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“My Foe’s Foe is not my Friend”:

*Contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and
Identitarianism on the Internet*

Author: Björn Boman

Supervisor: Mattias Gardell

Abstract

In recent years it has been possible to distinguish instances of Traditionalism and Identitarianism in certain milieus of the Swedish blogosphere. Several writers of the blog portal Motpol, the Islamist Mohamed Omar and blogs such as Café Exposé and Perennial designate themselves through their interest in earlier and more or less well-known Traditionalists – René Guénon, Julius Evola, Frithjof Schuon, Tage Lindbom and Hossein Nasr. Motpol bloggers such as Oskorei and SolGuru are also Identitarians, which opens for a certain degree of ambiguity and thus also indirectly to conflicts, since Oskorei has expressed positive things about Islam and Muslims – something that neither all Identitarians nor ethno-nationalists have appreciated. In fact, this is not the only conflict that has emerged from this milieu: Christians and neo-Pagans – which are integral parts of this debate scene – tend to disagree, at least partially. The main purpose of this master's thesis has been to examine and problematize this Traditionalism and Identitarianism centered Internet milieu, particularly its organization and the above -mentioned conflicts. I have come to the conclusion that Traditionalists and Identitarian Traditionalists do not always have the same opinions about Islam, Christianity and neo-Paganism, but the Motpol bloggers at least seem to value Swedish ethnical traits more than interreligious bridges: Islam is thus no spiritual alternative for them and belongs to a different “we”. Still, certain ethno-nationalistic fractions in Sweden, which also make themselves heard on the Internet, seem to dislike the spiritual and ideological pluralism within the Traditionalism and Identitarian milieus to the extent that some of its adherents even regard its proponents as inner enemies.

Keywords: Traditionalism, Identitarianism, Perennialism, Motpol, Mohamed Omar, Oskorei, SolGuru, Gudomlig komedi, Arya Varta, Café Exposé, Perennial, Ivan Aguéli, René Guénon, Tage Lindbom, Kurt Almqvist, Julius Evola, Hossein Nasr, ethno-nationalism, hypertextuality, intertextuality, rhizome, genealogy, friend and foe distinctions, ideal types, Islamophobia

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Author's Foreword – some comments about the reference system

I only intend to – besides from stressing my gratification to my supervisor, professor Mattias Gardell, for giving me valuable advice during the creation process of this thesis – clarify the reference system that has been used in the present study. I have used a mixed reference system, with both parenthetical references (Harvard referencing) and foot notes (Oxford referencing). The parenthetical references are used to refer to printed works, with the single exception of my first level master's thesis that has neither been published on the Internet, nor printed in any publication (see "Unpublished Material" in the reference section). The footnoted references are, besides from general comments, related to all kinds of material – whether it is to be considered as primary sources or research literature in some cases – that has been published on the Internet. These references have been marked with both surname and first name if they refer to an official person, and with a pseudonym – in the present study that imply different bloggers who are more or less anonymous – if it is a person that prefers to present himself in that way. I have used italics in regard to those sources that can be considered as web newspapers. Some of these instances – like *Nationell.nu*, *Realisten*, and *Counter- Currents Publishing* – can be considered as borderline cases and I thus ask the reader to be congenial. Some of the blog posts and articles that I have referred to have been given names by the means of headlines, and I have translated these into English and used capital letters on all words aside from determinants, prepositions and conjunctions. I have used small letters in connection to unnamed articles, documents etcetera. The date when the blog posts and articles have been published on the Internet has been written in the foot notes; when no date has been mentioned it is because no such information has been possible to retrieve. The last month that I have visited the web pages – with few exceptions that is early January 2012 – in the present study has been mentioned in the reference list.

Hopefully, this slightly unorthodox approach to reference will lead to a more dynamic reading process, since most readers will be able to use it as a hypertext – this would have been less convenient if I had used an endnote system instead of a footnote system.

1. Introduction

In recent years it has been possible to identify a focus on more or less well-known Traditionalists – René Guénon, Julius Evola, Tage Lindbom, Kurt Almqvist, Frithjof Schuon, Titus Burckhardt, Martin Lings and Seyyed Hossein Nasr among a few others – and their written material in Sweden. Adjacent to this Traditionalism it is also possible to identify a major focus on, in particular, *la Nouvelle Droite* (the New Right), something that can be summarized in the ideological concept Identitarianism.

This Traditionalism (or sometimes rather Traditionalism/Identitarianism) “organization” is not seemingly extensive and it is rather due to a number of key individuals – some of the bloggers on the blog portal Motpol, the Islamist Mohamed Omar and the anonymous bloggers Café Exposé and Perennial – that these topics and the above-mentioned authors have been given attention. Since contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and Identitarianism seem to be primarily located on the Internet it is the blogosphere that has been put in the spotlight in this study, and to a much lesser degree, music. On the other hand, it is for various reasons not possible to neglect printed books and it is thus, to use a term from the hypertext scholar Jakob Nielsen, relevant to look at “dead links” as well (Nielsen 1995: 209). The threads are spread in several directions – both on the Internet and in literature.

Since Identitarianism (to lesser degree that can also be said about Traditionalism) also has many similarities with ethno-nationalism it is relevant to look at links that at some points bind them together, which in fact has opened up for different conflicts concerning topics such as Islam and Muslims, as well as race and ethnicity (that includes debates in regard to questions about to which extent race and ethnicity can be relativized). From a historical perspective, Traditionalism has strong links to Islam, particularly certain forms of Sufism, and some ethno-nationalists – and even a small number of Identitarians who dislike the Traditionalist traits that sometimes are being promoted at for instance Motpol – can hardly accept this fact. Especially if someone, like Oskorei, even gives advice to Muslims on how to increase their influence in the Swedish society, since they are posed as a threat to Europe and Sweden:

The Muslims are in a global perspective not an oppressed minority, they just want to have more influence in Europe in order to spread Islam, with violence if necessary, and that is nothing that Muslim leaders pretend, for instance the president of Iran. I am against the US invasions of the Muslim countries and I am against the mass immigration of Muslims to Europe! (“Bodhisattva”)

Some even call them – and that it is, probably among other, Identitarians and Traditionalists that are implicitly denoted can one be rather certain of – traitors and inner enemies:

It is of course the Resistance Movement's task to reverse as many of these people as possible, since many of them hopefully have embraced some kind of Strasserism due to lack of insight. Nevertheless, the threat exists within this ideological fraction and we must always look out for those who consciously use these heresies as a weapon against us. (Klas Lund, the Swedish Resistance Movement)

To these more or less intertwined conflicts one can also identify a schism between Christians and neo-Pagans within this milieu.

