Middle East and the repatriation of Muslim populations living in the West.²⁹

There were several other differences between the Griffinite 'moderniser' position, represented by *Identity*, and the more orthodox racial nationalism of Tyndall's *Spearhead*. For one thing, *Spearhead* was much stronger and more consistent in its opposition to British military involvement with the US, in contrast to *Identity*'s vacillation on the issue in the months after 9/11. There were also differences in the way the two magazines portrayed British Muslims. Whereas *Identity* tended to portray Muslims

²⁷Ibid., p. 18.

²⁸Ibid., p. 20.

²⁹Ibid., p. 20.

living in Britain as part of an ‘Islamic fifth column’, *Spearhead* argued strongly that the ‘real traitors’ are ‘our own multi-racialists’ and that in expressing support for the Taliban, the Muslim fundamentalist cleric Omar Bakri was ‘no traitor’ but ‘only being loyal to his own kind’.³⁰ Fidelity to one’s ‘own’ kind is perhaps *the* fundamental value of identitarian political philosophies, and one that *Spearhead* clearly thought that Griffin and the modernisers had neglected in aligning themselves with America’s ‘globalist wars’.

Griffin’s strategy of exploiting public anxieties about jihadist violence was renewed with full vigour after the July 2005 London transport bombings. Earlier that year, during the May general election, the party had already been warning of the ‘creeping Islamification’ of Britain (cited in Goodwin, 2011, at p. 69). It subsequently tried to claim that the 2006 local elections were ‘a referendum on Islam’, with campaign leaflets asking voters ‘Are You Concerned About the Growth of Islam in Britain?’. The issue had acquired added salience in the lead-in to the elections due to the Danish cartoons affair, and a subsequent *Al Muhajiroun* demonstration outside the Danish embassy in London on 3rd February 2006 in which its supporters carried placards with slogans such as ‘Behead Those Who Insult Islam’ and ‘Freedom Can Go to Hell’. By this time, Tyndall had passed away and *Spearhead* had ceased publication.

By March 2006, Griffin was arguing with increased conviction for an exclusive focus on the ‘green menace’. Addressing himself to ‘hysterical anti-Semites’, Griffin argued that the time had come ‘for white nationalists around the world to dump such paranoid political suicide notes in the historical bin where they belong’:

There is no ‘Jewish conspiracy’ to poison our wells or to turn subway systems into bombs under our cities. There are, by contrast, a limitless number of Islamic schemes to do precisely that. *This* is the factor which is going to dominate politics for decades to come. *This* is the enemy that the public can see and understand. *This* is the threat that can bring us to power. *This* is the Big Issue on which we must concentrate in order to wake people up and make them look at what we have to offer all around.³¹

³⁰*Spearhead*, no. 397, March 2002, p. 16.

³¹*Identity*, issue 64, March 2006, p. 8.

These images of the front covers of Identity magazine have been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 4.5: Identity covers after the September 2001 attacks (*left*) and the July 2005 London transport bombings (*right*).

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to show that, far from being pre-determined at an ideological level, far-right orientations towards Islam and Muslims have been the product of contingent historical and political conditions, and often fiercely contested. Moreover, the constraints and opportunities that the contemporary far right faces are fundamentally different to the ones faced by interwar fascist movements. Reflecting on the debate between Alain de Benoist and Guillaume Faye, the North American New Rightist, Michael O'Meara, has written:

There is both a political and a theoretical issue at stake here. In our post-modern age, when the *jus publicum Europaeum* has given way to globalism's anti-European order, nationalists confront a situation where they are obliged to fight a multi-front, asymmetrical war: Against an external enemy, the non-white hordes replacing Europeans, and against an internal enemy, those liberal elites, Jewish and otherwise, who promote and make possible this replacement. Faye and the reformists focus on the external enemy, his critics... on the internal enemy. And, as in every multi-front war, the question inevitably arises: Who is the principal enemy, the gate keepers or the gate crashers?³²

As we will see in the next part, this question continues to divide the far right, and it is a faultline that is carried over into the counterjihad movement.

In Part II of this thesis, I will argue that the counterjihad is, like the political tendencies discussed in this chapter, a historically and contextually specific articulation of the 'attitude of countermodernity'. It shares the apocalyptic visions of the various countermodern political theologies discussed in this chapter, as well as their Schmittian reduction of politics to a friend-enemy distinction. However, its dramatization of Western crisis and decline is somewhat different to those encountered in this chapter, and its configuration of the internal and external enemies is also different. Importantly, its prioritisation of an Islamic enemy is not a matter of short-term

³²<https://www.counter-currents.com/2011/08/the-new-jewish-question-of-guillaume-faye/> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

political tactics, as it had been for the BNP under Nick Griffin, but one born of deep conviction. However, as we move on to consider the counterjihad, a number of key themes will be continued: apocalypticism, conspiracism, particularism and an aesthetic repertoire that evokes the archaic, the antiquarian and the mythological. The four chapters contained in Part II of this thesis look in detail at the counterjihad, its discursive, aesthetic, organisational and tactical repertoires. In the first instance, we turn to an organisational analysis of the counterjihad movement and its international political networks.

Part II

The Counterjihad

Chapter 5

‘Welcome to the Counterjihad’: anatomy of a political movement

Well, basically the counterjihad movement’s something new... in the sense that this is the first time that street protest movements, or what’s being tagged as the ‘far right’, actually all support Israel... like even if you look at Marine le Pen now she’s moving towards Israel, know what I mean?

Former senior EDL activist, interview, Sept. 2015

The counterjihad first became visible as a specific activist and political tendency, organisationally and ideologically distinct from those discussed in the previous chapter, during the late 2000s. Symptomatic at that time were the proliferation of ‘Defence Leagues’ and ‘Stop Islamisation’ groups in various national contexts including England, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Serbia, and the USA. Also symptomatic were a number of campaigns to ‘ban the burqa’, as well as political mobilisations against mosques and minarets, one of which achieved success when in 2009 Switzerland imposed a ban on the construction of minarets following a popular referendum. A number of key online spaces were also set up during the 2000s, including *Jihad Watch*, *Atlas Shrugs*, *Gates of Vienna*, *Fjordman* (the pseudonym of a Norwegian blogger, Peder Jensen), and the *1389* blog, whose homepage greets visitors ‘Welcome to the counterjihad!’. During the late 2000s and early 2010s,

activists from different countries increasingly began to encounter one another, in part through these online spaces, resulting in the formation of a number of international networks such as the International Civil Liberties Alliance (ICLA), the International Free Press Society (IFPS), and umbrella groups such as Stop Islamisation of Europe (SIOE) and the federation of European Defence Leagues. A series of international counterjihad conferences took place between 2007 and 2013 in Copenhagen, Vienna, Zurich, London, Brussels and Warsaw.

The political geography of the movement that emerged from these interactions is primarily transatlantic, although its wider networks extend as far as Israel and Australasia. The European and North American ‘wings’ of the counterjihad are somewhat different in terms of their organisational forms and ‘repertoires of contention’ (Tarrow, 2011). In a European context, political parties and disruptive street protest movements have tended to predominate, whereas the US counterjihad is dominated by professionalised and often well-resourced advocacy groups. The counterjihad’s organisational infrastructure and support base is not, for the most part, a direct product of the European neo-Nazi or American white nationalist milieu. Much of its American leadership has come from conservative or neo-conservative backgrounds, as well as from the religious right and in some cases from backgrounds in the national security establishment and the ‘counterterrorism’ industry. Whilst a few of the political parties associated with the European counterjihad have histories of association with neo-Nazism, others do not, and much of its grassroots support in Europe has come from the football hooligan fraternity rather than from organised neo-Nazism.

Key intellectual resources for the counterjihad include the ‘Eurabia’ literature associated with the British writer Gisele Littmann (‘Bat Ye’Or’ (Daughter of the Nile)) and the late Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci (see Ye’Or, 2005; Fallaci, 2001, 2006), and popularised by counterjihad bloggers such as Robert Spencer of *Jihad Watch* and Peder ‘Fjordman’ Jensen. The ‘clash of civilizations’ literature associated with American conservative academics such as Bernard Lewis (1990) and Samuel Huntington (1993 and 1996) has also been important. There is now an enormous literature drawing on ‘Eurabia’, the ‘clash of civilizations’ and related discursive frameworks in the writings of ultraconservative academics, journalists and polemicists such as Daniel

Pipes, Mark Steyn, Melanie Phillips, Douglas Murray, Caroline Cox, Steve Emerson, Brigitte Gabriel, Robert Spencer, Pamela Geller, Bruce Bawer and Lars Hedegaard, besides many others.

This chapter argues that the counterjihad can be understood as a social movement, with a division of labour between its intellectual, political and activist ‘wings’. The analysis of the movement presented in this chapter is based on online social network analysis, analysis of key websites and organisational literatures, interview data and scholarly literature. The chapter also necessarily has a historical dimension, since the movement has evolved considerably over its lifetime, including over the period of study. The chapter examines first the European and then the North American counterjihad, before turning to the transnational networks that have brought them together. Finally, the chapter concludes with a consideration of the political influence that the movement has been able to wield.

The European Counterjihad

The European counterjihad movement comprises a wide range of right-wing political parties, street movements and grassroots mobilisations across the continent. Political parties that have been active within counterjihad networks include the Belgian *Vlaams Belang* (VB; Flemish Interest), the *Sverigedemokraterna* (SD; Sweden Democrats), the Italian *Lega Nord* (LN; Northern League) and the *Schweizerische Volkspartei* (SVP; Swiss People’s Party). The two most important cases of sustained mass mobilisation against the ‘Islamisation of Europe’ (lasting months or years rather than days or weeks, and being influential outside the specific national or local context in which they first emerged) are the English Defence League (EDL) between 2009 and 2013, and the Pegida movement since 2014. Both will be explored in detail in this chapter. Other key grassroots groups have included *Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark* (SIAD; Stop Islamisation of Denmark) and the Czech *Blok proti islámu* (Bloc Against Islam).

The most important political figurehead for the European counterjihad movement has been the Dutch politician Geert Wilders, whose *Partij voor de Vrijheid* (PVV; Party for Freedom) is perhaps the closest thing to an electorally successful single-issue

anti-Islam party in Europe. Formed in 2006, following Wilders' departure from the centre-right *Volkspartij for de Vrijheid en Democratie* (VVD; People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) two years earlier, the PVV is in many ways an exceptional organisation (Vossen, 2011). As a result of a moratorium on new membership declared by Wilders immediately after the party was established, he remains its sole member, acting as both party chair and leader. Consequently, there is no membership to exercise control over the party's programme, and little in the way of local or regional party infrastructure. Wilders presides over the selection and training of PVV parliamentary candidates, who tend to remain personally loyal to him once elected (de Lange and Art, 2011). Effectively, Wilders is the PVV and the PVV is Wilders.

Since 2006, Wilders and his party have occupied a political space first opened up within Dutch politics by Pim Fortuyn (Vossen, 2010, p. 22). Openly gay, Fortuyn was one of the first European politicians to achieve electoral success by invoking the spectre of 'Islamisation' as a threat to 'Western' values such as sexual freedom, gender equality and free speech. The policy platform of his party, the *Lijst Pim Fortuyn* (LPF; Pim Fortuyn List), combined socially liberal positions on sexuality, abortion and euthanasia with restrictionist policies on (especially Muslim) immigration, a distinctive blend whose novelty was widely remarked at the time although it may now seem quite familiar. Just a few days after Fortuyn was murdered by a left-wing activist on 6th May 2002, the LPF, which had only been established in February that year, won 17% of the vote in the Dutch general election. This translated into 26 seats in the Dutch parliament and the party subsequently entered a coalition with the VVD and the *Christen Democratisch Appèl* (CDA; Christian Democratic Appeal). When the government collapsed three months later, the party proved unable to sustain this level of support in the elections that followed. By 2004 the LPF, deprived of its figurehead, had effectively become a spent force (Akkerman, 2005, p. 344), and it was officially dissolved in 2008 (de Lange and Art, 2011, p. 1234).

Whereas Fortuyn was a political novice who had made a career as an academic sociologist, Wilders is a professional politician who started his political career in the VVD during the 1990s, first as a parliamentary assistant and later as an MP. He was seen as close to party leader Frits Bolkestein, who had criticised multiculturalism and

invoked Islam as a threat to liberal democracy in speeches as early as 1991 (Vossen, 2011, p. 181; Fekete, 2009, p. 80). While still a member of the VVD in the early 2000s, Wilders gained notoriety for his outspoken support of the ‘War on Terror’ and advocacy of punitive measures such as detention without trial and deportation of terror suspects. Following his departure from the VVD in September 2004, and the murder of the film director Theo van Gogh in November that year, Wilders has been living under permanent police protection (de Lange and Art, 2011, p. 1235). He is nonetheless regarded as having played an instrumental role in securing the Dutch rejection of the European Constitutional Treaty in a referendum in June 2005, before going on to found the PVV in February 2006. Over the following decade, the PVV has become an enduring presence within Dutch politics and due to the nature of the country’s proportional voting system, has sometimes played the role of power broker. In the first general election after it was founded, the PVV secured 5.9% of the vote and nine seats in parliament. In the 2010 general election, this increased to 15.5% of the vote and 25 seats in parliament, and the party subsequently concluded a confidence-and-supply arrangement with Mark Rutte’s minority VVD government. The PVV subsequently lost seats in the 2012 general election, before regaining some ground in the most recent set of elections in March 2017. The PVV group in parliament currently consists of 20 members, led by Wilders.

Wilders’ blend of social liberalism, political authoritarianism and anti-Muslim nativism is more radical than Fortuyn’s. Particularly since he left the VVD, his political discourse has made extensive use of key counterjihad *topoi* such as Eurabia, often implying that Muslim migration is part of a deliberate conspiracy by liberals and leftists to bring about the ‘Islamisation’ of Europe. Wilders has taken liberal positions on abortion, euthanasia and the minimum wage, and disassociated himself from neo-fascist politicians such as Jean-Marie le Pen and Jorg Haider. At the same time, he has cast doubt on the loyalties of Dutch parliamentarians with dual nationality, campaigned for a prohibition on the Koran, proposed a ‘headrag tax’ and advocated a complete cessation of Muslim migration to Europe. Dutch-speaking commentators have also remarked on the coarsening of Wilders’ language over time (Vossen, 2011, pp. 185-86).

Wilders has built extensive networks in Europe, the United States and Israel. He has travelled internationally to promote his 2008 short film, *Fitna*, which features selected Koranic verses superimposed over graphic scenes of jihadist violence. In February 2009, he was famously denied entry to the UK after he flew there to attend a screening of the film in the House of Lords at the invitation of the cross-bench peer Caroline Cox and the UKIP peer and future leader Malcolm Pearson, although the travel ban was subsequently overturned. His 2012 autobiography, *Marked for Death: Islam's War Against the West and Me*, is heavily promoted on counterjihad blogs, with links to online retailers where it can be purchased.

The grassroots of the European counterjihad revolves around a number of street-level protest movements. One of the earliest and, despite its small size, arguably most influential was *Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark* (SIAD; Stop Islamisation of Denmark). SIAD was founded in 2005 by Anders Gravers, a former member of *Den Danske Forening* (DDF; The Danish Association), a nativist organisation formed by Søren Krarup and Jesper Langballe in 1987 to oppose the liberal Law on Foreigners of 1983, which Gravers left because he had come to see it as no more than a talking shop. SIAD has since held occasional and sparsely-attended demonstrations in provincial Danish cities such as Aarhus and Aalborg, which have often been outnumbered by anti-fascist counterdemonstrations and have sometimes turned violent (Sedgwick, 2013, p. 220). Despite its marginal importance in the Danish context, SIAD gave rise to a number of mimetic 'Stop Islamization of...' groups and a pan-European group, 'Stop Islamization of Europe' (SIOE) in 2007, led by Gravers and an English activist, Stephen Gash (Denes, 2012, pp. 298-99). It also formed important links with US counterjihadists early in the next decade, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. In terms of its grassroots mobilising power, however, SIAD has long since been eclipsed by other organisations.

The first case of sustained mass mobilisation against the 'Islamization' of Europe, which provided a template for similar mobilisations in other countries, began in the English town of Luton, around thirty miles north of London, in 2009. The English Defence League (EDL) emerged in the summer of that year as an evolution of the United People of Luton (UPL), which had initially mobilised in opposition to a

protest by offshoots of Anjem Choudary's *Al Muhajiroun*. The *Al Muhajiroun* supporters had been demonstrating against a March 2009 homecoming parade in Luton by the Royal Anglian Regiment, which was returning from a tour of duty in Iraq, with placards telling the soldiers to 'go to hell', and calling them 'butchers' and 'baby killers'. Following a chaotic protest by UPL in Luton town centre on 24th May, the first official event as the English Defence League was a demonstration in East London on 27th June. Further demonstrations were held in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds and Nottingham in the second half of 2009 (Allen, 2011; Copsey, 2010; Jackson, 2011).

The British counterjihad movement in fact pre-dated the formation of the EDL by three years, originating with a 'March for Free Expression' in London's Trafalgar Square on 25th March 2006 (Bhatt, 2012, p. 314). The march had been called in the context of the fallout from the 2005 *Jyllands Posten* cartoons affair and specifically in response to an *Al Muhajiroun* demonstration outside the Danish embassy in London on 3rd February 2006, in which its supporters carried placards with slogans such as 'Behead Those Who Insult Islam' and 'Freedom Can Go to Hell'. Some British activists involved in the March for Free Expression subsequently became involved in discussions on the US-based *Infidel Bloggers Alliance* and *Gates of Vienna* blogs that led to the formation of the 910 Group, which eventually became the International Civil Liberties Alliance (ICLA), a key international counterjihad organisation (see 'networking the counterjihad' below).

The subsequent emergence of the EDL as the key rallying point for the British counterjihad reflected circumstances specific to Luton in 2009. The town is ethnically and religiously diverse, with a white British population of forty-five per cent in the 2011 census, and twenty-five per cent of the town's residents identifying as Muslim.¹ There is a history of activism and recruitment within the town by elements of the Islamic religious right, especially in the early to mid 2000s (Copsey, 2010; Pilkington, 2016, p. 37). 'Omar Bakri... Abu Hamza, they were all based here,' one former senior EDL activist from Luton recalled to me.² Finally, the Vauxhall car factory, which had dominated the local economy since the early twentieth century, closed down in 2002. Aside from the obvious effect on the local labour market, this also removed one

¹<http://ukcensusdata.com>

²Interview 05, September 2015. Street movement activist and organiser, male, UK.

of the key public spaces within which residents from different ethnic and religious backgrounds had interacted with one another (Pai, 2016).

The organisational infrastructure of the EDL that evolved out of the UPL did so largely independently of the existing UK far right, although some EDL activists had histories of involvement in the BNP. Much of the EDL's initial support was drawn from football hooligan 'firms', through ultra-nationalist and anti-Islamic groups like March for England and Casuals United, whose declared aim was to 'Unite the UK's football tribes against the Jihadists' (Copsey, 2010, p. 10). Writing in the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* in September 2009, shortly after the emergence of the EDL, Nick Lowles emphasised the complex relationships between football hooligan 'firms' and organised fascism, stressing the primarily local rather than national allegiances of football hooligans, their lack of interest in political activism, and shifts in the demographic makeup of football 'firms' that reflected wider changes in the sport.³ Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, who emerged as the EDL's leader by autumn 2009, had been part of the local Luton town football firm, the Men in Gear (MIGs) in his youth and took his pseudonym, 'Tommy Robinson', from the name of a former MIGs leader. Lennon had considered joining the BNP in the early 2000s, but decided against it after learning of their whites-only membership policy, which would have excluded other members of the Luton MIGs (Pilkington, 2016, p. 38). Under his leadership, the EDL sought to distance itself from the racial nationalism of the BNP, and to remove avowed neo-Nazis and anti-Semites from its ranks. This may have partly owed to the influence of Alan Lake, a wealthy evangelical Christian and early financial backer of the EDL, who is reported to have made his support of the group conditional on their disavowing the white, racial nationalism of the BNP (Denes, 2012, p. 299).

Whilst the EDL sought to distance itself from fascism and neo-Nazism, its discursive, aesthetic and tactical repertoires suggested a philosophical affinity. The EDL's name recalled that of the 1950s White Defence League (WDL), which, as we saw in the previous chapter, was led by influential neo-Nazi Colin Jordan and also included John Tyndall, who would later become chairman of the National Front before leaving to found the BNP. The EDL's emblem, a red templar cross on a black and white back-

³N. Lowles, 'Hooligans Disunited', *Searchlight*, September 2009, pp. 6-7.

ground, and its motto ‘in hoc signo vinces’ (‘in this sign you will conquer’) also have complex historical associations. ‘In hoc signo vinces’ was used as a military motto by the first Christian Roman Emperor, Constantine I, then subsequently by the medieval Knights Templar, the Spanish King Phillip III who expelled the Moriscos from the Iberian peninsula in 1609, and later by the Polish king John III Sobieski whose military leadership brought about the defeat of the Ottoman Turks at the gates of Vienna in 1683. However, ‘In Hoc Signo Vinces’ is also the title of the best-known essay by the leader of the American Nazi Party, George Lincoln Rockwell, who co-founded the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) with Colin Jordan in 1962 (Gardell, 2014, p. 147).

Similarly, the EDL’s tactical repertoire recalled the spatial strategy of ‘march and grow’ used effectively by the National Front. As a result, the movement expanded very rapidly during 2009 and 2010 through a series of high-profile and provocative demonstrations in multiethnic cities across England, including Birmingham, Leicester, Dudley and Bradford. These were often met by large anti-fascist counter-demonstrations and frequently turned violent. One interviewee, an anti-fascist activist who was present for many of these events, recalled that the atmosphere among EDL supporters at these early demonstrations was ‘wild’:

Everyone was pissed, lots of drug use. It was kind of terrace violence, you know? If you think about the big Leicester ones and the Bradford ones, you’d put on your mask, you’d go along and have a massive fight. You’d fight the police, you’d fight the Left... Leicester was a very big one, I remember Leicester being a massive one, and it being like a war zone, it was wild. They had coaches from all over the country, you had a huge police presence, you had huge fences being pushed down. And I remember police helicopters everywhere, [people] rampaging through the town... and everyone just looking round, this is incredible... how is this legal?⁴

At its peak, reached around the time of a ‘homecoming’ demonstration in Luton in February 2011, the EDL could mobilise up to 3,000 active supporters at a time. Lat-

⁴Interview 12, anti-fascist activist, male, UK.

ent support for the group on social media was much higher, with the EDL official Facebook page having been 'liked' around 85,000 times by April 2011 (Allen, 2011, p. 286).

If the EDL's discourse, symbols and modes of congregation often had fascistic or neo-Nazi resonances, then the novelty of the organisation lay in its appropriation of the political language of official British multiculturalism, its vocal support for Israel, and its professed sympathy for groups historically considered anathema by the far right, such as Jews and homosexuals, on the basis that they too were victims of Islamic religious 'intolerance and barbarity'. These themes were reflected in the EDL's mission statement, in which it claimed to be 'a human rights organisation' set up to protect both non-Muslim and Muslim citizens from the excesses of 'radical Islam'.⁵ They were also reflected in the organisational structure that had emerged by summer 2010. This was based in the first instance on territorially defined local divisions (Birmingham, Plymouth, Essex, Yorkshire, etc.) which were then aggregated into regional organisations (North West, North East, East Midlands, East Anglia, South West, South East, and Greater London). Each of these had a Regional Organiser, who was in turn accountable to the leadership team.⁶ In addition to these geographical groupings, however, the EDL also organised different demographic groups including Hindus, Sikhs, Pakistani Christians, Greeks and Cypriots, disabled people and women (the EDL 'Angels') into separate divisions, although some of these had very few members. Perhaps the most conspicuous of these groups were an LGBT division and a Jewish division, the latter being effectively the English wing of the far-right Jewish Defence League, founded by the Orthodox rabbi Meir Kahane in 1968 (Bhatt, 2012, p. 311).

The Jewish and LGBT divisions served as the most important markers of the political distance between the EDL and the British neo-Nazi tradition. Whilst the BNP had tried to appeal to British Sikhs, as we saw in the previous chapter, and the neo-Nazi British Movement (BM) of the late 1970s had organised women in a separate

⁵<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/01/edl-mission-statement-the-final-version/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

⁶Notwithstanding this attempt to impose some discipline on the organisations, ethnographic research on the EDL stresses the fluidity of the organisational structure and suggests that organisational hierarchies were honoured more in the breach than the observance.

division (Durham, 1998, p. 81), the presence of the rainbow flag or the Star of David at these groups' public events would have been unimaginable. Nor was the visible presence of these symbols at EDL events just for show: these divisions were among the EDL's more active, including on non-public-facing fora (Jackson, 2011). It is also inconceivable that the BNP, NF or BM would have invited an American Rabbi, Nachum Shifren, to address one of their rallies, as the EDL did in October 2010. Similarly, traditional neo-Nazi organisations such as the BNP, NF and BM would have been unlikely to retract an invitation to an American pastor, Terry Jones, on the basis of his reactionary views on homosexuality and race, as the EDL did in February 2011, still less to send out their Sikh spokesperson, Guramit Singh, to explain the rationale for the decision in the following terms: 'The EDL is anti-homophobic and we are a non-racism organisation' (cited in Allen, 2011, p. 288). Yet when the Jewish division's leader, Roberta Moore, resigned in June 2011 she cited the failure of the EDL leadership to contain the 'Nazis within' as a key part of her rationale.

In addition to its attempts to create a multiethnic and multiconfessional alliance against the 'Islamisation' of Britain, the EDL leadership also embarked on a concerted effort at international networking during 2010 and 2011. The EDL organised a demonstration in support of Geert Wilders, when he was eventually granted permission to travel to the UK to show his film *Fitna* at the House of Lords in March 2010.⁷ Claiming on its website to be 'leading the counterjihad fight in Europe', EDL activists attended events organised by the German *Bürgerbewegung Pax Europa* (Pax Europa Citizens Movement) in Berlin in April 2010, by the French *Bloc Identitaire* in Lyon in April 2011, and by the *Försvarskåren Sveriges Självförsvar* (Swedish Self-Defence Corps) in Gothenburg in May 2011 (Busher, 2016, p. 127). By this time the EDL had also become an inspiration for mimetic 'Defence League' mobilisations in other European countries, including Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands, and attempts were made to launch a European Defence League at an event in Amsterdam in October 2010. The EDL also forged links with two of the key figures of the nascent US counterjihad movement, the bloggers Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, and sent representatives to an international counterjihad confer-

⁷<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8551220.stm> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

ence organised by the ICLA in Zurich in June 2010. The transnational networks that emerged from these interactions are considered in more detail later in this chapter (see ‘networking the counterjihad’).

Unlike the BNP and the NF, the EDL never seriously engaged in electoral politics, the candidacy of Robinson’s cousin and deputy, Kevin Carroll, in the 2012 Police and Crime Commissioner election in Bedfordshire notwithstanding (Pilkington, 2016, p. 45). In 2011, the EDL endorsed the British Freedom Party (BFP), which had been set up by disenchanted ex-BNP members. The party was at that time led by Paul Weston, a former UKIP parliamentary candidate and a writer for the *Gates of Vienna* blog. Lennon became his deputy in April 2012. However, Weston and others left the BFP at the start of 2013 to found a new party, Liberty GB, with an explicit counterjihad agenda.⁸ The party contested three constituencies in the May 2015 general election: Luton South, Lewisham West and Penge, and Birmingham Ladywood, finishing last in all three cases. In October 2016 its Press Officer, Jack Buckby, a former BNP member, stood in the Batley and Spen by-election triggered by the murder of Labour MP Jo Cox, finishing sixth with 1.1% of the vote.

The EDL’s long-term decline since its 2010-11 peak partly reflects its internal tensions and contradictions, but also the external constraints and pressures that the group faced. Key sources of tension included the extent to which the EDL should invest time and resources participating in international counterjihad networks, the merits or otherwise of engaging in electoral politics, the prominence given to activists from minority backgrounds such as Roberta Moore and Guramit Singh, and the prioritisation of issues that were not directly related to ‘English defence’ against ‘Islam’, such as support for Israel (Busher, 2016, p. 123 ff.). These philosophical and ideological tensions intersected with a growing north-south divide within the organisation and a growing disconnect between the leadership and some of the grassroots members, reflected in the formation of splinter groups such as the ‘Infidels’⁹ by early 2011 (Jackson, 2011, pp. 29-30). These internal problems were compounded by changes in policing strategies, which increasingly pushed EDL events to areas outside town centres and often far away from anti-fascist counterprotestors. Combined with a crackdown on

⁸Interview 2, party political activist, male, UK.

⁹Discussed in more detail below.

alcohol and drug consumption at demonstrations, motivated by the leadership's desire to professionalise the organisation and be taken more seriously, this meant that the 'buzz' of early demonstrations disappeared. Finally, by late 2011 'demonstration fatigue' (Busher, 2016, p. 131) had set in, not least because the EDL had run out of new towns and cities to visit. As one of my informants in the anti-fascist movement observed, '[t]here's only so many times people will come out, again and again, and do the same thing, listen to the same speech from the same person in the same car park'.¹⁰

By early 2012, attendance at EDL demonstrations could be measured in the hundreds rather than the thousands. The organisation enjoyed a brief revival of support and activity during the summer of 2013, following the murder of Fusillier Lee Rigby in Woolwich in south east London in May that year. However, Lennon and Carroll subsequently announced their departure from the EDL in October 2013, at a press conference organised by the Quilliam Foundation. Since then, the organisation has been in what one of Lennon's many successors as leader described as a 'state of flux' (cited in Pilkington, 2016, p. 37). In addition to the frequent changes of leadership a process of fragmentation into splinter groups, long underway, has accelerated. By July 2016, an EDL demonstration that I observed in Hyde Park in London attracted barely one hundred supporters.¹¹

The second case of sustained mass mobilisation against the 'Islamization' of Europe began in the town of Dresden in the former East Germany around a year after the EDL was terminally weakened by the departure of its most visible leaders. The circumstances of Pegida's founding are reminiscent of the way that the EDL began, but its modes of congregation and the profile of its supporters make it a somewhat different organisation. The immediate trigger for Pegida was its founder Lutz Bachmann's observation of an anti-ISIS rally by supporters of the proscribed Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) in Dresden city centre, which he saw as symptomatic of the importation of 'foreign religious wars' into Germany (Dostal, 2015; de Genova, 2015; Virchow, 2016). Following this, Bachmann set up a Facebook page on 11th October 2014, and the first rally against 'Islamisation' was held nine days later on 20th

¹⁰Interview 12, anti-fascist activist, male, UK.

¹¹Fieldnotes, July 2016.

October, attracting around 350 participants. The size of the demonstrations grew very rapidly from thereon in, reaching an estimated 17,500 just before Christmas, and peaking at around 25,000 in January 2015, shortly after the Paris offices of the satirical publication *Charlie Hebdo* were attacked by gunmen pledging allegiance to *Al Qaeda* (Virchow, 2016, p. 544). As recently as summer 2016, the weekly Dresden demonstrations were still attracting crowds of up to 3,600 (Virchow, 2016, p. 552).

Most of Pegida's organisers were political novices drawn from Bachmann's social circles in the local football and party scenes. Some, such as Siegfried Däbritz, had reported links to the German Defence League as well as to motorcycle gangs and football hooligan groups. On 26th October, shortly after Pegida was founded, Däbritz travelled to Cologne to take part in a demonstration by the improbably-named Hooligans Against Salafists (*Hooligans gegen Salafisten*; HoGeSa), in which around 4,500 marched through the town shouting slogans such as 'Germany for the Germans!' and 'Foreigners out!' before the event ended in a riot (de Genova, 2015, p. 2). Pegida's spokespeople included Götz Kubitschek, editor of the *Neue Drecht* (ND; New Right) magazine *Sezession* (Secession) and general manager of the *Institut für Staatspolitik* (IfS; Institute for State Policy) a key intellectual site of the German New Right (Grabow, 2016, p. 176). Splits within the leadership team emerged in January 2015 after the Dresden *Morgenpost* revealed private Facebook messages by Bachmann in which he referred to immigrants as 'cattle', 'scumbags' and 'trash', as well as a photo of him posing with a side parting and 'Hitler' moustache. Bachmann was forced to step down temporarily, but was reinstated the following month after reports that the moustache had been added after the photo was taken. In the meantime, several cofounders had left Pegida including its spokeswoman Kathrin Oertel, who went on to found her own project, *Direkte Demokratie für Europa* (DDfE; Direct Democracy for Europe), in February 2015 (Virchow, 2016, p. 544).

From October 2014, Pegida supporters gathered once a week on Monday nights for an 'evening stroll' in the centre of Dresden, in a manner reminiscent of the historic 'Monday demonstrations' against the East German regime in late 1989. Pegida's appropriation of the related slogan 'Wir sind das Volk' ('We are the People') consciously evoked these events. In a post on the Pegida Facebook wall in October 2014, Däbritz

had written:

Let us take to the streets and show our region that WE ARE THE PEOPLE and that we are tired of paternalism, political correctness, Islamization and the constant insulting of us as Nazis just because we stand up for our country and for Europe! (cited in de Genova, 2015, p. 5)

The speeches at the Monday rallies incorporated similar themes, including the loss of German identity, distrust of the political classes and the press, and criticisms of ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘political correctness’. Some of their key discursive tropes - ‘*volk*’, ‘*lugenpresse*’ (‘lying press’) - had obvious historical resonances with the Nazi era. Over time, various group rituals evolved such as a Pegida anthem, a regular one minute’s silence for victims of jihadist terror attacks, and the conclusion of each event with an announcement of the number of participants (Virchow, 2016, p. 545). Violence has mostly been confined to the margins of these events, such as the March 2nd 2015 incident when a breakaway group of 300 Pegida supporters attacked the Refugee Struggle protest camp in central Dresden (de Genova, 2015, p. 9).

The relatively genteel style of Pegida’s rallies compared to, say, the disorderly protests of the EDL or SIAD, enabled the group to attract considerable support from ‘respectable’ lower middle-class residents of Dresden. Academic research has identified the typical Pegida supporter as male, between 30 and 60, with a regular income and above-average education. Male pensioners are also well represented. Most self-identified as being on the centre right, but not far right, of the political spectrum (Dostal, 2015; Grabow, 2016). To the extent that public and journalistic commentary has emphasised the neo-Nazi currents within Pegida, it has arguably missed the movement’s greater significance: the demonstrable potential for anxieties about Islam to serve as a unifying agenda around which elements of the parochial middle classes, the football hooligan fraternity and more traditional far-right forces can coalesce (de Genova, 2015, p. 4).

The success of the Dresden rallies had a demonstrative effect and, starting in early December 2014, protest groups in other German cities affiliated themselves with Pegida, including Bragida (Braunschweig), Legida (Leipzig), Dugida (Dusseldorf) and Mugida (Munich). However, in only a very few cases, such as Leipzig, did these

mobilisations attract crowds of more than a thousand (Virchow, 2016, p. 547), and many of the mobilisations outside Dresden attracted a relatively higher proportion of neo-Nazis, Identitarians and football hooligans. Mimetic Pegida mobilisations also occurred in countries across Europe, including Austria, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK, with varying degrees of success, but nowhere did they approximate the mobilising power of the Dresden movement (Berntzen and Weisskircher, 2016). The Pegida UK demonstration described in the introduction to this thesis marked the second attempt to establish a UK affiliate, following a chaotic launch event in Newcastle in February 2015 led by an inexperienced organising team, which saw significant neo-Nazi attendance and the visible display of swastikas and white pride banners.¹²

The comparative failure of Pegida mobilisations elsewhere in Germany and across Europe foregrounds the specificity of Dresden in late 2014, just as the comparative failure of Defence League mobilisations outside England had shown the particularity of Luton in the summer of 2009. Several studies have emphasised the conservative political culture of Saxony (see e.g. Dostal, 2015; Virchow, 2016). The CDU in Saxony is on the conservative wing of the party, and prominent CDU politicians in the state have complained about ‘the destruction of our society caused by the cultural revolution by the ’68 movement’ and the ‘dominance of the ’68 movement in the media, in academia, and in school’ and argued that Islam has no place in Saxony (cited in Virchow, 2016, pp. 548-49). There is a long history of activism in the state by violent far-right groups like *Skinheads Sächsische Schweiz* and *Sturm 34*, while the neo-Nazi *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (NPD; National Democratic Party of Germany) has been represented in the regional parliament. Far right groups active in the region have often mobilised memories of the firebombing of Dresden in 1945 to create narratives of German victimhood and Allied aggression. By deliberately echoing the Monday demonstrations of 1989, Pegida rallies sought to stir similar local memories of Cold War anti-communism. Finally, Saxony today has open borders with Poland and the Czech Republic, two former Eastern Bloc countries. It is notable that, to the extent that Pegida has mobilised successfully in Germany outside of Dresden, it has

¹²Fieldnotes, February 2015.

done so primarily in the east of the country.

Pegida, like the EDL, has been reticent about entering the electoral arena, except at a local level in Saxony where it achieved a modest 9.6% of the vote in the Dresden mayoral election of June 2015. This may partly owe to the occupation of similar political space by the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD; Alternative for Germany), with which Pegida has long had an ambivalent relationship. The AfD was founded in April 2013 as an anti-Euro party (Grabow, 2016) and as an explicit riposte to Angela Merkel's claim that there was 'no alternative' to the pro-Euro, pro-bailout Germanic political consensus (Berbair *et al.*, 2015, pp. 162-63). Since its founding, the party has been divided between a Eurosceptic wing loyal to party founder Bernd Lucke and a nationalist wing around Frauke Petry, Björn Höcke, Marcus Pretzell, Alexander Gauland, and others (Grabow, 2016). The relationship between the AfD and Pegida has evolved over time, reflecting internal power struggles in the AfD that have seen the steady ascendance of the nationalist wing, symbolised by election of Petry as party co-leader in July 2015 and the subsequent departure of Lucke, who claimed that the party was becoming increasingly 'Islamophobic and xenophobic' (Grabow, 2016).¹³ Latterly, there have been signs of convergence between Pegida and the AfD, with members sharing platforms at each others' events (Grabow, 2016). Moreover, at its 2016 party conference, the AfD adopted an official position that 'Islam is not part of Germany'.¹⁴ What will become of the *Freiheitlich Direktdemokratische Volkspartei* (FDDV; Liberal Direct Democratic People's Party), founded by Bachmann in July 2016, remains to be seen.

At the periphery of the European counterjihad movement are a number of neo-Nazi-influenced, often violent groups that are considered 'fringe' or 'too far right' by most counterjihad activists. Some of these have emerged from within the counterjihad movement itself and subsequently evolved into much more traditional neo-Nazi organisations. For instance, the aforementioned 'Infidel' groups emerged as distinct factions within the EDL in late 2010 and early 2011 reflecting a north-south di-

¹³<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics-eurosceptics-idUSKCN0PI25720150708> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

¹⁴<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/alternative-for-germany-anti-immigrant-afd-says-muslims-are-not-welcome-in-germany-a7009531.html> [Last accessed 31 Jul. 2017].

vide within the organisation as well as discontent with the Lennon-Carroll leadership (Jackson, 2011). The North West and North East Infidels subsequently broke away to form splinter groups with their own organisational identities and infrastructures. Whilst opposition to 'Islamisation' remains a key focus for the Infidel groups, this coexists with an avowed white racial nationalism, anti-Zionism, militant anti-Communism and a glorification of political violence, all traditional themes of British neo-Nazism.

Other groups have emerged from within the neo-Nazi milieu to occupy political space opened up by the counterjihad movement, showing that the flow of ideas and personnel operates in both directions. For instance, Britain First (BF) is a political party and direct action group formed in 2011 by former BNP activists Jim Dowson and Paul Golding, the latter of whom we met in the previous chapter as the editor of the BNP's *Identity* magazine in the early 2000s during the early days of the Griffin modernisation programme. Britain First has made opposition to 'Islamisation' a key theme of its political discourse and activities (Allen, 2014). These activities have included 'mosque invasions', which involve entering mosques without permission to confront worshippers and distribute Bibles, and 'Christian patrols', the most notorious of which involved BF activists driving ex-army landrovers into the London borough of Tower Hamlets, an area with a large Muslim population, in 2014. Superficially, BF may seem to be just another counterjihad group like the EDL or Pegida. However, it is not just the party's historical links to the neo-Nazi BNP that mark it out as distinct from the core counterjihad network. The group is animated by a form of Christian apocalypticism in which the end of civilization follows a 'holy war' between Christians and Muslims. This Christian identity politics likely reflects the influence of Dowson, a former BNP fundraiser, ex-Calvinist minister and evangelical Protestant with links to militant pro-life networks across Europe. BF's Christian identity politics differentiates it from patriotic street groups like the EDL, and in many ways has greater affinities with the North American counterjihad movement.

The North American Counterjihad

The North American wing of the counterjihad is somewhat different to its European counterpart in terms of its organisational and tactical repertoires. This may partly be due to the nature of the US electoral system, which offers few opportunities for new political parties at a national level, but it also reflects a perception that ‘Islamisation’ has not gone as far in the US as it has in Europe. Consequently the American counterjihad is currently being waged primarily in the ‘information battle space’ and the legislative arena. Hence often well-resourced and professionalised advocacy groups tend to predominate, rather than ephemeral protest movements or marginal political parties. However, there has also been a proliferation of grassroots mobilisations against mosque developments since the mid-late 2000s and, more recently, against the resettlement of Syrian refugees. Much of the organisational infrastructure of the US counterjihad movement dates from the early-to-mid 2000s and the presidency of George W. Bush, when a number of key online spaces and activist groups were established. However, the intellectual seeds of the movement were planted much earlier and especially in the writings of conservative authors such as Daniel Pipes, Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis. The movement began to acquire greater momentum in the late 2000s, during the Obama administration, and in the context of moral panics about the new president’s nationality and religious beliefs, the growth of ‘homegrown terrorism’, and public opposition to the so-called ‘Ground Zero Mosque’.

Two important early counterjihad activist organisations in the US were the Freedom Defense Initiative (FDI) and Stop Islamization of America (SIOA), both led by the bloggers Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, the latter of whom is also a prolific author. Geller, who grew up in a Jewish family in Long Island, worked as a journalist in New York before launching her blog, *Atlas Shrugs*, in 2004. She first came to public attention in 2007 as a supporter of ‘Stop the Madrassa’, a campaign against a secular English-Arabic dual-language elementary school in Brooklyn (Bail, 2015, p. 118).¹⁵ Spencer, a Catholic whose grandparents migrated to the US from Turkey in the early twentieth century, is a university graduate with a master’s degree in religion, although his specialism was early Christian history rather than Islamic studies. Spencer set up

¹⁵See also Kumar (2012, pp. 171-71).

his blog, *Jihad Watch*, in 2003, the same year that his first book came out, entitled *Islam Unveiled: Disturbing Questions about the World's Fastest-Growing Faith*. Since then he has published numerous books, including *Stealth Jihad: How radical Islam is subverting America without guns or bombs* (Spencer, 2008), which has become a canonical text of the counterjihad movement.

Spencer's *Jihad Watch* blog is supported by the David Horowitz Freedom Center (DHFC) founded in 1988¹⁶ by former New Leftist David Horowitz, who edited the radical magazine *Ramparts* before embarking on an ideological journey to the hard right in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Ashbolt, 1985). Besides sponsoring *Jihad Watch*, the DHFC also publishes an online magazine, *FrontPage*. *FrontPage* is edited by Jamie Glazov, another key figure in the transnational counterjihad movement whose online TV show, *The Glazov Gang*, regularly broadcasts interviews with key counterjihad figures. The DHFC has also sponsored several 'Islamofascism Awareness Weeks' and runs a number of programmes, such as 'Discover the Networks' and 'Truth Revolt' that monitor the political Left and perceived leftist bias in the media.¹⁷ Its annual 'Restoration Weekends' gather together conservative politicians, activists and authors from the US and elsewhere.

The FDI was launched by Spencer and Geller in February 2010 at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Washington, D.C. (Lean, 2012, p. 54). Its stated aim was to act against

the treason being committed by national, state, and local government officials, the mainstream media, and others in their capitulation to the global jihad and Islamic supremacism, the ever-encroaching and unconstitutional power of the federal government, and the rapidly moving attempts to impose socialism and Marxism upon the American people.¹⁸

The FDI would work

through the existing *Atlas Shrugs* and *Jihad Watch* websites (which had a combined 22 million page views in the last twelve months) to raise aware-

¹⁶The DHFC was originally known as the Center for the Study of Popular Culture.

¹⁷<http://www.horowitzfreedomcenter.org/about> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

¹⁸<http://afdi.us/freedom-defense-initiative-inaugural-event/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

ness of pertinent issues, using our base (Jihad Watch 30,000 page views per day, Atlas 25,000 page views per day, combined page views two million per month) to build a movement.¹⁹

Joining Spencer and Geller on the FDI board were John Joseph Jay, a gun rights advocate and owner of the blog *Summer Solider, Winter Patriot*; Richard Davis, a military veteran and blogger; and Anders Gravers of SIAD and SIOE (Lean, 2012, pp. 55-56).