But why a major focus – even though these verbal conflicts may seem fierce and infected – on Traditionalists and Identitarians if these phenomena are limited to a quite small number of subjects that make themselves heard and seen primarily in the blogosphere? There are a couple of good reasons for that. Even though statistics might be pertinent it is not everything that matters, and it is also relevant to ask how one regards numbers: is it, in this particular case, the number of contemporary Swedish Traditionalists and Identitarians that counts or is it their influence and readership? If something, a historical event, is of major importance the numbers are not the main issue; thousands of historical events pass on without attention as more or less meaningless or irrelevant. Contemporary Traditionalists (or at least persons who have taken great interest in Traditionalist authors), such as Mohamed Omar and Oskorei, manage to collect a rather vast number of readers due to their (meta) political online activism. Omar, who until 2009 was a frequent contributor in the mainstream press in Sweden, came out as an outspoken Islamist and is nowadays a blogger and leader of an Islam- and Traditionalism-oriented study group. Oskorei, who until recently was anonymous (Joakim Andersen)¹, is certainly not an Islamist. His rather diverse blog content and intellectually syncretic approach has made his contributions – that might also be the case of the blog portal that he belongs to – popular among both ethno-nationalists in general but also other ideological fractions.

In fact, in some senses Oskorei and Omar's presence on the Internet has even opened a bridge between two categories that seem disparate and incompatible at first sight: Islamism and Identitarianism. But besides from criticism of liberalism, capitalism, consumer's society, and sexual depravity, it is secularization that unites Omar and some of the Motpol bloggers, especially Oskorei. They are partly influenced by the same authors – René Guénon, Julius

¹Järvenpää, John: For the Sake of Life: <http://www.bgf.nu/jj2.pdf>. Even though his real name, Joakim Andersen, has been detected by his blog colleague I will refer to the pseudonym Oskorei in this study.

Evola, Tage Lindbom and Kurt Almqvist and Hossein Nasr, to name a few prominent Traditionalists that lived during the 20th century – and their writings. But is that their only common ground? What divides them? How do other Traditionalists fit into this equation? There are a number of topics that seem ambiguous or at least interesting and conspicuous, particularly when one considers the palpable gap in literature that exists in this regard: not much has been written about Swedish Traditionalism – contemporary or not – and Identitarianism. To summarize: this field of research is both relevant and needs to be discerned.

This is a historiography and thus I do only intend to shed light on specific pieces of the main topics in question – contemporary Traditionalism and Traditionalists on the Internet. In a blog review of the book *Cold World*, the contemporary historian and IT connoisseur Rasmus Fleischer asserted that the conjunction *and* in book titles might imply a fragmented and non-cohesive piece of work². Even though he in one sense has made a relevant and interesting point it would still be almost misguided to exclude the conjunction in question and the concepts that follow it: Identitarianism. For in the case of some of the Motpol bloggers, Identitarianism goes hand in hand with Traditionalism; in regard to bloggers such as Omar, Café Exposé and Perennial it is on the other hand hard to separate their take on Traditionalism from certain forms of Sufism. Nevertheless, Traditionalism and Identitarianism are the points of departure, the junctions of this study, and whatever hinges on these conceptual branches is not the main course.

1.1. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the present study is to gain an insight into contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and Identitarianism, and particularly grasp how the adherents of these fractions are organized. It is also to distinguish different lines of conflicts that are inherent in these two more or less intertwined ideological and spiritual milieus, more specifically regarding Islam, and schisms between neo-Pagans and Christians.

1.2. Research questions

The study tries to answer the following questions:

1. How are contemporary Swedish Traditionalists and Identitarians organized on the Internet?

²Fleischer, Rasmus. Copyriot: About a Short Book about a Cold World and a Redundant and: <http://copyriot.se/2010/02/22/om-en-kort-bok-om-en-kall-varld-och-ett-overflodigt-och/>. 2010-02-22.

2. How do contemporary Traditionalists on the Internet use the writings of earlier Traditionalists?
3. How are contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and Traditionalists, as well as Identitarianism and Identitarians, regarded among ethno-nationalists, more specifically “nationella”, on the Internet?
4. How does the schism between neo-Pagans and Christians within the Traditionalist and Identitarian Internet milieu express itself?

1.3. Demarcation of the study

This is a study about contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and Identitarianism on the Internet. This milieu – consisting of both Traditionalist and Identitarian ideas – is not just more or less intertwined, but also combined with other ideological and spiritual fractions, such as ethno-nationalism and certain forms of Sufism as they are expressed on the Internet. Hence the analysis will overlap those orbits at certain points. Still those overlapping points have Traditionalism and/or Identitarianism as its point of departure rather than being separated subjects of study. The same goes for transnational tendencies – Internet transcends borders and Swedish Traditionalists and Identitarians read texts from ideological and spiritual precursors that reside, or have resided in other countries, but these are only relevant in that sense that they are linked to the Swedish Internet milieu.

1.4. Definition of key terms

I use the term *Traditionalism* in the same way as Traditionalism scholar Mark Sedgwick does, and it might function as a survey definition:

The word ‘tradition’ derives from the Latin verb *tradere*, to hand over or to hand down, and in an etymological sense a tradition is “a statement, belief or practice transmitted (especially orally) from generation to generation.” The Traditionalist movement with which this book deals takes ‘tradition’ primarily in this sense, as belief and practice transmitted from time immemorial—or rather belief and practice that *should* have been transmitted but was lost to the West during the last half of the second millennium a.d. According to the Traditionalists, the modern West is in crisis as a result of this loss of transmission of tradition, as was explained in 1927 in *The Crisis of the Modern World* (Sedgwick 2004: 21).

Like Sedgwick, I capitalize letter T in order to separate it from “traditionalism” in a broader respect. This distinction is pertinent since it is Traditionalism in a very particular sense that this study concerns. Still it should be regarded as a point of departure – opening up rather than closing this field of study to some degree. There are good reasons for this approach, since even

though Guénon formulated a specific Traditionalism doctrine, there are other ways to approach this religious school of thought. For starters, neither Ananda Coomaraswamy nor Julius Evola agreed with Guénon in every single respect (Sedgwick 2004; Goodrick-Clarke 2002: chapter 3). The same goes for other Traditionalists. Moreover, there are persons and groups of people who have taken serious interest in Traditionalism without explicitly stating that they are Traditionalists. Sedgwick's definition is the only etic one that has been used in this field of study; the emic definitions are relevant in regard to the studied subjects but not as a starting point. Still it is primarily self-outspoken Traditionalists, as well as Identitarians, that are of concern in the present study.

The hardship to find adequate definitions of terms like nationalism and ethno-nationalism has partly been due to ambiguities regarding how people want to define themselves. Like Walker Connor I use the term *ethno-nationalism* (and ethno-nationalist and ethno-nationalistic) in order to describe movements, including political parties, that assert that ethnic homogeneity in a certain country or territory is the basis for a healthy society. The feeling of belonging to an ethnic community can often be regarded as more subjective and psychological than objective and 'real' (Conversi 2004: 1-3). In the present Swedish context that includes the whole spectrum from the more ethnically flexible Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna)³ to neo-Nazi groups. Principally I do, however, use emic definitions and thus have a "discursive approach" to the subjects of study. If someone labels himself for instance Identitarian or National Socialist⁴ I try to grasp how that term is used in practice rather than to impose etic definitions, albeit it can be relevant to do so too at some points. In some sections I thus use ethno-nationalism.

The term *ethno-pluralism* was used by the French new right (*la Nouvelle Droite*) in the 1970s and 1980s in order to promote the idea that different race groups and monolithic cultures – all of them however being of equal value – should live and develop separately (Olsen 1991: 30). This will also serve as a basic definition. Ethno-pluralists assert "that if each ethnic identity

³Sweden Democrats: Immigration Policy Program: <http://sverigedemokraterna.se/files/2011/06/Sverigedemokraterna-Invandringspolitiskt-program-2007.pdf>. 2011-06. One may note that the Sweden Democrats promote an "open Swedish identity" based on assimilation, and thus the bio-ethnic/racial component is only implicit or secondary in regard to their immigration policy. The Sweden Democrat member of the parliament, Mattias Karlsson, has also proposed social conservatism instead of nationalism as the current party ideology. Thus the Sweden Democrats is a borderline case.

⁴Few writers label themselves as 'Nazis'. Hence in the present study it is basically a synonym to National Socialist. The same terminological equivalence can be found between Nazism and National Socialism.

were to develop its own separate political space, cooperation and harmony among different ethnicities would be assured.” (Liang 2007: 7)

Although ethno-pluralism is an important constituent part among present day Identitarians, no research literature has offered any distinctive definition of the concept *Identitarianism* (or *Identitarianism*, which is sometimes used). These concepts – like closely related words like *Identitarian* – have, however, been mentioned in for example *The Sustainability of Cultural Diversity* (Janssens et al 2010: 82) and Liesner (2002). Liesner describes the characteristics of the French New Right, such as hierarchical democracy through hereditary inequality – which in turn is a part of a “collective identity – as well as bio politics, meta politics and “the right to difference” (2002: 180-183). These traits help to define a rather distinct definition with a required component: Identitarianism is a political ideology whose adherents, Identitarians, regard bio-ethnic kinship as the basis for a collective European identity. It is also possible to identify a number of facultative traits, such as the promotion of meta politics – the assumption that a cultural struggle is relevant in order to influence the political sphere – as an influential strategy and ethno-pluralism that are typical for especially the French new right (Bar-on 2007: 80-82, 128-129; Dahl 2006). It is important to note that it is primarily self-proclaimed Identitarians that are of relevance for this study. This distinction from ethno-nationalism does not mean, however, that structural similarities do not exist between Identitarianism and other ethno-nationalistic fractions. In fact, one might regard Identitarianism as a hyponym (subordinate) to the hypernym ethno-nationalism (superordinate) – the latter is an umbrella term, while Identitarianism is a more specialized concept that fits under that umbrella (see Griffiths 2006: chapter 3).

There are a number of obstacles in regard to the definition of the terms Pagan and Paganism. One of these difficulties is its diversity and inclusiveness. This definition-related dilemma has been illustrated by Michael York:

A broad definition of paganism might see it as “an affirmation of interactive and polymorphic sacred relationship by the individual or community with the tangible, sentient and/or nonempirical.” This explanation was offered on the Nature Religions list as part of the process distinguishing paganism and nature religion and question of whether one includes the other. The definition allows not only humanism and naturism/naturalism (the worship of nature) but also traditional (poly-)theisms. (...) One critique of this definition is that most religions would conform to it, because of the conjunction/disjunction *and/or* that was chosen to allow for the preference by some for a nonsupernatural nature religion as well as, for others, various transcendental gnosticisms. But at the same time, the definition also allows adherence to the old school paganisms: for example, Greco-Roman classicism, Confucianism, Shinto and Santería (York 2003: 157).

In order to demarcate the religious field I instead use *neo-Paganism* as an overall term to describe different attempts to “reclaim, reconstruct and experiment with the pre-Christian traditions of European religious traditions.” (Magliocco 2004: 210) The advantage of this definition, in contrast to the one which is mentioned above, is that it focuses specifically on European pre-Christian “reconstructivism” and therefore excludes various traditions in other parts of the world. Still it is broad enough to include more expressions than those pagan forms that are geographically linked to the Nordic countries.

1.5. Translation principles

There are two languages that need to be considered: Swedish and German. I have primarily worked with sources that are written in Swedish, and I have translated specific parts of these sources into English. Whenever that has been done, I have written “my translation from Swedish” in brackets. The longer quotes in Swedish that have been translated are also included as appendixes at the end of this thesis; thus, the reader can compare the original content with my translations.

Regarding German, I have chosen to translate most of the main concepts from Carl Schmitt’s terminology – all of them are found in *Der Begriff des Politischen* (2009) – into English. At certain points Schmitt has also used Latin concepts, and I have bracketed these.

1.6. Research ethics

The research ethics in this study does chiefly concern information regarding names (Collste & Willner 2008). I have no intention whatsoever to reveal the names of blog writers that write anonymously; some of the people mentioned in this study are official persons and some are not.

1.7. Previous research

I will limit myself to discuss academic research that is primarily related to Traditionalism in the world, including Sweden, secondarily to Identitarianism and ethno-nationalism, and tertiary to Islamophobia in Europe and particularly Sweden. At some points these topics go hand in hand, since they often tend to overlap each other. Nevertheless, I have chosen to divide these subjects into three main sections.