Shortly after founding the FDI, Spencer and Geller assumed the leadership of SIOA, which had been set up by Anders Gravers and Stephen Gash as an outgrowth of their European ‘Stop Islamisation’ groups, but which had ‘not developed in the direction we wanted’, according to Gravers:

There are groups enough who just write about the danger of Islam, but very few groups that actually do something to try to stop the Islamisation of the Western civilization. SIOA was meant to be a group that should take action, staging demonstrations, happenings and events against the Islamisation of the U.S.²⁰

In April 2010, Gravers announced that ‘we have now — after working for a long time to persuade them to take this on — gotten a yes from both Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer to become the leaders of SIOA’, adding that he considered them ‘the right people to bring SIOA to the forefront in the fight against the Islamisation of the U.S.’. He and Gash remained as the other two board members.²¹

One key area of activity for the two groups was opposing new mosque developments. SIOA gained notoriety through its role in opposing the Park 51 development, a proposed Muslim community centre that was to be located in lower Manhattan near the site of the World Trade Centre, popularly and pejoratively known as the ‘Ground Zero Mosque’. In May 2010, Geller penned a now-notorious blog entry entitled ‘Monster Mosque Pushes Ahead in Shadow of World Trade Center Islamic Death

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰<http://afdi.us/pamela-geller-and-robert-spencer-named-new-leaders-of-stop-the-islamization-of-america/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

²¹Ibid.

and Destruction'²² and, together with Spencer, intervened in public meetings held to discuss the project. Protests against the project were organised under the auspices of SIOA, in June and September 2010. The September event was addressed by Geert Wilders, with video addresses by George W. Bush's former ambassador to the UN, John Bolton, and the late journalist Andrew Breitbart, founder of *Breitbart News*.²³ A small contingent from the EDL was also in attendance.²⁴

Another key area of activity related to raising public awareness about the perceived threat of Islam. For instance, the SIOA and FDI have sponsored a series of advertisements on public transport systems in cities across the US. One campaign, entitled 'Leaving Islam?', which was placed on buses in San Francisco, Miami and New York in 2010, read: 'Fatwa on your head? Is your family or community threatening you? Leaving Islam? Got questions? Get answers!'.²⁵ Another one, which ran on New York City buses in 2012, stated: 'In Any War Between the Civilized Man and the Savage, Support the Civilized Man. Support Israel. Defeat Jihad.'²⁶ In May 2015, Geller again made international headlines as the organiser of an FDI-sponsored 'Draw Mohammed' cartoon contest in Dallas, Texas. The event, which featured Geert Wilders as its keynote speaker and offered a \$10,000 prize for the best likeness of the Prophet, was attacked by two Islamic State sympathisers who were subsequently shot dead by police.²⁷ ²⁸ Whilst the FDI and SIOA remain active, and Geller and Spencer continue to be prolific authors and popular public speakers, they do not dominate the US counterjihad scene in the way that they arguably did in the early 2010s. One of my informants, who works for a US civil rights organisation, observed that Geller and

²²<http://pamelageller.com/2010/05/monster-mosque-pushes-ahead-in-shadow-of-world-trade-center-islamic-death-and-destruction.html/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

²³<http://afdi.us/historic-911-stop-the-mosque-at-ground-zero-rally/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

²⁴<http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/sep/12/english-defence-league-mosque-protest> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

²⁵<http://afdi.us/sioa-nationwide-ad-campaign-kicks-off-in-miami-leaving-islam-bus-ads-hits-the-streets/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

²⁶<http://afdi.us/the-free-speech-battle-begins-pro-freedom-geller-vs-pro-sharia-mta/> [Last accessed 31 July 2017].

²⁷http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/04/us/gunmen-killed-after-firing-on-anti-islam-groups-event.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&_r=0 [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

²⁸<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/06/world/middleeast/isis-texas-muhammad-cartoons.html> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

Spencer never seemed to have had ‘any kind of grand plan in terms of getting things done’ beyond writing, public speaking and organising occasional protests and other public provocations. Consequently, he suggested, they had been eclipsed by more professionalised organisations that ‘literally have a strategy for success’, one that far exceeds ‘just banning or getting a mosque development stopped’.²⁹

Perhaps the most important of these professionalised advocacy organisations is the Centre for Security Policy (CSP), a Washington, D.C. think tank. Founded in 1988 by Frank Gaffney, a former Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Reagan administration, the CSP is notionally concerned with a variety of national security threats. In practice, however, it is almost entirely focused on anti-Jihad and anti-Sharia activities. It is especially concerned with countering what it sees as Muslim Brotherhood infiltration of the US government, and the CSP is one of the key forces behind a recent campaign to have the Brotherhood designated a terrorist organisation. Its ideas are disseminated through professionally-produced policy documents, research papers, media appearances and Gaffney’s *Secure Freedom Radio* show.

One of the Center’s key publications is a 2010 document entitled *Sharia: The Threat to America* (Boykin *et al.*, 2010). The document was the product of a group that styled themselves as ‘Team B II’, in homage to a group of experts known as ‘Team B’, who were commissioned in 1976 by then-CIA Director George H.W. Bush to produce an assessment of the Soviet threat to America. ‘Team B II’ was led by Lieutenant General William G. ‘Jerry’ Boykin, a former Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence and a decorated military veteran,³⁰ while other contributors to the report included Gaffney, former Assistant US Attorney Andrew McCarthy, and Stephen Coughlin, a former senior advisor in the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Over nearly four hundred pages, *Sharia: The Threat* describes in detail ‘the Muslim Brotherhood’s multi-phased plan of operations for the destruction of Western civilization’ (Boykin *et al.*, 2010, p. 27), drawing heavily on Robert Spencer’s notion of the ‘stealth jihad’. The document recommends a series of measures to enable the US to ‘survive

²⁹Interview 13, civil rights activist, male, US.

³⁰Some officials within the George W. Bush administration had dissociated themselves from Boykin due to his tendency to speak of the ‘War or Terror’ in religious terms and to portray it as one dimension of a larger, civilizational struggle (Lean, 2012, p. 133). Boykin, who retired in 2007, is also a prominent figure in the religious right.

sharia's onslaught', including the education of key decision-makers about the 'true' nature of sharia, the cessation of any official engagement with Brotherhood 'front' organisations, the proscription of sharia-based finance, the de-funding of schools whose religious textbooks are deemed to be 'promoting sharia', and the vetting of Muslim migrants to filter out those with 'seditious' ideological and theological beliefs (pp. 33-35). Copies of the report were distributed to key officials at federal, state and local levels, including members of Congress, state governors, police chiefs and city mayors (Lean, 2012, pp. 155-16). In addition to its lobbying efforts, the CSP has also engaged in some public outreach activities. In February 2016 it launched a public counterjihad campaign, which aimed to create 'a movement of American citizen-activists dedicated to safeguarding the country from the danger posed by Islamic Supremacists'.³¹ The campaign included a three-minute educational film and an accompanying website, counterjihad.com.

Inarguably the most important grassroots counterjihad organisation in the US is ACT for America, founded in 2007 by Brigitte Gabriel, who was born Hanan Qahwaji in 1964 in southern Lebanon, near the border with Israel (Noriega, 2016, not paginated). A Maronite Christian, Gabriel views the civil war that raged in the country during her childhood as a 'religious war, declared by the Muslims against the Christians', one that 'tore my country and my life apart' (Gabriel, 2008 [2006], p. 68). In 1984, she moved to Jerusalem, where she worked as a news anchor for Middle East Television (MET), a news channel owned by American televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, using the screen name of Nour Saman (Noriega, 2016; Lean, 2012, p. 102). During her time at MET, Gabriel met and married an American man and later moved to the US, where she built a career for herself as a public speaker and author. In her 2006 book, *Because They Hate* (Gabriel, 2008 [2006]), she recalled how, on 9/11, she was 'struck by the same fear' that she had experienced during her childhood in Lebanon: 'As I watched, words instinctively came from my mouth as I spoke to the TV screen: "Now they are here."' (Ibid., p. 69)

ACT for America was founded in 2007 as an outgrowth of Gabriel's existing non-profit, the American Congress for Truth, which she used to promote her books and

³¹<http://counterjihad.com/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

speaking engagements (Noriega, 2016). ACT experienced rapid income and membership growth under its first executive director, Guy Rodgers, a veteran of the religious right who was the national field director for Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition during the early 1990s (Noriega, 2016; Lean, 2012, pp. 104-06). By 2016, ACT had an annual budget of over \$1 million and claimed to have 300,000 members organised in 1,000 'chapters' across the US (Noriega, 2016), although these membership figures are vigorously contested. One of my informants within the US civil rights sector described the figures as 'very, very inflated'³² whilst another suggested that the arithmetic behind them was 'absurd'.³³ The Southern Poverty Law Center claims that as of March 2017, fewer than fifty ACT chapters were engaged in 'some type of real world activity like hosting a meeting or representing the chapter in an interview for a newspaper or television'.³⁴ However, whilst some interviewees expressed doubts about ACT's membership figures, none questioned its political influence. Aspiring to be 'the NRA of national security',³⁵ ACT's annual conference (ACTCON) has been addressed by legislators such as 2016 Republican presidential contender Ted Cruz and former Republican congressman Mike Pompeo. At a more local level, ACT has provided the grassroots 'muscle' for various state-level anti-sharia initiatives and in June 2017 it organized a 'March Against Sharia' in twenty-eight US cities.³⁶

ACT, the CSP and the FDI have all worked closely with the American Freedom Law Centre (AFLC), a legal firm, and the Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE), an advocacy group, both founded by the activist lawyer David Yerushalmi. Yerushalmi is general counsel at the CSP,³⁷ where he also contributed to Team B II's report *Sharia: The Threat to America*, and has represented the AFDI in lawsuits relating to its transport advertisements as well as defending Pamela Geller in

³²Interview 13, civil rights activist, male, US.

³³Interview 15, civil rights activist, male, US.

³⁴<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/03/12/act-america-deletes-its-map-1000-chapters-heres-what-it-really-looks> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

³⁵<http://www.actforamerica.org/aboutact> [Last accessed 31 July 2017]. From ACT's professional public-facing website, it may not be immediately obvious that it is a counterjihad group, as it presents itself as a national security advocacy organisation. Its counterjihadist character is more evident from the websites of local chapters. One might also cite its founder's use of key counterjihad *topoi* such as 'Eurabia' and the 'clash of civilizations' in her speeches and writings, and the group's sponsorship of speaking tours and other public events with key international counterjihad activists.

³⁶<https://www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/act-for-america> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

³⁷<https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/about-us/staff/> [Last accessed 31 July 2017].

a defamation case (Elliott, 2011; Lean, 2012, p. 125). One of SANE's key initiatives was a project called 'Mapping Sharia',³⁸ sponsored by the CSP and based on covert observation of a hundred American mosques. The amateur ethnography was undertaken by David Gaubatz, author of *Muslim Mafia: Inside the Secret Underworld That's Conspiring to Islamize America*, who worked on the project for eighteen months with the aid of two research assistants.³⁹ Whilst the methodology⁴⁰ is rather opaque, the Jewish daily *Forward* reported that key indicators of sharia-adherence and extremism measured by Gaubatz and his assistants included 'the length of the imam's beard', 'whether he wore a watch on his right wrist' and 'the percentage of worshippers wearing hats', as well as the nature of the reading materials on offer (Berger, 2011, not paginated). A write-up of the study's findings, co-authored by Yerushalmi and Mordechai Kedar, a professor at Bar Ilan University, was published in 2011 in the *Middle East Quarterly*, the journal of Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum (Kedar and Yerushalmi, 2011). Before this, in 2009, Yerushalmi had drafted model legislation entitled 'American Laws for American Courts' (ALAC) which was designed to halt 'creeping sharia'. The stated intention for the legislation was 'to prohibit the application of foreign law when it would violate fundamental constitutional rights such as due process and equal protection',⁴¹ but its ultimate purpose was, according to Yerushalmi, 'heuristic': it aimed 'to get people asking this question, "What is Shariah?"' (Elliott, 2011). Starting in Oklahoma in 2010, Yerushalmi's model legislation served as the basis for a concerted anti-Sharia drive at the state level, for which ACT operated as a 'force multiplier' in Frank Gaffney's phrase (cited in Elliott, 2011, not paginated).⁴² As of June 2017, ALAC provisions had been adopted by twelve US states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee and Texas.⁴³

³⁸<http://mappingsharia.com/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

³⁹This was not the first time that Gaubatz had employed ethically dubious research methods: much of the material for *Muslim Mafia* was based on documents stolen from the Council on American Islamic Relations by his son, Chris Gaubatz, who had posed as an intern there. (See Berger, 2011.)

⁴⁰http://mappingsharia.com/?page_id=175 [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁴¹<http://www.americanfreedomlawcenter.org/press-release/american-laws-for-american-courts-public-policy-initiative-advances-in-state-legislatures-as-afic-leads-citizens-awareness-drive/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁴²See also Lean 2012, p. 126.

⁴³<https://www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/act-for-america> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

Other notable US-based groups include the United West, founded by ‘Team B II’ member Tom Trento as an outgrowth of the Florida Security Council, Daniel Pipes’ Middle East Forum and the Clarion Project (formerly the Clarion Fund), which has been linked to the Jewish fundamentalist organisation *Aish HaTorah* (‘Fire of the Torah’) (Goldberg, 2008; Lean, 2012). Copies of Clarion’s film *Obsession: Radical Islam’s War Against the West*,⁴⁴ were distributed to more than 28 million people in swing states ahead of the 2008 presidential election. Subsequent Clarion-produced films include *The Third Jihad: Radical Islam’s Vision For America* (2009) and *Iranium* (2011).

As will be evident from the foregoing pages, the US counterjihad movement is closely intertwined with both the religious right and the more ‘hawkish’ elements of the national security establishment. Other key intersections and overlaps are with parts of the counterterrorism industry, notably Steve Emerson’s Investigative Project on Terrorism, and with organised nativist and anti-immigrant groups such as the Center for Immigration Studies and the blog *Refugee Resettlement Watch*. One distinct sphere of activity involves running training programmes for law enforcement officials. A key organisation here is Understanding the Threat (UTT), run by an ex-FBI agent, John Guandolo. UTT claims to provide ‘threat-focused strategic and operational consultation, training, and education for federal, state, and local leadership... about the Global Islamic Movement and the jihadi networks in communities around the nation’,⁴⁵ but the Southern Poverty Law Center claims that its training events ‘instead serve as anti-Muslim witch-hunts, often times targeting and vilifying local Muslim leaders.’⁴⁶

Networking the Counterjihad

Whilst the North American and European counterjihad movements are somewhat distinct from one another in terms of their organisational and tactical repertoires, they are nevertheless closely interrelated political phenomena. Subsequent chapters

⁴⁴<http://www.obsessionthemovie.com/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁴⁵<https://www.understandingthethreat.com/about/> [Last accessed 31st August 2017].

⁴⁶<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/03/01/disgraced-ex-fbi-agent-john-guandolo-train-louisiana-law-enforcement-next-week> [Last accessed 31st August 2017].

will explore the shared narratives and the common discursive, aesthetic and affective repertoires that have enabled organisations and individuals from such diverse national backgrounds as the US, Canada, the UK, France, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Poland, Hungary, Israel and Australia increasingly to view themselves as part of a common political project. In the meantime, the remainder of this chapter will focus on the structural characteristics of these transnational networks and the political impact the movement has had.

Transnational networking within the counterjihad has taken various forms, differentiated in terms of their degrees of formality or informality, and materiality or virtuality. Formal networks exist in the form of transnational organisations established specifically to foster cross-national collaboration and learning between different groups. A number of ‘travelling evangelists’ engage in more informal modes of association by touring various countries and organisations proselytising on behalf of the movement. Finally, there is a dense virtual network of online spaces linked to the movement. These different forms of networking are overlapping and mutually reinforcing, as, for instance, when material networks and interactions have emerged as a result of prior encounters within online counterjihad spaces.

One important early effort at transnational networking was the International Civil Liberties Alliance (ICLA). Initially formed in 2006 as the ‘910 Group’ (referring to the day before September 11th) in a comments thread on the *Gates of Vienna* blog,⁴⁷ the group subsequently changed its name to the Centre for Vigilant Freedom (CVF) before eventually becoming the ICLA. One of the first organisations set up with a specific goal of fostering international networks and alliances between counterjihad groups, the ICLA’s founders described its objectives and organisational structure as follows:

From its inception the purpose of the organisation that eventually became ICLA was to facilitate alliances among existing groups. Its mission is to be a ‘network of networks’: to promote communication and common action among the various organisations that have sprung up since 9-11 to

⁴⁷See the original post here: <http://gatesofvienna.net/2006/09/the-emperor-is-naked/> and the retrospective account here: <http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-i/> [Both last accessed 31st July 2017].

combat sharia and resist the Islamization of Western Culture.⁴⁸

Accordingly, one of the ICLA's key activities was sponsoring a series of international counterjihad conferences that took place between 2007 and 2013, and which brought together some of the key activists and organisations for the first time.

The first of these international conferences took place in Copenhagen, Denmark, in April 2007, under the auspices of Anders Gravers' SIAD. Copenhagen was considered 'the obvious choice' since the 'Mohammed Cartoon Crisis had brought Denmark into prominence'.⁴⁹ A larger, two-day event was convened in Brussels in October that same year hosted by the *Vlaams Belang*, which had secured rooms in the European and Flemish parliament buildings for the purpose. Bat Ye'Or and Robert Spencer gave the keynote speeches,⁵⁰ while other speakers included Ye'Or's husband, David Littman; Arieh Eldad, a Knesset member and leader of the Kahanist *Otzma LeYisrael* (Strength for Israel) party; and Andrew Bostom, the American author of *The Legacy of Jihad* and *Sharia Versus Freedom*. In addition, short, ten-minute country reports were presented by 'anti-islamisation experts and activists from the fourteen European countries... on the current state of Islamisation and jihadism in their nations, and citizen efforts to mount a defense of constitutional liberties and national sovereignty'. Rapporteurs included the Austrian counterjihad activist Elisabeth Sabbaditsch-Wolff, VB leader Filip Dewinter and *Brussels Journal* editor Paul Belien for Belgium, the Danish author and journalist Lars Hedegaard (of whom more later), Ken Sikorski of the *Tundra Tabloids* blog for Finland, Stefan Here of the *Politically Incorrect* blog for Germany, the Sweden Democrats' Ted Ekeroth, and UKIP MEP Gerard Batten for the UK. Other country reports were given by representatives from the Czech Republic, France, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, Romania and Switzerland. Subsequent international counterjihad conferences were held in Vienna (May 2008), Copenhagen (May 2009), Zurich (June 2010), London (September 2011), Brussels (July 2012) and Warsaw (September 2013).⁵¹

⁴⁸<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-ii/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁴⁹<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-ii/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁵⁰The papers for the 2007 Brussels conference are available online (with some redactions) at <https://counterjihadeuropa.wordpress.com/2007/10/28/39/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁵¹<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-ii/> [Last

It seems that these events, which often included social and touristic activities, helped to foster the sense of a common identity and a shared set of political interests. For instance, immediately prior to the London conference, a number of international delegates were taken on a tour of Luton by the EDL's Tommy Robinson.⁵² Over time there appears to have been a shift from rapport-building and diagnosis-sharing to more focussed discussion of practical issues such as movement strategy and tactics. For instance, the 2009 conference in Copenhagen 'took the form of facilitated discussion groups held in the plenary', with a focus on 'helping different groups improve their organizational skills, suggesting different techniques that could be adapted for the unique circumstances found in individual countries'. The 2010 conference in Zurich 'followed up on Copenhagen with a continuing emphasis on intensifying co-operation and sharing of information among different groups and networks'. Practical issues covered in these meetings included 'media operations', 'use of the internet', 'international coordination', and 'strategies for proposed legislation'.⁵³

In the early 2010s, the EDL, as 'the only significant grassroots anti-sharia movement in Europe' at that time, was a key focus for organisational and tactical learning.⁵⁴ At the 2010 conference in Zurich, an EDL representative gave a presentation entitled 'The Anatomy of an EDL Demo', which 'used the recent demonstration at Newcastle as a case study of street level activism':

The presentation included organisational dynamics, deployment, logistics and transportation, the importance of having productive working relations with the police, the stewarding system, divisional structure, inclusivity of all those who have a stake in or interest in opposing sharia to create a diverse, varied and effective organisation, the networking and social possibilities that are created by demonstrations, opposition tactics, and the issue of merchandising and its relationship to the creation of group identity and organisational presence.⁵⁵

accessed 31 July 2017].

⁵²<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/10/slouching-towards-london/> [accessed 31 July 2017].

⁵³<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-ii/> [accessed 31 July 2017].

⁵⁴<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-ii/> [accessed 31 July 2017].

⁵⁵See the cached page available at [https://web.archive.org/web/20100619132942/-](https://web.archive.org/web/20100619132942/)

Similarly, at the same conference, a representative of the SVP gave a presentation on 'his party's successful referendum campaign that imposed a ban on the building of new minarets'.⁵⁶

Another important transnational organisation, the International Free Press Society (IFPS), was established by Danish journalist and author Lars Hedegaard in 2009 as an outgrowth of the Danish Free Press Society (DFPS; *Trykkefrihedsselskabet*), formed by Hedegaard, Krarup and Langballe in 2004. The founding of the DFPS followed Hedegaard's expulsion from the Danish section of PEN, the international writers association for freedom of speech, after the publication of a co-authored book, *In the House of War: Islam's Colonization of the West*, which drew on the writings of Lewis, Huntington and Ye'Or. Freedom of speech became a particularly salient issue in Denmark the following year (2005) as a result of the *Jyllands Posten* cartoons affair. The DFPS and its magazine, *Sappho*, established an annual free speech prize, which has since been awarded to Daniel Pipes, Melanie Phillips, Mark Steyn, the cultural editor of *Jyllands Posten*, Flemming Rose, and the *Jyllands Posten* cartoonist Kurt Westergaard, whose famous 'turban bomb' cartoon the DFPS has made available for purchase. The DFPS also sponsored lectures by Bat Ye'Or and Geert Wilders (Sedgwick, 2013, pp. 226-31). In addition to Hedegaard, who became its President, IFPS board members included the American author Diana West; the Centre for Security Policy's then-Chief Operating Officer, Christine Brim; Ned May of *Gates of Vienna*; and Paul Belien of the *Brussels Journal*. A wider advisory committee included Frank Gaffney of the Center for Security Policy and 'Team B II' members Stephen Coughlin, Clare Lopez and Andrew McCarthy. Also represented on the advisory groups were Ye'Or, Bostom, Gabriel, Pipes, Spencer, Steyn and Wilders, amongst numerous others.⁵⁷

Other transnational networks emerged in the late 2000s and early 2010s as outgrowths of existing national organisations. For instance, Stop Islamization of Nations

http://englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=213:english-defence-league-edl-attend-international-conference-in-zurich&catid=42:feature-stories [Last accessed 31 July 2017].

⁵⁶<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-ii/> [accessed 31 July 2017].

⁵⁷See the cached pages at <https://web.archive.org/web/20111025105150/http://www.trykkefrihed.dk/the-international-free-press-society-policy-statement.htm> and <https://web.archive.org/web/20120322162810/http://www.ifpscanada.com/about-ifps-international/board-of-advisors/> [Both last accessed 31st July 2017].

(SION) was set up in 2012 to unite the American and European ‘Stop Islamization’ groups, with a ‘President’s Council’ that included Gravers, Robinson, Carroll, Spencer and Geller. Around the same time, there were efforts to form a federation of European Defence Leagues, launched at a rally in Aarhus, Denmark, in March 2012, following earlier abortive attempts. A ‘Global Counter Jihad rally’ sponsored by SION was held in Stockholm, Sweden, in August that year, which was addressed by Geller, Spencer, Lennon, Carroll and Gravers, as well as by representatives of the Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish Defence Leagues. Another speaker was Debbie Robinson, founder of the Q Society of Australia, which exists as an Antipodean affiliate of the Stop Islamisation network.⁵⁸ More recently, the Pegida movement has emerged as a pan-European political network, although as with the earlier network of Defence Leagues, Pegida exists more as a political franchise than as a formal organisational structure.

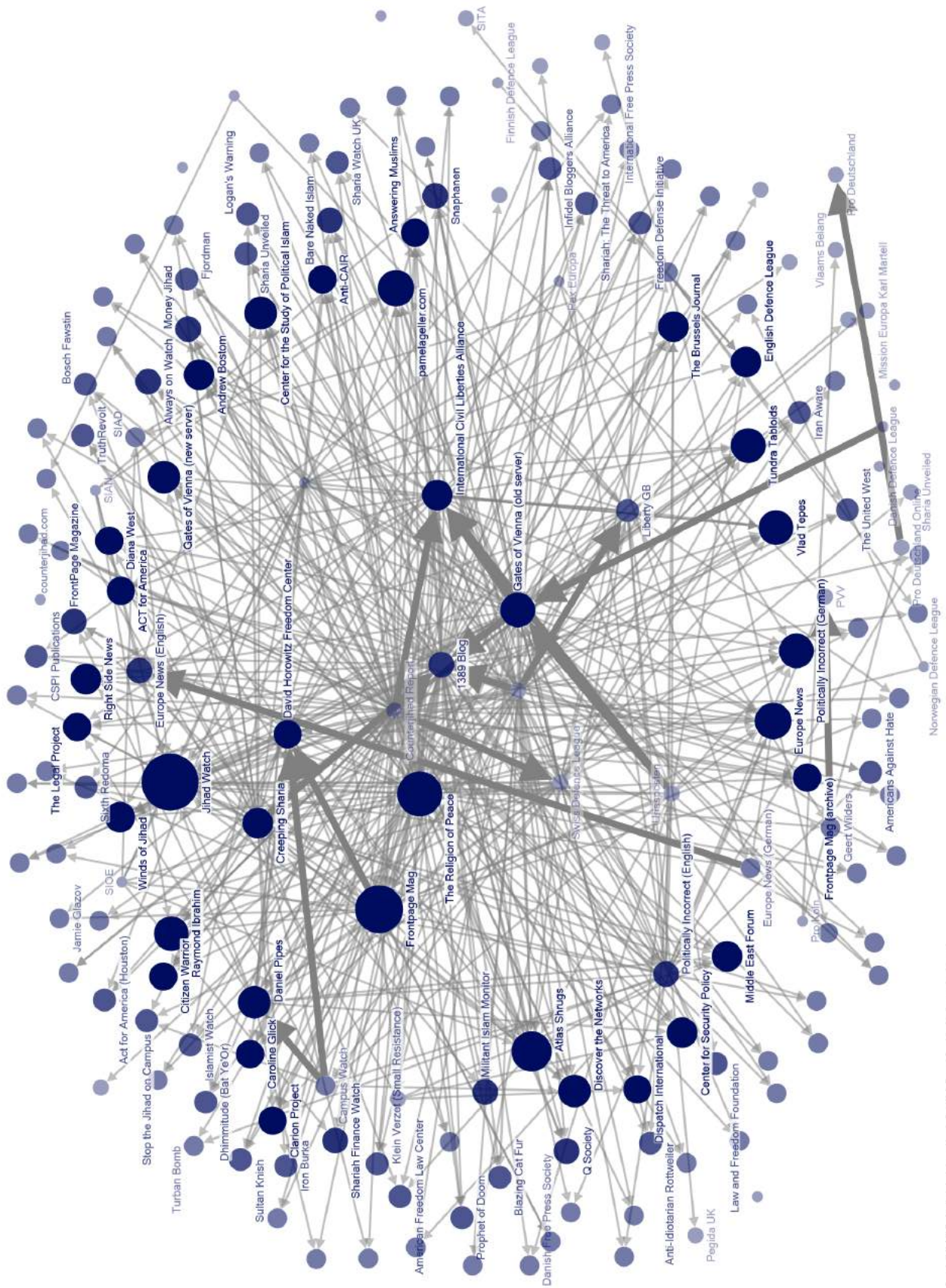
A more informal but very important mode of transnational networking exists in the form of international speaking tours by prominent counterjihad authors and activists. One key figure here is the Austrian counterjihad activist Elisabeth Sabbaditsch-Wolff, who has toured the US extensively, attending ACT for America’s annual conferences and speaking at meetings of its local chapters. Others active on the counterjihad speaking circuit include the IFPS’s Lars Hedegaard and Paul Weston of Liberty GB and Pegida UK, both of whom took part in a 2016 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) panel on ‘The Global Jihad Movement in America and the Counterjihad Campaign’, sponsored by the CSP and moderated by Gaffney. The flow of these ‘travelling evangelists’ is mostly from Europe to North America, rather than the other way round. However, there are some examples of US activists travelling outside North America: for example, Robert Spencer went on a five-city speaking tour of Australia, sponsored by the Q Society, in late 2011.

The online counterjihad network has played an important role in fostering many of these transnational links, as well as constituting a distinct sphere of interaction and exchange in its own right. The results of the hyperlink network analysis described in chapter 2 can be used to describe the key *internal* characteristics of the online

⁵⁸<http://afdi.us/freedom-march-first-worldwide-counter-jihad-action-stockholm-august-4th/> [Last accessed 31 July 2017].

counterjihad network as well as the *external* relationships between the counterjihad network and other online sectors. Starting with the internal characteristics, the core counterjihad network (i.e. category 1 sites only) as mapped through the hyperlink analysis is shown in figure 5.1 overleaf. From the diagram it will be evident that this is quite a heterogeneous and diffuse network, comprising quite different organisation types with varying levels of affinity and disaffinity. One measure of network cohesion is overall ‘density’, which can take a value between 0 (representing a hypothetical situation where there are no links between any sites within the network) and 1 (representing a hypothetical situation in which all possible links have been effectuated). By this measure, the online counterjihad network is very loose indeed, with only about 1.8% of all possible ties effectuated. Another measure of network cohesion tells a different story, however. The ‘average distance’, which describes how far, on average, each site is away from the other sites in the network, is just 2.4, suggesting that organisations not directly connected may still be close to each other through sharing a ‘mutual friend’.

The online counterjihad network, as might be expected, is dominated by blogs and other dedicated online spaces. The personal webpages of prominent counterjihad activists, and the websites of advocacy organisations and political parties, play a lesser but in some cases still important role. The simplest way of measuring the importance of a site within a hyperlink network is its ‘indegree’, the number of inbound links the site is receiving from other sites in the network. By this metric, Robert Spencer’s blog *Jihad Watch* (indegree 26) is by some distance the most important site in the network, followed by the Horowitz Freedom Center’s *Frontpage* magazine (indegree 16) and the *Religion of Peace* blog (indegree 14). Pamela Geller’s old blog, *Atlas Shrugs* (indegree 11) and her new site, *pamelageller.com* (indegree 9) are other key sites, as are the Danish website *Europe News* (indegree 9) and the blogs *Vlad Tepes*, *Politically Incorrect* and *Tundra Tabloids* (all indegree 8). Similarly ranked is *Gates of Vienna*, another site that has moved server since being set up (original server indegree 8; new server indegree 7). The most highly ranked personal homepages are those of Raymond Ibrahim (indegree 8) who is a fellow at the Horowitz Freedom Center, Daniel Pipes (indegree 7) and the American author Andrew Bostom (indegree 6). The most highly



Created with NodeXL (http://nodexl.com/) from the Social Media Research Foundation (http://www.smrfoundation.org/)

Figure 5.1: The online counterjihad network. Larger, darker spheres indicate a greater 'indegree'. Stronger, thicker lines represent more numerous links.

ranked advocacy organisations are the Center for Security Policy and the Middle East Forum (both indegree 6), with ACT, the Clarion Project and the Horowitz Freedom Center following close behind (all indegree 5). Of the street protest movements, the English Defence League has by far the most linked-to website (indegree 6), and one has to go quite a long way down the list to find the first political party, Liberty GB (indegree 3).

Popularity or prestige within the network, which is what the ‘indegree’ effectively measures, is only one gauge of importance, however. Another way of measuring a site’s influence is its ‘betweenness’ centrality, a metric based on the shortest paths between the sites in the network. Sites with high ‘betweenness’ scores may act as important bridges or communication channels between other parts of the network. By this metric, two blogs that are less prestigious than, say, *Jihad Watch* or *Atlas Shrugs*, nonetheless seem to play key roles as information conduits within the network: the *Counterjihad Report* (betweenness 6233) and the *1389* blog (betweenness 5634). Other sites that are more important in terms of their ‘betweenness’ than in terms of their raw popularity include the blogs *Bare Naked Islam* (betweenness 3097) and *Creeping Sharia* (betweenness 1565), and the website of the political party Liberty GB (betweenness 1153). The old *Gates of Vienna* server (betweenness 4378), *The Religion of Peace* blog (betweenness 3261) and the Horowitz Freedom Center’s *Frontpage* magazine (betweenness 2404) remain important by this metric. By contrast, *Jihad Watch* (betweenness 853) and *Atlas Shrugs* (betweenness 170) are less important as network bridges than they are in terms of raw popularity.

The online counterjihad network is extremely heterogeneous in terms of the kinds of actors and online spaces it comprises. It includes everything from the highly professional websites of resource-rich advocacy organisations to amateurish blogs run by lone individuals from their bedrooms. A comprehensive analysis of these online spaces and the activities taking place within them is beyond the scope of this thesis, so a few illustrative examples of unusual or creative uses of online space will have to suffice. One site that occupies a unique niche within the network is *The Religion of Peace* blog,⁵⁹ perhaps accounting for its high rank on both the ‘indegree’ and ‘betweenness’ met-

⁵⁹<http://www.thereligionofpeace.com/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

rics. *TROP*, whose name is an ironic allusion to George W. Bush's characterisation of Islam as a 'religion of peace', shortly after the September 11th attacks, compiles a daily list of jihadist attacks from around the world, which are then displayed in a 'counter' showing the number of deadly attacks since September 11th. The *TROP* attacks counter is available as a widget that can be embedded into other websites, and it can frequently be found in the sidebar of other counterjihad blogs. Another of the more innovative sites is *4Freedoms*, an online 'library' of counterjihad resources and information set up in 2009 by EDL financier Alan Lake. Based on the Ning social network platform, *4Freedoms* eschews the 'ant heap storage model' common to blogs, 'where new news and views are piled on top of the old' in favour of 'a hierarchical model, where information is stored by category and sub-category, so that relevant information is retrieved by successive drill down.'⁶⁰ The site is divided into interactive 'rooms' based on different counterjihad-related activities and themes.

A final example of online innovation is the 'Rosetta Stone Project', a 'streamlined system for the translation of texts and the subtitling of videos'. The *Gates of Vienna* blog, one of the sites involved in this project, explains the mechanism and rationale as follows:

When an important article, essay, or speech is published, a move is initiated among the various Counterjihad groups to have it translated into as many languages as possible. The influence of the text can be greatly extended if it is spread in multiple languages, and gives the author a much wider audience.⁶¹

Key Rosetta Stone projects have included Geert Wilders' film *Fitna* and the launch of Geller and Spencer's Freedom Defense Initiative, which have been translated into languages as diverse as Albanian, Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Spanish, Swedish, and Welsh. The ring of sites involved in producing these translations includes *Europe News*, *Gates of Vienna*,

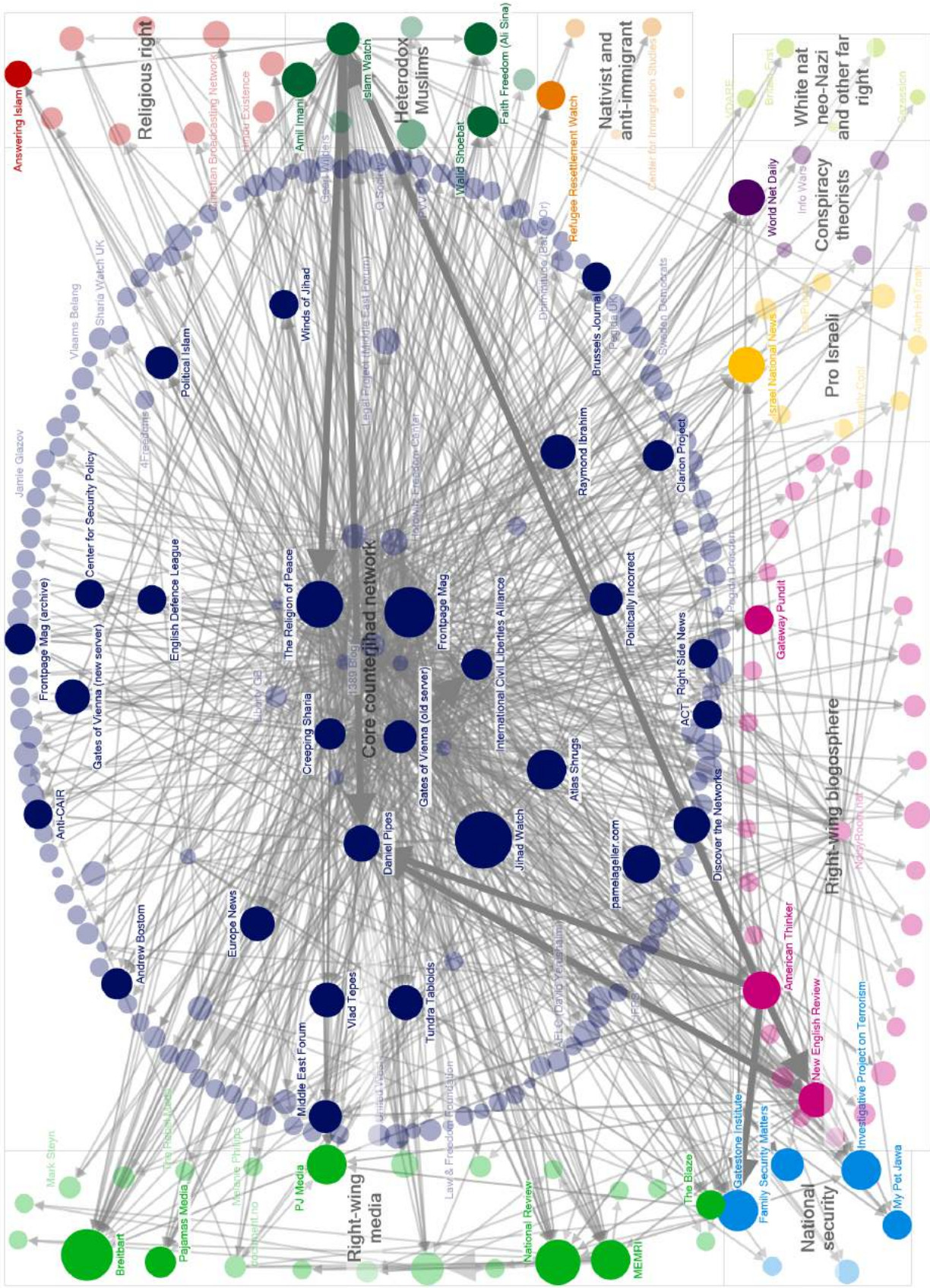
⁶⁰<http://4freedoms.com/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁶¹<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-iv/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

the ICLA website, *Politically Incorrect*, *Snaphanen*, *Tundra Tabloids*, *Uriasposten*, and *Vlad Tepes*.

The counterjihad virtual network forms part of a wider online right-wing milieu, as can be seen from figure 5.2, which includes entities in both category 1 (core counterjihad) and category 2 (supporters, enablers and sympathisers). Turning now to the counterjihad network's *external* relationships, figure 5.2 shows that the most important online interfaces are with the broader (non-counterjihad-specific) right-wing blogosphere, major commercial conservative news outlets, parts of the national security and counter-terrorism industries, the religious right, pro-Israeli advocacy groups, heterodox Muslim organisations and individuals, nativist and anti-immigrant groups, and, to a lesser extent, with the white nationalist, neo-Nazi and conspiracist fringe. Taking each of these in turn, sites within the broader right-wing blogosphere that are sympathetic to the counterjihad include the daily political blog *American Thinker*, which has published counterjihad writers including Geller, Spencer and Weston, and the monthly online magazine *New English Review*, which has published essays by Andrew Bostom and Bat Ye'Or. Among the major commercial right-wing media outlets, *Breitbart* has published Geller, Spencer and Gaffney, as well as providing sympathetic coverage of the CSP's counterjihad campaign. Also represented in the network is *National Review*, the bastion of Buckleyite conservatism, which has given column inches to Spencer and Gaffney.

Another set of online links is with right-leaning research and advocacy organisations in the foreign policy, national security and counterterrorism sectors. One key organisation here is the Gatestone Institute, chaired by George W. Bush's former ambassador to the UN, John Bolton. Gatestone hosts regular events with major conservative and neoconservative figures such as Alan Dershowitz and Charles Krauthammer, as well as with Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Geert Wilders, but its website has also carried articles by Fjordman and Bat Ye'Or. One key site linked to the religious right is the Christian evangelical website *Answering Islam*. Pro-Israeli organisations represented within the online network include the religious-Zionist Israel National News and the orthodox *Aish HaTorah* (Fire of the Torah), as well as a number of smaller blogs and websites. Among the heterodox Muslims can be found the self described



Created with NodeXL Pro (http://nodexl.com/) from the Social Media Research Foundation (http://www.smrfoundation.org/)

Figure 5.2: The online counterjihad network's key virtual interfaces. Larger, darker spheres represent greater 'indegree'. Stronger, thicker lines indicate more numerous links.

former PLO terrorist turned Christian convert, Walid Shoebat. Also represented here is Faith Freedom, an organisation of ex-Muslims set up by an Iranian-born Canadian, Ali Sina, with contributors including Amil Imani and linked to the website Islam Watch.

Nativist and anti-immigrant organisations that show up within the online network include *Refugee Resettlement Watch*, a website run by Ann Corcoran, as well as the more established Center for Immigration Studies. Within the conspiracist part of the right-wing online milieu, *World Net Daily* has heavily promoted 'birtherism', while the better-known *Info Wars*, run by the radio host Alex Jones, disseminates a wide range of conspiracy theories including the 'New World Order'. Finally, the online counterjihad network has a few links to openly white nationalist, neo-Nazi and other far-right organisations. These include the Alt-Right website VDARE, run by the white nationalist Peter Brimelow, and the *Neue Drecht* magazine *Sezession*, published by the Pegida spokesman Götz Kubitschek.

'Extreme but not fringe'

'Extreme but not fringe' was how my informants within the antifascist and civil rights movements typically characterised the counterjihad.⁶² One measure of the impact of counterjihad street movements in Europe is the violence they have directed towards Muslims and others who 'look Muslim', the disruption they have caused to the communities they have targeted, and the costs of policing their protests. These groups have sometimes also had specific local impacts, for instance where they have played an instrumental role in campaigns against mosque developments. Their impact on wider public and political discourse is harder to assess, but it is unlikely to have been a coincidence, for example, that former UK Prime Minister David Cameron chose to give a major speech criticising 'state multiculturalism' on the day of a large 'homecoming' demonstration in Luton by the EDL. Key counterjihad *topoi* such as the 'Islamisation of Europe' and 'Eurabia' are also now routinely mobilised by right-wing politicians across the continent, especially Eastern European politicians such as Hungarian prime

⁶²Interview 15, civil rights activist, male, US.

minister Viktor Orbán and Czech President Miloš Zeman. One of my interviewees in the anti-fascist movement observed that as recently as 2009, if you wanted to hear someone tell you that Europe was being invaded by Muslims, ‘you’d have to go to that car park in Leicester’ where the EDL was demonstrating, whereas now ‘you can go to the European Parliament and hear the President of Hungary saying it’:

You can go to stand at a demonstration [in Prague] and hear the President of the Czech Republic, President Zeman, speaking to an audience that *includes* Tommy Robinson and Pegida. You can go to sit in Congress and hear Ted Cruz and eight or nine congressman and senators stand there and address ACT for America, a designated hate group by the SPLC, in a way that would not have happened in 2008, 2009.⁶³

The political influence of the US counterjihad movement far exceeds that of its European counterpart. During the 2016 US presidential election, the Center for Security Policy supplied advisors to the campaigns of Republican candidates including Ted Cruz and Donald Trump. As we saw in the introduction, when Trump announced his support for a ban on Muslim immigration to the US he did so citing a poll published by the CSP.⁶⁴ The links between the Trump administration and the US counterjihad movement are too numerous to document here, so a few examples will have to suffice. Trump’s Attorney General Jeff Sessions, whose 1986 nomination for federal judge was publicly opposed by Martin Luther King’s widow Coretta Scott King due to Sessions’ voting record on civil rights issues, has received awards from Frank Gaffney’s Center for Security Policy and David Horowitz’s Freedom Center. Sessions also spoke at one of the latter’s ‘Restoration Weekends’ in 2003.⁶⁵ Given the opportunity to publicly distance himself from Horowitz and Gaffney during his senate confirmation hearings, Sessions declined to do so. Steven Miller, a senior advisor and speechwriter to Trump who is reported to have been a key architect of the Executive order banning travel from seven Muslim-majority countries as well as the

⁶³Interview 12, anti-fascist activist, male, UK.

⁶⁴<http://nymag.com/scienceofus/2015/12/survey-company-trump-is-misusing-our-survey.html> [Last accessed 21st September 2017].