1.7.1. Traditionalism in the world

The British/Irish historian Mark Sedgwick's *Against the Modern World* (2004) – the title is most certainly an allusion of Evola's principle work *Revolt Against the Modern World* and René Guénon's *Crisis of the Modern World* – is to this date the most thorough examination of the intellectual history of Traditionalism and René Guénon, as well as persons and movements that are connected to both him and Traditionalism (Julius Evola, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Frithjof Schuon, Hossein Nasr, Mircea Eliade etc.). Regardless of what one thinks about Sedgwick's work in this piece, it tackles topics that have never been given any full attention before, especially Guénon, the founder of the kind of Perennialism that has been given the name Traditionalism. Other instances of empirical innovation in *Against the Modern world* are the chapters about Gnostics and Taoists, Traditionalism in Russia and in North America and, in regard to the latter, the examination of the Traditionalist and Islamic scholar Hossein Nasr. The chapters about Julius Evola and Fascism, and Terrorism in Italy (which also treats Evola), do certainly shed new light on these topics but have partly been examined by the British professor of Western Esotericism, Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (2002) and Thomas Sheehan (1986). Another interesting piece of work is written by Patrick Laude, *Pathways to an Inner Islam* (2010), which focuses on the esoteric components within Islam and its strong links to Traditionalism. This book has also been reviewed by Mark Sedgwick⁵. Brief examinations of Traditionalism are also covered by the renowned French esoterism scholar Antoine Favre in *Access to Western Esoterism* (1994) and the Dutch full professor in History of Hermetic Philosophy, Wouter Hanegraaff, in *New Age Religion and Western Culture* (1996).

Research on Julius Evola – one of the most prolific promoters of Traditionalism and during his lifetime also the most politically active of all early Traditionalists – has often been rather polemic in nature, although some of the pejorative things that have been written about him are conceivably accurate in some senses. Thomas Sheehan is distinct in his polemics in his article “Myth and Violence: The Fascism of Julius Evola and Alain de Benoist” (1981). One might also mention Sheehan's article “*Diventare dio*: Julius Evola and the Metaphysics of Fascism” in *Stanford Italian Review* (1986) in this regard, a piece of work which emphasizes Evola's supposed “intellectual responsibility” for Italian terrorist groups that emerged in Italy during the second half of the 20th century.

⁵Sedgwick's review of *Pathway to an Inner Islam*: http://teo.au.dk/uploads/media/Laude_review.pdf.

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke's book, *Black Sun*, includes a whole chapter about Evola, "Julius Evola and the Kali Yuga". At the beginning of the chapter Goodrick-Clarke stresses that "...Evola advanced a radical doctrine of anti-egalitarianism, anti-democracy, anti-liberalism and anti-Semitism", but as the analysis is broadened and nuanced, the anti-Semitism assertion is explained and overall it is one of the most thorough depictions of Evola's ideas from a critical scholar (2002: chapter 3). Mattias Gardell has treated Evola briefly in *Gods of the Blood* (2003: 28, 300). Anthony James Gregor's chapter about Evola in *The Search for Neo-Fascism* (2006: chapter 4) is also relevant. Gregor uses a more sociological perspective whilst Goodrick-Clarke – being a professor in Western Esotericism – mostly emphasizes the esoteric tenets in relation to Evola's works. Gregor argues that Evola never was a Fascist, nor was influenced by the movement in question and the same goes for his linkages to Nazi Germany (Ibid: 105-112).

Bruce Lincoln has briefly treated Evola (and Alain de Benoist) in *Theorizing Myth* (1999), and in slightly more depth by Göran Dahl in *Radical Conservatism and the Future of Politics* (1999). Dahl's book in Swedish, *Radikalare än Hitler*, includes both fair and misguided descriptions. With the latter I refer to for instance his comparison between Evola and the Swedish sadist Hans Scheike (2006: 40-43). The comparison is rather problematic, but also due to the fact that Dahl does not refer manifestly to the book that he most certainly alludes to, *Eros and the Mysteries of Love* (1991: chapter 3). Readers are left without proper understanding.

Dr. H. T Hansen's meticulous illustration of Evola's life is found in the chapter "Introduction: Julius Evola's Political Endeavour's" in *Men Among the Ruins* (2002). He might perhaps be regarded as semi-biased and pro-Evola, but his depiction is still rather nuanced and thus he might also function as equipoise to Evola's polemics. Hansen's introduction, especially in combination with Evola's *The Path of Cinnabar* (2009), is useful in order to understand Evola's writings from the perspective that Evola wanted to be understood at the time when the last-mentioned autobiographical book was written.

Not much has been written about Traditionalism in Sweden. One main reason for this might be that there is no such thing as an official Traditionalism organization in Sweden, and it is only during the last five to ten years that the contemporary generation of Traditionalists has appeared (on the Internet), such as Café Exposé, Mohamed Omar and the blog portal Motpol, and received attention in public debates. Neither are there any clear demarcations between outspoken Traditionalists and groups and persons that promote Traditionalist ideas and writers; for instance Mohamed Omar has never explicitly called himself Traditionalist, even

though he is one of the most salient promoters of writers such as the Swedes Ivan Aguéli, Tage Lindbom and Kurt Almqvist, and non-Swedish Traditionalists such as René Guénon, Julius Evola, Frithjof Schuon and Hossein Nasr⁶.

Nevertheless, there are some instances in which Traditionalists and Traditionalism have been treated indirectly, so to speak. Aguéli's writings, Islamic beliefs and artistic skills have been treated in the two works *Ivan Aguéli* (Gauffin: 1940-41) and *Ivan Aguéli* (Wessel 1988). Lindbom and Almqvist on the other hand have only been treated in some significant depth by Göran Dahl's in *Radical Conservatism and the Future of Politics* (1999), but with little focus on their Islamic and Traditionalist beliefs. *Det vita fältet* (Deland et al 2010) does slightly touch Traditionalism since it contains two chapters about Motpol, but in general these aspects can be considered as secondary; these chapters focus more on racism and so called right-wing extremism and in which senses Swedish Identitarianism can, and to lesser degree cannot, be regarded as such.

Some of the works of Jakob Senholt, Ph.D. candidate at Aarhus University, is however one longed for exception. He has written an article in Danish named "Metapolitik, Etnopluralisme og Identitet: Det Nye Højre i Skandinavien" that mainly treats Identitarianism in Scandinavia, and which in turn to some extent overlaps Traditionalism. Senholt has also written a guest post on Sedgwick's blog Traditionalists which briefly treats Omar's dialogues with Identitarian Traditionalist Oskorei and the polemics that were addressed towards the latter group (the Identitarian movement in general and the Traditionalist writers of Motpol in particular) by the ethno-nationalist/neo-Nazi web newspaper *Nationell.nu*⁷. Senholt is currently working on a doctoral dissertation that highlights the European right mainly from an esoteric perspective⁸ and the above-mentioned writings can be considered as a beginning of his current (and future) studies.

Niklas Bernsand – Ph.D. candidate at Lund University – has written a draft version of a lengthier work that treats Motpol and the Identitarian and ethno-pluralist view on segregation and Islamic identity in Sweden. This draft article, "Friend or Foe?", does only cover eight pages, but Bernsand still makes a lot of interesting points regarding Motpol, both in an overall manner and in more depth in specific senses. As the name of the article addresses, it has obvious similarities with my thesis, but with some major differences. My main area of research is

⁶Omar, Mohamed. Blog: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/>.

⁷Senholt, Jacob: Mohamed Omar and the Swedish Radical Right: <http://traditionalistblog.blogspot.com/2011/03/mohamed-omar-and-swedish-radical-right.html>, 2011-03-31.

⁸Senholt at ESSWE: http://www.esswe.org/member_detail.php?member_id=270&ref=2.

contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and Traditionalists, and Identitarianism, not debates on Islam. With that said the present study does in fact overlap these subjects to some extent (chapters 6,7).

Another example of studies on Traditionalism in Sweden is my first level master's thesis, "*Evolianism*" in *Contemporary Sweden*, which was written in late 2010. The quotation marks around the concept *Evolianism* are there for an obvious reason: there is no such thing as an organized movement in Sweden that is centered on Julius Evola. Nevertheless, there are a couple of so-called Evolians in contemporary Sweden, persons and even groups (Dragon Rouge) that have taken serious interest in Evola's writings. Identitarian and Traditionalist writers such as SolGuru and Oskorei do most certainly even regard him as an influential person and role model. With the latter kept in mind I even used a specific kind of intertextuality in my study on "Evolianism". I highlighted more general instances of intertextuality in which texts of Dragon Rouge and the two above-mentioned Motpol bloggers use Evola's writings, either manifestly or more implicitly – in the sense that their own texts bear echoes of some of Evola's beliefs and ideas – but also in the sense that they promote or defend his ideas. In the latter case I also used discourse analysis and several genre analytical concepts in order to examine how Evola is articulated in a Traditionalism discourse. Even though the theoretical-methodological approach and terminology that I used was relevant, I certainly could have done a more stringent analysis. My revised version of the thesis in question is however less deficient in this sense as well as in other respects.

This second level master's thesis can be considered as a continuation of my first level master's thesis about Evolians, but with different research questions and a broader field of investigation.

1.7.2. Contemporary Swedish Identitarianism and ethno-nationalism

Göran Dahl's works, *Radical Conservatism and the Future of Politics* (1999) and his contribution in *Myter om det nordiska* (Myths about the Nordic) (Raudvere et al 2001) are two relevant pieces in this respect. Still, there are some serious flaws in his work, such as the assertion that the French new right thinker Alain de Benoist implicitly has promoted de jure apartheid systems (Raudvere et al 2001: 130). He has rather, to put it correctly, promoted de facto apartheid in the French society until non-European people could be repatriated or voluntarily move back to their birth nations in the future (Böhm 2008: 184-189). Even though Dahl's text and the other contributions to this anthology are simplified and partly even

deficient, it is still an important piece of work that contributes to the understanding of Swedish neo-Paganism and ethno-nationalism, which in turn have many links to Identitarianism.

Another relevant piece of work is *Det vita fältet* (Deland et al 2010), which sheds new light on Swedish Identitarianism and ethno-nationalism. One thing that must be kept in mind is, however, that the two authors who have written about Nordiska förlaget and the blog portal Motpol have relied on anonymous sources due to the outspoken will of “protecting their identity”. One of the authors, Mathias Wåg, also writes as a non-scholar (Deland et al 2010: 98) and one must therefore approach his chapter with some caution. This does not mean, on the other hand, that the conclusions that they have come to, based on their analyses of the blog material, are less valuable.

Mattias Gardell’s *Gods of the Blood* (2003) does not treat Swedish ethno-nationalism or Identitarianism in any significant depth. The same goes for Goodrick-Clarke’s *Hitler’s Priestess* (1998) and *Black Sun* (2002). Still these pieces are relevant in order to understand related subjects, such as neo-Paganism and neo-Nazism, from an international or transnational perspective. The same goes for Michael Böhm’s *Alain de Benoist und die Nouvelle Droite* (2008), Tamir Bar-On’s *Where have all the Fascists Gone?* (2007), Anthony James Gregor’s *The Search for Neo-Fascism* (2006) and Roger Eatwell’s *Fascism and the Extreme Right* (2007): the first two-mentioned works are more manifestly related to the *Nouvelle Droite* and therefore Identitarianism, while the two latter are primarily linked to neo-Fascism. Gregor has briefly treated Alain de Benoist – the most influential ideologist within the *Nouvelle Droite* – as a possible candidate for neo-Fascism (2006: 71-75).

1.7.3. Islamophobia in Sweden

Research on Islamophobia in Sweden is rather limited. *Förändringens vind* (2009), by the Islamic scholar and Lund University professor Jan Hjärpe, has briefly mentioned Islamophobic tendencies in Scandinavia (2009: 110-112), which in turn have been more thoroughly examined by other Swedish scholars. One pertinent example is *Islamofobi* (2010)⁹ by Uppsala University professor Mattias Gardell, a work that can be considered as a more academic and concentrated

⁹A pocket version with a chapter about the Norwegian mass murderer and terrorist, Anders Behring Breivik, was released during 2011 and I will refer to this book at some points due to various practical reasons.