⁶⁵<http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2016/12/23/jeff-sessions/> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

author of Trump's infamous 'American carnage' inauguration speech, is a former congressional aide to Sessions, to whom he was reportedly introduced by Horowitz.⁶⁶ Miller also knew Alt-Right leader Richard Spencer during their days as students at Duke University, although he has since dissociated himself from Spencer.⁶⁷

Retired Lt. Gen. Mike Flynn, Trump's first national security advisor who was forced to resign in February 2017 after misleading the Vice President about the nature of his conversations with the Russian ambassador, was at the time of his appointment a sitting board member of ACT for America.⁶⁸ Another senior administration figure known to be close to ACT is CIA Director Mike Pompeo, a former Republican congressman from Kansas, who has spoken at ACT's annual conference and sponsored events for the group inside the Capitol building. Pompeo has also spoken at CSP events and has regularly appeared as a guest on Frank Gaffney's *Secure Freedom Radio*. Shortly after Trump's victory, ACT boasted in an email to supporters that it had 'a direct line to President-elect Trump through our allies such as ... Rep. Mike Pompeo.'⁶⁹

A figure who has fewer direct connections to counterjihad groups but is clearly sympathetic to their ideas is Kansas Secretary of State and gubernatorial candidate Kris Kobach. His May 2017 appointment as vice chair of Trump's Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity was seen by civil rights groups as a clear signal that the commission would be an exercise in mass disenfranchisement, given Kobach's extensive record of implementing strict voter ID laws in Kansas and his long history of support for nativist and anti-immigrant advocacy groups. Kobach was one of the key architects of the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS), a registry programme for non-citizens launched under the Bush administration after the September 11, 2001 attacks. Kobach appeared on Gaffney's *Secure Freedom Radio* in 2014, where he spoke about 'an effort going on below the radar to insert Shariah

⁶⁶<http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2016/12/16/stephen-miller/> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

⁶⁷<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/02/12/stephen-miller-31-year-old-senior-adviser-behind-donald-trumps/> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

⁶⁸<http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2016/12/17/michael-flynn/> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

⁶⁹<http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2016/12/19/mike-pompeo/> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

This screenshot of the Gates of Vienna blog has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 5.3: Screenshot of *Gates of Vienna* blog, recording Trump's attendance at the launch of The United West.

law-based defenses into court cases.⁷⁰

Steve Bannon, the former White House chief strategist, gave column space to Geller, Spencer, Gabriel and Horowitz during his time as head of *Breitbart News*, and hosted Gaffney on his radio programme.⁷¹ In 2007, Bannon penned the script for a documentary film entitled *Destroying the Great Satan: The Rise of Islamic Facism in America*, which in the event was never produced. The film was to have opened with a shot of Old Glory flying over the US Capitol building, except with the stars and stripes replaced by stars and crescents, and with a soundtrack of the Islamic call to prayer and a caption reading 'The Islamic States of America'. The film proposal identified a number of potential 'experts' who might be interviewed, including Robert Spencer of *Jihad*

⁷⁰<http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2016/12/23/kris-kobach/> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

⁷¹<http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2016/12/17/steve-bannon/> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

Watch.⁷² Bannon also appears to have personal relationships with some counterjihad movement leaders. Two weeks before Bannon was named as chairman of Trump's campaign, the investigative journalist David Noriega attended a speech by Brigitte Gabriel to the local ACT chapter in Twin Falls, Idaho, and afterwards overheard a *Breitbart* reporter saying to the local chapter leader: 'Tell her [Gabriel] that Steve Bannon says hello' (cited in Noriega, 2016, not paginated).

Finally, Trump himself has some direct connections to the US counterjihad movement. Trump attended the launch of Tom Trento's group, The United West, in March 2011, where he posed for a photograph with Frank Gaffney and Austrian counterjihad activist Elisabeth Sabbaditsch-Wolff (see figure 5.3). Trump has also been photographed with ACT for America's Brigitte Gabriel at his Mar a Lago resort.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the counterjihad can be viewed as a transnational social movement with intellectual, political and activist 'wings'. As we have seen, the counterjihad groups and networks have, for the most part, evolved outside the organisational and ideological spaces of neo-fascism and neo-Nazism. The movement's political ascent has been rapid: when I began this research project in October 2013, counterjihad groups existed on the margins of European and North American societies; now their ideas are influencing the political discourses of right-wing politicians across Europe, and the policies of the Trump White House. The next three chapters turn to consider the discursive, aesthetic, affective and performative repertoires that unite the heterogeneous group of organisations and individuals discussed in this chapter. In the first instance, we turn to consider their shared diagnosis of Western crisis, decline and impending catastrophe.

⁷²https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/bannon-film-outline-warned-us-could-turn-into-islamic-states-of-america/2017/02/03/f73832f4-e8be-11e6-b82f-687d6e6a3e7c_story.html [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

Chapter 6

'Almost Midnight in the West': the Eurabian cultural apocalyptic

A Klee painting named 'Angelus Novus' shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing in from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress.

Walter Benjamin

The heterogeneous group of organisations and individuals described in the previous chapter is united in the first instance by an apocalyptic narrative of Western crisis, decline and capitulation to Islamic conquest. The counterjihad discourse is haunted by dystopian visions of Europe's descent into ethno-religious civil war, and the reduction of its population to the status of second-class citizens ('dhimmis') as Europe

becomes a colony of the Arab-Muslim world. A key intellectual resource for this narrative is the 'Eurabia' literature associated most closely with the British writer Gisèle Littmann ('Bat Ye'Or'), although she borrowed the term from the late Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci (*The Rage and the Pride* (Fallaci, 2001); *The Force of Reason* (Fallaci, 2006)). The Eurabia thesis is 'in essence, the apocalyptic threat of the Islamization of Europe' (Sedgwick, 2013, p. 224). Ye'Or's *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* (2005) is perhaps the 'standard' work of the genre (Bangstad, 2013, p. 371), however the Eurabia narrative has since been popularised by conservative writers and journalists such as the Canadian Mark Steyn (*American Alone: The End of the World As We Know It* (Steyn, 2006); *After America: Get Ready for Armageddon* (Steyn, 2011)), the Brit Melanie Phillips (*Londonistan: How Britain is Creating a Terror State Within* (Phillips, 2006)), the Dane Lars Hedegaard (*In the House of War: Islam's Colonization of the West*), and the American-Norwegian Bruce Bawer (*While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam is Destroying the West from Within* (Bawer, 2006); *Surrender: Appeasing Islam, Sacrificing Freedom* (Bawer, 2010)).

Versions of the narrative have been propagated by conservative academics such as Niall Ferguson and Martin Gilbert, as well as by untenured polemicists like Ye'Or's disciples Robert Spencer (*Stealth Jihad: How Radical Islam is Subverting America Without Guns or Bombs* (Spencer, 2008)) and the blogger Peder Nøstvold Jensen ('Fjordman'). Resonances of the Eurabia theme can be found in the writings of Walter Laqueur (*The Last Days of Europe: Epitaph for an old continent* (Laqueur, 2007)), Christopher Caldwell (*Reflections On The Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West* (Caldwell, 2010)) and, most recently, Douglas Murray (*The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, identity, Islam* (Murray, 2017)). The Eurabian apocalyptic imaginary is also evident in the names of key counterjihad street movements such as the 'Stop Islamization' groups and 'Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West' (Pegida), and of online spaces such as *A New Dark Age is Dawning* and *Almost Midnight in the West*.

Whilst the dystopian fantasy of cultural and demographic submersion under a rising 'green tide' is specific to the Eurabia literature and to the counterjihad discourse, the fears and anxieties expressed in this narrative are shared far more widely.

The late twentieth and early twenty first centuries have seen a dramatic flourishing of millenarian fantasies, presentiments of doom, and eschatological anticipation, from anxieties about the ‘millennium bug’ to the proliferation of new and sometimes violent religious fundamentalisms. If, as John Hall (2009) has argued, the apocalyptic imagination can be stimulated not only by calendrical shifts such as ‘Y2K’ (the year 2000) or the end of the Mayan calendar (2012), but also by traumatic experiences and by social or economic dislocation, then the tectonic global realignments that have followed the breakup of the bipolar Cold War political order have surely provided ample raw material. In his book *Fear of Small Numbers: An essay on the geography of anger* (Appadurai, 2006), Arjun Appadurai emphasises the exacerbation of social uncertainty by the complex and uneven processes of political, economic and cultural integration sometimes grouped together under the heading of ‘globalisation’, in particular the further blurring of already fuzzy identities and boundaries, and the destabilization of weighty political institutions and social arrangements founded upon them.

These profound shifts, Appadurai argues, have exposed many of the myths and fantasies of the ‘classical national project’: that the world is naturally divided into territorially-bounded nations, and that each national state presides over a sovereign economic space and a containable and countable population. Moreover, cherished assumptions about the distinction between ‘civilian’ and ‘military’ spaces and the power of sovereign states to determine conditions of war and peace, may seem increasingly untenable in the context of transformations in military technology and the forms of contemporary anti-civilian violence popularly referred to as ‘terrorism’, for which ‘9/11’ often stands in metonymically. Perhaps any of these tendencies might suffice to stimulate apocalyptic speculation, but together they can generate a powerful sense that this is - to borrow the subtitle of Mark Steyn’s 2006 book - ‘the end of the world as we know it’.

If this is the broad sociohistorical context within which the contemporary apocalyptic imagination has flourished, then the specific occasion for the articulation of ‘Eurabian’ anxieties about the ‘Islamization’ of Europe and the ‘death of the West’ were the refusal of ‘Old Europe’ (France and Germany) to participate in the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, and European criticism of Israel’s 2002 ‘Operation Defensive Shield’

(Sedgwick, 2013, p. 224). For Ye'Or, in a seminal article published in the Horowitz Freedom Center's *FrontPage Magazine*, the 'pro-Saddam Hussein' anti-war protests of February 15th, 2003, were symptomatic of growing European anti-Semitism, the progressive detachment of the continent from its Atlantic ally, its 'profound cultural Islamization' and transformation into the 'heart of Arabism'.¹ Eurabian speculations about the 'death of the West' can, then, be seen in part as a symptom of growing perplexity about the meaning of a sociopolitical entity, 'the West', that had for several decades defined itself against the Communist 'East', as well as the relevance of the collective security arrangements (NATO) premised on the bipolar Cold War political order. As the historian Riccardo Bavaj has observed of the anxieties concerning the fragmentation of the 'Atlantic alliance' that were engendered by the Iraq war: 'Two "Wests" ... are one too many, and may indicate that none exists at all. Not for the first time, "the West" is in decline. Or so it seems.' (Bavaj, 2011, not paginated)

That famous prophet of Western decline, Oswald Spengler, is cited by some intellectually-oriented cultural pessimists (e.g. Ferguson, 2004; Laqueur, 2007), and Spenglerian pessimism is also evident in the proper name of one key counterjihad group, *Patriotische Europäer Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes* (Pegida), usually translated as 'Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West'. The word 'Abendland', which translates literally as 'evening lands' or the 'land of the setting sun,' is the same term used by Spengler in his *Untergang des Abendlandes*, usually translated as *The Decline of the West* (de Genova, 2015, p. 10). Intellectualised versions of the Eurabia narrative also draw on a wider repertoire of cultural pessimism. Ferguson, for instance, suggests that 'Spenglerian talk has gained credibility since 9/11' (2004, not paginated) but also invokes Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, whilst the subtitle of Caldwell's book, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*, recalls the title of a key text of the counter-Enlightenment, Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.

This chapter outlines the main themes of what I call the 'Eurabian cultural apocalyptic.' Whilst there have been a number of academic discussions of the 'Eurabia thesis' (Carr, 2006), 'the political discourse of the counterjihad movement' (Bhatt,

¹<http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=19633> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

2012), or the ‘Islamophobic thesis of European decline’ (Denes, 2012), it has not to my knowledge been treated specifically as a form of the secular apocalyptic. The Greek word *apokálypsis* means, literally, a ‘revelation’ or ‘disclosure’, usually about the way the world (or some part of it) will end; hence it is marked by a specific temporality involving an interpolation of the future into the present. The counterjihad discourse is replete with the language of revelation, disclosure and uncovering, and metaphors of sight and visuality. The first chapter of Ye’Or’s foundational text is entitled ‘Eurabia Revealed’, whilst revelation is also evoked in the names of online spaces such as *Sharia Unveiled*. We are urged to ‘see through the illusion of permanence and imagine the future... for non-Muslim Europeans’,² to ‘look several decades ahead’.³ These prophetic abilities are contrasted with the ‘short-sightedness’ or ‘blindness’ of liberals and leftists, although recent anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim mobilisations are sometimes taken as signs that ‘the blinkers are coming off’. One of the main modes of argumentation is the ‘slippery slope’, or cognate terms such as the ‘thin end of the wedge’ or the ‘domino effect’.

The apocalyptic vision of Western crisis, decline and capitulation to Islam is by no means homogeneous. There are stronger and weaker versions, intellectual and demotic forms, as well as many local variations. Toby Archer well describes the spectrum of despair:

At one end are the shrillest voices, with their dystopian fantasies of mayhem and civil war enveloping Europe as the continent becomes incorporated into a new Caliphate. They resemble the writers of the American neo-fascist militia movement, forever waiting for the beginning of the race-war and the chance to fight the ‘New World Order’. At the other end of the scale are mainstream writers and politicians whose views are not dissimilar. (Archer, cited in Fekete, 2012, at p.33)

The apocalyptic narrative fulfils slightly different functions for Europeans and Americans. For Europeans it is primarily a melancholic lamentation for a lifeworld already

²<https://libertygb.org.uk/news/immigration-altruism-and-national-suicide> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

³<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/08/will-muslim-immigration-trigger-wars.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

transformed, whereas the US political right invokes the spectre of 'Eurabia' as a portent of things to come, a glimpse into America's future, and a powerful rhetorical weapon against domestic political opponents. Scandinavia occupies an important place within the imaginations of both European and North American counterjihadists as a dire warning of the consequences of social democracy and state welfare, exemplified in the titles of blog entries such as 'The Myth of the Scandinavian Model',⁴ 'Swedish Welfare State Collapses as Immigrants Wage War'⁵ and 'Islamohell in Norway'.⁶

'The Second Fall of Rome'

The Eurabian dystopia expresses an overwhelming fear of a descent into anarchy, chaos and civil war, one that ultimately threatens to spill out from Europe and engulf the entire world. Already '[t]he state is dead', there is 'no law and order' in much of Europe, and the continent's major cities have become 'powder kegs of ethnic and religious tensions'.⁷ The 'Eurabian civil war', when it comes, will be a conflict of 'unimaginable proportions' and 'unimaginable carnage', 'the most destructive war in human history', during which '[m]any of our cultural treasures will burn'.⁸ Due to the 'borderless nature' of the EU, any civil conflict within Europe 'could spiral out of control and spread to much of the continent', perhaps even igniting a 'global civil war'.⁹ That 'the continent has simply lost control over its own borders' means that France could become 'a new Lebanon'.¹⁰ 'People think we could never witness the atrocities of Syria, Iraq or Libya in the rolling hills of rural Europe, but why not?'¹¹ That the state has become incapable of protecting its citizens, that the unwritten contract that

⁴<https://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/510> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁵<https://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/938> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁶<https://theenglishdefenceleagueextra.blogspot.co.uk/2010/08/islamohell-in-norway-sign-of-things-to.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁷<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/08/will-muslim-immigration-trigger-wars.html> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

⁸<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/10/second-night-of-rioting-in-paris.html> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

¹¹<https://libertygb.org.uk/news/immigration-altruism-and-national-suicide> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

‘gives the state a monopoly on violence in return for its protecting its citizens... has been broken’,¹² is a recurrent theme.

One post on the *Gates of Vienna* blog imagines in some detail ‘The Danish Civil War’,¹³ a fictional scenario which the blog is at some pains to stress is intended to be ‘descriptive’ and not ‘normative’. Written in 2007, the essay envisages Denmark’s descent into civil war in 2013, following several years of intermittent suicide bombings, Muslim religious-political assertion and attempts at ‘appeasement’ by the Danish government. The state’s authority wanes as Muslims increasingly segregate themselves into ‘Autonomous Cultural Zones’ and non-Muslims, no longer trusting that the state will protect its citizens, start to stockpile weapons. Attempts to control the flow of ‘Islamic radicals’ are hindered by ‘the open borders of the EU’, whilst attempts to deport Muslims without Danish citizenship are hindered by ‘EU Human Rights legislation’ and by ‘domestic and international human rights organizations’. The civil war is eventually sparked when a ‘native Danish couple’ is attacked by ‘four or five young Muslim men’, the man ‘knocked unconscious’ and the girl ‘dragged off into a nearby alley and gang raped’.¹⁴

These presentiments of civil war may in part be an expression of the social uncertainties generated by contemporary terrorism, a reading that is suggested by the prominent figuration of suicide bombings within the ‘Danish Civil War’ and which may seem to be supported by the following exchange I had with one of my interviewees, a former senior English Defence League activist:

ME: If I’m not reading too much into what you’re saying, you think we’re heading for a kind of civil war scenario?

INTERVIEWEE: I think we’re heading to it, I do, yeah... I don’t think it’s a civil war that we’re gonna start, I think we’re heading for a civil war that – see the 2,000 people who’ve flown out to join ISIS? – it’s one that they’ll start. And there’ll be a lot more than 2,000 of ‘em. 2,000 may become 20,000 in twenty years. 20,000’s a small army of willin’ people to die for their cause... I saw a university poll said thirty percent of muslims believe

¹²<http://gatesofvienna.net/2009/07/drawing-the-line/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

¹³<http://gatesofvienna.net/2007/11/the-danish-civil-war/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

¹⁴Ibid.

that it's acceptable to kill for Islam. That's kids at uni. That's kids at uni. Thirty percent. Fuckin' 'ell, what's that? One million people! That's fuckin' mad!

ME: And when do you think this is all going to come to a head?

INTERVIEWEE: Within thirty years.

ME: As soon as that?

INTERVIEWEE: Yeah.¹⁵

Insofar as contemporary terrorism 'opens the possibility that anyone may be a soldier in disguise, a sleeper among us, waiting to strike at the heart of our social slumber', as Appadurai has put it (2006, p. 92), it can encourage speculation about the agents of terror - who they are, where they are, how numerous they are - a tendency that is evident in the foregoing exchange, in which 2,000 fighters rapidly becomes 20,000 and eventually a million.

It would, however, be reductive to read these apocalyptic visions of civil war and social breakdown as simply an expression of contemporary anxieties about 'terrorism'. They also express, among other things, an ultraconservative preoccupation with law and order, as suggested by the anticipation of increasing Muslim self-segregation, ethnicised violence and waning state authority in the Danish civil war scenario. Eurabia is tormented not only by suicide bombings and jihadist violence - the 'violence, murder, rape and mayhem carried out by Muslims'¹⁶ - but also by 'aggressive gangs of Muslim youngsters',¹⁷ 'ethnic gangs', 'immigrant-related organized crime',¹⁸ and '[t]attooed, pierced Pakistani skinhead gangs'.¹⁹ It is not just that it is 'practically impossible now in Europe to control Islamic terrorism either from within or without',²⁰ but also that the state's writ no longer extends to parts of its own territory, the 'Muslim ghettos'

¹⁵Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

¹⁶<https://libertygb.org.uk/news/immigration-altruism-and-national-suicide> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

¹⁷<https://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/938> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

¹⁸<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/05/norwegian-inquisition-sunset-in-land.html> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

¹⁹<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/3620861/Early-skirmish-in-the-Eurabian-civil-war.html> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

²⁰<http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=19633> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

(or perhaps ‘immigrant ghettos’) that are becoming ‘no-go zones’ (or perhaps ‘no go areas for white people’). The tendency of the discourse to slide from a religious to an ethnic (and, as we will see later, ultimately racial) register is already implicit in the term ‘Eur-*Abia*’ (not ‘Eur-slam’ or ‘Isl-ope’), and from Ye’Or and others’ occasional slippages from ‘Islamization’ to ‘Arabization’ or even ‘Pakistanization’.

One key moment that figures prominently in these narratives is the Parisian *ban-lieu* riots of 2005, described at the time by Mark Steyn in the pages of the *Telegraph* as ‘an early skirmish in the Eurabian civil war’.²¹ For Melanie Phillips, in an article entitled ‘Eurabia on the rampage’,²² the disturbances had not been ‘caused by deprivation and race’ but were instead ‘Muslim riots’, tendentious journalistic diagnoses that were repeated and amplified by counterjihad bloggers such as Fjordman:

As Mark Steyn points out, the Jihad in the streets of France looks increasingly like the early skirmishes of an impending Eurabian civil war, brought on by massive Muslim immigration and multicultural stupidity. And it is by no means limited to France. Law and order is slowly breaking down in major and even minor cities across the European continent, and the streets are ruled by aggressive gangs of Muslim youngsters.²³

What Fjordman calls the ‘French intifada’²⁴ signals that France is a country ‘where the state is no longer able to protect the property and safety of its taxpaying citizens’, one that is in danger of ‘becoming a new Lebanon’.²⁵

The Eurabian apocalyptic is replete with historical analogies both ancient and modern. However, the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, described in detail in Edward Gibbon’s monumental history of that name published between 1776 and 1789, figures especially prominently:

²¹<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/3620861/Early-skirmish-in-the-Eurabian-civil-war.html> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

²²<https://web.archive.org/web/20051107021623/http://www.melaniephillips.com/diary/archives/001474.html> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

²³<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/eurabian-civil-war-no-taxation-without.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

²⁴<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

²⁵<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/eurabian-civil-war-no-taxation-without.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

The Jihad-riots in France look more like the fall of the Roman Empire... when the barbarians immigrated in huge numbers and caused the now weakened civilization to collapse in large parts of Western Europe.²⁶

In the Eurabian imaginary there are already ‘barbarians at the gates of Paris’²⁷ and the ‘second fall of Rome’ seems imminent.

The fusion of apocalyptic futurity with ancient history cannot but remind British readers of the prophecy of racial civil war made in 1968 by the former Conservative politician Enoch Powell, who, ‘like the Roman’ seemed to see ‘the River Tiber foaming with much blood.’ Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech is an explicit reference point for some British counterjihadists, for instance one of the speakers at the February 2016 Pegida UK demonstration in Solihull:

I wanna say this. If this problem continues and the Islamic community does not take heed. I want the [police] officers to hear this. We will have the same problem as we did in Ireland, when the IRA went on the offensive. The Protestants said, we need to kill, we need to strike back. So you have the war between the two communities... If MI5 are not able to contain this, and the extremists get through, you will have the far right - and I mean the *far* right, not us, the *far* right - will go on the offensive, and they will attack, and we will have a war, a civil unrest on the streets of Britain. The late MP Enoch Powell made a speech about this. The Rivers of Blood speech. That will come true if this is not contained.²⁸

Memories of the Northern Ireland conflict are also frequently invoked by British counterjihadists as a warning about the future state of Europe, including by my EDL interlocutor: ‘I just think that when you ’ad the Irish conflict, the UDA formed and the UVF formed in response to the republican terrorists, I think that unfortunately in Europe that’s what you will see.’²⁹

²⁶<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/07/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

²⁷<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/eurabian-civil-war-no-taxation-without.html> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

²⁸Fieldnotes, February 2016.

²⁹Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

The ‘second fall of Rome’ is temporally indeterminate, as is evident from some of the speculative timescales described in online counterjihad spaces and by interviewees: ‘within the coming generation’,³⁰ ‘[w]ithin thirty years’,³¹ ‘twenty years from now’.³² Others openly wonder: ‘In twenty years? Ten years? Five? Today even?’.³³ For some, ‘the European catastrophe isn’t hypothetical, but already under way’ (Steyn, 2005). In the words of ACT for America’s Brigitte Gabriel, ‘Europe will no longer be Europe by 2050. Europe has already become Eurabia. Europe is Eurabia right now.’³⁴ As early as 2006, the Belgian blog *The Brussels Journal* claimed that ‘[o]ne does not have to be prophetic to predict... that Europe is becoming Islamic... Today Mohammed is already the most popular name for new-born boys in Brussels, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other major European cities.’³⁵ From this perspective, the ‘future is here now: It’s not about “predictions”’.³⁶

That we have essentially departed from linear, chronological time is evident not only from such claims as ‘the future is here now’, but also from the aesthetic repertoire of the counterjihad movement. For instance, the first thing that greets visitors to the website of Anders Gravers and Stephen Gash’s group ‘Stop Islamisation of Europe’ is an image of a stopped clock, shown in figure 6.1. The clock face is superimposed on a map of Europe, with the continent encircled by a ring of star and crescent symbols, which recall the flag of the Ottoman Empire but today have come to serve more generally as a symbol of ‘Islam’. Writing to the left of the clock face associates ‘Islam’ with: ‘slaughter’, ‘cruelty’, ‘barbarism’, ‘tyranny’, ‘fascism’ and ‘hate’ among other things. To the right of the clock face is a list of ‘European’ values threatened by ‘Islam’: ‘democracy’, ‘freedom’, ‘equality’ and ‘peace’, along with a plea to ‘save our childrens future’, a pervasive and important theme whose significance will become evident later

³⁰<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

³¹Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

³²<https://enzaferri.blogspot.co.uk/2013/03/france-will-be-40-percent-muslim-in-2030.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

³³<https://theenglishdefenceleagueextra.blogspot.co.uk/2010/08/islamohell-in-norway-sign-of-things-to.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

³⁴<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2016/09/01/meet-extremists-attending-act-america-conference> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

³⁵<https://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/1609> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

³⁶<https://www.steynonline.com/7428/it-still-the-demography-stupid> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

This screenshot of the Stop Islamisation of Europe homepage has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 6.1: Banner graphic from the SIOE homepage: 'Stop Islamisation of Europe'. Source: sioeeu.wordpress.com.

in the thesis. 'Enough!', the graphic proclaims in eight different European languages: 'Stop Islamisation of Europe'. The same graphic is reproduced in slightly different forms on other websites, sometimes with variations on the map and text. On *Gates of Vienna*, for instance, the map is of the whole world, and the caption reads 'Stop the Sharia Clock! Join the Counterjihad'. Significantly, wherever and *whenever* the image appears the clock always shows five minutes to midnight. And that's the point: in the Eurabian imaginary it is *always* five minutes to midnight, the catastrophe is *always* just around the corner, disaster is *always* imminent but never quite arrived.

More often, the imagery is of timebombs rather than clock faces, signalling an even more fundamental departure from linear, chronological time. Unlike clocks, fuses do not have minute or second marks on them: one can see that the explosion is imminent, but can never be certain when precisely it will occur. For instance, at the chaotic Pegida UK launch event in Newcastle in February 2015, a year before the more disciplined re-launch led by Stephen Lennon in Solihull described in the introduction, a BNP organiser pushed a leaflet into my hand that depicted 'Islam' as a timebomb primed to explode (reproduced as figure 6.2). The bomb's fuse is lit and it is poised to explode over a map of Great Britain. The caption reads: 'Time for Action: Save Your Country'. The back of the flyer shows a picture of Enoch Powell together with a quote from him to the effect that 'It's never (*sic*) too late to save your country!': again, disaster imminent but perpetually deferred. One heavily circulated image in online counterjihad spaces is Kurt Westergaard's famous cartoon of the prophet Mohammed with a bomb in his turban, which was considered one of the most provocative of the

This image of the BNP leaflet ‘Time for Action’ has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 6.2: British National Party leaflet: ‘Time for Action: Save Your Country’. Source: Handed to the researcher at Pegida UK demonstration in Newcastle, February 2015.

cartoons published by *Jyllands-Posten* in 2005.

One striking feature of the discourse is an overwhelming sense of fatalism. For some Eurabian pessimists, it is ‘late in the day, but Europe still has time’.³⁷ For others, Eurabia ‘cannot change direction’, it has an ‘*inevitable* trajectory’, its ‘destiny’ has already been ‘sealed’.³⁸ The fictional account of ‘The Danish Civil War’ is *descriptive*, not *normative*: some such scenario will inevitably come to pass, whether one wills it or not. When I asked my EDL interlocutor whether there was anything that could be done to avoid a descent into civil war, the sense of inevitability hung heavy over his response:

Well I think we should do everything we can to avoid that. But I don't think we are. I think we've seen all the warning signs are there. The warning signs across Europe are there. In Sweden. In France. Everywhere. [...] I think that inevitably that's where we're gonna head to, civil conflict. And erm... I don't want it, I've always said like, when those problems kick off it's gonna be just on the streets here. It's gonna be neighbours turning on neighbours, and I don't really see another outcome for it. Something will spark that will cause that.³⁹

In these stronger versions of the narrative, civil war is ‘*inevitably...* where we're gonna head to... *I don't really see another outcome* for it’. Here the future becomes deterministic, and human agency in the present is at best of secondary importance, or even wholly impotent, as in Fallaci's mining of ancient Roman history to describe Europe's tragic predicament: ‘What could Seneca do? [...] He *knew it would end that way* - with the fall of the Roman Empire. But he could *do nothing*’ (cited in Varadarajan, 2005, not paginated; emphasis mine).

³⁷<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

³⁸<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

³⁹Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

'A stranger in my own country'

The overwhelming impression conveyed in the Eurabia literature and in my conversations with counterjihad activists is of a profound cultural estrangement, an invasion of the lifeworld by the 'foreign', the 'alien' and the 'inauthentic'. Recurring themes are of 'sharia law... creeping into our daily lives',⁴⁰ of the 'stealthy incursion of halal meat into the food industry',⁴¹ of the 'establishment of Muslim-only neighbourhoods', of 'untold numbers of new mosques' being 'built throughout the West'.⁴² Yet 'Islamisation', as will be evident from the foregoing paragraphs, is not strictly coextensive with the presence of Muslims or visible symbols of 'Islam', but stands in metonymically for a much wider set of processes of social, cultural, demographic and political change. Hence the erosion of 'indigenous' traditions and demographic 'inundation' are other key themes, along with narratives of abandonment by political parties and the Left. As Nick Denes has observed, in the Eurabia literature, 'Islamist conquest' is sometimes 'weirdly "evidenced" with laments over "satanists in the Royal Navy"... "party drugs", "hip-hop music"... or "chav-hoods"' (Denes, 2012, p. 296)

A signal theme is of alienation, of estrangement from one's 'authentic' self, of feeling like a foreigner in one's own country, exemplified in this anecdote offered by an interviewee from the political party Liberty GB:

I feel profoundly - as many other people do - profoundly uneasy when I'm walking in areas of London and I can't see or hear any other English people. I was in Edgware [a district in north London] over the weekend and I walked a long way through the town centre and all I heard was foreign languages, and it fills me with rage that they could do that to my country, and make me a foreigner in my own country. And that feeling of rage I suspect is shared by many millions.⁴³

If the language here conveys a sense of 'rootedness' and of attachment to place ('my

⁴⁰<http://www.siotw.org/modules/about/> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁴¹<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/01/edl-mission-statement-the-final-version/> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁴²<http://gatesofvienna.net/2009/09/barking-up-the-wrong-tree/> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁴³Interview 2, party political activist, male, UK.

own country'), then that impression is even more potent elsewhere in the same interview:

[E]verything we hold dear, everything that's valuable to us, and everything we want for our children and grandchildren is tied up with this notion of national identity, of social cohesion, of historical continuity. These kinds of ideas we regard as fundamental to our identity and our survival as a nation, as a meaningful entity. And those ideas are closely connected with the kind of anger and frustration we feel at our country being inundated with people who have no connection with the past, and very little reason or interest in being here apart from earning money.⁴⁴

Of importance here is the *nature* of the objection to immigration: it is not opposed on economic grounds, but because those 'inundating' the country 'have no connection with the past, and very little reason... for being here *apart* from earning money'. What is valued above all is 'identity', 'cohesion' and 'continuity'.

The idea that Islam is 'foreign' or 'alien' to Europe, that the Muslim presence in Europe constitutes an 'invasion' and that the areas where Muslims live are Islamic 'colonies' is a recurring theme. The language of 'conquest' to describe Muslim migration to Europe implies an ethnic rather than a civic conception of national and European identity, one that is territorial (and perhaps also biological) rather than contractarian, or else why would legal migration and acquisition of citizenship by Muslims (or anyone else) amount to an 'invasion'? If one's 'implementation in a landscape' ('the rolling hills of rural Europe'), one's fatal 'attachment to Place' (Luton, Dresden) is 'the very splitting of humanity into natives and strangers' (Levinas, 1990a) then it should be unsurprising that the counterjihad discourse is replete with the language of nativism, indigenism and *völkisch* nationalism, exemplified by terminology such as 'native Danes', the 'native English', 'indigenous Europeans', 'the indigenous peoples of this continent', 'Islamic lands', 'Islamic territories', or 'our homelands'. The fatalism implicit in such ideas is rendered transparent in Ye'Or's claim that 'immigrant communities will *always* be bound by emotional, religious and political ties to their countries of origin' (cited in Giniewski, 1994, at p. 16). From this perspective, Muslims are fated to

⁴⁴Ibid.

be perennial ‘strangers’: they may be *in* Europe, but they are never really *of* Europe.

Discourses of impurity, corruption and contamination, of the transgression of borders and boundaries of all kinds, permeate the counterjihad discourse. A dread of cultural impurity and intermixing is evident in the dystopia of ‘Eurabia’ and its nightmare topography: ‘Londonistan’, ‘FrArabia’, and the like. A concern with linguistic purity was similarly evident in the sense of unease felt by the interviewee from Liberty GB when surrounded by people speaking foreign languages. The concern with linguistic impurity can also manifest in slightly different forms, for instance in the claim by ACT for America that the US is becoming ‘a hyphenated nation’, and that rather than being ‘American first’ or Americans *simpliciter*, ‘people are now African-American, Asian-American, or anything else you can put in front of American.’⁴⁵

One way of apprehending purity discourses is through Mary Douglas’ classic characterisation of dirt as ‘matter out of place’ and her argument that all social and political orders find repellent those things (people, objects, words) that confound their taxonomic boundaries (Douglas, 1966). Such a reading finds support, for instance, in an essay entitled ‘An Establishment Conservative’s Guide To The Alt-Right’ by the former *Breitbart* journalist Milo Yiannopolous, in which he attributes to the Alt-Right the view that ‘[a] Mosque next to an English street full of houses bearing the flag of St. George... is neither an English street nor a Muslim street’ and that ‘separation is necessary for distinctiveness’.⁴⁶ However, Douglas’ argument, which explains the desire for purity in terms of an innate human need for order, has been criticised for its structuralist bias and its failure to theorise the relationship between purity discourses and forms of social and political power (see e.g. Duschinsky, 2011).

The Italian writer, chemist and Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi’s stimulating reflections on chemical processes of enrichment and purification, whilst not elaborated as a systematic theoretical account, constitute a powerful corrective and can offer penetrating insights into the connections between purity discourses, regimes of power and processes of social change:

...the so tender and so delicate zinc, so yielding to acid which gulps it

⁴⁵http://www.actforamerica.org/preserving_american_culture [Last accessed 5th January 2017].

⁴⁶<http://www.breitbart.com/tech/2016/03/29/an-establishment-conservatives-guide-to-the-alt-right/> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

down in a single mouthful, behaves, however, in a very different fashion when it is very pure: then it obstinately resists the attack. One could draw from this two conflicting philosophical conclusions: the praise of purity, which protects from evil like a coat of mail; the praise of impurity, which gives rise to changes, in other words, to life. I discarded the first, disgustingly moralistic, and I lingered to consider the second, which I found more congenial. In order for the wheel to turn, for life to be lived, impurities are needed, and the impurities of impurities in the soil, too, as is known, if it is to be fertile. Dissension, diversity, the grain of salt and mustard are needed: Fascism does not want them, forbids them, and that's why you're not a Fascist: it wants everybody to be the same, and you are not. (Levi, 1984, pp. 27-28)

From this perspective, the desire for purity does not reflect an innate human need for order, but instead represents just one possible affective response to change (Duschinsky, 2011). Hence, purity discourses tend to appear in contexts where existing power structures, social relations and understandings of the world are called into question and seek to reconsecrate themselves. (Douglas had made a similar observation about the connection between purity and temporality - that 'purity is the enemy of change' (1966, p. 163) - but had not developed the idea theoretically.)

A desire for cultural purity is expressed within the counterjihad discourse through the *leitmotif* of 'cultural enrichment', an ironic term used to express scepticism about the cultural 'value' of Muslims and other 'strangers', as in this excerpt from an entry on the *Gates of Vienna* blog:

So imagine that you are a working-class father who just barely gets by. You go to work, support your family, and do your best to live right. Thirty years ago your neighborhood was a modest but lawful inner suburb inhabited by people like yourself and your family.

But cultural enrichment has changed all that, and your twelve-year-old daughter has just been gang-raped by a group of immigrant thugs. The police promise to do their best, but their best isn't much. Statistically

speaking, there's less than a 10% chance that the perpetrators of this abomination against you and your family will ever be caught, prosecuted, convicted, and punished. And then — even if the wheels of justice somehow turn in your favor — after a year or two the young punks will in all likelihood be free to roam the streets and repeat their monstrous crimes.⁴⁷

Again, the theme of rootedness: the 'working-class father' figured here, who 'just barely gets by', has lived in the same neighbourhood for thirty years. The past of that neighbourhood is imagined as one of safety and stability ('lawfulness'), a condition linked to its homogeneity and purity, its being inhabited by 'people like yourself and your family'. But *enrichment* ('diversity, the grain of salt and mustard') has led to *change*, moreover change for the worse: the present is haunted by 'abominations' and 'monstrosities'.

The gendering of this narrative is also important. 'Europe' and 'the West' are either gendered as female and often infantilised ('your twelve-year-old daughter'), or, if gendered male, then aged, senescent and somewhat vulnerable ('a working-class father who just barely gets by'), whilst 'Islam' is typically gendered as male and is frequently youthful and virile:

I think that another thing which is of tremendous concern is over the current, what people would describe as immigration crisis, where we've seen a huge amount of men, who are sometimes described as refugees, but they do predominantly tend to be men in their late teens to early twenties travelling by themselves, that does have a huge concern over destabilisation of Western Europe, with that amount of people coming in without any sort of checks really... But I think that influx of people, when the media try to portray them as being helpless refugees and you see men of fighting age coming across the borders who seem to be pretty well fed and fit and healthy with mobile phones and new trainers and things, then I think that's of huge concern. And they typically seem to be of the Muslim faith.⁴⁸

⁴⁷<http://gatesofvienna.net/2009/07/drawing-the-line/> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁴⁸Interview 7, party political activist, male, UK.

The *leitmotif* of ‘cultural enrichment’ also circulates in aesthetic forms, where its gendering is equally evident, for instance the placard produced by Pegida UK shown in figure 6.3. This placard, which was carried by some of the protestors at the Birmingham ‘silent walk’ described in the introduction, depicts the British-born ISIS recruit Mohammed Emwazi (‘Jihadi John’) against a blood-red background, masked and dressed in military fatigues and brandishing a blade with cold menace, while the caption asks, ironically: ‘cultural enrichment?’. The fixation on purity is also evident in the Pegida UK logo in the bottom right-hand corner of the image, which shows an adapted form of the universally-recognisable ‘throw away your trash’ sign, in which a man (the ‘working-class father’ living in ‘a modest but lawful inner suburb’?) is depicted conscientiously placing in the bin two items of ‘trash’: a *swastika* and a star and crescent (which we encountered earlier as a generic symbol of ‘Islam’). A number of messages might be read into this symbol: that Nazism and Islam are (analogous and equivalent) forms of dirt, that Europe must be cleansed of both, that Pegida seeks to cleanse itself of the taint of Nazism.

Grassroots counterjihad groups like Pegida and the EDL frequently associate both Muslims and anti-racist and anti-fascist counterprotestors with dirt: Muslims are ‘filth’, Islam is ‘disgusting’, anti-fascist counterprotestors are ‘soap dodgers’ and ‘scum’.⁴⁹ These sentiments are often reciprocated by anti-fascist protestors, whose performative repertoire includes such chants as ‘fascist scum, off our streets’. In a UK context, this is symptomatic of the way that, for both the left and the right, contemporary English and British identities are intimately bound up with folk memories of patriotic resistance against Nazi Germany, and that ‘fascism’ on the streets of Britain (whether of the kind associated with the EDL (by anti-fascists) or that sometimes associated with jihadist terrorists (by the EDL)) amounts to ‘matter out of place’ (Douglas, 1966).

That purity discourses emerge in the context of anxieties about shifting configurations of social and political power, the implication of Levi’s reflections, finds seeming confirmation in some of my interviews with counterjihad activists. For instance, the same activist who had felt ‘profoundly uneasy’ in an area of London where he could

⁴⁹Fieldnotes, multiple dates.

This image of the Pegida UK placard has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 6.3: 'Cultural Enrichment?' Placard produced by Pegida UK. Source: pegidauk.org.

not 'see or hear any other English people', described to me a nightmare future in which the 'native English' would be governed by Muslims and other 'strangers':

The notion that English children are going to be minorities in their own country, presided over and governed by people of different ethnic and racial and religious backgrounds, fills me with dread because there is simply no guarantee that those people are going to respect our notions of equality, and fairness and all the other stuff, and treat those little English kids with the same respect that we currently treat incomers into the country. There are many signs that suggest they'll - once they're in the position of power in this country, some of these groups will use it simply to further strengthen their own position without a care for the native English. The idea of us becoming a minority in our country presided over by foreigners is frankly terrifying.⁵⁰

There are, again, strong resonances of Powellism here. In particular, the fear of a future in which the 'native English' are 'presided over by foreigners' is strongly reminiscent of the claim that 'in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man', attributed by Powell to 'a middle-aged, quite ordinary working man'.⁵¹ Once more, a powerful sense of rootedness is conveyed by the language of 'our country' and 'native English'.

The intellectualised expression of this fear of being 'presided over by foreigners' is Ye'Or's concept of 'dhimmitude', a neologism derived from the Arabic word *dhimmī*, which is a historical term referring to non-Muslim subjects of a state governed according to sharia, who were obliged to pay a tax known as the *jizya* in return for the protection of the state. For Ye'Or, Europe is being turned into a 'civilization of dhimmitude', one that is 'subservient to the ideology of *jihad* and the Islamic powers that propagate it' (Ye'Or, 2005, p. 9). Dhimmitude, for Ye'Or, does not only refer to political and economic domination by Muslims (government by sharia, payment of *jizya*) but also a state of mind: 'it is a long process that involves many elements and a specific

⁵⁰Interview 2, party political activist, male, UK.

⁵¹<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643823/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

mental conditioning' (cited in Bangstad, 2013, at p. 372). This carries the implication that one can be living in a state of dhimmitude 'without realizing it', a condition that necessarily leads to 'self-destruction' (ibid., p. 372). Fallaci expresses the same idea in slightly different terms: 'the Islamic invasion does not proceed only in a physical sense, but also in a mental and cultural sense' (cited in Varadarajan, 2005, not paginated). Virtually any accommodation of Muslim political claims amounts to 'dhimmitude', the symptoms of which are multifarious: supermarkets selling halal food products, *Jyllands-Posten* issuing a qualified apology for publishing cartoons of Mohammed, the Archbishop of Canterbury suggesting that it may be appropriate for the legal system to make 'reasonable accommodation' for matters of religious conscience,⁵² including the religious consciences of Muslims.

The preoccupation with issues to do with cultural identity, social status and political power, rather than economic anxiety, is seemingly a consistent feature of all parts of the counterjihad movement, including the predominantly working-class and lower-middle class supporters of street movements. When I asked one of my informants within the UK anti-fascist movement, who had covertly observed many demonstrations by grassroots counterjihad groups over the years, what were the main grievances that he had heard their supporters express, he observed that 'they're not articulated in an economic sense', that 'there's a little bit of "jobs taking" sort of stuff', but that 'it's identity, you know, in their mind. It's about identity. It's about "this isn't our country any more"':

INTERVIEWEE: You might describe it in a wider sense as the decline of white power. And I don't mean that in a kind of neo-Nazi sense, I mean a general structural sense.

ME: White hegemony?

INTERVIEWEE: Yeah. And they feel that, they're fearful of that. And multiculturalism in some senses challenges their traditional position as the obvious hegemonic societal force. And they're scared of that, and they see that coupled with the economic issues, but they would articulate it as

⁵²<http://rowanwilliams.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/1135/sharia-law-what-did-the-archbishop-actually-say> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

‘the shops round my area don’t look the same anymore, I’m not welcome here anymore’.⁵³

This is not, of course, to argue that grassroots members of counterjihad street movements may not also occupy conditions of economic precarity. Moreover, economic grievances are sometimes interwoven with other social fears and anxieties, for instance in Fjordman’s claim that ‘the state is no longer able to protect the property and safety of its taxpaying citizens’, or his suggestion that high European tax rates are ‘simply disguised Jizya paid in the form of welfare to Muslims and our new Eurocrat aristocracy’ and hence should no longer be paid ‘until our authorities restore law and order and close the borders for Muslim immigration’.⁵⁴

However, the emphasis placed on cultural identity and social power, as well as the fact that the ‘Eurabia’ narrative is shared by a wide range of figures from a variety of class backgrounds, suggests the limitations of an economic, class-based interpretation and directs our attention towards a moral economy based on honour, esteem and prestige. In a speech to the Pim Fortuyn Memorial Conference on Europe and Islam in February 2006, widely circulated with online counterjihad spaces, the British neoconservative writer Douglas Murray analogised the reluctance of parts of Europe to join the US-led war in Iraq with the appeasement of Nazi Germany, quoting Churchill’s words to Chamberlain: ‘You were given the choice between war and dishonour. You chose dishonour and you will have war.’ Defeat this time ‘will not look as defeat would have looked last time,’ it will rather ‘consist of a gradual accretion of hurts on our society, a wearying accumulation of often minor humiliations: death by a thousand cuts’.⁵⁵ Similarly, one of my interviewees, a female American counterjihad activist, complained of ‘a *cultural* failure, a willingness and even *eagerness* to self-censor and kowtow in the face of violent intimidation’, which would ‘only invite more violent intimidation’, adding that she was ‘determined not to submit in that way’ (emphasis mine).⁵⁶ A recurring theme is that the word Islam literally means ‘sub-

⁵³Interview 12, anti-fascist activist, male, UK.