(258 pages) alternative to Andreas Malm's¹⁰ *Hatet mot muslimer* (2009) with its 747 pages. Like other well-noted books in Swedish that Gardell has written, such as *Bin Ladin I våra hjärtan* (2005), this piece of work turns to a rather diverse and multifaceted audience – it can be read by both scholars and laymen, which also seems to be the intention since it concerns issues which are important in countries like Sweden, where Muslims constitute a minority group. Gardell uses the term *Islamophobia* as well as *anti-Muslim* and give plenty of space to define these concepts and explain why they are relevant. Still Islamophobia is mainly used because it exists an interplay between an idea how Islam and Muslims are. Islamophobia can briefly be defined as an essentialist and monolithic notion on how Islam, and hence Muslims, are (2011: prologue). I agree that both terms are relevant, depending on the context, but that it is relevant not to mix up palpable Islamophobia with point-blank critique of Islam. This piece of work in whole is of interest, but chapter 8 – that briefly treat Mohamed Omar's hasty medial transformation from popular to commercially banned – is, from this study's perspective, of major significance. Both Gardell and Malm have treated the Eurabia speculation in depth, a conspiracy theory in which ideologists such as Gisèle Littman (Bat Ye'or) and Robert Spencer are important names (see especially Malm: chapter 1).

1.8. Presentation of sources

First, it is necessary to make some important distinctions in this respect. When it comes to the study of Traditionalism, especially in regard to earlier Traditionalists – Guénon, Evola, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Frithjof Schuon, Titus Burckhardt, Martin Lings, Tage Lindbom, Kurt Almqvist, Michel Vâlsan, Rama Coomaraswamy, Hossein Nasr, Huston Smith, Ahmed Vâlsan etcetera – one has to face the diversity and even multiversity of the written material in a special kind of way. The reason for this is that many writings within Traditionalism – at least partly – have a certain degree of academic or intellectual value (Faivre 1994: 18, 44). For instance Hossein Nasr is a prominent scholar on Islam, and even if we consider the works of several of the above-mentioned persons as popular scientific, or less than that, they unhesitatingly include material written by people with a vast knowledge about religion in general and, in many cases, Islam in particular (see for instance Schuon 1963, 1975, 1976; Nasr 2003, 2004, 2008).

¹⁰Malm writes as a journalist but the book does certainly, to a certain degree, has scholar research qualities. Malm is also a ph D candidate in Human Ecology at Lund University: http://www.lucid.lu.se/html/andreas_malm.aspx.

When one approaches what can be considered as the contemporary generation of Traditionalists – Arya Varta, Café Exposé, Gudomlig komedi (Divine comedy)¹¹, Omar, Perennial, Oskorei, SolGuru – it is a slightly different story. For example Omar and the person behind Café Exposé tend to write about earlier generations of Traditionalists rather than to produce their own theories about metaphysics; sometimes they even use the works of scholars in order to interpret the ideas of for instance Ivan Aguéli, or at least use unimpeachable data about their lives and duties.¹² In other words, in order to understand for instance Aguéli, one could possibly use Omar's writings to some extent. The person behind Café Exposé has also posted a text written by Viveca Wessel that is valuable to understand some particular elements of the lives of Tage Lindbom and Kurt Almqvist¹³.

To use a contrary but analogous example it is relevant to mention Traditionalism scholar Mark Sedgwick's blog Traditionalists, which sometimes is commented by non-scholars – both what seem to be interested lay people, but also adherents of Traditionalism and related schools of thoughts, such as Sufism and Identitarism¹⁴. Thus, there exists a sort of interplay between scholars of Traditionalism (and related subjects) and Traditionalists (and related adherents). I do not say that this is something unique for this specific orbit, but it is any case palpable and therefore worth noticing and discussing. Nevertheless, it is still important to uphold the basic dichotomy between academic research literature and primary sources. My aim as a researcher is not to judge if the texts produced by adherents of Traditionalism are unimpeachable or not; it is rather to discern how their texts are used, what and whom they are influenced by, how they fit into a certain milieu etcetera.

With that said it is time for a presentation of the primary sources that I have used in this study. These can be divided into three categories: printed books, printed journals, and Internet material. The first category is mostly related to the above-mentioned adherents of Traditionalism, especially Guénon, Evola, Schuon, Lindbom and Almqvist. Many of these works can be regarded as secondary in the sense that I primarily focus on contemporary Traditionalism and Traditionalists. Needless to say, they are still very relevant in order to understand earlier generations of Traditionalists, who in turn have influenced the

¹¹The blog name does most certainly allude to the Italian author, poet and philosopher Dante Alighieri's (1265-1321) magnum opus, *La Divina Commedia*.

¹²Omar, Mohamed: Radicalism and Speaking Animals: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/2011/06/13/radikalism-och-talande-djur/#more-4922>. 2011-06-13.

¹³Café Exposé: Kurt and Tage in memoriam: <http://cafeexpose.wordpress.com/2007/10/29/kurt-och-tage-in-memoriam/>. 2007-10-29.

¹⁴Sedgwick's blog: <http://traditionalistblog.blogspot.com/>.

contemporaries. Some of the works that I have studied are referred to at various places of this thesis, while some are not. At specific points of chapter 4, I have used some of these sources in order to supplement the research literature where it does not give enough information.

The second category includes journals, more specifically the Swedish conservative magazine *Samtidsmagasinet Salt*, which includes articles by for instance Tage Lindbom and Jonas De Geer (who was also the chief editor during its entire existence, 1999-2002).

The third category includes sources that are the most relevant for this study – blogs, blog comments, regular websites, web newspapers etcetera. I have used for instance Google, hyperlinks and tips in comment fields to obtain a rather vast amount of texts published on the Internet. In this sense it is relevant to talk about a certain Traditionalist and Identitarian milieu, which is manifested through subjects that make themselves heard on the Internet. This milieu has no absolute beginning or end, but it is possible to make general demarcations and identify a certain number of salient and outspoken Swedish Traditionalists and Identitarians that I have focused on: Mohamed Omar, Café Exposé¹⁵, Oskorei¹⁶, SolGuru¹⁷, Perennial¹⁸, Lennart Svensson (Rent Principiellt)¹⁹, Rimfaxe (Lennart Pettersson)²⁰, and Gudomlig komedi²¹. There are, however, a number of exceptions and borderline cases, such as Jonas De Geer²² – who is neither a Traditionalist nor Identitarian – and the Danish blogger Arya Varta²³. The two last-mentioned subjects belong to the blog portal Motpol and thus to the general milieu which I have outlined above.

¹⁵Café Exposé is a blog, with an anonymous author, that focuses on Traditionalism, especially certain forms of Sufism.