⁵⁴<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/eurabian-civil-war-no-taxation-without.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁵⁵<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁵⁶Interview 4. Counterjihad blogger and activist, female, US.

mission'. Dhimitude, meanwhile, is essentially a byword for dishonour: 'Europeans are once again choosing dishonour', Murray claimed, but the 'word for dishonour this time is Dhimmitude'.⁵⁷

'The demographic timebomb'

A subtle but important slippage occurred in the interview excerpts quoted above, from feeling like a 'foreigner' in one's own country to feeling like a 'minority', conveying a sense not only of cultural estrangement but also of demographic submersion: 'the demographic change in the rise in the Islamic community is just terrifying when you look into it', one of my interviewees claimed.⁵⁸ Whilst it would be wrong to ascribe the Eurabian apocalyptic to any single fear, the centrality of demographic anxieties is encapsulated by a much-circulated essay by Mark Steyn entitled 'It's the Demography, Stupid' (Steyn, 2005). The demographic anxieties comprise two interrelated concerns: migration and fertility. 'Tens of millions of immigrants pour into Europe',⁵⁹ who 'also reproduce at rates three to four times higher than the indigenous Infidels'.⁶⁰ For some the implication is that Europe 'will soon see a number of our largest cities fall to Muslim majorities',⁶¹ whereas for others there are already 'certain parts of Europe that seem to be beyond hope, or very close to it'.⁶²

There is a basic puzzle, Arjun Appadurai suggests, 'about why the relatively small numbers that give the word minority its most simple meaning and usually imply political and military weakness do not prevent minorities from being objects of fear and rage.' (Appadurai, 2006, p. 49) His answer is that minorities are a constant reminder of the tiny gap between the condition of being a majority and that of being a totality, which produces what he calls the 'anxiety of incompleteness' (ibid.) To state this in

⁵⁷<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁵⁸Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

⁵⁹<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/08/will-muslim-immigration-trigger-wars.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁶⁰<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/eurabian-civil-war-no-taxation-without.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁶¹<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁶²<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

Mary Douglas' (1966) terms, demographic minorities come to be seen as 'matter out of place', the speck of dirt that sullies the otherwise pure face of the *ethnos*. The anxiety of incompleteness, Appadurai argues, is intensified by the velocity of contemporary population flows, which call into question the idea of a containable and countable population and the possibility of a reliable census (Appadurai, 2006, p. 6).

Ironically, this may also be compounded by the reluctance of many liberal democratic governments to collect census data on religious belonging, in part due to the memory of the Nazi Holocaust. In this context, speculations on how many of 'them' there are (or will be) among 'us' become more tempting as well as difficult to decisively refute:

Although it's true that France is prohibited by law from collecting official statistics about its citizens' race or religion, it's possible to make estimates based on studies calculating the number of people in France originating from Muslim-majority countries.

Nevertheless, I think that the precise figures should be of less concern than what will become of France and indeed what is already happening there. There is no doubt that France is becoming progressively Islamised, and that Muslims only need to be a 10-20 percent of a country's population (even less) to try to turn it into a sharia state, as it's evident by just looking at a map of the world.

[...]

So what will the situation in France look like 20 years from now, since Islam is a conquering religion that rejects any coexistence with other religions?⁶³

Of importance in this passage are the ethnicisation of the category of 'Muslim', which quickly becomes 'people... originating from Muslim-majority countries', irrespective of whether they believe in Islam or not, and the fact that the very absence of facts or data is taken as a licence to speculate. The 'precise figures' are less important than the

⁶³<http://enzaferreri.blogspot.co.uk/2013/03/france-will-be-40-percent-muslim-in-2030.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

ability to *imagine* ‘the situation... 20 years from now’, with the article title confidently predicting that ‘France Will Be 40 Percent Muslim In 2030’.⁶⁴

There is a fusion of demographic anxiety and apocalyptic temporality in the idea of a ‘demographic timebomb’ that is imminently about to explode, a trope that is depicted in graphical form in figure 6.4. The cartoon is of a skeletal and androgynous figure, cloaked in a burqa and clutching an enormous timebomb where a pregnant woman’s belly would be. The light from the burning fuse is reflected in the gleaming metallic surface of the bomb. The overwhelming visual impression is of something ‘existentially different and alien’ (Schmitt, 2007b), that might belong in a science-fiction dystopia but not in ‘the rolling hills of rural Europe’. The message that the cartoon seemingly tries to convey is that Muslim procreation is ‘jihad’ carried out by other means, hence the caption ‘The Other Islamic Bomb’.

The fear of demographic submersion under a rising ‘green tide’ is not new. It had been articulated in the early twentieth century by Lothrop Stoddard, the prominent American eugenicist and Klansman, who is credited with coining the term *Untermensch* (underman) and was feted by Nazi racial theorist Alfred Rosenberg. Stoddard voiced concerns specifically about Muslim birthrates, as Matt Carr describes:

In 1923 Lothrop Stoddard, the president of the American Birth Control League, described in *The New World of Islam* the ‘mighty forces’ represented by ‘the 250,000,000 followers of the Prophet from Morocco to China and from Turkestan to the Congo’. Stoddard attributed ‘the quick breeding tendencies of Oriental peoples . . . not merely to strong sexual appetites but . . . perhaps even more to religious doctrines enjoining early marriage and the begetting of numerous sons’. The most likely consequence of this ‘ethnic fusion’ between East and West, in Stoddard’s opinion, would be ‘a dreary mongrelization from which would issue nothing but degeneration and decay’. (Carr, 2006, pp. 16-17)

The tendency of the counterjihad discourse to slip from a cultural to a biological register is not accidental. As I argued in chapter 3, with reference to Spengler, whilst

⁶⁴Ibid.

This image of the cartoon ‘The Other Islamic Bomb’ has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 6.4: Cartoon: ‘The Other Islamic Bomb’. Source: Twitter.

cultural pessimism is not quite the same thing as biological fatalism, to speak of a ‘culture’ or ‘civilization’ as something that can age, decline and ultimately die is, at least implicitly, to think sociopolitical change on the model of bio-organic change. Consequently, a form of organic thinking is implied, even where a strict biological racism is disavowed. The counterjihad discourse is in fact replete with organic metaphors: Muslim migrants inhabit ‘host’ societies, the Islamic problem ‘metastasizes’ and so forth.

In places, the discourse collapses from a culturalist one concerning the threat posed by ‘Islam’ to ‘European culture’ into a form of biological holism in which individual Europeans become fused into a collective body politic:

Muslims will be heavily concentrated in the major cities, and the dhimmi native population will retreat into the countryside... The old nation states will thus slowly die, as their major cities, which constitute the brain and ‘head’ of its culture, are cut from the rest of the body.⁶⁵

From this point on, the ‘Islamisation’ of Europe is no longer a process of cultural change, but one of biological degeneration. Muslim migration is ‘changing the *face* of the continent’,⁶⁶ Europe is becoming ‘an *appendix* to the Arab world’,⁶⁷ Islamisation is ‘a profound transformation, a *mutation*’,⁶⁸ one that results from ‘European *spinelessness*’.⁶⁹ Again, this collective body politic is typically feminised, for instance in a post on the website of *The Brussels Journal* that describes ‘The Rape of Europe’,⁷⁰ drawing on the myth of Europa’s abduction by Zeus, which has been the subject of paintings by Titian and Jean-Baptiste Marie Pierre among others.

If Europe is a collective body, and Islam is something foreign to it, then it will not be surprising that the Muslim presence is often described in the language of bacteri-

⁶⁵<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁶⁶<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/08/will-muslim-immigration-trigger-wars.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁶⁷<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁶⁸<http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=19633> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁶⁹<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁷⁰<https://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/1609> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

ology or virology:

Islam spreads like a virus. It radiates from Muslim countries that are too diseased to support it and into healthy systems that are that way because they have had the luxury of developing apart from Islam. Once in the host system, the Islam virus uses the existing machinery to make replicas of itself. Over time, the host makes unilateral concessions to the religion, feeding and appeasing it in the vain hope that this supremacist ideology can be tamed.

Vital organs are co-opted and eventually shut down as Islam advances. In a matter of time, the entire system groans to an agonizing death and assumes the condition of the diseased nations from which Muslims originally fled. The virus then looks for new hosts to cannibalize.⁷¹

The collapse into biological holism can occur even where care is otherwise taken to avoid racialised language. *The Religion of Peace* blog, from which the above quotation is taken, goes to enormous lengths to distinguish between Islam as a religion and Muslims as a people, arguing that because Islam is a religion and not a race antipathy towards Islam is definitionally not racist (a corollary of which would presumably be that Hitler was not 'racist' because Judaism is a religion).⁷²

In a few cases, however, the discourse becomes avowedly racial, for instance in this passage from an article by Mark Steyn:

Can these trends continue for another 30 years without having consequences? Europe by the end of this century will be a continent after the neutron bomb: The grand buildings will still be standing, but the people who built them will be gone. We are living through a remarkable period: the self-extinction of the races who, for good or ill, shaped the modern world.⁷³

⁷¹<http://thereligionofpeace.com/pages/site/what-to-do.aspx> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁷²<http://thereligionofpeace.com/pages/site/racism.aspx> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁷³<https://www.steynonline.com/7428/it-still-the-demography-stupid> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

'A recipe for cultural suicide'

Whilst there is broad agreement that the patient is sick and dying, there is no consensus about the precise nature of the pathology, 'the underlying disease of the West'.⁷⁴ This is not because there is a shortage of potential culprits. 'Secularism', 'relativism', 'political correctness', 'multiculturalism', 'feminism', 'the welfare state', 'the bureaucratic state', 'suicidal liberalism', 'socialism': all of these and more have been offered as potential diagnoses. In intellectualised versions of the discourse 'the primary disease - the AIDS of the West' might be 'the philosophies of the '68'ers and the French nihilists' (Derrida and Foucault),⁷⁵ whereas in demotic versions it could be 'the Left', 'multiculturalism' or 'political correctness gone mad'. The *Vlad Tepes* blog, for instance, lists a number of pathologies: 'multiculturalism', 'political correctness', 'human rights', 'irrational leftism' and 'moral and cultural relativism', adding that 'I would call this a recipe for cultural suicide.'⁷⁶ To the extent that there is agreement, it is with Arnold Toynbee's dictum that 'civilizations die from suicide, not by murder':

Islam isn't destroying Europe, Europe has destroyed itself. Just as a patient with AIDS may formally die from flu or even a common cold, the real cause is the long, slow decay of his immune system. It resembles euthanasia on an entire civilization: Europe is tired of living. Islam just puts it out of its misery.⁷⁷

The Eurabian narrative of Western crisis and capitulation to 'Islamisation' belongs, then, to the literary genre of tragedy. The hero of the story ('Europe' or 'the West') is undone not by the actions of the ostensible villain ('Islam') but by its own tragic character flaw: 'Western Civilization carries within it the seeds of its own destruction';⁷⁸ hence, 'if you give the West a nudge in the right direction it'll finish the job for you

⁷⁴<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁷⁵<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁷⁶<https://vladtupesblog.com/the-agenda-and-views-of-this-site/> [Last accessed 25 August 2017].

⁷⁷<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁷⁸<http://gatesofvienna.net/2009/07/drawing-the-line/> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

on a kind of auto-self-destruct'.⁷⁹

In some cases, the West's suicidal tendencies are attributed to relatively recent developments stemming from the 'revolution of '68', such as the 'disease' of 'relativism', which 'has led to an inability among the cultural elites of Europe to stand up for what is right, or even to stand up for their own.'⁸⁰ Anti-feminism is another strong theme here, as in one article by Liberty GB and Pegida UK leader Paul Weston:

Imagine a naive but well intentioned liberal couple opening the doors of their house to a Muslim refugee family in a moment of sanctimonious virtue. Imagine the female householder as a progressive feminist type who has put her advertising account executive career (Tarquin darling, super news! We've just landed the Heinz baked bean contract!) before the apparently onerous task of providing the next generation. Imagine the Muslim family have four children who in turn go on to have four children each. Who will eventually own the house? And as goes the ownership of the house, so goes ownership of the village, the town, the city and eventually the nation.⁸¹

Some locate the pathology deeper down. For example, the now-defunct blog *Conservative Swede* suggests that the last time that 'political leadership worked' and that 'European civilization was not suicidal' was '[i]n the old days, before the age of the French Revolution.'⁸² Consequently, Enlightenment secularism is often a key target. Ye'Or's canonical text on Eurabia, for instance, describes Europe's 'evolution from a Judeo-Christian civilization... into a post-Judeo-Christian civilization that is subservient to the ideology of jihad and the Islamic powers that propagate it' (Ye'Or, 2005, p. 9). According to one post on *The Brussels Journal* blog, it is not just 'the fact that non-religious people tend not to have as many children as religious people, because many of them prefer to "enjoy" freedom rather than renounce it for the sake of chil-

⁷⁹<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁸⁰<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁸¹<https://libertygb.org.uk/news/immigration-altruism-and-national-suicide> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁸²<https://conswe.de.blogspot.co.uk/2007/06/catholicismanectdotal-conservatism.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

dren', but also that secularism cannot furnish a rationale for political sacrifice (we are very close here to the Schmittian critique of liberalism):

Secularists, it seems to me, are also less keen on fighting. Since they do not believe in an afterlife, this life is the only thing they have to lose. Hence they will rather accept submission than fight.⁸³

From this perspective, the collapse of faith 'is the real cause of the closing of civilization in Europe. Islamization is simply the consequence. The very word Islam means "submission" and the secularists have submitted already. Many Europeans have already become Muslims, though they do not realize it or do not want to admit it.'⁸⁴

In some cases, the argument becomes explicitly anti-democratic. For instance, the *Gates of Vienna* blog raises the suspicion that since 'all modern Western democratic states are exhibiting varying degrees of the same morbid symptoms... the disease is inherent in democracy itself, and not in its particular forms, or the quality of its political leaders.'⁸⁵ Socialism, the blog argues, 'is not something extraneous to democracy' but results from the inevitable extension of the democratic ideal into new fields such as the workplace, education and health. Hence 'the democratic process leads inexorably to the modern welfare state', and the 'smothering blanket of social welfare' requires ever-greater taxation and erodes the incentive to have children to take care of you in old age.⁸⁶ Eventually, 'the bureaucratic leviathan chafed at its final limitation: the nation state'.⁸⁷ As time has progressed, this 'inexorable logic' has led to the erosion of national borders and distinct national identities, to the adoption of universal human rights, and the development of multinational institutions such as the EU and the UN. 'To fulfil the global plan, our nations must be destroyed by incorporating people from alien cultures so as to dilute our separate national identities and remove the last barrier to the worldwide hegemony of the socialist superstate.'⁸⁸

The blog *Conservative Swede* perhaps pursues this countermodern logic furthest in

⁸³<https://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/1609> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵<https://gatesofvienna.net/2009/06/converting-manna-to-gall/> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷<http://gatesofvienna.net/2009/07/drawing-the-line/> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁸⁸Ibid.

arguing that liberalism, with its ‘demand that one abnegate oneself by treating one’s own people and identity as no more valuable than that of the Other... is, of course, secularized Christianity’ and that Christianity and liberalism are essentially ‘the same thing’.⁸⁹ Moreover, the blog notes that ‘Christianity is a Jewish invention’, that ‘Jesus was a Jew, St. Paul was a Jew’ and that Christianity was a result of their ‘monotheistic God’ being ‘exported around the world’.⁹⁰ Before this ‘the Romans had *their* Gods, the Greeks theirs, and the Germanic people theirs. With the spread of Christianity their national Gods, having the same ethnicity as themselves, was replaced by a foreign God’:

As religion evolves, God(s) become less and less personal and more and more abstract. The polytheistic Gods were more personal, with more human flaws. And you were able to oppose them or ignore them—there were always other ones. Monotheism made the single God more distant as well as perfect (so how could he be opposed?). Follow this development in the tangent direction and you will end with a God that has lost all personal characteristics and become fully abstract—a mechanical God. A hierarchy of principles, with the principle of goodness at the top. Leading to a society where people adore mechanical saints such as the United Nation or International Law, which they consider unopposable.

Adding to this the background of having imported a foreign God, and denounced your former national Gods, is there any surprise that this undermines nationalism and leads to universalism?⁹¹

It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the same writer, who laments the fact that ‘[m]y Gods have been stoled (*sic*) from me and I miss them’ also describes ‘the *current* incarnation of the West’ as being ‘terminally ill’,⁹² gesturing to ‘palingenetic’ (Griffin, 1993) potentialities.

⁸⁹<https://conswede.blogspot.co.uk/2007/05/christian-ethics-to-be-or-not-to-be.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁹⁰<https://conswede.blogspot.co.uk/2007/05/jewish-god-anti-semitism-and-oedipus.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²<https://conswede.blogspot.co.uk/2007/04/power-configuration-of-wilsonian-west.html> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

Conclusion

One irony of the Eurabia narrative, as Bruce Pilbeam has noted, is the amount of philosophical space that its proponents share with the Islamic religious right (Pilbeam, 2011, p. 161). Cultural relativism, secularism and feminism would all presumably rank highly on Bin Laden or Al Baghdadi's lists of the 'evils' of Western modernity and liberal democracy. In some cases this philosophical affinity is even tacitly acknowledged:

I'm a conservative—I'm not entirely on board with the Islamist program when it comes to beheading sodomites and so on, but I agree Britney Spears dresses like a slut: I'm with Mullah Omar on that one.⁹³

More importantly, if socialism and the 'smothering blanket' of the feminised welfare state result from the inevitable extension of liberal democratic ideals, and if liberalism and democracy are themselves outgrowths of Christian ethics, and if Christian ethics is itself a product of Jewish monotheism, and if, moreover, the emergence of the 'socialist superstate' is part of a global 'plan' to 'destroy our nations' and 'dilute our separate national identities', then it is not difficult to see where this line of argument might potentially take us. Indeed, as we will see in the next chapter, in some cases it leads *precisely* to a form of conspiratorial anti-Semitism in the form of 'cultural Marxism', a concept derivative of the Nazi idea of *Kulturbolschewismus* or 'cultural Bolshevism', although it is not always clear if those using the term are aware of its genealogy. Of course, not all of the figures discussed in this chapter would follow this line of reasoning to that conclusion, and it is perfectly possible to oppose postmodernism, cultural relativism or feminism without endorsing conspiratorial anti-Semitism. Yet the path is there to be taken. The potentiality to do so is indicated by the suspicion voiced by one commentator on the *Gates of Vienna* blog: 'I too cannot believe that it is mere coincidence that merely all western (sic) nations are collapsing at the same time and for the same reason. This *must* be orchestrated'.⁹⁴

⁹³<https://www.steynonline.com/7428/it-still-the-demography-stupid> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].

⁹⁴<http://gatesofvienna.net/2009/09/barking-up-the-wrong-tree/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

Chapter 7

The ‘Red-Green Axis’: on counterjihadist demonology

‘We Americans’ face a substantive problem of national identity epitomized by the subject of this sentence. Are we a ‘we’, one people or several? If we are a ‘we’, what distinguishes us from the ‘thems’ who are not us? Race, religion, ethnicity, values, culture, wealth, politics, or what? Is the United States, as some have argued, a ‘universal nation’, based on values common to all humanity and in principle embracing all peoples? Or are we a Western nation with our identity defined by our European heritage and institutions? Or are we unique with a distinctive civilization of our own, as the proponents of ‘American exceptionalism’ have argued throughout our history? [...] These questions remain for Americans in their post-September 11 era.

Samuel Huntington, ‘Who Are We?’

Tell me your enemy and I tell you who you are... The enemy is our own question in living form.

Carl Schmitt

For much of the post-Cold War period, the Western political imagination has been dominated by progressive and optimistic views of the future. Most famously, Francis Fukuyama’s speculative neo-Hegelian metahistorics heralded a utopian political

eschatology in which the global triumph of liberal democracy and capitalism would mark the 'End of History' (Fukuyama, 1992). In contrast, the apocalyptic and fatalistic philosophies considered in the last chapter imply a permanent, agonistic struggle between particular ethnocultural groups, one that is both inevitable and ineliminable. The best-known version of this view of post-Cold War history, the 'clash of civilizations' thesis, is primarily associated with Samuel Huntington (2002), who, like Oswald Spengler, wished to replace the 'empty figment' of Fukuyama's 'one linear history' with 'the drama of a number of mighty cultures' (Spengler, 1938, vol. 1, p. 21), or, as Huntington called them, 'civilizations'. Unlike the National Socialist racial philosophy of history, the 'clash of civilizations' is not strictly a vision of planetary *biological* warfare, but as we will see, there are important ambiguities in the way 'civilizations' are conceived.

In the 'clash of civilizations' narrative, which is central to the counterjihadist political imagination, the end of the Cold War has heralded the re-emergence of a millennial conflict between 'Islam' and 'the West'. For Huntington, 'Islam' has replaced the Soviet Union as the West's primary geopolitical adversary. It will be argued that the civilizationist political ontology stems from two, related, impulses: the need for an alterity against which to define a sense of 'Western' identity, now that it can no longer be defined by its opposition to the communist East; and the need to solve the problem of international political order, which otherwise threatens to collapse into chaos. Huntington's vision of a world divided into civilizations offers a third, essentially Schmittian, vision of post-Cold War political order, distinct from the 'Kantian' vision of 'Old Europe' (France and Germany) based on the 'constitutionalisation of international law through the United Nations and the International Criminal Court', and the 'Hobbesian' vision of the Clinton and Bush administrations based on a view of the US as 'world-police in charge of a *pax americana*' (Palaver, 2007, p. 69).

The argument advanced in this chapter is not that the flourishing of anti-Muslim hatred over the past quarter of a century can be explained solely through the disappearance of the West's long-standing geopolitical adversary, the Soviet Union, and its replacement by an Islamic enemy. Fred Halliday is surely right to express skepticism about commentators who 'think they are clever' by ascribing contemporary hostile-

ity toward Muslims to the end of the Cold War, and to emphasise a much longer and more complex history (Halliday, 1999, p. 895). Instead, I advance the weaker claim that for those on the anti-democratic right like Huntington, who famously complained of an 'excess' of democracy, their political philosophies have a structural need for an external enemy, and for some but not all of these people, 'Islam' has increasingly come to fill that role.

More specifically, the 'clash of civilizations' idea is recognisably a version of the Schmittian friend-enemy distinction, which, it was argued in chapter 3, is itself a reworking of the ancient scapegoat mechanism. As Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons have argued, the narrative form of scapegoating is the conspiracy theory (Berlet and Lyons, 2000). Hence, alongside the more sober, academic versions of the 'clash' narrative associated with conservative academics like Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis, we find within the counterjihad discourse a number of demotic and conspiratorial forms, based on the suspicion voiced at the end of the previous chapter: that Western capitulation to Islamisation 'didn't just happen' and that it 'must have been orchestrated'. There are three conspiracy theories that have been especially important within the counterjihad movement: the conspiratorial version of the Eurabia thesis, the idea of a Muslim Brotherhood 'project' to infiltrate the US government, and the notion of leftist subversion of traditional identities and forms of social authority through the dissemination of 'cultural Marxism'. All of these will be critically explored within this chapter, but 'cultural Marxism' will be treated in slightly greater detail as it has a longer, more complex and more interesting genealogy. All three conspiracy theories allege, in slightly different forms, the existence of a 'Red-Green Axis' or a 'Marx-Mohammed Pact'.

Moreover, all of these conspiracy theories can be seen as part of a longer political tradition that Richard Hofstadter famously called the 'paranoid style' (Hofstadter, 1996). Hofstadter traces the tradition of political paranoia back to the late-eighteenth-century moral panic over the influence of the Bavarian Illuminati, a humanistic and rationalistic society that was accused of being the secret, occult force behind the French Revolution. A similar obsession with conspiracies animated the anti-Masonic and anti-Catholic movements of the nineteenth century, classical anti-

Semitism and the ‘red scare’ of the mid-twentieth. Conspiracism and paranoia have flourished once more in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, especially in the US, in the context of the apocalyptic and millenarian visions discussed in the previous chapter. Consequently, the Eurabia, Muslim Brotherhood and cultural Marxist conspiracies discussed in this chapter must be seen as part of a wider conspiracist milieu, that includes for instance the ‘New World Order’ and 9/11 ‘Trutherism’. Importantly, it also includes ‘Birtherist’ paranoia about the birthplace and faith of America’s first black president, which Donald Trump has done much to amplify. The chapter begins by discussing the intellectualised version of the ‘clash’ thesis as developed by Huntington, emphasising its recognisably Schmittian logic, before turning to its paranoid and conspiratorial forms.

‘A global Dark Ages’

The idea of a ‘clash of civilizations’ between Islam and the West is ubiquitous within the counterjihad movement. One of my interviewees insisted that coexistence was impossible saying ‘it’s just two parallel cultures’,¹ whilst one of the speakers at an EDL demonstration that I witnessed in Dudley in February 2015, stated: ‘Islam is at war with the West. We know it, Muslims know it.’² The term ‘clash of civilizations’ appears to owe to the historian Bernard Lewis in a 1990 article for *The Atlantic* magazine, entitled ‘The Roots of Muslim Rage’ (Lewis, 1990). Surveying a variety of developments, from the attack on the US embassy in Islamabad in 1979 to the *fatwa* pronounced against Salman Rushdie a decade later, Lewis described the reawakening of a primordial enmity in language that would not seem out of place in H.P. Lovecraft’s Cthulhu Mythos:

It should by now be clear that we are facing a mood and a movement far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations—the perhaps irrational but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-

¹Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

²Fieldnotes, February 2015.

Christian heritage, our secular present, and the worldwide expansion of both. (ibid.)

Counterjihadists similarly speak of a primordial enmity between Islam and the West. *Gates of Vienna* claims that we are in ‘the newest phase of a very old war’, part of a ‘conflict of cultures’ that has ‘endured for more than a millennium’,³ while Bat Ye’Or speaks of ‘an incessant global *jihad* that targets the entire West’ (Ye’Or, 2005, p. 26):

The universality of jihad was proclaimed from the beginnings of Islam. Jihad has been ordered not only against specific groups or for specific groups or for specific times, but, like Muhammad’s mission... it is a universal injunction that will endure until the only religion remaining is that of Allah... This ongoing striving “in the path of Allah” triggers the process that Huntington has called “Islam’s bloody borders”; that is, Islam’s continual expansion through attacks on its neighbours, in accord with the Qu’ran’s command to “fight the unbelievers who gird you about”. (Ye’Or, 2005, p. 32)

Similarly, an article on *Breitbart News* describes ‘The Ancient War Between the Judeo-Christian West and Islam’ describing it as a ‘1500-year struggle between competing cultural visions’.⁴

Whilst Lewis may have coined the term, it is in Huntington’s work that the ‘clash’ paradigm receives its most systematic and detailed treatment, where it has both a descriptive and a normative aspect. The logic of Huntington’s normative argument is unmistakably Schmittian, even though the German legal theorist is nowhere cited. Echoing Schmitt’s fears that the breakdown of European international law after the First World War would lead to a global civil war, Huntington feared that collapse of the bipolar international order of the Cold War period would lead to ‘sheer chaos’. Writing in the mid-1990s, he warned of:

...a global breakdown of law and order, failed states and increasing anarchy
in many parts of the world, a global crime wave, transnational mafias

³<http://gatesofvienna.net/2004/10/the-newest-phase-of-a-very-old-war/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

⁴<http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2014/09/21/the-ancient-war-between-the-judeo-christian-west-and-islam/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

and drug cartels, increasing drug addiction in many societies, a general weakening of the family, a decline in trust and social solidarity in many countries, ethnic, religious, and civilizational violence and rule by the gun prevalent in much of the world.

Left unchecked, these tendencies could lead to ‘an unprecedented phenomenon, a global Dark Ages, possibly descending on humanity’ (Huntington, 2002, p. 321).

Like Schmitt, Huntington was acutely aware of the dangers of a moralistic universalism, so he does not think that the problem of political order can be solved by uniting the world under a single *nomos*. Hence his deep scepticism of those, like Fukuyama, who want to remake the world ‘in the image of the West’, which is ‘beyond their declining power’, and the efforts of the George W. Bush administration to promote liberal democracy abroad. This only distracts from the more crucial task, which is to ‘preserve Western civilization in the face of declining Western power’. Consequently, Huntington advocates ‘an international order based on civilizations’ as ‘the surest safeguard against world war’, which strongly resembles Schmitt’s advocacy of a new *nomos* of the earth based on a division of the world into several independent great spaces (Huntington, 2002, p. 311).

Whereas the German romantics and conservative revolutionaries had distinguished between universal *Zivilization* and the particularity of *Kultur*, this distinction vanishes in Huntington’s work: ‘a civilization,’ he tells us, ‘is a cultural entity’. Moreover, religion is the ‘principal defining characteristic of civilizations’. Huntington insists that his civilizational taxonomy is not racial - ‘civilization and race are not identical’ - but concedes that a ‘significant correspondence exists between the division of people by cultural characteristics into civilizations and their division by physical characteristics into races’ (2002, p. 42). Elsewhere he refers to a civilization as ‘an extended family’ (2002, p. 156), which carries the implication of a ‘community of consanguinity’ (Levinas, 1990b). To the extent that civilizationism has invited comparison with nineteenth-century racial theories, the comparison has not always been flattering to Huntington. Paul Gilroy observes that whereas Gobineau, writing in 1854, ‘managed to identify ten civilizations’, Huntington, writing in the early 1990s, ‘could locate only seven’ (or possibly eight - Huntington was undecided on whether

'Africa' constituted a civilization) (Gilroy, 2004, p. 25).

Whatever the ambiguities of Huntington's definition, it is clear that a civilization is a political entity in the Schmittian sense of that term: it is 'the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species' (Huntington, 2002, p. 43). Moreover, Huntington follows Schmitt in seeking the ontological grounding of the political in the distinction between friend and enemy. He quotes approvingly the 'old truths' proclaimed by a character in a Michael Dibdin novel, that '[t]here can be no true friends without true enemies', and that '[u]nless we hate what we are not, we cannot love what we are'. He goes on to argue that 'we know who we are only when we know who we are not and often only when we know whom we are against'. Hence there is a naturalisation of political hatred in Huntington's work: '[i]t is human to hate' (Huntington, 2002; see also Sokoloff, 2015).

A similar naturalisation of hatred can be found in one post on *Gates of Vienna*, entitled 'In Defense of Hatred',⁵ which sets out a long list of enemies:

I hate the fanatics of the Great Islamic Jihad, the ones who brought down the Twin Towers, the ones who behead people on video and kill innocent women and children without compunction. I hate the brutal totalitarian dictatorships that enable the Jihad, the regimes like those in Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Cuba, North Korea, and Zimbabwe.

I hate those barbaric bastards in Muslim societies who terrorize, mutilate, and brutalize women, and do it all with the blessing of their religion.

I hate the fellow-travellers in the West, the dhimmis and the wannabe jihadis, who facilitate the terrorists, who interfere with and pick at and ankle-bite the efforts of our brave soldiers in the war against the Great Jihad.

'And above all', the blog continues, 'I hate socialists of all kinds' because 'their smug, self-righteous zeal has undermined and threatened the very existence of Western civilization'.⁶

⁵<http://gatesofvienna.net/2005/06/in-defense-of-hatred/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁶Ibid.

As these sentiments imply, the idea of a civilizational ‘clash’ arises from the attempt to resolve a perceived crisis in American identity. In Huntington’s case, this is already evident in *The Clash of Civilizations*, where he claims that ‘the *real* clash’ is between ‘the multiculturalists and the defenders of Western civilization’ (2002, p. 307). It becomes even more explicit in his final work, the polemical tract *Who Are We? The challenges to America’s national identity*. These challenges include ‘ideologies of multiculturalism and diversity’, which threaten America’s ‘Anglo-Protestant cultural core’, and the ‘massive influx’ (Huntington, 2004, p. 4) of migrants from Latin America, which is leading to the ‘Hispanization’ of cities like Miami, and - in an especially dramatic rhetorical flourish - may even portend a *reconquista* of the southern United States. Post-Cold War identity crises are not only affecting the United States, in Huntington’s view, and their ‘simultaneous appearance in the United States and so many other countries suggests that common factors are also likely to be at work’ (ibid.). For Huntington, this ‘global identity crisis’ stems from ‘the emergence of a global economy, tremendous improvements in communications and transportation, rising levels of migration, the global expansion of democracy, and the end both of the Cold War and of Soviet communism as a viable economic and political system’ (Huntington, 2004, p. 13).

Huntington’s views on Islam and Muslims must be seen in the context of these anxieties about a crisis of American (and, more generally, Western) identity, his claim that an external enemy ‘reduces conflict within a country’, and his observation that ‘the dissolution of the Soviet Union’ had deprived the US of its ‘external “other”’. Indeed, for Huntington, Islam was merely reassuming its long-held position as the main external enemy to the West, a position that the Soviet Union had only temporarily occupied:

Some Westerners, including President Bill Clinton, have argued that the West does not have problems with Islam but only with violent Islamist extremists. Fourteen hundred years of history demonstrate otherwise. The relations between Islam and Christianity, both Orthodox and Western, have often been stormy. Each has been the other’s Other. The twentieth-century conflict between liberal democracy and Marxist-Leninism is only

a fleeting and superficial historical phenomenon compared to the continuing and deeply conflictual relation between Islam and Christianity. At times, peaceful coexistence has prevailed; more often the relation has been one of intense rivalry and of varying degrees of hot war. [...] Across the centuries the fortunes of the two religions have risen and fallen in a sequence of momentous surges, pauses, and countersurges. (Huntington, 2002, p. 209)

Consequently, 'Islam' occupies a central position within Huntington's argument for the importance of political enmity, as it had done for Schmitt. In the *Concept of the Political*, Schmitt had claimed that '[n]ever in the thousand-year struggle between Christians and Moslems did it occur to a Christian to surrender rather than defend Europe out of love toward the Saracens or Turks' (Schmitt, 2007b, p. 29). Similarly, Huntington points to the fact that the 'rules of the nations of Christendom for dealing with each other were different from those for dealing with the Turks and other "heathens"' to support his case that 'identity at any level - personal, tribal, racial, civilizational - can only be defined in relation to an "other," a different person, tribe, race, or civilization' (Huntington 2002, p. 129; see also Palaver, 2007, p. 72).

Towards the end of *The Clash of Civilizations*, Huntington sums up his indictment of multiculturalism and universalism as follows:

Multiculturalism at home threatens the United States and the West; universalism abroad threatens the West and the world. Both deny the uniqueness of Western culture. The global monoculturalists want to make the world like America. The domestic multiculturalists want to make America like the world. A multicultural America is impossible because a non-Western America is not American. A multicultural world is unavoidable because global empire is impossible. (Huntington, 2002, p. 318)

Despite the searing criticisms that have been levelled at Huntington's civilizational taxonomy, his arguments remain grounded in a naturalistic epistemology in which the *explanans* takes the form of an abstract quality or process (notwithstanding the

occasional polemical attack on ‘Davos Man’ or the Clintons). The ‘global identity crisis’ is *caused* by economic, technological and demographic changes, and the renewed clash between the West and Islam is its *consequence*. In contrast, in the conspiratorial forms of the ‘clash’ narrative it is the product of the machinations of sinister forces.

‘A house burned down’

The conspiratorial version of the ‘clash’ thesis is neatly summarised in a document published in February 2016 by Unconstrained Analytics, which describes the Islamic threat to the West through the vivid metaphor of ‘a house engulfed in a crucible of flames’. One of the co-founders of Unconstrained Analytics is ‘Team B II’ member Stephen Coughlin, who served as an intelligence analyst to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the George W. Bush administration before his contract was ended in 2008. Coughlin subsequently became a Senior Fellow at Frank Gaffney’s Center for Security Policy and published a book entitled *Catastrophic Failure: Blindfolding America in the face of jihad*, which has been very influential in US counterjihadist circles. Unconstrained Analytics brands itself as a counterterrorism consultancy, specialising in the analysis of ‘an enemy’s threat doctrine unconstrained by bias, preconceptions and influence operations coming from the same’. The Unconstrained Analytics document is entitled *Burning Down the House: A strategic overview of the threat, the CVE, and strategic incomprehension in the War on Terror*.⁷ It is laid out in the unmistakable style of management consultants, and contains several diagrammatic ‘exhibits’ that represent the metaphor of the burning house in visual form. One of these is reproduced as figure 7.1. I want to dwell on this image awhile, as it perfectly encapsulates the counterjihadist diagnosis of Western capitulation to Islam in its conspiratorial form.

In the centre of the diagram is a house, engulfed by flames, labelled ‘USA/West’. Encroaching on the house from the right of the image is a sphere, much larger than the house, bearing the word ‘Islam’ many times over, from which there extend three burning prongs enveloping the ‘USA/West’: ‘*jihad*’, ‘*da’wah*’ and ‘*ummah*’, all of which emanate from a single trunk root of ‘*sharia*’. To the left of the house is another large sphere

⁷<http://unconstrainedanalytics.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Strategic-Overview-Coughlin-010216.pdf> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

This image of the Unconstrained Analytics diagram ‘A House Burned Down’ has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 7.1: ‘A House Burned Down’: diagram from Unconstrained Analytics publication *Burning Down the House: A strategic overview of the threat, the CVE, and strategic incomprehension in the War on Terror*. Source: unconstrainedanalytics.org.

containing the repeated phrase ‘cultural Marxism’. Within this sphere, three separate arrows labelled respectively ‘Alinskyism’, ‘political correctness’ and ‘post-modernism’ fuse into the single arrow of ‘internal vulnerabilities’, which extends towards the house from the left. Overlapping both the ‘cultural Marxism’ sphere and the ‘internal vulnerabilities’ arrow is an oxygen cylinder, its nozzle directed towards the burning house. It is worth examining each of these elements in turn, drawing on the explanations offered in the text of the document.

According to the Unconstrained Analytics document, America is threatened from without by ‘Islam’, which prosecutes its war through three ‘lines of operation’: the *ummah*, the worldwide Muslim community, represented by organizations like the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC); *darwah*, the proselytizing or preaching of Islam, associated with groups like the Muslim Brotherhood; and *jihad*, the Islamic notion of war, represented by groups like Al Qaeda and ISIS (p. 4). The document describes the war as first and foremost one of ideas, that will ‘play out primarily in the information battlespace’ (p. 10). Consequently, the threat of *salafi-jihadist* viol-

ence is downplayed: Al-Qaeda and ISIS are best understood as ‘strategic distractions’ (p. 2). *Jihad* is therefore positioned at the bottom of the diagram to indicate that the *jihadist* prong of the Islamic threat is subordinate to the proselytizing mission of *dawah*, which is ‘the main effort in the expansion of Islamic power’ (p. 13):

While *dawah* carries with it the mission of ‘preaching’ Islam to gain converts, it is also associated with the ideological subversion elements of civilization jihad, or ‘stealth jihad’ as it’s sometimes called. (p. 13)

This ‘stealth’ or ‘civilization’ jihad ‘seeks victory against the United States through ideological subversion directed at senior leadership and media elites’ (p. 2). The ‘war of muscle’ will not begin in earnest until ‘after the war of wills has been won’; that is, not until ‘the subject population is determined to be sufficiently subverted and demoralized through *dawah*’ (p. 10). The effect of treating *ummah*, *dawah* and *jihad* as independent but functionally interrelated ‘lines of operation’ is to collapse any distinction between Islam, Islamism and jihadism: ‘[t]o say the threat arises out of Islam is to say that it emanates from shariah’ (p. 8).

Because *ummah*, *dawah* and *jihad* operate ‘according to their own functional orientation to Islam that reconciles through a common understanding of Islamic law’, they do not need ‘formal chains of command’ in order to ‘interoperate successfully’ (p. 3). If a form of organic thinking is implicit in the functionalist language used here, then elsewhere in the document it is explicit: ‘While the Soviet Union was a spider,’ whose appendages would become useless if its head were cut off, Islam is a ‘starfish’, any of whose severed parts can grow into another ‘fully functional starfish’ (p. 4). At the same time, the description of the *sharia* as the ‘source code’ that defines these respective functions suggests that the organism has an other-worldly, cybernetic nature. It may call to mind the 2004 remake of the 1970s TV show *Battlestar Galactica*, a thinly-disguised War on Terror parable in which the robotic cylons have re-engineered themselves in a biological, humanoid form, and hidden a number of sleeper agents within the human population. These secret cylon agents are programmed to think they are human until triggered to execute their destructive mission. Similarly, if the *ummah*, the worldwide Muslim community, constitutes one ‘line of operation’ that ‘executes along its own functional orientation to Islam’ which is programmed into the

'source code' of *sharia*, then all Muslims are agents of the conspiracy against the West, whether they are conscious of this or not.

The 'issues in any society that reflect discord and division' give rise to 'a fourth line of operation', whereby

...agents of subversion in the dawah mission ingratiate themselves with, and then mimic, domestic strife leaders and their issues in the host society so as to gain access to the 'disenfranchised,' disenchanted or otherwise vulnerable elements within any population. (p. 26)

Three sources of domestic strife are identified in the diagram reproduced above. The first, 'Alinskyism', is a reference to Saul Alinsky, the American Jewish community organiser whose ideas influenced the New Left, and whose work was the subject of Hillary Rodham Clinton's senior thesis at Wellesley College in 1969. The second, 'political correctness', refers to 'subversion campaigns' waged through 'lexicon battles that impose vocabularies in direct support of favored narratives through relentless repetition and intimidation' (p. 14). The immediate objective of these subversion campaigns is 'the control of narratives that undermine successful prosecution of the War on Terror', but ultimately their aim is 'the subordination of free speech canons to Islamic speech standards' (pp. 14-15). Examples include the 'hate speech' concept and the 'creation of the term Islamophobia, which joins homophobia, racism and sexism in the diversity and victimization narrative' (p. 26).

The third source of domestic strife, 'postmodernism', refers to the way that the Islamic war against America is 'dependent on pre-existing postmodern influences focused on the deconstruction of America' (p. 26). Postmodernism is problematic because it does not accept a singular truth; consequently its 'denial of facts as a basis for analysis' creates the impression of a world 'so complex' that it reinforces the 'strategic incomprehension' alluded to in the title of the document (p. 27). The argument that 'the Islamic campaign is masked in postmodernist guise designed to disarm' leads to the rather surprising conclusion that the enemy 'plans to win this war on the altar of postmodernism' (p. 32). Together, these sources of domestic strife - postmodernism, political correctness and Alinskyism - 'are the early oxygen that fuel the flames that envelop' (p. 27).

The language of the document is overtly conspiratorial: there is ‘an *actual* alignment of effort’ (my emphasis) between *darwah* entities such as the Muslim Brotherhood and ‘ideologies that trend left - most notably Alinskyist, related cultural Marxist and postmodern movements’ (the concept of ‘cultural Marxism’ is something we will look at in more detail below). Consequently, the two enemies - external and internal - and the four lines of operation all blur into one:

Where the people burning in the house see three players [ordinary Muslims, peaceful du‘āh and violent jihadis], it is long overdue to understand them as one. Where people see civilization jihad disassociated from assaults from the left, it is time to recognize alliance. (p. 1)

The conclusion is grim. ‘The house not only can burn down, it will if action is not immediately taken to put out the fire. That house is America and our way of life is smoldering ready to take flame’ (p. 31). There is an obvious and rather chilling implication here: the first thing you do if you want to put out a flame is cut off its oxygen supply.

The Unconstrained Analytics document usefully sets out the overall framework of counterjihadist conspiracism and the relationship between the internal and external enemies. The remainder of this chapter turns to consider its more specific discursive constructs: ‘Eurabia’, ‘civilization jihad’ and ‘cultural Marxism’.

‘The Eurabia Code’

One key discursive frame is the conspiratorial version of the ‘Eurabia’ thesis. The version of the Eurabia narrative promoted by Bat Ye’Or and her disciple Fjordman is decidedly conspiratorial. Its key thesis, according to an essay by Fjordman entitled ‘The Eurabia Code’, is that ‘the Islamicization of Europe *didn’t happen merely by accident* but with the *active participation* of European political leaders’ (emphasis mine).⁸ In her 2005 book on Eurabia, Ye’Or invoked the idea of a primordial enmity between Islam and the West, whilst lamenting European capitulation:

⁸<http://chromatism.net/fjordman/eurabiacode.htm> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

For over a millennium, following the seventh-century Muslim military offensives against Byzantium, European powers instinctively resisted jihad — militarily when necessary — to protect their independence. The response of post – Judeo-Christian Europe of the late twentieth century has been radically different. Europe, as reflected by the institutions of the EU, has abandoned resistance for dhimmitude, and independence for integration with the Islamic world of North Africa and the Middle East. (Ye’Or, 2005, p. 10)

In a 2006 interview with the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*, Ye’Or claimed:

This is a matter of a total transformation of Europe, which is the result of an *intentional policy*. We are now heading towards a total change in Europe, which will be more and more Islamicized and will become a political satellite of the Arab and Muslim world. The European leaders have *decided* on an alliance with the Arab world, through which they have committed to accept the Arab and Muslim approach toward the United States and Israel. This is not only with respect to foreign policy, but also on issues engaging European society from within, such as immigration, the integration of the immigrants and the idea that Islam is part of Europe. (cited Schwartz, 2006, not paginated; emphasis mine)

Ye’Or identifies as the key agent of this conspiracy the Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD), a programme established by the European Community during the 1973 oil crisis, largely at French instigation. Whilst the EAD is ‘totally unknown to Europeans... its occult machinery has engineered Europe’s irreversible transformation through hidden channels’ (Ye’Or, 2005, p. 268).

A key dimension of this occult project is the EAD’s promotion of a ‘deliberate cultural transformation of Europe’ by, among other things, encouraging ‘a deliberate, privileged influx of Arab and other Muslim immigrants into Europe in enormous numbers’.⁹ One commentator on the *Gates of Vienna* blog speculates that the ultimate aim is the creation of a ‘United States of Europe’:

⁹<http://chromatism.net/fjordman/eurabiocode.htm> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

Muslim immigration has been a deliberate policy of importing people who will (mostly) not work, who will (mostly) not integrate, and there is a purpose behind this. They are known to be a luxury i.e. they cost money to keep. Therefore, follow the money. Why would governments continue (at increased rates) to import these costly foreigners? The only explanation I can think of, is that the muslim immigrants are effectively being paid to be here in order to destroy national identities, in order to make the United States of Europe come about more easily.¹⁰

For believers in the Eurabia thesis, Brussels is an Islamist Occupation Government in all but name, just as for American neo-Nazis Washington is effectively a Zionist Occupation Government. Moreover, as we saw in the previous chapter, the Eurabia literature emerged in the context of the fissures that opened up over the Iraq War. Hence it will not be a surprise that France, a key part of the ‘Old Europe’ that defied the US over Iraq is cast as the villain of the piece: ‘France’s stand at the UN Security Council just before the Iraq war earned President Chirac the gratitude of the Arab and Muslim world’ (Ye’Or, 2005, p. 24).

A number of writers have noted similarities between the Eurabia conspiracy theory and classical anti-Semitism (e.g. Fekete, 2012; Bangstad, 2013). The late Robert S. Wistrich, head of the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-semitism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, acknowledged these similarities in an interview with *Haaretz* in 2006, whilst also pointing out some important differences. Wistrich had invited Ye’Or to a conference ‘to discuss whether the phenomenon of multiculturalism was beneficial for the Jews’. Afterwards, he told the newspaper:

At the conference I said half-joking that it was possible to call this ‘the protocols of the elders of Brussels.’ However, unlike ‘The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,’ which is a total (*sic*) forgery, here we have documents and here we have a question of interpretation. (cited in Schwartz, 2006, not paginated)

Wistrich emphasised that he did not agree with all of Bat Ye’Or’s conclusions, but he

¹⁰<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-v/> See comment by ‘Anonymous’ on November 30th 2011. [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

did think that ‘some of the processes she describes are correct’ (ibid).

The main differences between Eurabia and the Protocols, which Wistrich’s comments allude to, concern their epistemic status and authorial intent.¹¹ Whereas the secret gathering of the Elders of Zion was entirely fictitious, Ye’Or’s EAD is a real organisation. Moreover, she does offer some possible reasons for the actions she imputes to it, for example the desire of European leaders to secure a share of Arab oil wealth. Furthermore, she provides evidence to support her thesis, in the form of references to primary source materials (some of which are reproduced as appendices to her book) and to academic literature. Her work is also extensively footnoted. All of this suggests that she is writing for an educated, literate readership, who are prepared to wade through a three-hundred-page book written in dry academic prose. As Wistrich suggests, whether or not you accept Bat Ye’Or’s conclusions depends on whether you think her interpretation of the documents is remotely plausible. Whilst it would require a real effort to suspend one’s disbelief for all 300 pages, she has not entirely abandoned the real world in favour of pure fantasy.

One of my interviewees, a UK-based anti-fascist activist, argued that counterjihad street groups like the EDL have been a key conduit by which the arcane theories of Ye’Or and her fellow-travellers are disseminated to a wider audience. What the EDL and other street movements have done, according to my interviewee, is to take casual anti-Muslim prejudice and ‘turn it into what we would call counterjihadism’:

They provide this information, this language, these conspiracy theories... There’s very few people who turn up fully rounded on an English Defence League [demonstration], and on their very first one, and think ‘well it’s because there’s a secret Marxist plot using liberals to flood Europe with Muslims for rapid demographic change, and it was all laid out by the Muslim Brotherhood in a document in 2009’, right? They don’t come in like that. They come in because they’re pissed off and they’re angry about something, it could be because Muslims have moved into their area,

¹¹Here I would like to acknowledge forthcoming work by Dr Reza Zia-Ebrahimi, which compares Eurabia and the *Protocols*, an early version of which was presented at the Pears Institute for the Study of Antisemitism at Birkbeck College, University of London, on 16th March 2017. I have drawn on Dr Zia-Ebrahimi’s remarks in this paragraph.

whatever. And then once in there, they are brought into an echo chamber, and it's really interesting how you see these people harden throughout the years... they come in on a kind of general feeling or general anger and the more they read, the more they learn, increasingly they brush off wider sources of information until they sit within this bubble, this echo chamber, this confirmation bias, where the only thing they listen to or read is sources from within this movement... and they start to read blogs like *Gates of Vienna*. Now very few of them will go and read Bat Ye'Or, but if you read out the general conspiracy theory of Eurabia, they would all have understood it and heard it.¹²

'Civilization Jihad'

A second, distinct, conspiracy theory, heavily promoted by the Center for Security Policy among others, is of a Muslim Brotherhood 'project' to infiltrate and overthrow the US government through a 'civilization' or 'stealth' jihad (the two terms are used interchangeably). The 'civilization jihad' conspiracy draws on a document written in 1991 by a man named Mohammed Akram, entitled 'Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America', which was found by the FBI during a raid on a residential property in Virginia in 2004. In it, Akram asserts that 'the *Ikhwan* [Muslim Brotherhood] must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within' (cited in Shipler, 2015, not paginated). He also includes 'a list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends', one of which is the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), seemingly implicating Islamic civil society groups and ordinary Muslims in the 'civilization jihad' conspiracy.

The idea that the document can be interpreted as a conspiratorial blueprint for a 'stealth jihad' against the West has, however, been discredited by the Bridge Initiative at Georgetown University and by the Pulitzer-Prize-winning author David Shipler. First, the memorandum's author, Akram, does not appear to have occupied a senior

¹²Interview 12, anti-fascist activist, male, UK.

position in the Brotherhood, being listed in some sources as a ‘secretary’ for the group. Second, the tone of the document is aspirational, framed by Akram as expressing his ‘hopes, ambitions and challenges’, and saying of the Muslim civil society groups that he lists as potential ‘friends’: ‘Imagine if they all march according to one plan!!!’.¹³ There is no evidence that the Brotherhood’s leadership ever read or debated, let alone acted upon the memo, indeed the memo even contains a plea from Akram to his seniors ‘not rush to throw these papers away due to your many occupations and worries. All that I’m asking of you is to read them and to comment on them’ (cited in Shipler, 2015, not paginated). Moreover, researchers at Georgetown found very few references to the document on Arabic-language websites, suggesting a limited circulation.¹⁴

The lack of any evidence to confirm the theory has not, however, prevented its heavy circulation by the CSP, the Horowitz Freedom Center and *Breitbart*, among others.¹⁵ One of its most vocal proponents has been the former FBI agent John Gundolo, whose group Understanding the Threat runs training courses for law enforcement officials. Gundolo accuses Muslim civil society organisations like CAIR, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), the North American Islam Trust (NAIT) and the Muslim Student Association (MSA) of being Brotherhood front groups, describing them as ‘suit-wearing jihadis’ who are ‘no less dangerous than ISIS soldiers on the battlefield’.¹⁶ The ‘civilization jihad’ conspiracy theory received a more public airing in January 2016 when Republican presidential candidate Ben Carson raised it during a debate.¹⁷ Key public figures who have had their loyalties questioned include Hillary Clinton’s aide Huma Abedin and, of course, Obama himself, whose faith and loyalties have repeatedly been called into question, not least by Donald Trump.

Belief in the ‘civilization jihad’ conspiracy theory is the prime impetus behind efforts to get the Brotherhood designated a foreign terrorist entity, a campaign that has been led by the CSP, ACT for America and other groups. Within the Trump

¹³<http://bridge.georgetown.edu/civilization-jihad-debunking-the-conspiracy-theory/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/MB-Designation_CNC.pdf [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷<http://bridge.georgetown.edu/civilization-jihad-debunking-the-conspiracy-theory/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

administration this agenda has been heavily promoted by former National Security advisor Mike Flynn among others. The plan appeared to be in abeyance at the time of writing, probably due to the enormous diplomatic problems it would cause with Muslim-majority countries where the Brotherhood is seen as a legitimate part of civil society and often has links to government organisations. However, even if the executive branch drops the idea, the designation could alternatively come about through legislative action in Congress. Ted Cruz, who has spoken at ACT's conference and had CSP staff working as advisors on his presidential campaign is the latest of a series of right-wing legislators to introduce a bill to this effect.¹⁸

'They were to a man, Jewish'

A third distinct conspiracy theory, with a very different genealogy, is that of 'cultural Marxism', an idea that is invoked in the following post on *Gates of Vienna*, which endorses the arguments of Huntington, Ye'Or and others that the 'real clash' of cultures, and hence the real enemy, is internal to the West:

We agree with Fjordman and many others that the Jihad is just a symptom, and that the enemy lies within. This war is a civil war within the West, between traditional Western culture and the forces of politically correct multicultural Marxism that have bedeviled it for the last hundred years. It is being fought in the back halls and cloisters of the culture, with untenured nobodies like me wielding a salad fork against the broadswords and maces of the fully-armored knights of the media and the academy.¹⁹

Unlike 'Eurabia' and the 'civilization jihad', 'cultural Marxism' is not specific to the counterjihad and circulates much more widely across the EuroAmerican far right. It draws on the older Nazi idea of *Kulturbolschewismus* or 'cultural Bolshevism', a term that expressed the idea of modern art as corrupt and degenerate, a threat to German culture and morality, because it was of 'Semitic inspiration' (Goggin, 1991, p. 86). As we will see, 'cultural Marxism' also has anti-Semitic connotations and is actively

¹⁸http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/MB-Designation_CNC.pdf [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

¹⁹<http://gatesofvienna.net/2006/09/the-emperor-is-naked/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

promoted by neo-Nazis as a way of disseminating conspiratorial anti-Semitism to a wider audience, but it is not always clear whether those using the term are aware of its unsavoury genealogy. Nevertheless, it marks one of the points where counterjihadism and neo-Nazism coalesce.

The 'cultural Marxism' conspiracy theory emerged from ultraconservative and white nationalist milieux following the end of the Cold War as a more-or-less direct response to the disappearance of the 'red menace' of Communism (Jamin, 2014; Richardson, 2015). In essence, the theory casts the emergence of a global, cosmopolitan, multicultural and egalitarian society (George H.W. Bush's 'New World Order') as the outcome of a *deliberate* plot to undermine traditional identities and forms of social authority such as the nation, the nuclear family and Christianity. The architects of this conspiracy are the (mainly Jewish) emigré intellectuals of the Frankfurt School of critical theory, who fled to the US from Nazi Germany during the 1930s. Recognising that the proletariat could no longer be considered a viable agent of revolutionary change, the theory claims, these intellectuals instead sought to mobilise new constituencies in service of their ideal, egalitarian society: notably, ethnic minorities, women, sexual minorities and immigrants. In so doing, they translated Marxism from economic into cultural terms, replacing the older Marxian preoccupation with economic exploitation with a new focus on racial oppression, patriarchy and homophobia. Consequently anti-racism, feminism and LGBT rights (bracketed together as 'political correctness') were invented as sticks with which to beat white men, who have become the new victims. If the Frankfurt School theorists were the original architects of the 'cultural Marxist' conspiracy then its main agents have been the '68-ers' who came under the spell of Herbert Marcuse during the 1960s, and who now allegedly control all of America's key cultural and political institutions: the government, the education system and the mass media. As Jérôme Jamin has argued, it can hardly be coincidental that no sooner had the Cold War ended, 'there emerged a literature claiming that the fight was still not over' and that 'the threat had passed from the economic to the cultural arena' (Jamin, 2014, p. 89).

One of the first to make such a claim was Michael Minnicino in a 1992 essay in the magazine *Fidelio*, a publication of the Schiller Institute (Minnicino, 1992). The

Schiller Institute is part of the idiosyncratic LaRouche movement, which emerged as a breakaway faction of the US student movement during the late 1960s before subsequently pivoting to the far right. The National Committee of Labour Caucuses (NCLC) was founded in 1968 by a Trotskyist student organiser, Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., but underwent a radical political transformation during the 1970s. Between 1973 and 1974, LaRouche ordered a series of violent attacks of rival left-wing groups and allegedly forced his followers to undergo 'ego-stripping' exercises of psychological humiliation to prove their loyalty. A climate of paranoia gripped the organisation as rumours swirled that the CIA and British intelligence services had infiltrated it in order to kill LaRouche. By the mid-1970s, the LaRouche organisation had evolved into a cultic but highly disciplined far-right movement revolving around the personality of Lyndon LaRouche (Berlet and Lyons, 2000, pp. 273-74).

The LaRouche movement's worldview revolves around a novel conspiratorial theory of history of breathtaking scope and ambition. It subsumes elements of the Illuminati, world-Jewish and international-communist conspiracy theories as 'mere fragments' of a much larger plot. The investigative journalist Dennis King, who has written a book-length study of the LaRouche movement, describes this conspiracy theory as 'perhaps the closest thing to a system of total multidimensional paranoia ever invented in the United States' (King, 1989, pp. 274-75). According to LaRouche (LaRouche, 1978), history is a cosmic battle between a good, 'humanist' faction associated with Plato, and an evil, 'oligarchical' faction associated with Aristotle. The former includes figures such as Mozart, Beethoven, Shakespeare, Gottfried Leibniz, Friedrich Schiller (hence the name of the Institute that published Minnicino's essay), Erwin Schrodinger, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Mohammed and Jesus. The latter includes figures such as Francis Bacon, John Locke, Bishop Berkeley, Jeremy Bentham, Aldous Huxley, Adolf Hitler, Ken Kesey, the Beatles, Henry Kissinger and the Ayatollah Khomeini. Whilst the Platonists are committed to metaphysical absolutes and the pursuit of truth and beauty, the Aristotelians, by elevating the empirical over the metaphysical, are the source of materialism and moral relativism. Whilst the Platonists are committed to urbanisation, technological progress, and cultural excellence, the Aristotelians dream only of thwarting these things. They aim to plunge the world into

a 'new Dark Ages' with oligarchical rule eventually extended over the entire planet, for reasons that are left obscure. The locus of the oligarchical conspiracy has shifted throughout history: it started out in ancient Babylon, subsequently shifted to Rome, moved to Venice in the early modern period, and has more recently been centred on Britain's royal House of Windsor. The conspiracy consists of a spectrum of projects designed to depopulate the planet and pacify the global populace through birth control, the environmental movement and the entertainment industry. Narcotics are another key tool with which the Windsor oligarchy controls the global populace, according to LaRouche, hence the unlikely emergence of the figure of Queen Elisabeth II as the prime mover behind the international drugs trade.

The LaRouchian conspiracy theory simultaneously mobilises and disavows classic anti-Semitic tropes. LaRouche dismisses the idea of an 'international Jewish conspiracy' as a 'concoction of mixed facts, half-truths (*sic*) and fantasies', one of a number of mythologies propagated by British intelligence as part of their campaign of misdirection (LaRouche, 1978). These popular conspiracy theories, which also include the idea of an 'international communist conspiracy', are designed to turn the credulous away from all searches 'for the secrets of those "inner elites" which have in fact run the world's affairs during approximately three thousand years of known history' (*ibid.*). But LaRouche also claims that the entire Jewish religion is itself a 'hoax' propagated by the Aristotelian faction, one that has been reworked repeatedly throughout history 'always under the supervision of non-Jews', and he views the Old Testament as a 'barbarism' from which humanity had to be freed by Christ and his apostles. He also frequently associates prominent Jews such as Henry Kissinger and the Rothschilds with the oligarchical conspiracy, although it is typically ambiguous whether Jews are active conspirators or merely unwitting agents of the oligarchs.

Michael Minnicino's essay on 'cultural Marxism' is part of this broader LaRouchian conspiratorial discourse. Entitled 'The New Dark Age: the Frankfurt School and "Political Correctness"' (Minnicino, 1992), Minnicino's essay begins with a dramatic story of Western decline. The populations of North America and Western Europe, Minnicino claims, 'now accept a level of ugliness in their daily lives which is almost without precedent in the history of Western civilization':

Our children spend as much time sitting in front of television sets as they do in school, watching with glee, scenes of torture and death which might have shocked an audience in the Roman Coliseum. Music is everywhere, almost unavoidable - but it does not uplift, nor even tranquilize - it claws at the ears, sometimes spitting out an obscenity. Our plastic arts are ugly, our architecture is ugly, our clothes are ugly. (Minnicino, 1992, p. 4)

Minnicino attributes the decline of the West to 'a formal political conspiracy to popularize theories that were specifically designed to weaken the soul of Judeo-Christian civilization' (ibid., p. 5). The 'pervasive psychological hold' of the mass media and entertainment industries was 'purposefully fostered to create the passivity and pessimism which afflict our populations today' (ibid., p. 5). So successful has this project been, that the formal conspiracy has become superfluous: it is now 'embedded in our culture' and has 'taken on a life of its own' (ibid., p. 5). University campuses have been 'overwhelmed by Comintern-style New Age "Political Correctness"', evidenced by demands to drop 'Dead European Males' from the syllabus in favour of 'Third World, female, or homosexual authors' (ibid., p. 5). Consequently, since the fall of the Soviet Union, these campuses have come to represent 'the largest concentration of Marxist dogma in the world' (ibid., p. 5).

Minnicino identifies as the 'single, most important organizational component of this conspiracy... a Communist thinktank called the Institute for Social Research (I.S.R.), but popularly known as the Frankfurt School' (Minnicino, 1992, p. 5). The members of the School, according to Minnicino, represented the 'Bolshevik intelligentsia'.

We will have to face the fact that the ugliness we see around us has been consciously fostered and organized in such a way, that a majority of the population is losing the cognitive ability to transmit to the next generation, the ideas and methods upon which our civilization was built. The loss of that ability is the primary indicator of a Dark Age. And, a new Dark Age is exactly what we are in. (ibid., p. 5)

Noting that history provides an 'unequivocal' lesson about what must be done in such a situation, Minnicino issues a 'paligenetic' (Griffin, 1993) exhortation: 'either we

create a Renaissance—a rebirth of the fundamental principles upon which civilization originated—or, our civilization dies’ (ibid., p. 5).

The ‘cultural Marxist’ theme was taken up and developed around the turn of the millennium by a number of right-wing authors, including a retired US Navy Commander, Gerald L. Atkinson; Raymond V. Raehn, also a former US Navy pilot; and John Fonte, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. However, it was in the essays of William S. Lind, head of the Center for Cultural Conservatism at the Free Congress Foundation (FCF), that the ‘cultural Marxist’ conspiracy theory received its most systematic treatment. The Free Congress Foundation (recently renamed the American Opportunity Foundation) was founded in 1977 by Paul Weyrich, who had also established the Heritage Foundation four years earlier. Weyrich, an influential right-wing strategist, promoted cultural conservatism as the basis of right-wing political mobilisation. He is credited with coining the phrase ‘moral majority’, which he later helped turn into a key organisation of the Christian right under the leadership of televangelist Jerry Falwell. The editor of *Jihad Watch*, Robert Spencer, was an Adjunct Fellow at the FCF during the early 2000s.²⁰

Lind’s 2004 edited collection *‘Political Correctness’: a short history of an ideology* (Lind, 2004), which includes essays by Raehn, Atkinson and others, is perhaps the most influential and frequently-cited text within the cultural Marxist genre, developing the central themes of Minnicino’s earlier essay whilst taming some of its wilder excesses. Like Minnicino, Lind begins his chapter ‘What is “Political Correctness”?’ with a dramatic story of American decline. He invokes the 1950s as ‘a good time’, when people ‘did not bother to lock their doors... ladies devoted their time and effort to making good homes’ and ‘rearing their children well’, when children ‘grew up in two-parent households’, and when entertainment ‘was something the whole family could enjoy’ (ibid., p. 4). ‘If a man (sic) from America of the 1950s were suddenly introduced into America in the 2000s’, Lind suggests, ‘he would hardly recognise it as the same country’ (ibid.). In particular, he would be ‘in immediate danger of getting mugged, carjacked or worse, because he would not have learned to live in constant fear’. Lind attributes America’s decline, to which the ‘fall of Rome was graceful

²⁰<https://www.jihadwatch.org/about-robert> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

by comparison' (ibid., p. 5), to its conquest by the ideology of 'political correctness' (ibid.). 'Political correctness', Lind claims, 'is in fact cultural Marxism - Marxism translated from economic into cultural terms' (ibid., p. 5). Cultural Marxism shares orthodox, economistic Marxism's ultimate aim: 'a society of radical egalitarianism enforced by the power of the state' (ibid., p. 6).

Following Minnicino, Lind argues that the political hegemony of 'cultural Marxism' is due to the subversive influence of the Frankfurt School of critical theory. In these writings, the terms 'Frankfurt School' and 'cultural Marxism' stand in for a wide variety of left-wing philosophies that are broadly critical of classical Marxism; consequently not all of those that Lind and his co-authors associate with the 'Frankfurt School' were formally members of the Institute for Social Research. Two things link the key figures discussed in the Free Congress Foundation pamphlet: they were all either anti-fascist or Jewish intellectuals, and many were both. Gramsci was languishing in a Fascist jail when the ISR was established in 1923; Benjamin was a German Jew who committed suicide whilst trying to escape the Nazis; Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse were all Jewish; Reich, although not a member of the Institute, was an Austrian Jew who wrote a major book on *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*. In case anyone had missed the point, Lind takes care to note that not only were the members of the Frankfurt School all Marxists, 'they are also, to a man, Jewish'.²¹

Other essays in the edited volume expand on Lind's basic themes. The university campus figures throughout these writings as a key battleground in the 'culture war'. Many college campuses have come to resemble 'small, ivy-covered North Koreas' (Lind, 2004, p. 7) where political correctness has all but eliminated free speech and free thought. The militant students of the 1960s have now become 'tenured radicals' and launched a devastating assault on the curriculum in the name of 'multiculturalism'. Antifeminism is another key theme. The final substantive chapter in Lind's edited collection is an essay by Gerald L. Atkinson on 'Radical Feminism and Political Correctness', which laments the 'feminization of American culture'. Although Atkinson acknowledges that the feminist movement long predates critical theory, he nevertheless argues that 'radical feminists have embraced and been embraced by the wider and

²¹<https://www.academia.org/the-origins-of-political-correctness/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

deeper movement of cultural Marxism' (p. 3). The feminization of American culture has consequently advanced rapidly since the 1960s, and 'continues to intensify'. As a result, men have been transformed into a 'touchy-feely subspecies' and even the U.S. military, 'the last bastion of male domination', is now 'under assault' (p. 3).

In 1999, five years before Lind's edited collection, the FCF released a documentary film entitled *Political Correctness: the Frankfurt School*,²² which Lind himself narrated. The film included interviews with a number of prominent conservatives including Roger Kimball and David Horowitz, whose Freedom Center is a key site of the counterjihad movement and which sponsors Robert Spencer's *Jihad Watch*. However, the most interesting figure to appear in the 1999 FCF film is undoubtedly the late Laszlo Pasztor, euphemistically described in Lind's voiceover as 'a leader of the Hungarian resistance against the Communist takeover of Hungary after World War II' (see figure 7.2). Pasztor was in fact a former member of the Hungarian Nazi party, the Arrow Cross, having served as a leader of its youth group and later as part of the Hungarian diplomatic mission to Berlin during the brief period of Arrow Cross government from October 1944 to March 1945, and was imprisoned for five years after the war as a Nazi collaborator (Bellant, 1988).

Pasztor was one of a number of East European Nazi sympathisers and collaborators who travelled to the US after the war under the auspices of the Displaced Persons Commission and became active in Republican politics, hoping that a Republican administration would intervene militarily to free Eastern Europe from Soviet control, rather than pursuing a strategy of 'containment'. Others included Ivan Dochev of the Bulgarian National Front who had met Hitler and Rosenberg in Berlin in 1934, Nicholas Nazarenko of the World Federation of Cossacks for the Liberation of Cossackia, Florian Galdau, a member of the Romanian Iron Guard who loudly accused the Democratic Party of being a front organisation for the KGB, and Walter Melianovich of the Belorussian-American Federation, who charged that the Democrats only cared about 'the Black and Jewish vote' (ibid.).

The shared concern that linked these figures with the Republican leadership was anti-Communism, and they were long tolerated within the GOP due to their ability

²²<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EjaBpVzOoohs> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

These screenshots of the Free Congress Foundation film ‘Political Correctness’ have been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 7.2: Stills from the Free Congress Foundation film *Political Correctness: the Frankfurt School*. Top: David Horowitz, bottom: Laszlo Pasztor. Source: YouTube.

to translate anti-Soviet sentiment among East European emigré communities into votes for the Republican party. Speaking in May 1985 to the Republican Heritage Groups Council (RHGC), under whose auspices the fascist exiles operated, then-President Ronald Reagan, whose 1980 campaign slogan ‘Make America Great Again’ anticipated that of Donald Trump in 2016, thanked his audience for their help in arresting American decline:

A few years ago, most of us had a great aching in our hearts about America. As we picked up the morning papers, there was never any telling what new setbacks or international humiliation awaited us. And that’s not even to mention what was happening here at home – economic decline, endless increases in crime, and a deepening social discontent stemming from overly intrusive government, the loss of basic values, and stifled economic opportunity.

Well, together, you and I offered the American people a way out of all of this. And just as we always knew they would, they took us up on the offer. Now we’ve turned away from the days of defeatism and malaise; America’s back where she belongs – the champion of peace and freedom throughout the world.²³

In return, RHGC members enjoyed access to GOP officials and to policymakers within successive Republican administrations.

Pasztor was not the FCF’s only link to Nazi and anti-Semitic circles. In September 2002, the Southern Poverty Law Center reported that William Lind had given ‘a well-received speech’ at ‘a major Holocaust denial conference put on by veteran anti-Semite Willis Carto in Washington, D.C.’, where he spoke to ‘some 120 “historical revisionists,” conspiracy theorists, neo-Nazis and other anti-Semites’. According to the report, Lind’s speech ‘identified a small group of people who he said had poisoned American culture’, the Frankfurt School, on which point he made ‘a powerful connection with his listeners. “These guys,” he explained, “were all Jewish”.’²⁴

²³<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=38646> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

²⁴<https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2002/ally-christian-right-heavyweight-paul-weyrich-addresses-holocaust-denial-conference> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

The theme of ‘cultural Marxism’ has since been promoted by, for instance, the ‘paleoconservative’ and perennial presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan, who devoted an entire chapter of his 2002 book, *The Death of the West: how dying populations and immigrant invasions imperil our country and civilization* (Buchanan, 2002), to an analysis of the Frankfurt School. In Buchanan’s writings there is a close link between the ‘cultural Marxist’ and ‘New World Order’ theories: the ‘New World Order’ is the emerging globalist society whilst ‘political correctness’ is the means used by the ‘cultural Marxists’ to bring about the NWO (Jamin, 2014, p. 92). A more recent video than the FCF one, dating from 2011, is entitled *Cultural Marxism: The Corruption of America* and features Buchanan, right-wing libertarian Ron Paul and conspiracy theorists such as Edward Griffin and Edwin Vieira (Berlet, 2012, p. 569). Another populariser of the term was the late Andrew Breitbart, founder of *Breitbart News*, who claimed that ‘Cultural Marxism is political correctness, it’s multiculturalism, and it’s a war on Judeo-Christianity’ (cited in *ibid.*, at p. 569). Moreover, Breitbart saw Obama’s election as the culmination of the ‘cultural Marxist’ plot: ‘He’s [Obama] a Marxist... His life work, his life experience, his life writings, and now his legislative legacy speak to his ideological point of view’ (cited in Mead, 2010, not paginated). It has also been widely disseminated in websites linked to the Tea Party movement, and crossed the Atlantic in the mid-2000s, entering the lexicon of the Austrian Freedom Party from around 2004, the British National Party from around 2007, and later appearing in EDL Facebook posts and the UKIP Daily blog (Jamin, 2014; Richardson, 2015). Meanwhile, on its website, the British counterjihadist party Liberty GB boasts that ‘[n]o comparable party has delineated a clear vision of our current predicament as stemming from the multi-decennial dominance over the country of Cultural Marxist ideology’.²⁵

In early versions of the ‘cultural Marxism’ conspiracy theory, such as those of Minnicino and Buchanan, it was not explicitly linked to anxieties about Muslims and Islam. This began to change in the mid-late 2000s. On the occasion of the London bombings in 2005, Lind wrote a blog post entitled ‘The Marx-Mohammed Pact’²⁶ in

²⁵<https://libertygb.org.uk/q-a> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

²⁶https://web.archive.org/web/20050723021323/http://www.military.com/Opinions/0,,Lind_072105,00.html [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

which he accused Western governments of having imported ‘millions of immigrants who are deeply hostile to the traditional cultures of their new homelands’. Whilst Muslims ‘are not the only immigrants who harbor such hostility... at present they seem the most likely to act on it.’ The problem, however, was that the ‘cultural Marxists’ were ‘forbidding the West to defend itself from Islamic immigration.’ And Lind was clear on what the solution should be:

Europe, and the United States, need to stop more Islamics (and, in the U.S., Hispanics) from coming, and at least some of the Islamics now in residence must go... If we dare rip down the camouflage nets cultural Marxism has erected to blind us, we see Europe has two real choices: an infinity of Londons or second expulsion of the Moors.²⁷

In a blog post about the 2009 Fort Hood shooting, Lind speculated about the cultural Marxists’ motivations for allying with Islam, given that ‘if the Islamics took over, they would cut Marxists’ throats even before they cut the throats of Christians and Jews.’ His answer was that ‘cultural Marxism will ally with any force that helps it to achieve its goals, destroying Western culture and Christianity.’²⁸

Conspiracy theories were generally absent from my interviews with counterjihad activists, perhaps reflecting the stigma that is attached to conspiracy belief. The one exception to this was an interview with a UK-based counterjihad blogger, in which he articulated what is recognisably a version of the cultural Marxist conspiracy theory. The exchange is worth quoting in full.²⁹

INTERVIEWEE: ...the reason why people like me are having such a hard time is because people of the left-wing persuasion - socialists, communists, Trotskyists - have sort of realised that they can tap into the - in quotes - ‘revolutionary potential’ of Muslims in the West, and they’re hoping to use them for their own ends. So no matter what I say, what my friends say, these isolated groups on the Trotskyist, communist and left-wing, they have this fantasy where they can bring about - this sounds a bit sort

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/2009/11/19/the-roots-of-political-correctness/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

²⁹Interview 10, counterjihad blogger, male, UK.

of like fantasy time - but they think they can skew things to their own ends, they can tap into these violent and revolutionary perspectives of other people in the Islamic community, and they can point them in the right direction - and the right direction is leftist revolution - and that to me is why everything is so extreme, everything is going in the wrong direction. But you're in the London School of Economics, aren't you?

ME: Yes, that's right, yeah.

INTERVIEWEE: Well... I don't know what the current state of the London School of Economics is, but my bet is that you may well be trying to find out who your enemies are.

ME: Well, you're attributing things to me. I certainly wouldn't put it like that.

INTERVIEWEE: You don't need to answer that one.

ME: But if we could just go back a bit, you seemed to be saying that there was some kind of active design on the part of communists or Trotskyists or-

INTERVIEWEE: Yeah?

ME: -whoever, to... I mean, to what purpose or for what ends? And how are they going about doing that?

INTERVIEWEE: Well I don't class all left-wingers in that way.

ME: Right.

INTERVIEWEE: I have a word which many people also have - "democratic socialists" - I don't class them in that conspiratorial lens. But I've read various articles where the group or the writer has said we can tap into the revolutionary potential of Muslims. And I can send you quotes upon quotes in that general sphere. Is that the question you were asking me?

ME: Yeah. I mean, well, yes. That is the question I was asking. It's just interesting cos-

INTERVIEWEE: I'm not one of these psychopathic people who has a distaste for anybody who's left wing.

I decided to push a bit more on this line of conversation, and put it to the interviewee that Muslims, as a diasporic religious group, could hardly constitute a revolutionary class in the Marxian sense:

INTERVIEWEE: Well yeah, exactly. But it's happening. It also happened in - I don't know about your global history - Algeria, Egypt, Pakistan, erm... there have been these very close - sorry, Iran 1979 - it's happened many times, where Marxist groups have tried to ally themselves with Islamic groups, or even Muslim fundamentalist groups, because they thought they could tap into it, and turn it in the right direction. And it never worked, and it never happened. It didn't work in Algeria, it didn't work in Iran, it didn't work in Pakistan, it didn't work in Afghanistan, just doesn't happen. It's just, how to say? If someone's impoverished, or oppressed, these left-wing groups can point the finger at these people and bring them around to the right, proper consciousness, not false consciousness.

ME: Oh, I see what you mean.

INTERVIEWEE: Just does not work. Not that I'm trying to suggest anything that does work, because that wouldn't be very...

ME: No, no. Okay. No, that's interesting, it's not an argument I've heard before.

INTERVIEWEE: No, you must have heard that before.

ME: Well, not specifically in relation to Muslims, or not specifically in relation to Muslims in the West.

INTERVIEWEE: Tapping into the [inaudible] of oppressed groups.

ME: Yeah, in a general sense, yes.

INTERVIEWEE: Really? That shocks me.

ME: No, I said I have heard that argument obviously in a general sense, but-

INTERVIEWEE: But not about Muslims specifically?

ME: -it was interesting the way you were applying it to Muslims in the West.

INTERVIEWEE: Mmm.

Many of those who today use the term ‘cultural Marxism’, including those within the counterjihad movement who view themselves as strongly pro-Israeli and philo-Zionist, seem ignorant of the etymology of the term. By contrast, neo-Nazis are fully aware of its history and significance, and have recognised its potential for disseminating conspiratorial anti-Semitism to a wider audience. For example, one contributor to stormfront.org, a key neo-Nazi and white supremacist web forum run by the former leader of the Alabama Klan, Don Black, describes its usefulness in the following terms:

The issue of the Frankfurt School is IMHO [in my humble opinion] perfectly suitable to awaken mainstream conservatives to the Jew question. Conservatives are incessantly moaning about declining morals, destroyed families, vanishing values, the attacks on tradition and Christianity and so on. But they usually think, all this “just happened”.

This is the ideal moment when a WN [white nationalist] can say (No, not: “Those filthy Jews did all that!”) but: “All that was put forward deliberately. It’s an ideology, it’s in fact a modification of Marxism. Have you heard about the Frankfurt School?” Even wikipedia-articles about the issue or i.e. Critical Theory are very explicit and will suffice for an intelligent WN “first grader” to realize that all he moans about, did not just “happen”.³⁰

The same commentator goes on to describe how the Frankfurt School conspiracy theory contributed to their own ‘awakening’:

Talking about the Frankfurt School is ideal for not naming the Jews as a group (which often leads to a panicky rejection, a stubborn refusal to

³⁰Comment by ‘Lady_Nostalgia’, 21st August 2010. <https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t633959-3/> [Last accessed 1st June 2017].

listening anymore and even a “shut up”) but naming the Jew by proper names. People will make their generalizations by themselves - in the privacy of their own minds. At least it worked like that with me. It was my lightbulb moment, when confusing pieces of an alarming puzzle suddenly grouped to a visible picture.

Learn by heart the most important proper names of the Frankfurt Schoolers - they are (except for a handful of minor members and female “groupies”) ALL Jews. One can even quite innocently mention that the Frankfurt Schoolers had to leave Germany in 1933 because “they were to a man, Jewish.” as William S. Lind does.³¹

Perhaps most significantly, a post on William Lind’s personal blog, dated 16th April 2016, shows him proudly handing a copy of his and Weyrich’s co-authored 2008 book *The Next Conservatism* to the then-frontrunner for the Republican presidential nomination: Donald J. Trump. I cannot claim to have read this book, and I do not know if Donald Trump has either. But if he did, then according to the publisher’s website, he would have learned that the ‘decay’ of American culture ‘over the past half-century’ didn’t ‘just happen’, that ‘much of our degradation was deliberate’, that it was ‘the work of the poisonous ideology of cultural Marxism, AKA “Political Correctness”’, and he would have been taken ‘on a fascinating historical tour of the origins of Political Correctness in the infamous Frankfurt School, a gathering of heretical Marxists whose goal from the outset was the destruction of Western culture.’³²

Conclusion

The extent to which ‘Islam’ can serve as a new alterity against which a sense of Western (civilizational) and white (ethnic) identity might be reinvigorated in a post-Cold War context is open to question. One person who doubts its efficacy is the Russian theorist of ‘neo-Eurasianism’, Alexander Dugin, who observes that the period since the fall of the Cold War has been ‘the most important moment’ in the history of the Western

³¹Ibid.

³²See <http://www.staugustine.net/our-books/books/the-next-conservatism/> [Last accessed 4th June 2017].

This screenshot of William Lind’s blog has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 7.3: William Lind presents a copy of his and Paul Weyrich’s co-authored book *The Next Conservatism* to Donald Trump, April 2016. Source: <https://archive.fo/kFtSa>.

liberal democratic order, because Western liberalism has ‘defeated its enemies, but at the same time it has lost them’. Writing in 2014, in the context of the Ukraine conflict, Dugin argued that Russia is, in the long run, the only plausible external enemy for the West and therefore anticipated renewed geopolitical confrontation between the two:

Radical Islam, such as represented by al-Qaeda, was another candidate for this role, but it lacked sufficient stature to become a real enemy. It was used, but only on a local scale. It justified the intervention in Afghanistan, the occupation of Iraq, the overthrow of Gaddafi, and started a civil war in Syria, but it was too weak and ideologically primitive to represent the real challenge that is needed by liberals.³³

Dugin’s comments may seem less prescient in a context where figures in the Trump

³³<https://openrevolt.info/2014/03/11/alexander-dugin-the-war-on-russia-in-its-ideological-dimension/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

administration, up to and including the president himself, repeatedly speak of a global conflict between Islam and the West, and where the new administration has sought more cordial relations with Putin's Russia.

Perhaps the only other plausible alterity against which Western identity could be redefined is China. Writing in 2006, and anticipating that obsession over the 'green menace' may eventually run its course, Matt Carr suggested that 'it may not be long before US foreign policy hawks announce a new threat to European "values" posed by the alien representatives of a hermetically sealed Confucian culture, incapable of integration or assimilation and intent on absorbing the remnants of Eurabia into another empire from the East' (Carr, 2006, p. 18). Moreover, there is of course a long history of Sinophobia that could be drawn on here, going back to the nineteenth-century 'yellow peril'. Indeed, Trump's repeated assertions that global warming is a 'Chinese conspiracy', one in which roughly ninety-nine percent of the US scientific community would presumably need to be complicit, points towards other possible configurations of the internal and external enemies. At the time of writing, however, it seems as if the 'green menace' of Islam will continue to fulfil this role for the EuroAmerican antidemocratic right for the foreseeable future.

The importance of the paranoid fantasies discussed in this chapter should not be underestimated, and they are by no means confined to the political fringes. Based on a detailed analysis of the 2016 American National Election Study (ANES) pilot survey, political scientist Philip Klinkner has shown that economic status did little to explain support for Trump and that resentment towards minorities, including African Americans and Muslims, was much more important. More specifically, Klinkner found that there was one variable that correlated with Trump support an overwhelming eighty-nine percent of the time among white respondents.³⁴ Consequently, if a voter was white and you wanted to know if they were a Trump supporter, you should ask them just one, simple question: 'Is Barack Obama a Muslim?'.

³⁴<https://www.vox.com/2016/6/2/11833548/donald-trump-support-race-religion-economy> [Last accessed 30th September 2017].

Chapter 8

‘Our Ancient Heritage’: the new political theology

Distilling is beautiful. First of all, because it is a slow, philosophic, and silent occupation, which keeps you busy but gives you time to think of other things, somewhat like riding a bike. Then, because it involves metamorphosis from liquid to vapor (invisible), and from this once again to liquid; but in this double journey, up and down, purity is attained, an ambiguous and fascinating condition, which starts with chemistry and goes very far. And finally, when you set about distilling, you acquire the consciousness of repeating a ritual consecrated by the centuries, almost a religious act, in which from imperfect material you obtain the essence, the *usia*, the spirit.

Primo Levi

Tradition is the illusion of permanence.

Woody Allen

The diagnosis of Western civilizational crisis, decline and subversion by enemies within and without engenders a number of urgent political imperatives that impress themselves upon the present: that we must rediscover absolutism in defence of *our* values and way of life; that we must promote *our* culture and traditions; that we must

put *our* people first; that we must secure *our* borders; that we must protect *our* children's future; and that we must do all of this *now*, before it is too late. To the extent there is a single, organising theme, it is that 'we must take care of our own'. Implicit within these imperatives are a number of political tendencies: a (re-)sacralization of politics (Gentile, 1996), a (re-)territorialization of the world, a (re-)invention of tradition (Ranger and Hobsbawm, 1983). All of these imperatives follow more or less directly from the diagnoses described in the previous chapters.

This final empirical chapter argues that together these tendencies form the outlines of a novel 'countermodern' or 'traditionalist' political theology, one that has important affinities with older countermodern ideologies ('classical' Fascism, Nazism, Revolutionary Conservatism, the New Right) but is not a simple continuation of any of these. The new political theology is not based on any one, single mobilising myth, but rather consists in several overlapping efforts in collective myth-making that coexist in uneasy tension: the myth of the 'Judeo-Christian West', the myth of a 'Christian Europe', and the myth of a modern, Enlightened West that has transcended the tradition and superstition of the Islamic world. The contradictory ideas contained within them are reconciled (to the extent that they can be, or need to be) through the idea that Enlightenment, modernity, liberal democracy, gender equality and sexual freedom are all products of the Hebrew and Greek intellectual heritage and consequently part of the unique 'gifts' of 'Western civilization'. Moreover, all of these guiding myths coexist with a multiplicity of national and local cults of tradition. This chaotic amalgam reflects the polytheistic nature of myth, in which there is no singular truth, but rather multiple different narratives and stories that can never be synthesised into a unified, coherent whole (Bottici, 2007).

The chapter will explore the key features of the new political theology: its mythologies, its symbolic universe, its heroes, its rituals and other performative repertoires. The new political theology is not a purely pagan one; rather its 'central tendency' - to borrow statistical language - is perhaps best described as a pagan or sacrificial version of Christianity, not unlike the Schmittian political theology, in which 'the most high God reigns but the national deities govern' (cited in Palaver, 2007, at p. 80). It encompasses 'Judeo-Christian civilizationism' and 'Christian nationalism' as well as

avowed forms of 'white nationalism' and racial paganism, all of which are critically discussed.

The urgency of acting now, *before* the clock strikes midnight, *before* the fuse runs out, *before* the conspiracy succeeds confers on the enacted forms of the new political theology their defining characteristic: that they are *pre-emptive*. As Nicholas de Genova observes *apropos* of Pegida Dresden, pre-emption 'is plainly the deep rationale of a movement dedicated to counteracting "Islamization" in a country where Muslims account for a mere 5% of the population', and especially somewhere like Dresden, 'where only 2.5% of the population are foreign-born, and a meager 0.1% are Muslim' (de Genova, 2015, p. 7). Hence throughout this chapter the temporal dynamic remains emphatically futural, even where the discursive and aesthetic content of the theology evokes the archaic, the antiquarian or the mythological. Importantly, specific forms of political action are always theologically or ideologically underdetermined. Some tendencies are non-violent, reformist ones that work largely within the law and the democratic political system in order, for instance, to secure tighter immigration regimes or promote the teaching of 'our' history and traditions within classrooms. Other tendencies have a survivalist logic: cancel your newspaper subscriptions, turn off the TV, homeschool your children and prepare for the catastrophe. However, the logic of pre-emption can also turn violent.

The forms of violence engendered by the new political theology are quite varied, ranging from symbolic, if unpleasant, acts such as the destruction of the enemy's symbols (burning the Koran) or the desecration of their sacred spaces (leaving a pig's head on the site of a mosque), through the small-scale street fights and acts of petty vandalism that have often accompanied grassroots counterjihad protest events, up to pre-meditated acts of lethal violence. As Charles Tilly has argued, violence typically 'increases and becomes more salient in situations of rising uncertainty across the boundary', because 'people respond to threats against weighty social arrangements they have built on such boundaries' (Tilly, 2003, p.77). According to Arjun Appadurai, the 'forms of such uncertainty are various':

One kind of uncertainty is a direct reflection of census concerns: how many persons of this or that sort really exist in a given territory? Or, in the

context of rapid migration or refugee movement, how many of ‘them’ are there now among ‘us’? Another kind of uncertainty is about what some of these megaidentities [‘Europe’, ‘the West’] really mean... A further uncertainty is about whether a particular person really is what they claim or appear to be or to have historically been. Finally, these various forms of uncertainty create intolerable anxiety about the relationship of many individuals to state- provided goods – ranging from housing and health to safety and sanitation – since these entitlements are frequently directly tied to who ‘you’ are and thus to who ‘they’ are. Each kind of uncertainty gains increasing force whenever there are large-scale movements of persons, when new rewards or risks attach to large-scale ethnic identities, or when existing networks of social knowledge are eroded by rumour, terror, or social movement. Where one or more of these forms of social uncertainty come into play, violence can create a macabre form of certainty and can become a brutal technique (or folk discovery-procedure) about ‘them’ and, therefore, about ‘us’. (cited in Sidel, 2007, pp. 138-39)

Consequently, the chapter concludes with a consideration of the relationship between the new political theology and Anders Breivik’s murder of seventy-seven people in central Oslo in July 2011, which he justified in his ‘manifesto’ by appealing to several of the discursive frameworks discussed in the previous chapters, including ‘Eurabia’ and ‘cultural Marxism’.