¹⁶Oskorei (probably born during the 1970s) is an anonymous writer from Västergötland (West Gothland): A Socialist Interviews Oskorei: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=2844>, 2010-06-11. He is both Identitarian and Traditionalist: Oskorei: About: http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?page_id=2. He has blogged since June 2005 and moved his writing activities from this address – <http://oskorei.webblogg.se/> – to Motpol in early 2007.

¹⁷SolGuru is an anonymous writer that has Traditionalism as a takeoff for his blog at Motpol, which he started in June 2008: SolGuru: About: http://solguru.motpol.nu/?page_id=2.

¹⁸Perennial is a Traditionalism oriented blog with an anonymous author, who has blogged since April 2008: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/>.

¹⁹Lennart Svensson (born 1965) is an ethno-nationalistic and conservative blogger. He has blogged at Svenssongalaxen since 2007 and under the appellation Rent principiellt at Motpol since early 2011: <http://lennart-svensson.blogspot.com/>, <http://princip.motpol.nu/>.

²⁰Rimfaxe is the pseudonym for Lennart Pettersson (born during the mid 1970s), an Identitarian blogger that has a personal blog as well as a blog at Motpol: <http://rimfaxe.wordpress.com/>, <http://rimfaxe.motpol.nu/>.

²¹Gudomlig komedi, an anonymous Traditionalistic writer that often refers to himself as “Nordbo”, is a blogger that has moved from an own blog to Motpol. He started blogging in September 2009 and moved to Motpol in late November 2010: <http://gudomligkomedi.blogspot.com/>, <http://gudomligkomedi.motpol.nu/>.

²²Jonas De Geer is a veteran within the ethno-nationalistic orbit in Sweden. De Geer is a Catholic and member of SSPX. He has blogged at Motpol since March 2008: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?m=200803>.

²³Arya Varta is the pseudonym for an anonymous Traditionalistic Danish blogger who has blogged at Motpol since March 2009: <http://aryavarta.motpol.nu/>.

I have also focused on Mohamed Omar's news portal²⁴, a web project edited and partly written by Omar, Fria ordet²⁵, Café Exposé²⁶, Aguéliportalen²⁷ and the ethno-nationalist/neo-Nazi news website *Nationell.nu*²⁸. I have also investigated certain topics at Swedish web forums such as Flashback²⁹ and Nordisk³⁰ whenever that has been relevant.

Even though this is a study about contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and Identitarianism on the Internet, the subject in question sometimes transcends national borders. There are two obvious reasons for this: firstly, because most of the prominent Traditionalists were non-Swedes, and secondly because Internet is a global phenomenon and the lingua franca par excellence in the Western world, English, is an apparent tool of communication both in regard to the Internet and printed material. Swedes in general read, speak and write in English, which makes it rather easy to communicate with other people and consume texts in the language in question. In passing it is thus relevant to mention for instance the American web-based magazines like *Alternative Right*³¹ and *Counter-Currents Publishing*³² in this regard.

Lastly, I have also listened to and analyzed lyrics of music that are more or less connected to Traditionalism and Identitarianism. The music in question can be divided into two main categories: bands and artists that are Traditionalism-oriented in their concepts and lyrics, and music that is being used in regard to the promotion of Traditionalist ideas, whether the originators of this specific music agree with those ideas or not. The latter is sometimes the case in relation to the well-known web-based video channel YouTube: sublime and bombastic music, often in combination with great pathos, is sometimes used in order to generate certain sentiments. One example is the Italian neo-classic/folk band Camerata Mediolanense, whose song "Balcani in fiamme" has accompanied excerpts from Julius Evola's book *Ride the Tiger* (2003) at YouTube³³. The first-mentioned category, on the other hand, includes Swedish artists

²⁴Omar's Personal Website: <http://www.mohamedomar.org/>. This portal has since the beginning of August been put down.

²⁵Fria ordet: <http://friaordet.nu/sv/>. This site has also been put down "due to unbridgeable disagreements between the editorial members".

²⁶Café Exposé: <http://cafeexpose.wordpress.com/>.

²⁷Aguéli Portal: <http://agueliportal.forst.nu/>.

²⁸*Nationell.nu*: <http://www.nationell.nu/>.

²⁹Flashback forum: <https://www.flashback.org/>.

³⁰Nordisk: <http://www.nordisk.nu/content.php>.

³¹*Alternative Right*: <http://www.alternativeright.com/>.

³²*Counter-Currents Publishing*: <http://www.counter-currents.com/>.

³³Camerata mediolanense Accompanies excerpts from Julius Evolas book *Ride the Tiger* at YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IUzpcEVQu6w&feature=related>.

and bands such as Sigrblot (old Swedish for sacrificial feast of victory)³⁴, Winglord³⁵ and Zykloon Boom³⁶, and non-Swedish artists and bands such as Blood Axis³⁷, Centvrion³⁸ and Sol Invictus³⁹; music that has either been mentioned by Traditionalist bloggers or that promotes Traditionalist ideas and symbols in some senses.

1.9. Organization of this thesis

Chapter 2 describes and elaborates the theoretical framework and terminology that have been used in this thesis, whereas chapter 3 describes the methodology. Chapter 4 is a descriptive backdrop for the analysis – chapter 5-8 – and sheds light on the emergence of Traditionalism in the world and its appearance in Sweden. Chapter 5 examines instances of how contemporary Traditionalists use texts of earlier Traditionalists and their organization; chapter 6 analyzes Identitarian Traditionalists' approach to Islam and Muslims, while chapter 7 expands this topic and also focuses on conflicts between Identitarians and/or Traditionalists and certain ethno-nationalists in regard to these issues. Chapter 8 focuses on the line of conflicts between Christians and neo-Pagans that have sprung out from the Traditionalist and Identitarian web milieu, more specifically Motpol. Chapter 9 concludes what has been said in this study and gives room for reflections on the treated topics.

2. Theoretical framework and terminology

In the following three sections I examine and elaborate the theoretical framework, and those concepts that are linked to it, which have been incorporated and used within my analysis (chapters 5-8).

2.1. Hypertextuality and rhizomatic structures on the Internet

³⁴Sigrblot was founded in Stockholm in 1996 by three anonymous individuals: <http://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Sigrblot/15794>. Sigrblot generally plays a sort of harsh black/pagan metal with folk influences.