‘Taking care of your own’

The counterjihadist response to the ‘terror of history’, like that of the countermodern philosophers discussed in chapter 3, has no political foundation other than the repeated affirmation of the Self, through the conscious appropriation and repetition of a determinate cultural heritage. The affirmation of the Self, and the particularistic political ontology to which it gives rise, is laid out in some detail in an entry on the *Gates of Vienna* blog entitled ‘Taking Care of Your Own’, which describes ‘a hierarchy of caring, in the form of a series of concentric circles’:

At the center of all the circles is the one you care most about — yourself. Next comes the nuclear family, then the extended family, then the clan, then the tribe, and then the nation. Beyond the nation are the whole human race, other species, and finally the cosmos at large.

You could call these “relationships of obligation”, and your obligations form a declining gradient as they move outwards. The extended family demands less of an obligation than the nuclear family, the nation less than the tribe. Your obligation to other species is to use them as food or raw materials. To the cosmos at large you have no obligation at all. ¹

Loyalty to one’s own kind was also a key theme of the speeches at the Pegida UK rally in Solihull described in the introduction to this thesis. For instance, the group’s deputy leader Anne Marie Waters suggested that ‘David Cameron has pretty much made a choice’:

He has decided that strangers from faraway lands are more important than we are. That is what he’s decided. That’s his decision and this is going to have to be ours. We are sick and tired of importing people who hate us. We are sick and tired of importing people who want to destroy us, our way of life, our ancient heritage, our beautiful Britain. We are sick of it. Throw them out David Cameron, we’ve had enough of this, we really have.²

Rejecting criticism from the Left, Waters went on to say that:

[W]e will not pretend to not love Britain in order to win over traitors, who don’t care about this country anyway... we will not pretend that we’re not here for *Britain*, that we’re not here for *Europe*, we’re here for the *Western* world, we are here for *our* culture and *our* way of life. ³

A repeated theme is that ‘taking care of one’s own’ is not ‘racist’ but innocently patriotic: ‘we’re not what you would call racist, we’re not racist, we’re people who care about

¹<http://gatesofvienna.net/2008/10/taking-care-of-your-own/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

²Fieldnotes, February 2016.

³Fieldnotes, February 2016 (emphasis mine).

our own country, we don't have any hostility to other races'.⁴ However, the desire to ensure a 'future for *our* children and *our* grandchildren' expressed by another speaker at the Pegida UK event,⁵ or the 'declining gradient' of care described on the *Gates of Vienna* blog, starting with the Self and moving through the nuclear family, extended family and so on surely implies a 'community of consanguinity' (Levinas, 1990b, p. 69), even if a strictly biological racism is disavowed.

'Taking care of one's own' means, in part, unashamedly celebrating '*our* traditions', '*our* heritage' and '*our* way of life': the repetition of a cultural heritage. A frequent complaint from interviewees was of the insubstantiality of 'indigenous' traditions and cultures:

We are so assured of our own identity, and the fact that we invented many institutions, that unlike many countries, then the word England or English doesn't actually feature in them. So our national football association is simply called the Football Association. Everybody else's countries' football associations have the name of the country in it, as does rugby [...] And many of the other institutions, because we are such good organisers then- y'know, we've created many institutions and within England then we don't tend to put the word in. There are some exceptions like the English National Opera and the English Ballet, and y'know, but you'll see many of our institutions, where the cultural institutions don't actually have the word England or English in them.⁶

Another insisted that: 'Every school should celebrate St George's Day, every child should celebrate St George. We're in England, there should be one day that we're allowed to celebrate who we are'.⁷

'Taking care of one's own' also means becoming absolutist in defence of 'our' values and way of life, ignoring the siren song of moral or cultural relativism and the temptation to accommodate the political demands of Muslims and other 'strangers'. At a conference in honour of Pim Fortuyn in 2006, in which, as we saw in chapter

⁴Interview 2, party political activist, male, UK.

⁵Fieldnotes, February 2016.

⁶Interview 7, party political activist, male, UK.

⁷Interview data, September 2015.

6, he diagnosed 'relativism' as the 'underlying disease of the West', Douglas Murray urged Europeans to 'become absolutist – absolutist in defence of our societies, our traditions, our heritage, culture, freedoms and democracies':

There is only one way to destroy relativism, and there is only one way to conquer the rise of Islamic militancy and that is to be uncompromising and absolutist. If people want certainty then let us give it to them here. Ignorant people will still say, 'Ah, but I'm not sure what European culture is'. Well that's their fault, not the fault of European culture.⁸

'Becoming absolutist' meant, on a practical level, making life 'harder across the board' for Muslims in Europe:

Europe must look like a less attractive proposition. We in Europe owe - after all - no special dues to Islam. We owe them no religious holidays, special rights or privileges. From long before we were first attacked it should have been made plain that people who come into Europe are here under our rules and not theirs. There is not an inch of ground to give on this one.⁹

What was meant by 'making life harder' was largely left to the audience's imagination, although Murray did suggest 'pulling down' mosques that were deemed to have become 'centres of hate', and also argued that 'Muslims in Europe who for any reason take part in, plot, assist or condone violence against the West (not just the country they happen to have found sanctuary in, but any country in the West or Western troops) must be forcibly deported back to their place of origin'.¹⁰ Following the speech, the UK Conservative party leadership dissociated from Murray and his Centre for Social Cohesion. Later Murray qualified his position, claiming that he 'realised some years ago how poorly expressed the speech in question was' and claimed that his 'opinions have also altered significantly'.¹¹

⁸<http://4freedoms.com/group/gays/forum/topics/douglas-murray-what-are-we-to-do-about-islam> [Last accessed 25th August 2017].

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹<https://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2011/10/douglas-murray.html> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

Cultural absolutism expresses itself in the political demand that there be ‘one law for all’ (Americans, Britons, Germans or the like) and that there should be no political or legal accommodation of the cultural and religious sensibilities of Muslims and other minorities. Legal monism was the main priority for one of my interviewees, a UK-based female counterjihad activist, when I asked her what in her view needed to change:

What we need, we need one very simple thing, but it will change everything. And that very simple thing is to enforce the law. That is all we need to do. We have got to start treating everyone the same... Justice is very far from colour blind. We take into consideration people’s religions, and cultures, and backgrounds, and skin colours when deciding whether or not to prosecute them for a serious crime. This is a disgraceful situation to be in. Everyone needs to be treated the same.¹²

The same question put to another interviewee, a male party political activist in the UK, elicited a very similar response:

I think the first thing that needs to change is that we need to have one law system in England, and there has to be respect for English law, without any exceptions. And we have to stop making exceptions for minorities, and we also have to start showing less tolerance and being - y’know - more assertive to actually preserve our English culture.¹³

Another interviewee spoke of the importance of ‘fully integrating those people who are here, and turning them into British people, turning them into English people. And being quite insistent about that, and those who refuse to integrate, well they can pack their bags and go.’¹⁴

It is not difficult to see how ‘making life harder’, ‘showing less tolerance’ or ‘asserting our culture’ might slide into the kind of street-level harassment and victimisation of Muslims and other minorities that has been a persistent feature of protests by counterjihad street movements. The same interviewee who insisted on the need to be more

¹²Interview 6, counterjihad activist and politician, female, UK.

¹³Interview 7, party political activist, male, UK.

¹⁴Interview 2, party political activist, male, UK.

assertive in protecting English culture went on to suggest that ‘if somebody is wearing an article of clothing then they should be made to feel uncomfortable if it doesn’t actually fit into English culture’, describing this as ‘what you call peer pressure’: ‘walking around looking like Darth Vader in our streets, without your face showing is just not what we do in England. And if you want to fit in and integrate, then you shouldn’t do it.’¹⁵

A shared sense of the need to protect and promote ‘our culture’ and ‘our way of life’ does not imply any consensus about the substantive content of that culture or the lived modalities of that ‘way of life’. When I asked interviewees what they meant by, say, ‘Britishness’ or ‘Western culture’ there was a marked tendency to fall back on appeals to instinct, common sense or folk knowledge:

We’ve had these discussions about what is British culture, and of course it’s not something you can put into a sentence. You know, it’s a mixture of high art and low art. It’s about the kind of personality, the English personality, it’s about the English sense of humour. It’s about - you know - our relationship to animals and to one another and the institutions we have, our love of freedom, our church - the Christian church has obviously been very influential. There’s a whole complex of factors that go together to make up the English - specifically - identity, and this notion of nation and of a national culture. And you can’t put it into a sentence but we all know instinctively what it is - at least British people do.¹⁶

Here ‘culture’ is transported into the realm of the ineffable, the instinctual: ‘not something you can put into a sentence’. Similar dilemmas about how to imagine ‘our’ history were evident in the terminology used by other interviewees, such as ‘Hellenistic, Judeo-Christian traditions’,¹⁷ or another’s suggestion that ‘our culture is based upon Christian principles, and also pagan festivals and things’.¹⁸ The confusion is also encapsulated in Ye’Or’s tortured description of Europe as ‘a Judeo-Christian civilisation, with important post-Enlightenment secular elements’ (Ye’Or, 2005, p. 9).

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Interview 2, party political activist, male, UK.

¹⁷Interview 8, politician, female, UK.

¹⁸Interview 7, party political activist, male, UK.

‘Holger Awakens’

In an American context, the mobilising myth is often of the ‘Judeo-Christian West’, an exemplary case of an ‘invented tradition’ (Ranger and Hobsbawm, 1983) and a term that is much used, for instance, by former Trump strategist and *Breitbart News* editor, Steve Bannon. The idea of a unique ‘Judeo-Christian tradition’ has a long and complex history (Goldman, 2011) but it acquired its contemporary political contours within the US religious right of the 1950s, when America’s ‘Judeo-Christian’ culture was contrasted with the Soviet Union’s ‘Godless Communism’. Later, under the influence of Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority, this morphed into an exhortation to *return* to Judeo-Christian values perceived to have been undermined by liberalism and secularism, and was closely connected with Christian evangelical support for Israel. More recently, the idea of America as the bearer of a unique Judeo-Christian tradition has become intimately bound up with claims to American exceptionalism, and especially since 9/11, it has become an exclusionary term signifying that Muslims cannot be full members of the US social contract (ibid.).

The idea of a Judeo-Christian ‘tradition’, the theologian Arthur A. Cohen argued in an important essay of 1969, is, however, a historical nonsense and a theological impossibility:

The ancient world expected a redeemer, The Jews expected a redeemer to come out of Zion; Christianity affirmed that a redeemer had come out of Zion, but that he had come not for Israel but for all mankind. Judaism denied that claim, rejected the person of that redeemer, called his claim presumption and super-arrogation, denied his mission to them. (Cohen, 1969, not paginated)

The same point has been put somewhat more bluntly by the Orthodox Jewish theologian Eliezer Berkovits: ‘Judaism is Judaism because it rejects Christianity and Christianity is Christianity because it rejects Judaism’ (cited in Goldman, 2011, not paginated). Whilst Judaism and Christianity have a ‘common sacred history’, ‘similar’ ethical values, an ‘overlapping’ eschatological vision and ‘analogous’ normative institutions, this did not, Cohen argued, legitimate the creation of a “Judeo-Christian

tradition”:

We can learn much from the history of Jewish-Christian relations, but the one thing we cannot make of it is a discourse of community, fellowship, and understanding. How then do we make of it a tradition? (Cohen, 1969, not paginated)

The notion of a ‘Judeo-Christian tradition’ is pernicious in Cohen’s eyes insofar as it at best trivializes, and at worst erases, the long history of Christian anti-Judaism and neatly absolves the Christian churches of ethical responsibility for their more recent acquiescence in the crimes of the Nazi and Fascist regimes. Moreover, whilst the idea of a ‘Judeo-Christian tradition’ may sound nominally progressive, its more subtle implication was of an attack on Enlightenment, born, Cohen conjectured, of the need shared by conservative American Christians and Jews ‘to reinforce themselves in the face of a common disaster’: secularisation (ibid.).

In a European context, where the politics of religion is quite different, the mobilising myth is more often of a ‘Christian Europe’, which is at least implicitly, and sometimes avowedly, anti-Semitic. For instance, the Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán, lionized by some within the counterjihad, has appealed to the ‘Christian-national idea’, which was the ruling philosophy of the Horthy period (1920-1944) in which context it signalled Jewish exclusion from Hungarian public life (Fekete, 2016a). Pegida UK and Liberty GB leader Paul Weston quotes approvingly Orbán’s words:

Today mass migration is taking place around the globe that could change the face of Europe’s civilisation. If that happens, that is irreversible. There is no way back from a multicultural Europe. Neither to a Christian Europe, nor to the world of national cultures.¹⁹

The growing salience of Christian motifs and symbols within the discursive and aesthetic repertoires of the European far right was remarked by one academic commentator as early as 2008 (Zuquete, 2008). Examples included the then-*Front National* leader Jean-Marie Le Pen’s opposition to mosques on the grounds that they ‘threaten

¹⁹<https://libertygb.org.uk/news/immigration-altruism-and-national-suicide> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

the Christian identity' of France, the *Lega Nord*'s characterisation of the removal of a painting of the 1571 Battle of Lepanto from the Italian parliament as 'an attack against the Christian identity of the country', and the BNP's claim that in suggesting that the law might make 'reasonable accommodation' for matters of religious conscience, the Archbishop of Canterbury was 'betraying Britain's Christian heritage in order to appease Islam' (2008, pp. 325-26).

Today, the emphasis on Christian identity is especially marked within the BNP-offshoot Britain First. At a rally that I observed in Luton in July 2015, its deputy leader, Jayda Franzen, ended her speech with a dramatic religious flourish:

This, I am very proud to say as a Christian, this is a Christian country. Britain is a Christian country. And in this sign [brandishes cross] we will conquer. *Rule Britannia!*²⁰

This Christian identity politics likely reflects the influence within Britain First of Jim Dowson, a former BNP fundraiser, ex-Calvinist minister and evangelical Protestant with links to the anti-abortion UK Life League and to militant pro-life networks across Europe (Allen, 2014). Opposition to Islam is described by Dowson explicitly as a form of religious warfare. In a rare interview with the UK's Channel 4 News in 2014, Dowson told the programme: 'One thing I agree with Mr [Anjem] Choudary on: there is such a concept as a just war, a holy war. He calls it jihad, we call it a crusade':

INTERVIEWER: Is that how you see it? You see yourself involved in a holy war?

JIM DOWSON: Absolutely, absolutely. Oh absolutely, without any shadow of a doubt. This is a war.

INTERVIEWER: But your rhetoric is identical to theirs in that respect isn't it?

JIM DOWSON: It maybe is, but we're right, they're wrong.²¹

²⁰Fieldnotes, June 2015.

²¹<https://www.channel4.com/news/britain-first-far-right-anti-muslim-extremists-mosques> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

Readers will doubtless be reminded of the Evolian mobilisation of the idea of ‘holy war’, and of Derek Holland’s pamphlet on the ‘Political Soldier’, that martial figure who is seized by ‘a spiritual and religious ideal’.²²

The myths of a ‘Judeo-Christian West’ and of a ‘Christian Europe’ both depend on the erasure, or at least suppression, of a long history of Muslim presence in Europe (Aktürk, 2012). Some lesser-known aspects of this history, such as the Muslim kingdom on Sicily between the ninth and eleventh centuries, or the Muslim settlement in parts of southeastern France from the late ninth century onwards, are typically glossed over. However one exception to the idea of Europe’s ‘(Judeo-)Christian’ identity, the 700-year-long Moorish civilization on the Iberian peninsula, is too glaring to ignore and has to be addressed directly. Hence, Ye’Or devotes an entire chapter of her 2005 book on *Eurabia* to dispelling the myth of ‘The Andalusian Utopia’ (2005, pp. 163-75), which, she argues, has been inculcated as part of the Eurabian project in order to legitimise the Muslim presence in contemporary Europe: ‘Islam, in this view, had a historical legitimacy in Europe; it was not a foreign hostile intruder imposed by war and conquest’ (2005, p. 163). The Christian and Jewish ‘dhimmi’ populations of *Al Andalus* enjoyed ‘occasional periods of tolerance’ according to Ye’Or, but overall ‘Andalusian history is one of cruelty, war, and slavery’ (2005, p. 166). It is not my intention to defend the idea of an Islamic ‘golden age’ or of an ‘Andalusian utopia’, which, it should be clear by now, depend on a theory of history to which I do not subscribe. However, something other than disinterested scholarship evidently lies behind Ye’Or’s revisionist history: as Sindre Bangstad has noted, she is ‘centrally interested in advancing the ahistorical notion of a “common [historical] condition of Jews and Christians [under Islam]” to generate support for Jewish–Christian alliances in support of Israel in the present’ (Bangstad, 2013, p. 372), which is also, of course, a key function of the myth of a singular ‘Judeo-Christian’ tradition.

It is not sufficient to elide the historical Muslim presence in Europe, however: the myths of the ‘Judeo-Christian West’ and ‘Christian Europe’ can only be sustained if considerable energy is also invested in bleaching European intellectual history to remove the stain of Islamic cultural contamination. For instance, Brigitte Gabriel of

²²Available online at <http://www.gornahoor.net/library/PoliticalSoldierA4.pdf>. See pp. 9-10. [Last accessed 22nd September 2017].

ACT for America has claimed that:

When you hear about all the contributions of Islam to the world, algebra and all that, did you know that the people, the inventors who contributed that to the world, were not Muslims, but non-Muslims who were conquered by Islam as Islam swept through Europe and Spain and the rest of the Middle East? And those inventions were from brains that were not Muslim brains. And that's the history of Islam, all over. (cited in Lean, 2012, at p. 104)

Gabriel's words are notable not only for the slippage from cultural to a biological register from 'the contributions of Islam' to 'Muslim brains'. They also rehearse a classical anti-Semitic trope in which Semitic peoples are 'culture bearers', fundamentally incapable of creative activity. As Sener Aktürk has argued, 'Muslims and Jews have been "Europeans" for centuries, and... to claim otherwise may imply an intellectual kinship, however passive, with those who condoned mass murders of Jews and Muslims in Europe, symbolized by the mass graves of Auschwitz and Srebrenica' (Aktürk, 2012, p. 3).

The tendentious myths of the 'Judeo-Christian West' and 'Christian Europe' are, of course, disputed by more mainstream Jewish and Christian voices. A recent article on [patheos.com](http://www.patheos.com), an online religious discussion site, warns of the growing danger of 'far-right Christian paganism':

There is no place for nationalism in Christianity, only patriotism. No Christian can ever simply put America first, because so many other relationships have a claim: family, church, community. Christianity is global, so while I am an American (what else could I be), I cannot only be an American. I must also recognize eternal value in other nations and ideals and that my own nation will not last.

No human nation can.

Augustine had it right: we are ultimately subjects of the City of God.²³

²³<http://www.patheos.com/blogs/eidos/2017/01/coming-problem-far-right-paganism/> [Last accessed 9th August 2017]

From the perspective of a strict monotheistic universalism, there can be no place for a political theology in which ‘the most high God reigns but the national deities govern’.

Besides Judeo-Christian ‘civilizationists’ and Christian nationalists, the new political theology also encompasses some nominally pro-Enlightenment figures and tendencies. For instance, one of my interviewees claimed that ‘I would classify myself as coming from an Enlightenment, 18th century perspective’,²⁴ whilst a canonical ‘history’ of the counterjihad on the *Gates of Vienna* blog describes the movement as being ‘in the classical liberal tradition’.²⁵ Moreover, some within the counterjihad movement regard pro-war liberals and leftists such as Christopher Hitchens, David Aaronovitch and Norman Geras as potential allies.²⁶ But where Enlightenment ideas, values or figures, are invoked, they are often mobilised in a way which suggests that Enlightenment means something other than a ‘permanent critique of ourselves’ (Foucault, 1991b). Instead, there is a marked tendency to treat Enlightenment in precisely the way that Foucault insists we should not: as ‘a theory, a doctrine... a permanent body of knowledge that is accumulating’ (ibid., p. 50). Dan Hind (2007) has coined the term ‘folk Enlightenment’ to describe this tendency to ossify and mythologise the complex philosophical and political phenomenon of Enlightenment, a term that came to my mind as I listened to one of the speakers at the Pegida UK demonstration in Newcastle in February 2015:

Now Voltaire, this old, er- philosopher said that it’s very easy to know who is controlling you, all you have to do is look at who you are not allowed to criticise. Now we all know who we’re not allowed to criticise, it is Islam. You mention it, you’re Islamophobic.²⁷

A similarly reflexive and uncritical invocation of Enlightenment was evident in the immediate aftermath of the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* in January 2015, when a tweet went viral that stated “I do not agree with what you have to say, but I’ll defend to the death your right to say it.” -Voltaire’, attributing to ‘this old philosopher’ something

²⁴Interview 10, counterjihad blogger, male, UK.

²⁵<http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/12/a-brief-history-of-the-transatlantic-counterjihad-part-vii/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

²⁶See for instance the comment by ‘JohnM’ on this entry on *Gates of Vienna*: <http://gatesofvienna.net/2006/09/the-emperor-is-naked/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

²⁷Fieldnotes, February 2015.

he never said (which is not to argue that the sentiment was wrong). The selective mobilisation of Enlightenment here seemingly confirms the Schmittian diagnosis over that of Weber: that grand narratives of a disenchanted and Enlightened modernity are powerful political myths rather than neutral descriptions of modern politics (Yelle, 2010).

Implicit in the idea of the 'Judeo-Christian *West*' or a 'Christian *Europe*' (and, in a slightly different way, in the secular myth of a modern, enlightened West as a 'space of exception' marked by its exclusion of the superstitious and the primitive) is a 'sacralization of imagined territory' (Bhatt, 2012, p. 316). This sacralization has an intellectual foundation in Huntington's work, which, as we saw in the previous chapter, expressed a very Schmittian desire for a *re-territorialization* of the world, one in which the political geography of 'Western civilization' is imagined as coextensive with that of medieval Christendom:

The fault lines between civilizations are replacing the political and ideological boundaries of the Cold War as the flash points for crisis and bloodshed. The Cold War began when the Iron Curtain divided Europe politically and ideologically. The Cold War ended with the end of the Iron Curtain. As the ideological division of Europe has disappeared, the cultural division of Europe between Western Christianity, on the one hand, and Orthodox Christianity and Islam, on the other, has reemerged. The most significant dividing line in Europe... may well be the eastern boundary of Western Christianity in the year 1500. (Huntington, 1993, pp. 29-30)

This new political mythology also contains the elements of a sacred history, replete with tales of disaster averted and Europe or the West triumphant, along with some resonant 'palingenetic' (Griffin, 1993) themes. Symbolically important events for the counterjihad groups include the Frankish defeat of the Umayyad army at the Battle of Tours in 732, the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, the naval Battle of Lepanto in 1571, the *Reconquista* of the Iberian peninsula in 1492, and the defeat of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 ('the other September 11th').²⁸ It also includes a pantheon of heroes

²⁸<http://gatesofvienna.net/2006/09/the-other-september-11th/> [Last accessed 27th September

such as the Frankish King Charles Martel ('Charles the Hammer'), King Ferdinand of Spain, Charlemagne, and Jan III Sobieski, the Polish king and leader of the army that defeated the Ottoman siege of Vienna.

One of the most important symbolic figures is the Danish folk-hero Holger Danske ('Holger the Dane') who, according to legend, fought with Charlemagne against the Saracens and is described in the following terms on *Gates of Vienna*:

But the fairest sight of all is the old castle of Kronborg, and under it sits Holger Danske in the deep, dark cellar which no one enters; he is clad in iron and steel and rests his head on his stalwart arm; his long beard hangs down upon the marble table where it has become stuck fast; he sleeps and dreams, but in his dreams he sees everything that comes to pass in Denmark. Every Christmas Eve an angel of God comes to tell him that all he has dreamed is true, and that he may go back to sleep again, for Denmark is not yet in any danger! but if it should ever come, then old Holger Danske will rouse himself, and the table will break apart as he pulls out his beard! Then he will come forth, and strike a blow that shall be heard throughout all the countries of the world.²⁹

The resurrection of Holger Danske in the West's hour of need is not the only palin-genetic theme within the counterjihad discourse. For instance, the logo of the '910 Group', the International Civil Liberties Alliance precursor whose name evokes the day before September 11th 2001, is of a fiery pheonix rising out of the ashes of the World Trade Center with the words 'rebirth' and 'resistance'.³⁰ Palingenetic themes are also implicit in speculations about a 'Second Renaissance',³¹ a 'rebirth of faith in the West'³² or suggestions that 'the spirit of the West... is awakening in its hour of need'.³³ Meanwhile the performative repertoire of the Dresden Pegida movement

2017].
²⁹<https://gatesofvienna.net/2007/03/holger-the-guardian-of-the-west/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

³⁰<https://gatesofvienna.net/2011/09/rebirth-and-resistance/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

³¹<https://fjordman.blogspot.co.uk/2005/11/second-fall-of-rome.html> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

³²<http://gatesofvienna.net/2005/02/the-enemy-within-part-iii/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

³³<https://gatesofvienna.net/2007/03/holger-the-guardian-of-the-west/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

includes what Nicholas de Genova memorably describes as such ‘lurid crypto-fascist millenarian mantras’ as “‘Germany is awakening. For our fatherland, for Germany, it is our country, the country of our ancestors, descendants and children!’” (de Genova, 2015, pp. 5-6)

Many of the symbols of the new political theology have been commodified by counterjihad groups in order to generate revenue. Grassroots groups like the EDL often have informal uniforms in the form of t-shirts, hoodies and hats embroidered with crosses, flags and the like. Online one can purchase, for instance, Holger Danske mugs, t-shirts, badges, buttons and bumperstickers.³⁴ Another design adapts the popular slogan of solidarity with the victims of the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks, turning it into a motto of identification with the Frankish king: ‘Je Suis Charles Martel’.³⁵

On ‘Hallowed Ground’

These new political mythologies are acted out or performed in a variety of different ways. In a Western European context, where counterjihad groups have not generally enjoyed access to formal political power, disruptive protest by grassroots organisations is one of the main ‘repertoires of contention’ (Tarrow, 2011). The performative and aesthetic repertoires of grassroots counterjihad protest groups often mobilise archaic symbols of national, subnational and supranational belonging that are symptomatic of a ‘sacralisation of politics’ (Gentile, 1996). For instance, the EDL organised events around St George’s Day, celebrating the patron saint of England, and Remembrance Day, commemorating Britain’s war dead. Popular chants at EDL events included ‘Keep St George in my heart, keep me English’ (evoking images of a sacred nation and feelings of national belonging) and ‘We’re the infidels of the EDL, and we’re coming down the road’ (evoking ideas of religious or civilizational antagonism towards ‘Islam’) (Busher, 2012). As we saw in chapter 5, the group’s emblem (figure 8.1) incorporates a red cross, associated with both St George and the Knights Templar, and the motto ‘in hoc signo vinces’ (‘in this sign you will conquer’), which has

³⁴<https://gatesofvienna.net/2007/05/your-one-stop-shop-for-viking-oriented-merchandise/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

³⁵<https://www.blazingcatfur.ca/2016/07/14/i-want-this-t-shirt/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

This image of the EDL emblem and motto has been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 8.1: English Defence League emblem and motto.

complex historical associations including with Emperor Constantine I's conversion to Christianity (Busher, 2012; Gardell, 2014). EDL demonstrations often created the visual effect of a sea of St George Cross flags, many of them adapted by local EDL divisions to incorporate heraldic designs and local symbols of antiquity and belonging. For instance, at a (tiny) EDL demonstration that I observed in London's Hyde Park in Jul 2016, the EDL Essex division carried a St George's Cross that incorporated within it the county flag of Essex, three *seaxes* on a red background; *seaxes* being short swords used by the Saxons, the words 'Saxon' and '*seax*' sharing the same etymology.³⁶

The jarring appearance of the rainbow flag, a symbol of the recent and precarious political emancipation of LGBT persons, alongside such archaic symbols of heredity, medieval warfare and the European Dark Ages is rendered possible by the refiguring of gay rights and womens' rights as inhering features of a timeless Western civilizational inheritance that today stands threatened by Islamic 'totalitarianism' (Bhatt, 2012). Whilst it would be a mistake to view the counterjihad movement's engagement with queer politics as a simple case of 'pinkwashing', as I suggested in chapter 2, it is clear that its commitment to LGBT rights is often wafer-thin. For instance, at an EDL demo that I observed in Dudley in February 2015, one of the speakers simultaneously mobilised and disavowed homophobia as he projected his own evident disgust for

³⁶Fieldnotes, July 2017.

homosexuals onto Muslims:

They talk about us being homophobic, the EDL being anti-gay. Anti-gay? Think about what Islam wants to do to 'em. Every gay will be fucking stoned! To be honest, I think you'd need to be stoned to do that, but that's a different stoned.³⁷

Protest events by grassroots counterjihad groups frequently incorporate ritualistic elements. Group rituals that I have personally been witness to include performances of patriotic songs and observations of periods of silence, in one case to commemorate a local activist who had passed away, and in another case to commemorate the victims of a terrorist attack.³⁸ One of the most striking and enduring examples of a group ritual is Pegida's regular Monday 'evening strolls' in the centre of Dresden, which were consciously intended to evoke the historic 'Monday demonstrations' at the end of the Cold War in late 1989, incorporating for instance the slogan of popular resistance against the East German regime, 'Wir sind das Volk' ('We are the People'). Over time, the group augmented its performative repertoire with novel rituals of its own devising such as a Pegida 'anthem', a regular one minute's silence for victims of jihadist terror attacks, and the conclusion of each event with an announcement of the number of participants (Virchow, 2016, p. 545). The atmosphere of the Dresden events was what Stephen Lennon seemed to be hoping to reproduce when he told the crowd at the inaugural Pegida UK event that, unlike the EDL, Pegida would not tour the UK:

We've found a winning formula, we've found somewhere we are free to walk and oppose the Islamisation of Europe. We will come back here again, and again, and again.³⁹

The effect was not quite the same, however, in a rainy trading estate in Solihull. That the UK Pegida events lacked the atmosphere, drama and spectacle of the Dresden gatherings is surely one of the reasons why the UK group could not emulate the mobilising power of its progenitor.

³⁷Fieldnotes, February 2015.

³⁸Fieldnotes, February 2015 and July 2015.

³⁹Fieldnotes, February 2016.

Mosque developments have been one of the main targets of protest activity by grassroots counterjihad groups, whose opposition to such projects has often invoked ideas of ‘sacred space’, in Mircea Eliades’s sense of somewhere invested with an extraordinary quality that marks it out from, ordinary, ‘profane’ space (Eliade, 1959). One EDL demonstration that I observed in February 2015 had been called to protest against a new mosque development in Dudley, a large town and former centre for the coal and iron industries located just outside Birmingham, which has been visited on many occasions by the EDL, Britain First and other groups. The mosque development, which had been put forward by Dudley Muslim Association as a replacement for the existing Dudley Central Mosque on Castle Hill, had eventually been approved in November 2014 following a planning application process that had lasted almost ten years.⁴⁰ During the lengthy process, objections had been raised about mundane issues such as the building’s size and design, and the nature of the parking arrangements.

What was striking, however, as I listened to the speeches at the EDL demonstration was the very specific nature of their objections, which implied an idea of England as sacred territory and of Dudley, which occupies a geographically central position within England as well as an important place in the history of the nation’s nineteenth century industrialisation, as a unique, special place. One speaker invoked these ideas using an organic metaphor: ‘Dudley is the heart (*sic*) of the Midlands, it is not Islamabad. Yer not building yet another mosque.’⁴¹ Another speaker argued that practical issues with the development were only of secondary importance:

The reason that we should object is not really so much down to the planning aspect, although things like the size of the building, the height of the minaret, the parking restrictions, the traffic flow, the inconvenience to the residents, they’re all important things. But there’s one more thing which is much more important than that, and it’s to do with whether we should be allowing any mosques at all in this country.⁴²

Another was more blunt: ‘Top and bottom of it, this is our England, this is not Islam’s

⁴⁰<http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/dudley-mega-mosque-plans-approved-after-8087707> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁴¹Fieldnotes, February 2015.

⁴²Fieldnotes, February 2015.

England, and they will not fucking take it.⁴³

The idea of Ground Zero as 'sacred space' was explicitly invoked by opponents of the Park 51 development in lower Manhattan in 2010: 'The souls cry out. You can't build there. It is hallowed ground' (cited in Kilde, 2011, at p. 302). The figuration of the former site of the World Trade Center as 'sacred space' within the American national imaginary was intimately related to the idea of it as a cemetery, the final resting place for many victims whose remains have never been found, as well as the fact that for many Americans it was symbolic of a loss of a sense of security. For local residents, it was also tied up with the grotesque disfiguration of a familiar part of the local landscape (ibid., pp. 299-300). The discovery amidst the wreckage of two joined I-beams in the shape of a cross, which one Roman Catholic priest quickly declared to be a sign from God, also marked Ground Zero as sacred in the strict Eliadian sense of the site of a *hierophany*, an eruption of the divine into ordinary, profane space (ibid., pp. 300-01).

The idea of Ground Zero as a 'sacred space' was by no means confined to Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) and its supporters, but was shared very widely across the American political spectrum from President Obama to neoconservative commentator Charles Krauthammer. As Jeanne Kilde has suggested (Kilde, 2011), opposition to the building of a Muslim community centre proximate to (not 'at') Ground Zero on the basis that the latter was 'hallowed ground' shows how easily those who have no association with 'hate groups' or 'the far right' can be led by a certain logic into anti-democratic and repressive postures. In many cases, even those who were insistent on the legal right of the project to go ahead nevertheless suggested that it would be more 'sensitive' to find another location. Not only did this imply a sense of collective Muslim guilt for 9/11 but it also showed how quickly supposedly 'fundamental' American values of religious freedom and private property could be jettisoned due to the perceived need to protect one of the nation's 'sacred spaces' from defilement by a visible symbol of 'Islam'.

Time, as well as space, was fundamental to the Ground Zero mosque controversy, Lee Pierce has argued, in two related senses (Pierce, 2014). First, the timing of

⁴³Fieldnotes, February 2015.

Ground Zero's figuration as a site of national *trauma* was significant. The rhetoric of national trauma that was a prominent feature of the debate over the Park 51 development, Pierce notes, was largely absent from public discourse in the weeks and months after 9/11 when patriotic support for the 'War on Terror' and military intervention in Afghanistan tended to predominate. The discourse of 9/11 as a *traumatic* event only emerged much later, in the context of military failure in Afghanistan and Iraq and the scandal at *Abu Ghraib*. Secondly, within the debates over Park 51, Ground Zero often figured as temporalised space, governed by a non-linear temporality in which 9/11 wasn't simply a tragic event in 'the past' but a form of collective trauma that was still being lived and would go on being lived indefinitely. For instance, in a documentary film produced and directed by Pamela Geller, entitled *The Ground Zero Mosque: Second Wave of the 9/11 Attacks*, one of the interviewees explained that 'I am *still* trying to find the remains of my son' (cited in Pierce, 2014, p. 57). In another documentary produced by the Christian Action Network, entitled *The Untold Story of the Ground Zero Mega-Mosque*, one of the protestors suggested that if the development were to go ahead, 'it will be like 9/11 all over again for these families. The pain will be the same pain' (ibid., p. 59).

Whilst 9/11 figures within the counterjihadist political theology as an especially tragic *hierophany*, a dramatic interruption in the profane order (the day when 'our world changed for ever'⁴⁴), it is not the only such experience and in contexts outside the US other events sometimes figure more prominently. For instance, one activist with the International Civil Liberties Alliance describes how the *Jyllands-Posten* cartoons affair contributed to his own revelatory experience:

My own epiphany (*sic*), the event that unplugged me forever from 'The Matrix' of political dogma, was the Danish Cartoon crisis. At the time I was involved in the politics of the left and, as such, I would approach the work of the Counterjihad from a left wing perspective. My principal concern at the time was the threat that radical Islam posed to freedom of expression. The reaction to the cartoons and the apparent lack of response from the Government and the Police to do anything about it is

⁴⁴http://www.actforamerica.org/confronting_terrorism [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

what forced me to become active in this cause. I felt fear that my culture was under threat, just like the Muslims claimed to be happening to theirs in the aftermath of 9/11. It appeared, and still appears, that Islamic norms trump Western norms in countries like Great Britain, and when concessions have to be made it is always the West that has to make them. (cited in Bhatt, 2012, p. 315)

The metaphor of being ‘unplugged from the Matrix’, is significant here. ‘Taking the red pill’, which alludes to the choice between a blue pill (leading to a life of blissful ignorance) and a red pill (leading to full and traumatic knowledge of the illusory nature of the received reality) offered to the lead character in the Wachowski’s 1999 science fiction film *The Matrix*, has become a figurative expression within the Alt-Right for shaking off the illusions of ‘political correctness’, seeing the world ‘as it really is’ and becoming ‘racially conscious’.

In the narratives of UK counterjihadists, the London transport bombings of 2005 and the murder of the Fusillier Lee Rigby in Woolwich in South London in 2013 (which, as we saw in chapter 5, stimulated a brief revival of EDL activity in the summer of that year), often figure as tragic *hierophanies*. For example, in one blog entitled *Everything Changed After Woolwich*, the writer describes how after the 2005 London transport bombings he was ‘angry about it but was elsewhere, and otherwise engaged, and I went back to sleep,’ but after the killing of Lee Rigby in 2013 ‘I decided that this time I would not be going back to sleep again and started to notice what had changed in Britain over the last twenty years’.⁴⁵

Whilst mosque developments have been a target for American counterjihad groups, as well as for their European counterparts, the federal structure of the US state has long offered a wider set of ‘political opportunities’ (Tarrow, 2011) even before the Trump presidency created spaces for counterjihadist influence over the executive branch of the national government. State legislatures have been a focus for efforts to enact the ‘American Laws for American Courts’ (ALAC) legislation described in chapter 5, whose stated intention is ‘to prohibit the application of foreign law when it would violate fundamental constitutional rights such as due process and equal pro-

⁴⁵<https://ecawblog.wordpress.com/about/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

tection'.⁴⁶ ALAC seeks to prevent the 'infiltration' of the American court system by 'foreign laws and foreign legal doctrines', including 'international law' as well as 'Sharia-centric legal systems', which together constitute one of the 'greatest threats to American values and liberties today'.⁴⁷ The motivation is the need 'to preserve unique American values of liberty and freedom' enshrined in the 'unique document' written '[s]ome 235 years ago' by 'America's forefathers', whose significance was that it freed the US 'from the clutches of a foreign power'.⁴⁸ However the ultimate purpose of the legislation was, according to its architect, David Yerushalmi, 'heuristic': it aimed 'to get people asking this question, "What is Shariah?"' (cited in Elliott, 2011). Much of the grassroots 'muscle' for this initiative has been provided by local ACT for America chapters. As of June 2017, ALAC provisions had been adopted by twelve US states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee and Texas.⁴⁹

That similar language is evident in Trump's January 2017 'Muslim ban' executive order, which speaks of the imperative of excluding from the country 'those who do not support the Constitution, or those who would place violent ideologies over American law',⁵⁰ should not be surprising given that administration figures with close links to the US counterjihad movement were involved in drafting the legislation. In the language of the executive order, the desire for cultural and legal monism is fused with the imperative of excluding certain bodies - as the bearers of 'violent ideologies' - from certain spaces, a racialised logic of bordering and boundary-making. The sole journalistic article that I am aware of that discusses the influence of specifically *counterjihadist* ideas on the Trump administration (rather than those of the 'Alt Right' or 'far right' more generally), emphasises that the executive order 'made no sense as a counterterrorism policy: 'No immigrant from one of the seven targeted countries has ever killed anyone in a terrorist attack on US soil':

⁴⁶<http://www.americanfreedomlawcenter.org/press-release/american-laws-for-american-courts-public-policy-initiative-advances-in-state-legislatures-as-afic-leads-citizens-awareness-drive/> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁴⁷<http://publicpolicyalliance.org/about/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁴⁸<http://publicpolicyalliance.org/legislation/american-laws-for-american-courts/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁴⁹<https://www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/act-for-america> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].

⁵⁰<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/27/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

That's because the real motivation was rooted in counter-jihadist logic. The movement's thinkers have, for years, advocated a similar ban on Muslim immigration. They look to Europe and see Muslim immigrants creating a continent ridden with terrorism and nearly lost to Islamist subversion. The Muslim ban only makes sense when seen as part of their plan to prevent America from going down the same path — by keeping out as many Muslims as possible. (Beauchamp, 2017)

Another key field of political intervention for US counterjihad groups has been the education system, one of the key sites of socialisation, cultural reproduction and the transmission of tradition. ACT for America and other organisations have been involved in various 'textbook reform' initiatives in US states including Tennessee, Texas, Pennsylvania, California and South Carolina, with the aim of changing what is taught about Islam within social studies classes for sixth to twelfth graders (ages 11-18).⁵¹ In 2011, ACT published a report entitled *Education or Indoctrination? The Treatment of Islam in 6th through 12th Grade American Textbooks*.⁵² On its website, ACT explains its political interest in the education system in terms reminiscent of the conspiracy theories discussed in chapter 7:

Long ago America's enemies realized a direct war with the United States would be difficult if not impossible to win. As such they began to focus on tearing down our culture so we would collapse from within. The most powerful way to destroy America's culture is through manipulating our education system and so for the past several decades America's enemies have been, very successfully, infiltrating and manipulating our educational system.

ACT for America believes our schools should be educating our students - not indoctrinating them. We believe it is critical that students receive quality education and education that recognizes, rather than denigrates, the exceptional nature of our nation. Students must be better taught

⁵¹<https://actforamerica.nationbuilder.com/textbookreform> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁵²Available online at: https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/themes/57365ca5cd0af55ea6000001/attachments/original/1483921270/Education_or_Indoctrination_Executive_Summary.pdf?1483921270 [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

about civics, the Constitution, and our true history. Ultimately, ACT for America recognizes the danger of an uneducated populace that believes America is somehow an amoral endeavor; these people will neither fight for nor even care when their country is attacked.⁵³

Implied in this statement is a philosophy of education in which the role of schools is not to encourage free thinking or critical inquiry, but to 'educate' students about the 'exceptional nature of our nation' and 'our true history', with the aim of ensuring that they are prepared to fight (and potentially sacrifice themselves) for their country when the time comes. The section of ACT's website where the *Education or Indoctrination?* report is available to download also includes an online form to fill in to make donations to the textbook reform campaign.⁵⁴

One US state that has been a focus of activism to prevent 'Islamic indoctrination' in its public schools is Tennessee, whose population is predominantly made up of evangelical Christians, many affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention, but which also has a large population of Kurdish Muslims who sought sanctuary there from *Ba'athist* Iraq in the early 1990s. In 2008, the Islamic Center of Columbia, around fifty miles from the state capital of Nashville, was burned to the ground by three white men who drew swastikas and wrote 'white power' on the walls. More recently, in 2010, there was a concerted campaign against plans to expand the Islamic Center of Murfreesboro, a suburb of Nashville.

Local campaign groups including Citizens Against Islamic Indoctrination and the Tennessee Pastors Network,⁵⁵ an evangelical Christian organisation that recently purchased billboards reading

Why Support President's Immigration Ban? 19 Muslim Immigrants
Killed 2,977 Americans. 9/11/2001⁵⁶

have been active in campaigning for changes to the state education standards. As one report notes, should the campaign succeed

⁵³<http://www.actforamerica.org/education> [Last accessed 5th January 2017].

⁵⁴<https://actforamerica.nationbuilder.com/textbookreform> [Last accessed 27th August 2017].

⁵⁵<https://tnpastors.net/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁵⁶<http://www.newschannel5.com/news/billboard-supporting-travel-ban-stirs-controversy> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

it will become optional to teach seventh-graders in Tennessee about the Prophet Muhammad; the differences between Sunni, Shia and Sufi sects; the Golden Age of Islamic enlightenment; and the interfaith connection and cultural exchanges between Islam, Christianity and Judaism — all of which are in the current standards. (Harvard, 2016)

The paranoia informing this campaign is perfectly encapsulated in an anecdote shared by one of my interviewees, a Muslim civil rights activist based in Tennessee, who recalled an encounter that he had had with a representative of the Pastors Network:

I asked him ‘what’s going on with the schools, why are you so concerned?’. And he told me that he had heard from one of his parishioners, that their daughter said, ‘did you know there’s another God besides Jesus that can grant you eternal life?’, and then her daughter dropped down and fell into prostration like a Muslim does. And I looked at him, and I was like, ‘she learned this in a public school?’. And he said ‘yes’. And I said, ‘was it a Muslim teacher?’. He said, ‘I don’t think so’. I said, ‘were there any Muslims in the classroom?’. He goes, ‘it’s a rural town in Tennessee, I don’t think so’. I was like ‘you *believe* this?’. I don’t remember what he said. But to me, it was that *mythology* that was happening.⁵⁷

To the extent that the transmission of ‘our’ culture and heritage is equated with the biological reproduction of a specific population then the counterjihad discourse becomes virtually indistinguishable from older Nazi racial discourses. An idea of biological fatality was invoked by Iowa Congressman Steve King, who is sympathetic to ACT for America, in a much-discussed tweet in March 2017, in which he expressed his admiration for Geert Wilders:

Wilders understands that culture and demographics are our destiny. We can’t restore our civilization with somebody else’s babies.⁵⁸

The argument here is about breeding more of a certain kind of people, and is different from the universalist arguments about the ‘right to life’ more commonly expressed

⁵⁷Interview 18, Muslim civil rights activist, male, US.

⁵⁸<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/12/us/steve-king-white-nationalism-racism.html> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

by the US religious right (Durham, 1998, p. 99). It bears emphasis that the person making it is a serving US congressman, and not a member of a fringe neo-Nazi group.

The pre-occupation with natality and fecundity, which is a direct consequence of the diagnosis of demographic decline and submersion that was described in chapter 6, is more pronounced amongst the neo-Nazi-influenced groups at the fringes of the counterjihad movement. At a Britain First rally that I observed in Luton in June 2015, party leader and former BNP activist Paul Golding invited the crowd to *imagine* the future for white Britons twenty years from now, when they had been submerged under the rising 'green tide', urging them to engage in pre-emptive procreation:

PAUL GOLDING: Now fast forward twenty years and we all know that the immigrant populations here, the Muslims etcetera have got a very high birthrate, whereas our people prefer to go out and get drunk, and to have - you know - careers, etcetera, etcetera. But we've lost that touch - y'know - the healthy underpinnings of this world. We need to produce the next generation. And I'm looking specifically at the young men here, and the young women. Cos you've got to get out there and you've gotta produce the next generation of our people.

JAYDA FRANZEN: Don't do it now though.

PAUL GOLDING: Not now.

JAYDA FRANZEN: Not right now.

[Laughter]

PAUL GOLDING: If you think about it logically, if you think about your grandparents, how many kids and children they had compared to how many you've got. I'll bet there's a vast, vast difference. And if we don't produce the next generation of our people, there won't be a Britain left. Our country's facing extinction.⁵⁹

On the webpage of the EDL splinter group the North West Infidels, the fixation with fecundity is even more pronounced. Here the biological reductionism implicit

⁵⁹Fieldnotes, June 2015.

in the desire to ‘protect our children’, the idea that ‘culture and demographics are our destiny’ and that ‘we can’t restore our civilization with somebody else’s babies’ is rendered transparent as it is transfigured into the infamous ‘14 words’ of the convicted neo-Nazi terrorist, David Lane, that have become a universal call to action for neo-Nazis and white nationalists across the world:

We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.

Lane, who founded the Norse neo-pagan *Wotansvolk* and the underground neo-Nazi terrorist group ‘The Order’, as well as being a theoretician of ‘leaderless resistance’, a strategy oriented towards violence by individuals or very small cells (Michael, 2009), would surely have approved of the symbols of avowed white nationalism and racial paganism displayed on the NWI webpage (see figure 8.2). They include celtic crosses, white pride emblems and advertisements for a ‘white rights day’ organised to demand ‘equal rights for whites’.

There are often tensions between ‘mainstream’ counterjihad groups and the avowed white nationalism of the neo-Nazi-influenced groups that exist on the fringes of the movement. For instance, one of my interviewees, the former senior English Defence League organiser, clearly felt a philosophical affinity with Britain First but expressed misgivings about their motivations:

INTERVIEWEE: I agree with Britain First on their stance about when it comes to Islam, and the things that they’re saying and doing, I find it hard to really argue with them. But I know the driving force behind it is a lot more. Like, publicly than what they’re saying. Britain First, it is the BNP in my eyes.

ME: It comes from more of a fascist kind of tradition?

INTERVIEWEE: Yeah, well they don’t allow other flags at their demonstrations... they wouldn’t allow a Jewish flag, they wouldn’t allow a rainbow flag, they wouldn’t allow anything like that on their demonstrations. Someone tried to pull one of them out they’d get told to leave and removed. Now, other than that being the fact that they are fascist, then

These screenshots of the North West Infidels website have been removed as the copyright is owned by another organisation.

Figure 8.2: White nationalist and racial pagan images from the website of the North West Infidels. Source: northwestinfidels.wordpress.com.

what's the reason for that? Know what I mean? And I know that for a fact they're not allowed any of those flags.⁶⁰

Yet the same interviewee also suggested that the EDL had acted as a stepping stone for some of its members who later became active within the neo-Nazi milieu:

INTERVIEWEE: I've watched myself with young kids join the EDL, one lad [name redacted] in particular, and erm... he's now with the NWI, and when I met him when he was just a kid, seventeen-

ME: The NWI?

INTERVIEWEE: North West Infidels.

ME: Oh yeah.

INTERVIEWEE: Fuckin' assholes, man. I met him when he was seventeen, he was just a normal kid, he's now a skinhead giving Hitler salutes.

ME: Right.

INTERVIEWEE: I've watched that, and I was just like fuckin' hell man. Like, so the EDL... it acted as a stepping stone for him... and it's radicalised him.⁶¹

Consequently we are forced to reckon with both the political distance and the philosophical proximity between the counterjihad movement and neo-Nazism. Most counterjihad groups, as I showed in chapter 5, did not emerge from the neo-Nazi milieu. But we also need to ask how much difference there is *in practice* between the professed desire of counterjihad groups to protect and promote 'our way of life' and 'our traditions' and the NWI's exhortation to 'be proud of your heritage and your culture', 'to celebrate and promote it' and to 'never apologise for loving your race'.

The relationship between US counterjihad groups and the organised white nationalist movement in North America is similarly ambiguous. For instance, in September 2015, Frank Gaffney of the Centre for Security Policy invited Jared Taylor, a key figure in the American white nationalist movement, onto his *Secure Freedom Radio*

⁶⁰Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

⁶¹Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

programme. The invitation was prompted by an article that Taylor had penned for his website, *American Renaissance*, which claims to be ‘the Internet’s premier race-realist site’. Taylor’s article, entitled ‘Is This the Death of Europe?’,⁶² discusses at length the Syrian refugee ‘crisis’, describing the refugees as ‘an army of aliens come to occupy and transform Europe’ and lamenting the fact that the Europeans ‘do not have the nerve to kill in order to survive’.

During the course of the ten-minute interview, Gaffney heaped praise on *American Renaissance*, calling it ‘a wonderful online publication’⁶³ and describing Taylor’s article as ‘an important new piece’ (it is unclear whether Gaffney was familiar with the content of *American Renaissance* beyond the article they were discussing, or whether, as he later claimed, he was merely being polite to his guest). He echoed Taylor’s characterisation of the flow of refugees as an ‘invasion’, and described ‘Germanness’ and ‘Europeanness’ as ‘casualties’ of Angela Merkel’s open-door refugee policy. He also encouraged Taylor to speculate on the potential for violence arising from ‘the infusion into these countries of large numbers of people who don’t assimilate, many of them Muslim who bring with them a Sharia ideological program that is antithetical to the culture and civilization and politics of those European nations.’⁶⁴

Following the interview, Gaffney was sharply criticised by the Southern Poverty Law Center and other civil rights groups,⁶⁵ prompting him to remove the interview from his website. A statement issued by Gaffney claimed that he was ‘unfamiliar’ with Taylor’s views on matters beyond the refugee crisis, and that he ‘did not discuss or endorse them’.⁶⁶ Taylor’s politics should, however, have been evident to Gaffney when he read out on air a list of Taylor’s recent publications, which include *White Identity: Racial Consciousness for the 21st Century* and *Shadows of the Rising Sun*. Taylor, in turn, issued a strong rebuke to Gaffney, claiming that he was ‘surprised’ to hear that the

⁶²<https://www.amren.com/features/2015/09/is-this-the-death-of-europe/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁶³<https://www.amren.com/news/2015/10/transcript-frank-gaffney-interviews-jared-taylor/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2015/09/30/anti-muslim-activist-frank-gaffney-interviews-white-nationalist-jared-taylor-his-radio-show> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

⁶⁶<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2015/10/07/don%E2%80%99t-be-fooled-frank-gaffney%E2%80%99s-backtracking-about-white-nationalist-jared-taylor> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

recording of their ‘cordial’ conversation had been removed from Gaffney’s website. Taylor noted that his views on race ‘should have been clear in the article’ they were discussing, and lamented ‘yet another success by people who despise you—and me—to stamp out the public exchange of views they don’t like.’⁶⁷

‘A declaration of pre-emptive war’

Anders Breivik’s massacre of seventy-seven people in two separate terrorist attacks in Oslo on 22nd July 2011 - the first targeting Norwegian government buildings in downtown Oslo, the second targeting a Labour Party youth camp on the island of Utøya around forty kilometres from the capital - is indicative of the potentiality for the new political theology to inspire acts of extreme violence. It would be a simplification to claim that Breivik was acting out a raw form of the counterjihad ideology, as some journalistic commentary implied at the time. The political journey taken by Breivik had involved a period of membership in the nativist Norwegian Progress party, which he left because it was insufficiently radical, before he became active on neo-Nazi web forums such as *Nordisk* (Nordic) and *Stormfront* (Fekete, 2012; Gardell, 2014). The 1,500-page ‘manifesto’, entitled *2083: A European Declaration of Independence*, emailed by Breivik to more than 1,000 chosen recipients around ninety minutes before he went on his murderous rampage, was in reality a compendium which Breivik had compiled from heterogeneous sources, often without attribution or acknowledgement. It includes copious material lifted from counterjihad writers and bloggers including Bat Ye’Or, Robert Spencer and, especially, Fjordman. But Breivik’s sources also included far-right-wing Christian evangelical theology, the manifesto of the ‘Unabomber’ Ted Kaczynski, neo-Nazism, and the American ‘white power’ movement, the latter itself being essentially a fusion of American white supremacy and European neo-Nazism (Gardell, 2014). Breivik blended all of these into an idiosyncratic personal philosophy that has affinities with many of the political tendencies discussed in this thesis, but which is difficult to unambiguously place in any single category.

Despite Breivik’s chaotic assemblage of a heterogenous range of materials, the

⁶⁷<https://www.amren.com/news/2015/10/open-letter-to-frank-gaffney/> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].

prevalence of many of the discursive frames explored in this thesis - 'Eurabia', 'cultural Marxism', 'Christian Europe' - within his 'manifesto' is striking. The surtitle of Breivik's compendium, *2083*, is the symbolic year of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Ottoman defeat at the gates of Vienna, whilst its subtitle, *A European Declaration of Independence*, is taken from the title of an essay by Fjordman, which Breivik reproduces. The opening pages of *2083* are a direct cut and paste of William Lind's edited volume *Political Correctness: A Short History of an Ideology*. Breivik subscribes to Ye'Or's conspiratorial version of the Eurabia hypothesis, and to the idea of the Muslim Brotherhood 'Project'. Breivik's symbolic repertoire, which is permeated by romantic myths of the chivalric male warrior, that Heideggerian 'knight of anticipatory resoluteness' (Aho, 2007), will also be familiar: the image of a red Templar cross that adorns the front of *2083* is reminiscent not only of the organisational insignia of the European defence leagues, but also of the costumes of the BNP protestors who gathered outside Parliament after 9/11 (figure 4.4), and of the cover of Derek Holland's pamphlet *The Political Soldier* (figure 4.3). Breivik sometimes used as his pseudonym the name of a twelfth-century Norwegian king, Sigurd Jorsalfar ('Sigurd the Crusader'), and signed his manifesto 'AB Justiciar Knight Commander, cell 8 Knights Templar Europe'.

The overwhelming desire expressed in Breivik's manifesto, as a number of commentators have stressed (e.g. Aktürk, 2012; Gardell, 2014), is for a 'return' to the mythical past of a monocultural, patriarchal Christian Europe, purified of the influence of 'cultural Marxists', feminists and Muslims, among other cultural 'contaminants'. As Mattias Gardell has argued, the 'stunning violence' of 22nd July must be seen as 'a hyper-masculine performative act' intended to inspire a heroic vanguard of warriors to rise up and purify the collective European body politic of its enemies within and without (Gardell, 2014, p. 129). Moreover, pre-emption was the ultimate rationale of Breivik's murderous rampage: the third and final 'book' of *2083*, which describes in some detail the potential modalities of lethal violence to resist the 'Islamisation of Europe', is, significantly, entitled 'A Declaration of *pre-emptive* War' (emphasis mine). Breivik was quite critical of counterjihad authors like Fjordman, Robert Spencer, Bat Ye'Or, and Andrew Bostom for being too afraid to discuss radical measures such as

**This image of Anders Breivik's
'manifesto' has been removed as
the copyright is owned by another
organisation.**

Figure 8.3: Front cover over Anders Breivik's 'manifesto' 2083: A European Declaration of Independence.

the mass deportation of Muslims from Europe because it would ‘damage their reputational shields’. In his view, if these authors were left to continue their lengthy online debates for a further forty years without concrete action this ‘would have a devastating effect on Europe’, and consequently he concluded that if the counterjihadists ‘are to [sic] scared to propagate a conservative revolution and armed resistance then other authors will have to’ (Berwick, 2011, p. 753).

Whilst counterjihad activists sought to distance themselves from Breivik, their explanations and rationalisations of his actions were often very revealing. Pamela Geller, for example, stressed that she was ‘not condoning the slaughter in Norway’ and that she abhorred violence ‘except in regard to self defense’, but went on to say that the children targeted by Breivik were ‘future (*sic*) leaders of the party responsible for flooding Norway with Muslims who refuse to assimilate, who commit major violence against Norwegian natives, including violent gang rapes, with impunity, and who live on the dole’.⁶⁸ Former EDL financier Alan Lake wrote on his *4Freedoms* website that Breivik ‘did this attack to protest against the way that Islam is taking over large parts of Europe. By attacking the leftist politicians that are enabling this, the chickens have actually come home to roost’ (cited in Fekete, 2012, p. 32). Three things stand out here: the pre-emptive logic of killing ‘*future* leaders of the party responsible for flooding Norway with Muslims’; the sense of inevitability and fatality conveyed by the idea of ‘chickens coming home to roost’ and, perhaps above all, the sense that the children murdered by Breivik somehow *deserved* their fate because they were ‘enabling’ the Islamic ‘takeover’ of Europe and the ‘flooding’ of Norway by Muslim migrants - or, at least, they *would have* enabled it had they been allowed to live out the rest of their lives.

A similar pre-emptive logic was in evidence during my interview with the former senior EDL activist, the only time that any of my interviewees directly raised the subject of Breivik:

I just think that when you ’ad the Irish conflict, the UDA formed and the UVF formed in response to the republican terrorists, I think that unfor-

⁶⁸<https://pamelageller.com/2011/07/summer-camp-indoctrination-training-center.html/> [Last accessed 2nd October 2017].

tunately in Europe that's what you will see. I dunno at which stage it will happen. I think there was three bombings a week or something when it happened in Ireland, which is a lot of bombings, that's a fuck of a lot of conflict before something formed. I think that... well you've already seen Breivik. But I think things like that will become more commonplace. That's not me wishing it, by the way, because I don't want my words to be said well he wants there to be a big massive war. Well I don't want there to be I honestly- I wouldn't have dedicated my life to doing what I've done if I didn't think that. I've only done that because I'm so fearful for my kids' future. I think well, hold on, in twenty years time when you're my age, I don't want you to be fightin'. You know what I mean? I don't want my son to be fighting this. I'd rather do it myself.⁶⁹

He stopped, looked at me and started laughing loudly: 'You think I'm nuts, int' ya?'

Conclusion

During the course of this thesis, we have seen that the counterjihad brings together organisations and individuals from a variety of quite different political backgrounds, including right-wing Christian evangelicals, religious Zionists, white nationalists, and, at the movement's fringes, avowed neo-Nazis and racial pagans. A key question should be: what has enabled these syntheses and the convergences, when the political tendencies involved are quite different in their ideological and discursive content?

The fundamental argument of this thesis is that these tendencies, for all their specific political differences, are united at a philosophical level through their shared attitude of countermodernity. More specifically, the heterogeneous organisations and individuals discussed in this thesis converge on two key things: first, a shared horror and dismay at the processes of social, cultural and demographic change for which the term 'Islamisation' stands in metonymically; and, second, insofar as 'Islamisation' or 'the jihad' is 'just a symptom' and the real enemy 'lies within', also a shared hatred of the 'spirit of '68' that is deemed to have enabled 'Islamisation', and against which their

⁶⁹Interview 5, counterjihad activist and organiser, male, UK.

counterrevolutionary energies are directed. This does not imply complete unanimity concerning the symptoms, causes or remedies, and there are many internal disagreements within the counterjihad movement. However, it has been enough to enable cooperation between a broad spectrum of groups across Europe and North America who have come to view themselves as part of a common political project.

In the concluding chapter, I want to return to the question I raised in the introduction, and reflect on the theoretical and political stakes involved in invoking 'fascism' today, in a context quite different from that in which the term was originally coined. In doing so, I also want to consider the specific nature of the 'fascism-producing crisis'.

Part III

Conclusion

Chapter 9

Conclusion: Fascism, Past and Pending

If we still think of the totalitarian governments that ruled Europe before the Second World War we can easily say that it would be difficult for them to reappear in the same form in different historical circumstances. [...] Nevertheless, even though political regimes can be overthrown, and ideologies can be criticized and disowned, behind a regime and its ideology there is always a way of thinking and feeling, a group of cultural habits, of obscure instincts and unfathomable drives. Is there still another ghost stalking Europe (not to speak of other parts of the world)?

Umberto Eco

When Umberto Eco penned these words in the pages of the *New York Review of Books* in 1995, writing about the potential reemergence of fascism in Europe must have seemed to many of his readers like idle speculation. To be sure, political science had begun to take an interest in the new far-right parties and movements that had emerged across the continent during the 1980s and 1990s (see e.g. Ignazi, 1992; Mudde, 1995). However, these remained marginal political phenomena and most sober analyses concluded that the necessary conditions for the emergence of fascism, or something like it, were simply absent (Griffin, 2000). Yet re-reading Eco's essay today, much of it seems prescient, especially his insistence that 'we no longer need the

Piazza Venezia in Rome or the Nuremberg Stadium’, and that there lay in the future (*his* future, perhaps *our* present) ‘a TV or Internet populism, in which the emotional response of a selected group of citizens can be presented and accepted as the Voice of the People’ (Eco, 1995, p. 8).

In this thesis, I have argued that contemporary EuroAmerican political mobilisations against Islam and Muslims share with interwar fascisms an ‘attitude of countermodernity’, that they can all be seen as ‘countermodern political theologies’, and that their counterrevolutionary temporal structure justifies their collective characterisation as ‘far right’. Moreover, I have suggested, although not yet argued the case, that *salafi-jihadi* paramilitia groups like *Al Qaeda* and ISIS can also be seen as ‘countermodern political theologies’ belonging to the Islamic religious far right. But to return to a question I raised in the introduction: does this justify the use of ‘fascism’ as a generic term to characterise some, or all, of these phenomena? In this concluding chapter, I want to reflect on the theoretical and political stakes involved in invoking ‘fascism’ to describe phenomena remote in time and space from Mussolinian Italy and Hitlerite Germany. In so doing, I also want to reflect on the specific nature of the ‘fascism-producing crisis’.

One of the longest-standing and clearest answers to these questions is the Marxian one. Marxists have long viewed fascism as a form of petty-bourgeois reaction that arises during structural crises of capitalism, and whose social function is the reconsolidation of bourgeois rule. However, historical research has cast doubt on this analysis, suggesting, for instance, that Nazism had a broad cross-class appeal that included the petty bourgeoisie, but also the working classes and members of the aristocracy (Eley, 2016, p. 102). For similar reasons, I do not think that class-based, economic analyses will take us very far in understanding the resurgence of the far right that we are witnessing across Europe and North America today. As I have tried to show in this thesis, the counterjihad movement is a transnational, cross-class phenomenon, with intellectual, political and activist wings. The same is true of other contemporary far-right movements, such as the ‘Alt-Right’. Many of the key leaders and spokespeople for these movements are university-educated and certainly not working class. Studies that stress the working class basis of the contemporary far right are often based

on analysis of individual, grassroots movement organisations and typically ignore the broader intellectual, political and activist networks within which they are embedded. Moreover, the emphasis on social class ignores the glaring fact that it is primarily *ethnic* and not class solidarities that are being mobilised by today's insurgent ultra-right, for instance in the phenomenon of 'patriotic Europeanism'. I would argue that this is the case even where the antagonisms and enmities that these movements feed off are not *strictly* 'racial' ones, and even where whiteness is obfuscated through appeals to 'Judeo-Christian' or 'Christian' identity.

More recently, a self-proclaimed 'new consensus' has emerged within the liberal historiography of fascism, based on the conviction that a 'generic fascism' (or 'fascist minimum') can be identified based primarily on comparative analysis of interwar European fascist regimes and movements, and that fascism is an ideological phenomenon (most often defined as a form of revolutionary nationalism) (see e.g. Eatwell, 1996; Griffin, 2002; Payne, 2000). The most influential definition of the 'fascist minimum' to have emerged from this literature is Roger Griffin's 'palingenetic ultra-nationalism' wherein 'palingenesis' refers to a myth of national rebirth (Griffin, 1993). Recent liberal historiography has the considerable merit of attempting to understand what fascists actually think, believe and do, rather than dismissing fascist ideology and culture as mere 'superstructural' window-dressing. Moreover, it has been much more willing than the Marxian tradition to recognise the genuinely cross-class appeal of fascism. However, the field of liberal 'fascism studies' has been obsessed with taxonomic categorisation, and often bogs down in tedious terminological and typological debates. 'Palingenetic ultra-nationalism' and the like may or may not be useful as heuristic devices, but one will search this literature in vain for a *theory* of fascism of comparable elegance to the Marxian one.

More importantly, I think we need to ask whether the continuities we seem to sense between the new far-right tendencies emergent today and the ones that flourished in interwar Europe are primarily to be found at the ideological level. Long ago, Emmanuel Levinas insisted that 'the bloody barbarism of National Socialism' was not caused by 'some accidental ideological misunderstanding' but stemmed from a more deep-seated possibility of '*elemental* Evil' into which we can be led by logic, and against

which liberalism was an insufficient guarantee (Levinas, 1990b, p. 63). ‘Hitlerism’ was not, for Levinas, primarily an ideological phenomenon but ‘an awakening of elementary feelings’ (ibid., p. 64), those ‘obscure instincts and unfathomable drives’ alluded to by Eco (1995) in the epigraph to this chapter. A similar argument has been made more recently by Paul Gilroy, who suggests that the phenomena grouped together as ‘fascism’ are not manifestations of a shared political ideology but of ‘something anterior to it which challenges the rules and assumptions of modern politics’ (Gilroy, 1996, 72). Likewise, Peter Osborne has argued that ‘fascism is no *merely* political form - one among a series of alternatives to be listed in the catalogues of comparative politics as competing forms of organization or rule - but a manifestation of deep-rooted historical, or even metaphysical, tendencies or possibilities of the age’ (Osborne, 1995, p. 160). From this perspective, placing fascism alongside liberalism, conservatism and socialism as forms of modern political ideology is a kind of category error.

I would argue that what ultimately marks fascism out as something exceptional is its recourse to and routinisation of violence. In this, I am in agreement with Geoff Eley, who has forcefully insisted on violence as the conclusive differentiator between fascism and conservatism (Eley, 1990). Reflecting on interwar Germany and Italy, Eley has written:

To put it bluntly, *killing* socialists rather than just arguing with them, or at most legally and practically restricting their rights, amounted to the most radical of departures. The brutality of this break can hardly be exaggerated. (Eley, 2016, p. 97)

This is a line that has been transgressed with depressing frequency in recent years. It was definitively crossed in Oslo on 22nd July 2011, when Anders Breivik murdered seventy-seven members of a Labour Party youth camp in cold blood. And it was also crossed more recently in Charlottesville, Virginia, on 12th August 2017, when a car was deliberately driven into a crowd of civil rights activists, killing one and injuring several others. How does someone come to do such a thing? Put simply, they must come to see socialists (and feminists, anti-racists, pacifists and the like) not simply as political foes but as an *existential* threat.

This thesis has tried to describe the logic that might lead someone to this point: from a diagnosis of some imagined community as being in a state of crisis and impending catastrophe, to the displacement of blame onto internal and external scapegoats, and finally to a survivalist logic of bordering, boundary-making and cultural purification. Consequently, I want to suggest that when we invoke the term ‘fascism’, what we are ultimately trying to describe - the intuition that we are trying to circumscribe - is the tendency to enact a form of *sacrificial violence* that aims to *reconsecrate* the boundaries of some imagined community by purifying it of the enemies within and without. From this perspective, fascism is an especially radical form of countermodern political theology, differentiated by its recourse to violence in the quest for a pure or primordial form of biocultural fraternity. This tendency is likely to flourish in moments of rapid sociopolitical change, when assumed group identities, territorial boundaries and forms of social authority come to be contested, and various forms of social uncertainty are exacerbated. However, because ‘crises’ are always (contrary to Marxist understandings) discursively produced and never objectively ‘given’, it can also emerge in times and spaces where the putative material ‘preconditions’ are seemingly absent, and where there is no widespread consensus concerning the existence of an economic or political ‘crisis’. The small but violent neo-fascist and neo-Nazi groups that long existed on the margins of post-war European societies in conditions of relative peace and prosperity are testament to this.

What has changed over the past few years, I would suggest, is that the sense of crisis and decline, and the inability to imagine the future as one of unfolding progress, have ceased to be marginal conditions within the populations of Europe and North America. This is only partly related to the fallout from the 2007-08 financial crisis, nor can it be seen as a simple response to anxieties about ‘terrorism’. To be sure, the economic dislocations of the past decade have provided the far right with a favourable climate in which to operate, as has the post-9/11 security environment. However, the emergence of political mobilisations against Islam, and the resurgence of the far right more generally, long predate the crisis of 2007-08 and draw on discursive frameworks, such as the ‘clash of civilizations’ that had emerged well before 9/11. These new far-right political mobilisations have occurred in the context of the breakup of the bipolar

Cold War political order, new flows of migrants and sanctuary-seekers into Europe and North America, and the political assertion of settled Muslim and other minority populations in the West. Moreover, they must also be seen as long-term responses to the 'Spirit of '68', against which the counterrevolutionary energies of the contemporary far right are directed. It is not primarily economic crises that are productive of fascism, I would argue, but rather crises of *identity*.

The period of 'globalisation' since the end of the Cold War has, observes Arjun Appadurai (2006), also been one of large-scale ethnocidal violence towards minorities the world over. Where the lines between 'us' and 'them' have always been fuzzy, they have become increasingly blurred due to large-scale population movements and the increasing velocity of cross-border flows of information, commodities and capital. In this context, minority populations have become a major site for displacing anxieties about blurred identities, altered power relations and compromised sovereignties. This has, Appadurai suggests, given rise to new forms of scapegoating and new impulses towards cultural purification.

Importantly, the pessimistic, apocalyptic and conspiratorial narratives that have emerged in this context, and which seek to impose explanatory power over these complex process of social change, have often done so organically. For instance, the 'Eurabia' narrative about the 'Islamisation' of the West first emerged as a form of folk-explanation for the political fissures that opened up within Europe, and between Europe and the US, in the context of the Iraq war. Whilst some intellectual versions of the narrative drew on older traditions of cultural pessimism, for instance the writings of Oswald Spengler, the Eurabia thesis was largely the original construct of ultra-conservative writers and journalists. Similarly, Huntington's imagined 'clash of civilizations' is predicated on a form of ontological hatred reminiscent of Schmitt's friend-enemy distinction, but Huntington did not arrive at it by simply recycling Schmitt. Moreover, the intuitive appeal of the 'clash' paradigm can be attributed to its recognition that, contrary to Fukuyama, we are very far from being at the 'end of history' (Appadurai, 2006, p. 116). The discursive frameworks of the 'clash of civilizations', 'Eurabia' and 'cultural Marxism' have been disseminated in book form, in newspapers and journals, and, crucially, in a multiplicity of online spaces through blogs, YouTube

videos and the like. What I am suggesting here is the potential for new pessimistic, fatalistic and conspiracist philosophies to generate new fascistic solidarities, quite independently of any direct intellectual influence from older ideologies and movements. Put differently, one of the things that is missing from both Marxian (structuralist) and liberal (culturalist) approaches is the political *agency* of the fascists.

Thinking about fascism in this way can, I think, rescue the concept from its provincialisation as a form of radical nationalist ideology harnessed to the bureaucratic power of the modern state, and from its trivialisation as a form of petty-bourgeois social reaction. Moreover, from this perspective, I would argue that it is not only those contemporary political movements that openly associate themselves with ‘classical’ Italian Fascism and German National Socialism to which the concept might potentially apply. During and since the 2016 US presidential campaign, the question of whether Trumpism can be regarded as ‘fascist’ has been the subject of fierce debate, and a number of influential historians and scholars of fascism have weighed in.¹ To the extent that ‘fascism’ continues to be associated with specific ideological doctrines, these interventions have tended to discount Trumpism as ‘fascist’. For instance, if fascism is identified with an interventionist state and corporatist economics, then Donald Trump and Steve Bannon are not fascists: they have directed considerable energy into *dismantling* the administrative, regulatory and welfare states, on the basis that they primarily benefit undeserving minorities. However, if fascism is understood in terms of its temporal structure and its propensity for violence, then Trumpism must be considered as at the very least *tendentially* fascistic. Its counter-revolutionary temporality is inscribed in its slogan ‘make American great again’, and its reflexive recourse to violence was evident at campaign rallies where violence was routinely directed against political opponents and journalists, often at the urging of Trump himself.

The counterjihad movement has been one of the key tributaries of the new ‘white nationalism’ for which Trump is now the most important political figurehead. It has not, however, been the only one. Other key movements and ideologies that have fed

¹See, for instance, the interview with the historian Robert Paxton in Slate: http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/interrogation/2016/02/is_donald_trump_a_fascist_an_expert_on_fascism_weighs_in.html [Last accessed 1st October 2017].

into the new white nationalism include the Alt-Right and the 'identitarian' movement, as well as older ones such as the European New Right and resurgent forms of avowed fascism and Nazism. What has been striking over the period of study has been the convergence of these different tendencies: whereas at the beginning of the project it was relatively easy to distinguish between, say, the counterjihad movement and the Alt-Right, these boundaries have become increasingly blurred over time. As I have tried to show, this convergence has been enabled by the movements' common countermodern political philosophy, and their shared antipathy towards the 'spirit of '68'.

The large-scale increase in social uncertainty that has resulted from 'globalisation' has not, however, only or even primarily affected Europe and North America; consequently the resurgence of the ultra-right and of ethnocidal forces is not confined to those geographies. The more expansive understanding of fascism suggested here therefore invites consideration of whether the concept might be useful in apprehending contemporary political movements and regimes *outside* EuroAmerica, whose form is not that of 'white nationalism'. In contrast, the understandings of 'fascism' within Marxian theory and liberal historiography remain profoundly Eurocentric ones, in which fascism is annexed to specific phases in the history of capitalist economic development or modern nation-building. Within those frameworks, the cross-pollination of ideas between interwar European fascist movements and far-right Hindu and Islamic religious movements, or, later, between European neo-fascisms and revolutionary nationalisms in Libya or Iran, are typically glossed over, and putative 'non-Western' cases of 'fascism' are often ignored or elided (Bhatt, 2001, esp. pp. 124-25).

There is not space here to discuss all of the myriad far-right movements and regimes flourishing across the globe today to which my expanded concept of 'fascism' might usefully be applied. I do however want to briefly comment on one application that is especially relevant in the context of this thesis: the neologism of 'Islamofascism'. The term seems to have been coined by the Scottish writer Malise Ruthven around 1990, and was subsequently popularised by neoconservatives and pro-war liberals after 9/11. It is also a term frequently used within counterjihad circles, for in-

stance in the Horowitz Freedom Center's 'Islamofascism Awareness Weeks'.² A key problem with the term, as I see it, is that it is unclear whether it is intended to apply to political Islamists (for instance, the Muslim Brotherhood), national *jihadists* (such as Hamas), or to *salafi-jihadism* (such as *Al Qaeda*) where the resonances with fascism seem to me to be strongest. This confusion is not only confined to the writings of polemicists like Christopher Hitchens:³ even so scrupulous a scholar as Jeffrey Herf uses the term in very expansive and indiscriminate way.⁴

I am personally sceptical about the application of the term 'fascism' to *salafi-jihadist* ideology. I would certainly argue that *salafi-jihadism* is a form of 'counter-modern political theology' as I have defined it in this thesis: as Herf correctly observes, faith and technicity were fused together to lethal effect on 11th September 2001, when '*Al Qaeda*-trained engineering students flew jets into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon' (Herf, 2010, not paginated). Moreover, there are a number of more specific philosophical continuities between *salafi-jihadism* and European fascism, for instance their shared anti-Semitism, homophobia, anti-feminism and cults of masculinity. Their aesthetic repertoires, invoking images of medieval warfare, are also strikingly similar. However, it seems to me that there are equally important differences, especially between their political aims and their forms and rationalisations of political violence.

One key difference is that whereas historical fascisms have sought to preserve a plurality of particular *nomoi*, *salafi-jihadism* aims at the construction of a global Caliphate and hence the unification of the planet under a single *nomos*. Similarly, whereas fascisms have sought to protect and to celebrate a particular this-worldly cultural and civilisational inheritance, the *salafi-jihadi* theological imagination is animated in part by fantasies of the destruction of, or exit from, the temporal world. To put this more concretely: when Anders Breivik went on his murderous rampage, he did not do so because he expected thereby to gain access to the material and carnal rewards of an other-worldly Paradise, but because he thought the people he was killing were part of

²<http://www.horowitzfreedomcenter.org/about> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].

³http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/fighting_words/2007/10/defending_islamofascism.html [Last accessed 27 September 2017].

⁴<https://newrepublic.com/article/74354/killing-the-name> [Last accessed 27 September 2017].

a conspiracy to bring about the 'Islamisation of Europe'. There is an important difference between fighting to preserve a particular historical community and geographical territory, and fighting to cleanse the planet of unbelief (Bhatt, 2013).

A stronger parallel can perhaps be found between European fascisms and radical black nationalisms, such as the Nation of Islam, which Paul Gilroy has argued can be seen as forms of 'black fascism' (Gilroy, 2000). Unlike the theological imaginations of the *salafi-jihadists*, the political visions of Elijah Muhammad or Louis Farrakhan are very much linked to specific biological populations and particular worldly territories, and their logic has been a separatist one. In chapter 4, we saw the strange alliances to which this could occasionally give rise. As Gilroy notes, what brought together Garvey's UNIA and the Klan in the early 1920s 'was land: a sovereign territory, a national homeland to legitimate their aspirations. The whites have their country; blacks can and must have one too' (ibid., p. 74).

Implicit in the more expansive conceptualisation of fascism that I am suggesting here is a similarly expanded idea of anti-fascism: one that is not only concerned to fight a permanent rearguard action against the possible recurrence of historical fascisms, but also permanently attuned to the emergence of new fascistic potentialities that are not necessarily ideologically or organisationally linked to past forms. As Gilroy has put it, we need to recognise that fascism is always still 'somehow pending' (Gilroy, 2000, p. 89). The difficulty of anticipating the emergence of new forms of fascism has arguably led to some 'blind spots' within anti-fascist activism. One of my interviewees, a UK-based anti-fascist activist, complained that parts of the anti-fascist movement had been slow to recognise the danger posed by the transnational networks described in this thesis because many of the actors involved, especially the suave and sophisticated representatives of US advocacy groups, did not resemble their idea of what 'fascists' are supposed to look like. Consequently, whilst counterdemonstrations were unfailingly organised against the street-level activities of groups like the EDL, no effective strategy had been formulated to oppose the wider movement or to counter its narratives. Secondly, as we saw briefly in chapter 2, in mobilisations against counterjihad street groups like the EDL, parts of the anti-fascist movement have been willing to form tactical alliances with authoritarian and anti-democratic representatives of the

Muslim community to whom the term 'fascist' might at least *arguably* be applied.

Moreover, the new fascistic potentialities and actualities emergent today differ from historical ones not only at the discursive level, but also in their organisational forms and tactical repertoires. This can be seen especially in the innovative use of new media technologies by many far-right groups. In this context, there are difficult questions to be asked about anti-racist and anti-fascist tactics and strategies. In a context of finite resources, where is time and energy best expended: in counterdemonstrations against street-level mobilisations by far-right groups, or in interventions in the online spaces through which fascist ideas and tactics are disseminated? How do you begin to counter the conspiratorial narratives circulating in these milieux when you yourself are viewed as part of the conspiracy, and consequently anything you say is likely to be discounted? There are no easy answers to such questions.

In his first postwar memoir of his time in Auschwitz, *If This is a Man*, Primo Levi observed that '[m]any people - many nations - can find themselves holding, more or less wittingly, that "every stranger is an enemy"':

For the most part this conviction lies deep down like some latent infection; it betrays itself only in random, disconnected acts, and does not lie at the base of a system of reason. But when this does come about, when the unspoken dogma becomes the major premiss in a syllogism, then, at the end of the chain, there is the *Lager* [death camp]. Here is the conception of the world carried to its logical conclusion; so long as the conception subsists, the conclusion remains to threaten us. (Levi, 1987, p. 15)

During the time I have been engaged in this research project, Britain has voted to leave the European Union following a referendum campaign that mobilised barely-concealed racial resentments, an American president has promised and then partly enacted a ban on Muslim migration to the US, and Eastern European nations have militarised their borders in order to stem the flow of refugees seeking sanctuary from the bitter conflict in Syria. Shortly before I was due to send this thesis to be printed and bound, news came in that the *Alternative für Deutschland*, a party whose official position is that 'Islam is not part of Germany', had come third in the September

2017 German federal elections with thirteen percent of the vote. To me, at least, it seems that the conception described by Levi is very much alive and well, and that the conclusion - however improbable a *dénouement* it may be - does indeed still linger to threaten us.

Appendix A

Appendix: Websites Analysed

Table A.1: Counterjihad movement websites (category 1)

URL	Description	Organisation type	Country	In-Degree	Out-Degree	Betweenness
http://1389blog.com/	1389 Blog	online space	US	4	108	16313.605
http://www.4freedoms.ning.com/	4 Freedoms (.ning.com)	online space	UK	1	10	567.67
http://4freedoms.com/	4Freedoms (.com)	online space	UK	2	0	1.736
http://www.actforamerica.org/	ACT for America	research and advocacy	US	6	0	77.433
http://actforamericahouston.wordpress.com/	ACT for America - Houston chapter	research and advocacy	US	3	0	2.375
http://www.allenwest.com/	Allen B. West	individual	US	3	0	5.428
http://1159pmgmt.blogspot.com/	Almost Midnight in the West	online space	Canada	2	0	0
http://alwaysonwatch3.blogspot.com/	Always on Watch: Semper Vigilans	online space	US	4	0	0
http://www.americanfreedomlawcenter.org/	American Freedom Law Center	research and advocacy	US	3	0	0
http://publicpolicyalliance.org/	American Public Policy Alliance	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://www.americansagainsthate.org/	Americans Against Hate	political movement	US	3	0	0.914
http://www.andrewbostom.org/	Andrew Bostom	individual	US	7	0	8.746
http://www.answeringmuslims.com/	Answering Muslims	online space	US	5	0	0
http://www.anti-cair-net.org/	Anti-CAIR	research and advocacy	US	6	0	2.24
http://www.arabistjansen.nl/	Arabist Jansen	individual	Netherlands	1	0	0
http://atlashrugs2000.typepad.com/	Atlas Shrugs	online space	US	12	9	597.646
http://islammonitor.org/	Australian Islamist Monitor	online space	Australia	2	0	0
http://www.barenakedislam.com/	Bare Naked Islam (.com)	online space	US	1	77	7790.439
http://barenakedislam.wordpress.com/	Bare Naked Islam (.blogspot.com)	online space	US	5	0	4.591
http://www.blazingcatfur.ca/	Blazing Cat Fur (.ca)	online space	Canada	2	0	0
http://blazingcatfur.blogspot.com/	Blazing Cat Fur (.blogspot.com)	online space	Canada	3	0	0
http://www.blogwrath.com/	Blogwrath	online space	Canada	2	0	0
http://fawstin.blogspot.com/	Bosch Fawstin	individual	US	3	0	0
http://paxeuropa.de/	Bürgerbewegung Pax Europa (Pax Europa Citizens Movement)	political movement	Germany	0	4	11.669
http://www.pro-deutschland-online.de/	Bürgerbewegung pro Deutschland (-online.de)	political party	Germany	1	1	4
http://www.pro-deutschland.de/	Bürgerbewegung pro Deutschland (.de)	political party	Germany	1	0	0
http://www.pro-koeln.org/	Bürgerbewegung pro Köln	political movement	Germany	0	2	4
http://www.pro-nrw.net/	Bürgerbewegung pro NRW (North-Rhine Westphalia)	political party	Germany	0	0	0
http://www.carolineglick.com/	Caroline Glick	individual	US	5	0	5.26
http://cavatus.wordpress.com/	Cavatus's Blog	online space	Sweden	2	0	0
http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/	Center for Security Policy	research and advocacy	US	6	0	13.595
http://cairunmasked.org/	Center for Security Policy - CAIR Observatory	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://counterjihad.com/	Center for Security Policy - counterjihad.com	research and advocacy	US	3	0	0
http://www.shariahfinancewatch.org/	Center for Security Policy - Shariah Finance Watch	research and advocacy	US	4	0	15.398
http://shariahinamericancourts.com/	Center for Security Policy - Shariah in American Courts	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://shariahthethreat.org/	Center for Security Policy - Shariah: The Threat to America	research and advocacy	US	4	0	3.784
http://www.politicalislam.com/	Center for the Study of Political Islam	research and advocacy	US	8	0	35.651
http://www.cspipublishing.com/	Center for the Study of Political Islam - Publications	research and advocacy	US	4	0	82.578
http://www.citizenwarrior.com/	Citizen Warrior	online space	US	5	0	1.32
http://civilusdefendus.wordpress.com/	Civilus Defendus	online space	US	2	0	0

Table A.1: Counterjihad movement websites (category 1) continued.

URL	Description	Organisation type	Country	In-Degree	Out-Degree	Betweenness
http://civilusdefendus.files.wordpress.com/	Civilus Defendus (mirror site)	online space	US	2	0	0
http://www.clarionproject.org/	Clarion Project	research and advocacy	US	7	0	1.031
http://www.obsessionthemovie.com/	Clarion Project - Obsession the Movie	daughter	US	2	0	0
http://concess.blogspot.com/	Concessions to Islam	online space	US	2	0	0
http://conswe.de.blogspot.com/	Conservative Swede	online space	Sweden	2	0	0
http://counterjihadreport.com/	Counterjihad Report	online space	US	1	104	12734.615
http://theenglishdefenceleagueextra.blogspot.co.uk/	Counterjihad: beyond the EDL	online space	UK	0	5	100.323
http://www.creepingsharia.wordpress.com/	Creeping Sharia	online space	US	7	47	3378.537
http://www.crescentofbetrayal.com/	Crescent of Betrayal	online space	US	2	0	0
http://www.danishdefenceleague.dk/	Danish Defence League	political movement	Denmark	0	0	0
http://www.trykkefrihed.dk/	Danish Free Press Society	research and advocacy	Denmark	2	0	2.185
http://www.sappho.dk/	Danish Free Press Society - Sappho magazine	research and advocacy	Denmark	2	0	0
http://www.debbieschlussel.com/	Debbie Schlüssel	individual	US	2	0	0.534
http://dtj.blogspot.com/	Defeat the Third Jihad	online space	US	2	0	0
http://www.defendthemodernworld.wordpress.com/	Defend the Modern World	online space	UK	2	0	0
http://www.deusvult.info/	Deus Vult Caritatem (God Wants Love)	online space	n/k	2	0	0
http://www.dhimmitude.org/	Dhimmitude (Bat Ye'Or)	online space	Switzerland	3	0	0
http://www.dianawest.net/	Diana West	individual	US	5	0	1.049
http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/	English Defence League	political movement	UK	6	0	568.969
http://www.enzaferri.blogspot.com/	Enza Ferreri	individual	UK	2	0	0
http://www.europenews.dk/	Europe News	online space	Denmark	9	2	384.044
http://en.europenews.dk/	Europe News (English-language version)	online space	Denmark	4	8	188.889
http://de.europenews.dk/	Europe News (German language version)	online space	Denmark	2	3	526.968
http://ecawblog.wordpress.com/	Everything Changed After Woolwich	online space	UK	2	0	1.864
http://www.fdl.fi/	Finnish Defence League	political movement	Finland	0	1	0
http://fjordman.blogspot.com/	Fjordman	online space	Norway	3	0	0.911
http://floridafamily.org/	Florida Family Association	political movement	US	2	0	0
http://www.fdesouche.com/	François Desouche	online space	France	2	0	43.156
http://freedomdefense.typepad.com/	Freedom Defense Initiative	research and advocacy	US	3	0	5.069
http://gatesofvienna.net/	Gates of Vienna (.net)	online space	US	9	0	11.25
http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com.au/	Gates of Vienna (.blogspot.com.au)	online space	US	0	1	0
http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/	Gates of Vienna (.blogspot.com)	online space	US	8	79	12194.445
http://www.halalchoices.com.au/	Halal Choices	online space	Australia	2	0	0
http://www.davidhorowitzfreedomcenter.org/	Horowitz Freedom Center	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://www.horowitzfreedomcenter.org/	Horowitz Freedom Center (alternative url)	research and advocacy	US	5	28	1420.597
http://www.blackbookoftheamericanleft.com/	Horowitz Freedom Center - Black Book of the American Left	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/	Horowitz Freedom Center - Discover the Networks (.org)	research and advocacy	US	10	0	26.364
http://www.discoverthenetworks.com/	Horowitz Freedom Center - Discover the Networks (.com)	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://www.frontpagemag.com/	Horowitz Freedom Center - FrontPage Magazine	research and advocacy	US	20	20	3829.778
http://www.frontpagemagazine.com/	Horowitz Freedom Center - FrontPage Mag (alternative url)	research and advocacy	US	4	0	0
http://archive.frontpagemag.com/	Horowitz Freedom Center - FrontPage Magazine (archive)	research and advocacy	US	7	0	2.343
http://horowitzfreedomcenterstore.org/	Horowitz Freedom Center - Online Store	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://www.restorationweekend.org/	Horowitz Freedom Center - Restoration Weekend	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://www.stopthejewhatredoncampus.org/	Horowitz Freedom Center - Stop the Jew Hatred on Campus	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://www.stopthejihadoncampus.org/	Horowitz Freedom Center - Stop the Jihad on Campus	research and advocacy	US	3	0	0
http://www.truthrevolt.org/	Horowitz Freedom Center - TruthRevolt	research and advocacy	US	3	0	0
http://www.rights.no/	Human Rights Service	research and advocacy	Norway	2	0	48.25
http://english.savefreespeech.org/	In Defense of Free Speech	online space	Austria	2	0	0
http://www.ibloga.blogspot.com/	Infidel Bloggers Alliance	online space	US	4	0	1.089
http://www.libertiesalliance.org/	International Civil Liberties Alliance	research and advocacy	multiple	7	28	2208.759
http://www.internationalfreepressociety.org/	International Free Press Society	research and advocacy	Denmark	2	0	0
http://www.d-intl.com/	International Free Press Society - Dispatch International	research and advocacy	Denmark	5	0	24.716
http://iranaware.com/	Iran Aware (.com)	online space	US	3	0	0
http://iamiranaware.wordpress.com/	Iran Aware (.wordpress.com)	online space	US	2	0	0
http://ironburka.blogspot.com/	Iron Burka	online space	n/k	3	0	0
http://islamineurope.blogspot.com/	Islam in Europe	online space	n/k	3	0	2.111
http://www.jamiegazov.com/	Jamie Glazov	individual	US	2	0	0
http://www.jihadwatch.org/	Jihad Watch	online space	US	26	0	1417.279
http://joshuapundit.blogspot.com/	Joshua Pundit	online space	US	3	0	1.385
http://www.justifythis.blogspot.com/	Justify This	online space	UK	2	0	0
http://kitmantv.blogspot.com/	Kitman TV	online space	n/k	2	0	0
http://smallresistance.wordpress.com/	Klein Verzet (Small Resistance)	online space	Netherlands	3	0	0
http://allianceffl.wordpress.com/	L'Alliance FFL	political movement	France	2	0	38.413
http://www.lawandfreedomfoundation.org/	Law and Freedom Foundation	research and advocacy	UK	3	0	3.205
http://www.libertygb.org.uk/	Liberty GB	political party	UK	3	25	1352.295
http://librabunda.blogspot.com/	Librabunda	online space	UK	3	0	1.089
http://www.lisistrata.com/	Lisistrata	online space	Italy	2	0	0
http://loganswarning.com/	Logan's Warning	online space	US	3	0	3.324
http://www.meforum.org/	Middle East Forum	research and advocacy	US	8	0	23.506

Table A.1: Counterjihad movement websites (category 1) continued.

URL	Description	Organisation type	Country	In-Degree	Out-Degree	Betweenness
http://www.campus-watch.org/	Middle East Forum - Campus Watch	research and advocacy	US	2	15	167.031
http://www.danielpipes.org/	Middle East Forum - Daniel Pipes	research and advocacy	US	10	28	1590.885
http://www.islamist-watch.org/	Middle East Forum - Islamist Watch	research and advocacy	US	4	0	2.948
http://www.legal-project.org/	Middle East Forum - The Legal Project	research and advocacy	US	5	0	3.658
http://www.militantislammonitor.org/	Militant Islam Monitor	online space	US	5	0	0
http://missioneuropakmartell.wordpress.com/	Mission Europa Netzwerk Karl Martell	political movement	Austria	1	0	0
http://moneyjihad.wordpress.com/	Money Jihad	online space	US	4	0	0
http://www.mosquewatch.blogspot.com/	Mosquewatch	online space	US	2	0	0
http://muslimstatistics.wordpress.com/	Muslim Statistics	online space	nk	4	0	5.818
http://norwegiandefenceleague.com/	Norwegian Defence League	political movement	Norway	0	2	31.373
http://occidentalsoapbox.blogspot.com/	Occidental Soapbox	online space	US	2	0	0.65
http://pamelageller.com/	Pamela Geller	individual	US	11	0	125.951
http://callofthepatriot.blogspot.com/	Patriot's Corner	online space	US	2	0	0
http://pegida.de/	Pegida	political movement	Germany	0	0	0
http://www.pegidauk.org/	Pegida UK	political movement	UK	1	0	0
http://www.pi-news.org/	Politically Incorrect (English-language edition)	online space	Germany	4	37	3856.942
http://www.pi-news.net/	Politically Incorrect (German-language edition)	online space	Germany	8	0	128.095
http://www.prophetofdoom.net/	Prophet of Doom	online space	US	4	0	0
http://www.pvv.nl/	PVV (Party for Freedom)	political party	Netherlands	1	2	6.435
http://www.geertwilders.nl/	PVV (Party for Freedom) - Geert Wilders	political party	Netherlands	2	3	232.278
http://www.pvvdhaag.nl/	PVV (Party for Freedom) - Hague branch	political party	Netherlands	2	0	107.502
http://www.wildersproces.nl/	PVV (Party for Freedom) - Wilders process	political party	Netherlands	2	0	180.712
http://www.qsociety.org.au/	Q Society of Australia	political movement	Australia	4	0	0
http://www.raymondibrahim.com/	Raymond Ibrahim	individual	US	9	0	69.889
http://www.rightsidenews.com/	Right Side News	online space	US	6	0	1.699
http://ripostelaique.com/	Riposte Laique	online space	France	2	10	1222.119
http://www.worldthreats.com/	Ryan Mauro	individual	US	2	0	0
http://www.svp.ch/	Schweizerische Volkspartei (Swiss People's Party)	political party	Switzerland	0	0	0
http://sitasecure.wordpress.com/	Sensibilisation à l'Islam Tous Azimuts	political movement	France	1	0	0
http://shariaunveiled.wordpress.com/	Sharia Unveiled	online space	US	3	0	0
http://shariaunveiled.files.wordpress.com/	Sharia Unveiled (mirror site)	online space	US	1	0	0
http://www.shariawatch.org.uk/	Sharia Watch UK	research and advocacy	UK	3	0	1.864
http://www.snaphanen.dk/	Snaphanen	online space	Denmark	4	0	43.904
http://mappingsharia.com/	Society of Americans for National Existence - Mapping Sharia	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://www.standupamericanow.org/	Stand Up America Now	political movement	US	2	0	0
http://sioeu.wordpress.com/	Stop Islamisation of Europe	political movement	Denmark	0	14	135.038
http://siaddk.wordpress.com/	Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark (Stop Islamisation of Denmark)	political movement	Denmark	2	4	34.39
http://www.siotw.org/	Stop Islamization of the World	political movement	US	0	23	681.772
http://www.sian.no/	Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge (Stop Islamisation of Norway)	political movement	Norway	0	8	36.49
http://sultanknisk.blogspot.com/	Sultan Knish	online space	US	3	0	0
http://www.sverigedemokraterna.se/	Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats)	political party	Sweden	0	0	0
http://swissdefenceleague.wordpress.com/	Swiss Defence League	political movement	Switzerland	1	51	4457.635
http://www.nicedoggie.net/	The Anti-Idiotarian Rottweiler	online space	US	3	0	2.185
http://www.brusselsjournal.com/	The Brussels Journal	online space	Belgium	6	0	11.801
http://www.thehotgates480bc.blogspot.com/	The Hot Gates 480BC	online space	US	2	0	0
http://themuslimissue.wordpress.com/	The Muslim Issue	online space	US	2	0	0
http://www.thereligionofpeace.com/	The Religion of Peace	online space	US	17	63	6906.975
http://www.handbookforinfidels.com/	The Savvy Kafir	online space	US	2	0	0
http://layjadeneurabia.com/	The Sixth Redoma (old Jihad in Eurabia).	online space	Spain	3	0	0
http://thestoryofmohammed.blogspot.com.au/	The Story of Mohammed	online space	Australia	2	0	0
http://www.theunitedwest.org/	The United West	research and advocacy	n/k	3	0	35.607
http://tommyrobinson.co.uk/	Tommy Robinson	individual	UK	0	0	0
http://tulisannurtad.blogspot.com/	Tulisan Murtad (Writing Apostate)	online space	n/k	2	0	0
http://www.tundratabloids.com/	Tundra Tabloids (.com)	online space	Finland	9	0	28.401
http://tundratabloid.blogspot.com/	Tundra Tabloids (.blogspot.com)	online space	Finland	2	0	0
http://turbanbomb.blogspot.com/	Turban Bomb	online space	Denmark	2	0	0
http://www.understandingthethreat.com/	Understanding the Threat	research and advocacy	US	2	0	0
http://urbaninfidel.blogspot.com/	Urban Infidel	online space	US	3	0	0.914
http://www.uriasposten.net/	Uriasposten	online space	Denmark	1	30	1581.338
http://verite-valeurs-democratie.over-blog.com/	Vérité, Valeurs et Démocratie (Truth, Values and Democracy)	online space	France	1	0	0
http://www.vlaamsbelang.org/	Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest)	political party	Belgium	1	0	0
http://vladtepesblog.com/	Vlad Tepes	online space	Canada	9	0	30.811
http://www.westerncivilizationandculture.blogspot.com/	Western Civilization and Culture	online space	UK	2	0	0
http://sheikyermami.com/	Winds of Jihad	online space	Australia	6	0	8.458

Table A.2: Supporters, enablers and sympathisers (category 2)

URL	Description	Category	In-Degree	Out-Degree	Betweenness
http://www.aish.com/	Aish HáTorah (Fire of the Torah)	Pro-Israel	2	0	0.29
http://www.alisina.org/	Ali Sina	Heterodox Muslims	3	0	21.015
http://aclj.org/	American Center for Law and Justice	Religious right	4	0	1.32
http://www.aifdemocracy.org/	American Islamic Forum for Democracy	Heterodox Muslims	6	0	2.078
http://www.americanthinker.com/	American Thinker	Right-wing blog / online space	11	21	990.7
http://www.amilimani.com/	Amil Imani	Heterodox Muslims	9	0	87.96
http://www.answering-islam.org/	Answering Islam	Religious right	5	0	2.664
http://backspin.typepad.com/	Backspin blog	Pro-Israel	2	0	2.185
http://bwcentral.org/	Bear Witness Central	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	1.207
http://www.breitbart.com/	Breitbart News	Conservative media	21	0	439.986
http://www.britainfirst.org/	Britain First	White nationalist and other far right	2	0	0
http://www.canadafreepress.com/	Canada Free Press	Conservative media	5	0	1.739
http://thecanadiansentinel.blogspot.com/	Canadian Sentinel	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.cis.org/	Center for Immigration Studies	Nativist / anti-immigrant	2	0	3.12
http://www.christianaction.org/	Christian Action Network	Religious right	5	0	1.97
http://www.cbn.com/	Christian Broadcasting Network	Religious right	3	0	8.317
http://www.classicalvalues.com/	Classical Values	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://theconservativetreehouse.com/	Conservative Tree House	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	2.376
http://www.dccllothesline.com/	D.C. Clothesline	Conspiracy theorists	2	0	0.837
http://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/	Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party)	Nativist / anti-immigrant	0	0	0
http://www.dendanskeforening.dk/	Den Danske Forening (The Danish Association)	Nativist / anti-immigrant	2	0	0
http://diversitymachtfrei.blogspot.com/	Diversity Macht Frei	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.document.no/	Document.no	Conservative media	3	7	414.635
http://directorblue.blogspot.com/	Doug Ross @ Journal	Right-wing blog / online space	3	0	1.385
http://downeastblog.blogspot.com/	Downeast Blog	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://drybonesblog.blogspot.com/	Dry Bones	Pro-Israel	3	0	0.65
http://enemiesforeignanddomestic.com/	Enemies Foreign and Domestic	Conservative media	2	0	1.385
http://www.faithfreedom.org/	Faith Freedom International	Heterodox Muslims	8	0	261.713
http://www.familysecuritymatters.org/	Family Security Matters	National security	8	0	46.569
http://faustasblog.com/	Fausta's Blog	Right-wing blog / online space	3	0	0
http://formermuslimsunited.org/	Former Muslims United	Heterodox Muslims	3	0	0
http://www.defenddemocracy.org/	Foundation for Defense of Democracies	National security	2	0	8.539
http://www.freerepublic.com/	Free Republic	Right-wing blog / online space	5	0	6.615
http://freedomoutpost.com/	Freedom Outpost	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0.749
http://www.freedomzone.com/	Freedom's Zone	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.frp.no/	Fremskrittspartiet (Progress Party)	Nativist / anti-immigrant	0	0	0
http://www.gadiadelman.com/	Gadi Adelman	National security	4	0	0
http://galliawatch.blogspot.com/	GalliaWatch	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/	Gatestone Institute	National security	13	9	975.312
http://hinduexistence.org/	Hindu Existence	Religious right	3	0	8.607
http://www.independentsentinel.com/	Independent Sentinel	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.infowars.com/	Info Wars	Conspiracy theorists	2	0	0
http://www.islamreview.com/	Islam Review	Religious right	4	0	1.02
http://www.islam-watch.org/	Islam Watch	Heterodox Muslims	8	43	3089.931
http://israelmatzav.blogspot.com/	Israel Matzav	Pro-Israel	2	0	0
http://www.israelnationalnews.com/	Israel National News	Pro-Israel	10	0	23.647
http://www.israellycool.com/	Israellycool	Pro-Israel	2	0	0
http://www.israpundit.com/	Israpundit	Pro-Israel	2	0	0.914
http://www.juliagorin.com/	Julia Gorin	Conservative media	2	0	0
http://www.keywiki.org/	KeyWiki	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	1.385
http://khalas.wordpress.com/	KHALAS!	Heterodox Muslims	3	0	1.739
http://ladyliberty1885.wordpress.com/	Lady Liberty 1885	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.maggiesnotebook.com/	Maggie's Notebook	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.steynonline.com/	Mark Steyn	Conservative media	3	0	0
http://www.melaniephillips.com/	Melanie Phillips	Conservative media	2	0	0
http://www.memri.org/	MEMRI (Middle East Media Research Institute)	Conservative media	12	7	1944.47
http://donate.memri.org/	MEMRI - Donate	Conservative media	2	0	0
http://www.memrijttm.org/	MEMRI - Jihad and Terrorism Threat Monitor	Conservative media	3	0	0.554
http://www2.memri.org/	MEMRI - main site mirror	Conservative media	2	0	0
http://subscribe.memri.org/	MEMRI - Subscription service	Conservative media	2	0	0

Table A.2: Supporters, enablers and sympathisers (category 2) continued.

URL	Description	Category	In-Degree	Out-Degree	Betweenness
http://www.memritv.org/	MEMRI - TV Monitor Project	Conservative media	8	6	980.492
http://memri.convio.net/	MEMRI - User home page	Conservative media	2	0	0
http://memrireports.tumblr.com/	MEMRI - Women's Studies Initiative	Conservative media	2	0	0
http://www.middle-east-info.org/	Middle-East-Info.org	Pro-Israel	4	0	1.739
http://www.moonbattery.com/	Moonbattery	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://newsbusters.org/	MRC NewsBusters	Conservative media	3	0	3.001
http://www.nationalreview.com/	National Review	Conservative media	16	0	207.54
http://neveryetmelted.com/	Never Yet Melted	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0.534
http://www.newenglishreview.org/	New English Review	Right-wing blog / online space	9	15	812.074
http://no-pasaran.blogspot.com/	No Pasaran	Right-wing blog / online space	3	0	0
http://www.noisyroom.net/	NoisyRoom.net	Right-wing blog / online space	2	36	2581.54
http://northwestinfidels.wordpress.com/	North West Infidels	White nationalist and other far right	0	0	0
http://pjmedia.com/	PJ Media	Conservative media	12	0	61.722
http://pajamasmedia.com/	PJ Media (alternative url)	Conservative media	7	0	20.593
http://politicalvelcraft.org/	Political Vel Craft	Conspiracy theorists	2	0	2.376
http://powerandcontrol.blogspot.com/	Power and Control	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	1.385
http://www.prisonplanet.com/	Prison Planet	Conspiracy theorists	1	0	0
http://www.red-alerts.com/	Red Alerts	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://refugeeresettlementwatch.wordpress.com/	Refugee Resettlement Watch	Nativist / anti-immigrant	6	0	1.32
http://www.renewamerica.com/	Renew America	Religious right	3	0	1.091
http://rightwingdeathbogan.blogspot.com/	RightWingDeathBogan	Right-wing blog / online space	3	0	1.385
http://www.sezession.de/	Sezession	White nationalist and other far right	1	0	0
http://sistertoldjah.com/	Sister Toldjah	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.smalldeadanimals.com/	Small Dead Animals	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	1.385
http://www.soerenkern.com/	Soeren Kern	Conservative media	2	0	0
http://steynian.wordpress.com/	Steynian	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.wintersoldier2008.typepad.com/	Summer Patriot, Winter Soldier	Right-wing blog / online space	3	0	14.896
http://astuteblogger.blogspot.com/	The Astute Bloggers	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	0
http://www.eutimes.net/	The European Union Times	White nationalist and other far right	2	0	0
http://www.thegatewaypundit.com/	The Gateway Pundit	Right-wing blog / online space	6	0	11.142
http://www.investigativeproject.org/	The Investigative Project on Terrorism	National security	12	0	37.84
http://mypetjawa.mu.nu/	The Jawa Report	National security	6	0	9.402
http://www.therebel.media/	The Rebel Media	Conservative media	2	0	1.221
http://www.theblaze.com/	TheBlaze	Conservative media	6	0	6.224
http://www.thomasmore.org/	Thomas More Law Center	Religious right	3	0	0
http://www.trevorloudon.com/	Trevor Loudon	Conservative media	3	0	1.385
http://truthandcons.blogspot.com/	Truth & Consequences	Right-wing blog / online space	2	0	1.385
http://www.vdare.com/	VDARE	White nationalist and other far right	2	0	8.856
http://www.voiceofthecoets.org/	Voice of the Coets	Religious right	3	0	2.376
http://www.shoebat.com/	Walid Shoebat	Heterodox Muslims	7	0	17.908
http://www.weaselzipper.us/	Weasel Zippers	Right-wing blog / online space	4	0	2.376
http://www.wnd.com/	World Net Daily	Conspiracy theorists	10	0	35.243
http://www.worldnetdaily.com/	World Net Daily (alternative url)	Conspiracy theorists	2	0	0

Appendix B

Appendix: Research Statement

About the Research Project

This research project is exploring the recent emergence and development of political movements set up to oppose radical Islam in Europe and North America. This includes anti-Jihad, anti-Sharia and anti-halal groups.

The purpose of the research is to explore how these new movements can be understood in sociological terms. Areas of particular interest include:

- The aims and objectives of the movements;
- Activists' and supporters' motivations for getting involved;
- How movements are organised and the relations between them; and
- Their political and ideological views and how these can be understood.

The research will explore these issues through an analysis of organisations' campaign materials and websites, as well as interviews with activists and supporters.

The research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

About the Researcher

Ed Pertwee is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology and Centre for the Study of Human Rights at LSE. He has previously studied at Birkbeck College, University of London; the University of Cambridge; and the University of York. His

research interests include issues related to religion, race and ethnicity in the UK and beyond.

Bibliography

- Ackland, R., 2011. WWW Hyperlink Networks, *in: Analyzing Social Media Networks with NodeXL*, Burlington, MA: Morgan Kaufmann, 181–200.
- Aho, K., 2007. Gender and Time: Revisiting the question of Dasein's neutrality, *Epoché*, 12 (1), 137–55.
- Akkerman, T., 2005. Anti-Immigration Parties and the Defence of Liberal Values: The exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 10 (3), 337–354.
- Aktürk, S., 2012. September 11, 1683: Myth of a Christian Europe and the massacre in Norway, *Insight Turkey*, 14 (1), 1–11.
- Allen, C., 2010. *Islamophobia*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Allen, C., 2011. Opposing Islamification or Promoting Islamophobia? Understanding the English Defence League, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 45 (4), 279–294.
- Allen, C., 2014. Britain First: The 'frontline resistance' to the Islamification of Britain, *The Political Quarterly*, 85 (3), 354–361.
- Appadurai, A., 2006. *Fear of Small Numbers: An essay on the geography of anger*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Ashbolt, A., 1985. Requiem for the Sixties? David Horowitz and the politics of forgetting, *Radical America*, 19 (6), 64–73.
- Back, L., 2002a. Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? The political morality of investigating whiteness in the Gray Zone, *in: L. Back and V. Ware, eds., Out of Whiteness: color, politics, and culture*, London: University of Chicago Press, 33–59.

- Back, L., 2002b. Wagner and Power Chords: Skinheadism, white power music, and the internet, *in*: V. Ware and L. Back, eds., *Out of Whiteness: color, politics, and culture*, London: University of Chicago Press, 94–132.
- Back, L., Keith, M., and Solomos, J., 1996. Technology, Race and Neo-fascism in a Digital Age: The new modalities of racist culture, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 30 (2), 3–27.
- Bail, C., 2015. *Terrified: How anti-Muslim fringe organizations became mainstream*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Bangstad, S., 2013. Eurabia Comes to Norway, *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 24 (3), 369–391.
- Bar-On, T., 2011. Transnationalism and the French Nouvelle Droite, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 45 (3), 199–223.
- Bavaj, R., 2011. ‘The West’: A conceptual exploration, *European History Online*, 21st Nov., [online] Available at: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/bavajr-2011-en> [Last accessed 1st October 2017].
- Bawer, B., 2006. *While Europe Slept: How radical Islam is destroying the West from within*, New York: Doubleday.
- Bawer, B., 2010. *Surrender: Appeasing Islam, sacrificing freedom*, New York: Anchor Books.
- Beauchamp, Z., 2017. Trump’s Counter-Jihad: How the anti-Muslim fringe conquered the White House, *Vox*, 13th Feb., [online] Available at: <https://www.vox.com/world/2017/2/13/14559822/trump-islam-muslims-islamophobia-sharia> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].
- Bellant, R., 1988. *Old Nazis, the New Right, and the Republican Party: Domestic fascist networks and their effect on U.S. Cold War politics*, Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Benford, R.D. and Snow, D.A., 2000. Framing Processes and Social Movements: an overview and assessment, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611–639.

- Berbuir, N., Lewandowsky, M., and Siri, J., 2015. The AfD and its Sympathisers: Finally a right-wing populist movement in Germany?, *German Politics*, 24 (2), 154–178.
- Berger, P., 2011. Lawyer Who Promotes Anti-Sharia Laws Publishes New Study on Islamic Extremism, *Forward*, 12th July, [online] Available at: <http://forward.com/news/139688/lawyer-who-promotes-anti-sharia-laws-publishes-new/> [Last accessed 31st Jul. 2017].
- Berlet, C., 2012. Collectivists, Communists, Labor Bosses, and Treason: The Tea Parties as Right-Wing Populist Counter-Subversion Panic, *Critical Sociology*, 38 (4), 565–587.
- Berlet, C. and Lyons, M.N., 2000. *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too close for comfort*, New York: Guilford Press.
- Berntzen, L.E. and Sandberg, S., 2014. The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the anti-Islamic social movement, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26 (5), 759–779.
- Berntzen, L.E. and Weisskircher, M., 2016. Anti-Islamic Pegida Beyond Germany: Explaining differences in mobilisation, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37 (6), 556–573.
- Bhatt, C., 2001. *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, ideologies and modern myths*, Oxford: Berg.
- Bhatt, C., 2012. The New Xenologies of Europe: Civil tensions and mythic pasts, *Journal of Civil Society*, 8 (3), 307–326.
- Bhatt, C., 2013. The Virtues of Violence: The Salafi-Jihadi political universe, *Theory, Culture & Society*, 31 (1), 25–48.
- Blee, K., 2002. *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the hate movement*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Bottici, C., 2007. *A Philosophy of Political Myth*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Boykin, W.G., Soyster, H.E., Brim, C., Cooper, H., and Coughlin, S., 2010. *Sharia: The Threat to America: An exercise in competitive analysis – report of Team B II*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Security Policy.
- Buchanan, P.J., 2002. *The Death of the West: How dying populations and immigrant invasions imperil our country and our civilization*, New York: St Martin's Press.
- Busher, J., 2012. From Ethnic Nationalisms to Clashing Civilizations: Reconfigurations of (un)civil religion in an era of globalization, *Religion Compass*, 6 (9), 414–425.
- Busher, J., 2016. *The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest: Grassroots activism in the English Defence League*, Routledge Studies in Extremism and Democracy, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Caiani, M. and Parenti, L., 2013. *European and American Extreme Right Groups and the Internet*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Caiani, M. and Wagemann, C., 2009. Online Networks of the Italian and German Extreme Right, *Information, Communication & Society*, 12 (1), 66–109.
- Caldwell, C., 2010. *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe : Immigration, Islam, and the West*, London: Penguin.
- Carr, M., 2006. You Are Now Entering Eurabia, *Race and Class*, 48 (1), 1–22.
- Clover, C., 2016. *Black Wind, White Snow: The rise of Russia's new nationalism*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Cohen, A.A., 1969. The Myth of the Judeo-Christian Tradition, *Commentary*, 1st Nov., [online] Available at: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-myth-of-the-judeo-christian-tradition/> [Last accessed 9th Aug. 2017].
- Copsey, N., 2008. *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the quest for legitimacy*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2nd ed.

- Copsey, N., 2010. *The English Defence League: Challenging our country and our values of social inclusion, fairness and equality*, London: Faith Matters, [online] Available at <http://faith-matters.org/images/stories/fm-reports/english-defense-league-report.pdf> [Last accessed 1st October 2017].
- Critchley, S. and Dianda, A., 2015. *The Problem with Levinas*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- de Genova, N., 2015. In the Land of the Setting Sun: Reflections on ‘Islamization’ and ‘Patriotic Europeanism’, *movements. Journal für kritische Migrations- und Grenzregimeforschung*, 1 (2).
- de Lange, S. and Art, D., 2011. Fortuyn versus Wilders: An agency-based approach to Radical Right party building, *West European Politics*, 34 (6), 1229–1249.
- Denes, N., 2012. ‘Welcome to the Counterjihad’: Uncivil networks and the narration of European public spheres, *Journal of Civil Society*, 8 (3), 289–306.
- Dostal, J.M., 2015. The Pegida Movement and German Political Culture: Is right-wing populism here to stay?, *The Political Quarterly*, 86 (4), 523–531.
- Douglas, M., 1966. *Purity and Danger: An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, London: Routledge.
- Dreyfus, H., not dated. Being and Power: Heidegger and Foucault, [online] Available at: <https://www.scribd.com/document/180278652/Being-power-Hubert-dreyfus> [Last accessed 8th August 2017].
- Durham, M., 1998. *Women and Fascism*, London: Routledge.
- Durham, M., 2003. The American Far Right and 9/11, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 15 (2), 96–111.
- Duschinsky, R., 2011. Purity, Power and Cruelty, *Critique of Anthropology*, 31 (4), 312–328.
- Eatwell, R., 1996. On Defining the ‘Fascist Minimum’: The centrality of ideology, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 1 (3), 303–319.

- Eatwell, R., 2003. *Fascism: A history*, London: Random House.
- Eco, U., 1995. Ur-Fascism, *New York Review of Books*, 22nd June.
- Ekman, M., 2015. Online Islamophobia and the Politics of Fear: Manufacturing the green scare, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38 (11), 1986–2002.
- Eley, G., 1990. Conservatives and Radical Nationalists in Germany: The production of fascist potentials, 1912-1928, in: M. Blinkhorn, ed., *Fascists and Conservatives: The radical right and the establishment in twentieth-century Europe*, London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, chap. 4, 50–70.
- Eley, G., 2016. Fascism Then and Now, *Socialist Register*, 52, 91–117.
- Eliade, M., 1954. *The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History*, New York: New York : Bollingen Foundation Inc.
- Eliade, M., 1959. *The Sacred and the Profane: The nature of religion*, New York ; London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Elliott, A., 2011. The Man Behind the Anti-Shariah Movement, *New York Times*, 30th July, [online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/31/us/31shariah.html> [Accessed 1st Jul. 2017].
- Eubanks, C.L. and Gauthier, D.J., 2011. The Politics of the Homeless Spirit: Heidegger and Levinas on dwelling and hospitality, *History of Political Thought*, 32 (1), 125–146.
- Evola, J., 1995. *Revolt Against the Modern World*, Rochester, VA: Inner Traditions.
- Fallaci, O., 2001. *The Rage And The Pride*, New York: Rizzoli International Publications.
- Fallaci, O., 2006. *The Force of Reason*, New York: Rizzoli International Publications.
- Fekete, L., 2009. *A Suitable Enemy: Racism, migration and Islamophobia in Europe*, London: Pluto Press.

- Fekete, L., 2012. The Muslim Conspiracy Theory and the Oslo massacre, *Race & Class*, 53 (3), 30–47.
- Fekete, L., 2016a. Hungary: Power, punishment and the ‘Christian-national idea’, *Race & Class*, 57 (4), 39–53.
- Fekete, L., 2016b. Neoliberalism and Popular Racism: The shifting shape of the European right, *Socialist Register*, 52, 1–23.
- Ferguson, N., 2004. Eurabia?, *The New York Times Magazine*, 4th April, [online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/04/magazine/the-way-we-live-now-4-4-04-eurabia.html> [Accessed 25th Aug. 2017].
- Ferraresi, F., 1987. Julius Evola : Tradition, reaction, and the Radical Right, *European Journal of Sociology*, 28 (01), 107–151.
- Foucault, M., 1991a. Nietzsche, Genealogy, History, in: P. Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader*, London: Penguin, 76–100.
- Foucault, M., 1991b. What is Enlightenment?, in: P. Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader*, London: Penguin, 32–50.
- Fukuyama, F., 1992. *The End of History and the Last Man*, London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Gabriel, B., 2008 [2006]. *Because They Hate: A survivor of Islamic terror warns America*, New York: St Martin’s Griffin.
- Gardell, M., 2014. Crusader Dreams: Oslo 22/7, Islamophobia, and the quest for a monocultural Europe, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26 (1), 129–155.
- Gentile, E., 1990. Fascism as Political Religion, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 25 (2/3), 229–251.
- Gentile, E., 1996. *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gentile, E., 2005. Political Religion: A concept and its critics – a critical survey, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 6 (1), 19–32.

- Gilroy, P., 1996. Revolutionary Conservatism and the Tyrannies of Unanimism, *New Formations*, 28, 65–84.
- Gilroy, P., 2000. Black Fascism, *Transition*, (81/82), 70–91.
- Gilroy, P., 2004. *After Empire: melancholia or convivial culture?*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Giniewski, P., 1994. The Return of Islam to Europe: Bat Ye'Or Interview by Paul Giniewski, *Midstream: A Monthly Jewish Review*, XXXX (2), 16–19.
- Girard, R., 1987. Generative Scapegoating, in: R.G. Hamerton-Kelly, ed., *Violent Origins: Walter Burkert, Rene Girard, and Jonathan Z. Smith on Ritual Killing and Cultural Formation*, Stanford University Press, 73–105.
- Goggin, M.M., 1991. 'Decent' vs. 'Degenerate' Art: The National Socialist Case, *Art Journal*, 50 (4), 84.
- Goldberg, J., 2008. The Jewish Extremists Behind 'Obsession', *The Atlantic*, 27th Oct., [online] Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2008/10/the-jewish-extremists-behind-quot-obsession-quot/9006/> [Last accessed 1 Jul. 2017].
- Goldman, S., 2011. What do We Mean by Judeo-Christian?, *Religion Dispatches*, 15th Feb., [online] Available at: <http://religiondispatches.org/what-do-we-mean-by-judeo-christian/> [Last accessed 27th September 2017].
- Goodrick-Clarke, N., 2002. *Black Sun: Aryan cults, esoteric Nazism and the politics of identity*, London: New York University Press.
- Goodwin, M.J., 2011. *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Grabow, K., 2016. Pegida and the Alternative für Deutschland: Two sides of the same coin?, *European View*, 15 (2), 173–181.
- Griffin, R., 1993. *The Nature of Fascism*, Abingdon: Routledge.

- Griffin, R., 2000. Interregnum or Endgame? The radical right in the 'post-fascist' era, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 5 (2), 163–178.
- Griffin, R., 2002. The Primacy of Culture: The current growth (or manufacture) of consensus within fascist studies, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 37 (1), 21–43.
- Hafez, F., 2014. Shifting borders: Islamophobia as common ground for building pan-European right-wing unity, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 48 (5), 479–499.
- Hall, J., 2009. *Apocalypse: From antiquity to empire of modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Halliday, F., 1999. 'Islamophobia' reconsidered, *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 22 (5), 892–902.
- Harvard, S., 2016. Meet the Activists Fighting to Save Tennessee's Children from 'Islamic Indoctrination', *Mic*, 7th Oct., [online] Available at <https://mic.com/articles/156100/meet-the-activists-fighting-to-save-tennessee-s-children-from-islamic-indoctrination> [Last accessed 28th September 2017].
- Hawley, G., 2016. *Right-Wing Critics of American Conservatism*, Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Heidegger, M., 1962. *Being and Time*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., trans. Macquarrie and Robinson.
- Heidegger, M., 1993a. 'Only a God Can Save Us': Der Spiegel's Interview with Martin Heidegger, in: R. Wolin, ed., *The Heidegger Controversy: A critical reader*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 91–116.
- Heidegger, M., 1993b. The Self-Assertion of the German University, in: R. Wolin, ed., *The Heidegger Controversy: A critical reader*, MIT Press, 29–39.
- Herf, J., 1984. *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, culture, and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Herf, J., 2009. Nazi Germany's Propaganda Aimed at Arabs and Muslims During World War II and the Holocaust: Old themes, new archival findings, 42 (4), 709–736.
- Herf, J., 2010. Killing in the Name, *New Republic*, 8th April, [online] Available at <https://newrepublic.com/article/74354/killing-the-name> [Last accessed 27 September 2017].
- Herf, J., 2014. Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Nazis and the Holocaust: The origins, nature and aftereffects of collaboration, *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 26 (3/4), 13–37.
- Hind, D., 2007. *The Threat to Reason: How the Enlightenment was hijacked and how we can reclaim it*, London ; New York: London ; New York : Verso.
- Hitler, A., 1992. *Mein Kampf*, London: Pimlico.
- Hoffmann, P., 2006. Death, Time, History: Division II of Being and Time, in: C.B. Guignon, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Heidegger*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chap. 7, 195–214.
- Hofstadter, R., 1996. *The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and Other Essays*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Huntington, S.P., 1993. The Clash of Civilizations?, *Foreign Affairs*, 72 (3), 22–49.
- Huntington, S.P., 2002. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, London: The Free Press.
- Huntington, S.P., 2004. *Who Are We? America's great debate*, London: Free Press.
- Ignazi, P., 1992. The Silent Counter-Revolution, *European Journal of Political Research*, 22 (1), 3–34.
- Jackson, P., 2011. *The EDL: Britain's 'new far right' social movement*, Nottingham: University of Nottingham: Radicalism and New Media Research Group.

- Jamin, J., 2014. Cultural Marxism and the Radical Right, *in: The Post-war Anglo-American Far Right: A special relationship of hate*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, chap. 4, 84–103.
- Kant, I., 1790a. An Answer to the Question: ‘What is Enlightenment?’, *in: H. Reiss, ed., Kant: Political Writings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, 54–60.
- Kant, I., 1790b. Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose, *in: H. Reiss, ed., Kant: Political Writings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, 41–53.
- Kedar, M. and Yerushalmi, D., 2011. Shari’a and Violence in American Mosques, *Middle East Quarterly*, 18 (3), 59–72.
- Kilde, J.H., 2011. The Park 51/Ground Zero Controversy and Sacred Sites as Contested Space, *Religions*, 2 (3), 297–311.
- King, D., 1989. *Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism*, New York: Doubleday.
- Kumar, D., 2012. *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire*, Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Laqueur, W., 2007. *The Last Days of Europe: Epitaph for an old continent*, New York: Thomas Dunne Books.
- LaRouche, L., 1978. The Secrets Known Only to the Inner Elites, *The Campaigner*, 11 (3-4).
- Lean, N., 2012. *The Islamophobia Industry: How the right manufactures fear of Muslims*, Pluto Press.
- Lee, B., 2015. A Day in the ‘Swamp’: Understanding discourse in the online Counter-Jihad nebula, *Democracy and Security*, 11 (3), 248–274.
- Levi, P., 1984. *The Periodic Table*, London: Penguin.
- Levi, P., 1987. *If This Is a Man & The Truce*, London: Abacus.

- Levi, P., 1988. The Grey Zone, *in: The Drowned and the Saved*, London: Abacus, 22–51.
- Levinas, E., 1990a. Heidegger, Gagarin and Us, *in: Difficult Freedom: essays on Judaism*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 231–34.
- Levinas, E., 1990b. Reflections on the Philosophy of Hitlerism, *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1), 63–71.
- Lewis, B., 1990. The Roots of Muslim Rage, *The Atlantic*, Sept., [online] Available at <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/> [Last accessed 1st Oct. 2017].
- Lind, W.S., 2004. 'Political Correctness': A short history of an ideology, Free Congress Foundation, [online] Available at: <http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/viewSubCategory.asp?id=1332> [Last accessed 1st October 2017].
- Macklin, G., 2005. Co-Opting the Counter Culture: Troy Southgate and the National Revolutionary Faction, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 39 (3), 301–326.
- McCulloch, T., 2006. The Nouvelle Droite in the 1980s and 1990s: Ideology and entryism, the Relationship with the Front National, *French Politics*, 4 (2), 158–178.
- Mead, R., 2010. Rage Machine: Andrew Breitbart's empire of bluster, *The New Yorker*, 24th May, [online] Available at <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/05/24/rage-machine> [Last accessed 29th September 2017].
- Michael, G., 2009. David Lane and the Fourteen Words, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 10 (1), 43–61.
- Miller, J., 2013. *Siding With The Oppressor: The pro-Islamist Left*, London: One Law for All.
- Minnicino, M., 1992. The New Dark Age: the Frankfurt School and 'Political Correctness', *Fidelio*, Winter, 4–27.

- Mosse, G., 1998. *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual origins of the Third Reich*, New York: Howard Fertig.
- Mudde, C., 1995. Right-wing Extremism Analyzed: A comparative analysis of the ideologies of three alleged right-wing extremist parties, *European Journal of Political Research*, 27 (2), 203–224.
- Murray, D., 2017. *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, identity, Islam*, London: Bloomsbury.
- Nagle, A., 2017. What the Alt-right is Really All About, *The Irish Times*, 6th Jan., [online] Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/angela-nagle-what-the-alt-right-is-really-all-about-1.2926929> [Last accessed 1st July 2017].
- Noriega, D., 2016. Brigitte Gabriel Wants You to Fight Islam, *BuzzFeed News*, 27th Sept., [online] Available at: <http://www.buzzfeed.com/davidnoriega> [Last accessed 31st July 2017].
- Osborne, P., 1995. *The Politics of Time: Modernity and avant-garde*, London: Verso.
- Pai, H.H., 2016. *Angry White People: Coming face-to-face with the British far right*, London: Zed Books.
- Palaver, W., 2007. Carl Schmitt's 'Apocalyptic' Resistance against Global Civil War, in: R.G. Hamerton-Kelly, ed., *Politics and Apocalypse*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 69–94.
- Payne, S.G., 2000. Review Article: Historical Fascism and the Radical Right, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35 (1), 109–118.
- Phillips, M., 2006. *Londonistan*, New York: Encounter Books.
- Pierce, L., 2014. A Rhetoric of Traumatic Nationalism in the Ground Zero Mosque Controversy, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 100 (1), 53–80.
- Pilbeam, B., 2011. Eurabian Nightmares: American conservative discourses and the Islamisation of Europe, *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 9 (2), 151–171.

- Pilkington, H., 2016. *Loud and Proud: Passion and politics in the English Defence League*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ranger, T.O. and Hobsbawm, E.J., 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reiss, H., 1970. Introduction, in: H. Reiss, ed., *Kant: Political Writings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, 1–40.
- Richardson, J.E., 2015. ‘Cultural Marxism’ and the British National Party: A transnational discourse, in: J.E. Copsy, Nigel; Richardson, ed., *Cultures of Post-war British Fascism*, Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right, chap. 11, 203–26.
- Runnymede Trust, 1997. *Islamophobia: A challenge for us all*, London: Runnymede Trust.
- Saldaña, J., 2016. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, London: SAGE.
- Salzborn, S., 2016. Renaissance of the New Right in Germany?: A Discussion of New Right elements in German right-wing extremism today, *German Politics and Society*, 34 (2), 36–63.
- Schmitt, C., 1985. *Political Theology: Four chapters on the concept of sovereignty*, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Schmitt, C., 2006. *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum*, New York: Telos Press.
- Schmitt, C., 2007a. The Age of Neutralizations and Depoliticizations, in: T. Strong, ed., *The Concept of the Political*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 80–96.
- Schmitt, C., 2007b. *The Concept of the Political*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schwartz, A., 2006. ‘The Protocols of the Elders of Brussels’, *Haaretz*, 20th June.
- Scott, J., 2013. *Social Network Analysis*, London: Sage Publications, 3rd ed.

- Sedgwick, M., 2013. Something Varied in the State of Denmark: Neo-nationalism, Anti-Islamic Activism, and Street-level Thuggery, *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 14 (2), 208–233.
- Sheehan, T., 1981. Myth and Violence: The Fascism of Julius Evola and Alain de Benoist, *Social Research*, 48 (1), 45.
- Shipler, D., 2015. Pamela Geller and the Anti-Islam Movement, *The New Yorker*, 12th May, [online] Available at <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/pamela-geller-and-the-anti-islam-movement> [Last accessed 28th Sept. 2017].
- Sidel, J., 2007. On the ‘Anxiety of Incompleteness’: A post-structuralist approach to religious violence in Indonesia, *South East Asia Research*, 15 (2), 133–212.
- Sokoloff, W.W., 2015. In Defense of Hatred, *New Political Science*, 37 (2), 163–180.
- Spencer, R., 2008. *Stealth Jihad: How radical Islam is subverting America without guns or bombs*, Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing.
- Spengler, O., 1938. *The Decline of the West (cpt. one volume)*, London: Allen and Unwin.
- Steyn, M., 2005. It’s the Demography, Stupid, *The Spectator*, 12th Nov., [online] Available at: <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/12th-november-2005/11/its-the-demography-stupid> [accessed 31st July 2017].
- Steyn, M., 2006. *America Alone: The end of the world as we know it*, Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing.
- Steyn, M., 2011. *After America: Get ready for Armageddon*, Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing Inc.
- Strong, T.B., 2005. The Sovereign and the Exception: Carl Schmitt, Politics, Theology, and Leadership, in: *Political Theology: four chapters on the concept of sovereignty.*, London: University of Chicago Press, vii–xxxv.
- Tarrow, S.G., 2011. *Power in Movement: Social movements and contentious politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tilly, C., 2003. *The Politics of Collective Violence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Varadarajan, T., 2005. Prophet of Decline, *Wall Street Journal*, 23rd June.
- Virchow, F., 2016. Pegida: Understanding the emergence and essence of nativist protest in Dresden, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37 (6), 541–555.
- Vondung, K., 2005. National Socialism as a Political Religion: Potentials and limits of an analytical concept, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 6 (1), 87–95.
- Vossen, K., 2010. Populism in the Netherlands after Fortuyn: Rita Verdonk and Geert Wilders compared, *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 11 (1), 22–38.
- Vossen, K., 2011. Classifying Wilders: The ideological development of Geert Wilders and his Party for Freedom, *Politics*, 31 (3), 179–189.
- Weber, M., 2009. Science as a Vocation, in: H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*, Abingdon: Routledge, 129–56.
- Yelle, R., 2010. The Trouble with Transcendence: Carl Schmitt's 'Exception' as a Challenge for Religious Studies, *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 22 (2-3), 189–206.
- Ye'Or, B., 2005. *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab axis*, Madison, WI: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Zimmerman, M.E., 1990. *Heidegger's Confrontation with Modernity: Technology, politics, and art*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Zuquete, J.P., 2008. The European Extreme-Right and Islam: New directions?, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 13 (3), 321–344.