³⁵Winglord is a Swedish neo-folk group that was founded in 2010: <http://www.myspace.com/556414633>.

³⁶Zyklon Boom is an anonymous Swedish hip hop project with Traditionalistic lyrical themes, which released an album that was distributed on the Internet in September 2009: <http://www.discogs.com/Zyklon-Boom-Välkommen-Till-Avfolkningsorten/release/1924095>.

³⁷Blood Axis is an industrial/neo-folk band from the US formed by the radical Traditionalist Michael Moynihan in the early 1990s: Blood Axis Homepage: <http://bloodaxis.com/about/>.

³⁸Centvrion is an Italian power metal band that was formed in 1998. It consist of five members – Emanuele Mandolesi, Gianluca Beccacece, Fabio Monti, Luciano Monti, and Roberto Cenci: Metal Archives: Centvrion: <http://www.metal-archives.com/band/view/id/2773>.

³⁹Sol invictus is an English neo-folk band with anti-modernistic lyrical themes, sometimes with references to Traditionalism. The group was formed in the early 1990s by front man Tony Wakeford: Allmusic: Sol invictus – Discography: <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/sol-invictus-p183238/discography>.

I intend to describe the structure and organization of contemporary Traditionalists on the Internet – to the extent that they organize themselves. In order to do the latter, it is relevant to study what in overall terms can be regarded as *hypertextuality*, something which is closely related to the world of blogs, websites, discussion communities and hyper linking.

Research on hypertextuality began in the 1960s when the American sociologist Theodor Holm Nelson coined the term. With hypertext he referred “to non-sequential text that branches and allows choices to the reader” (Landow 2006: An Introduction). Similar ideas in literature theory have, however, longer roots than that. The American engineer, Vannevar Bush, who also was the mentor of Nelson, wrote an article in *Atlantic Monthly* in 1945 which later influenced hypertextuality in general and Nelson’s work in particular. There are also palpable links and interplays between hypertext when it comes to computers and the Internet, and intertextuality in printed books and journals (Landow 2006: An Introduction; Nielsen 1995: chapter 3). Jacques Derrida has used the quite similar term *computer hypertext* – “text composed of blocks of words (or images) linked electronically by multiple paths, chains or trails in an open-ended, perpetually unfinished textuality described by the terms *link*, *node*, *network*, *web* and *path*” – but still it is Nelson’s definition that I intend to take as a point of departure (Landow 2006: An Introduction; Nielsen 1995: 1). One may note, however, that not every digital narrative can be regarded as hypertext (Landow 2006: 215).

As Landow notes, prolific textuality scholars such as Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze have created theories, concepts and ideas that are now possible to discover for oneself in rather flexible and easy ways, thanks to computers and especially the Internet. The essay that I am now writing is hypertextual since it contains many footnotes and references to written books and websites, but it is also possible – if one reads the version as a Windows Word document and has direct access to the Internet – to copy and paste the web addresses and perhaps some of the books into for instance Google Books and then return to the main text, which is this essay written as a Windows Word document. Those kinds of textual excursions were indeed more problematic before the age of computers and the Internet (Landow 2006: An Introduction). Another example, certainly of relevance for this study, is the world of blogs. Landow describes blogs a sort of discursive prose which literally makes reader’s response possible due to the possibility to comment on blog posts:

Blog takes the form of an online journal or diary most commonly written by a single person, and, like paper journals and diaries, they present the author’s words in dated segments. Unlike their paper predecessors, they present entries in reverse chronological order. They can employ two different forms of hypertextuality. First,

unlike discussion lists, all bloggers can link chronologically distant individual entries to each other, thereby “allowing readers to put events in context and get the whole story without the diarist having to explain again. (...) The second form of hypertextuality occurs only in those blogger systems that permit readers to comment on entries (Ibid: 77-78).

There is another concept that is of particular relevance in regard to these topics: *intertextuality*, a term coined by Bulgarian-French philosopher Julia Kristeva in the late 1960s (Orr 2003: 1; Worton & Still 1990: 1). It is not wrong to assert that hypertextuality is one kind of intertextuality (Orr 2003: 55), but what, then, is intertextuality more specifically? One suggestion – the terms have been used rather diversely since its birth (Worton & Still 1990: Introduction) – is the British linguistic professor Norman Fairclough’s definition: intertextuality is when a text has some sort of dialogical relationship (through for instance quotes or stated sources) to other texts or has the voice of another author (Fairclough 2003: 39-41). Even though this points out the main tenets of intertextuality it still requires some additional descriptions. First, one can divide non-manifest intertextuality, in the first sense of Fairclough’s definition, from *manifest intertextuality*. The latter is when someone refers directly to another text, like I do after this sentence, or quote certain passages of another text (Fairclough 1992a: 117). With “has the voice of another author” one can instead speak of *influence* (Clayton & Rothstein 1991). Influence can mean both imitation, for instance an amateurish author who tries to write more or less exactly as James Joyce, or when someone absorbs certain components or traits of another author’s style of writing. For instance, Julius Evola’s magnum opus *Rivolta Contro il Mondo Moderno* (1934) is, according to Evola himself, very much influenced by some of the works of Johann Jakob Bachofen, Herman Wirth, René Guénon, and Guido de Giorgio (Evola 2009: 96). Influence can also be taken in a particular literary methodological and epistemological way, when both the author and the reader have agency, unlike reader’s response and similar theories where the reader’s interpretation is everything that counts (Clayton & Rothstein: 161). In my first level master’s thesis, “*Evolianism*” in *Contemporary Sweden*, I used intertextuality/influence in a very specific twofold way: I examined instances of more or less manifest intertextuality, for instance blog reviews (written by two Motpol bloggers, Oskorei and SolGuru) of books written by Evola, but I also reconnected with Evola’s texts – his voice (by means of quotes and references) helped to shed light on more implicit intertextual/influential links between his text corpus and the Motpol bloggers Oskorei and SolGuru. Even though it might be relevant to do something similar in this study, I primarily intend to describe intertextuality in the first sense of Fairclough’s

definition, as a textual link. In other words: How is the printed material and Internet material within the Traditionalism movement hypertextual and/or intertextual?

Landow does also discuss several literary theoretic concepts such as Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's *rhizome theory* (Landow 2006: 58-62). Rhizome, a botanic term – Deleuze and Guattari sometimes uses zoological imagery, such as burrows and rats – was not coined by these two French philosophers but they were the first to use it in psychoanalytical, textual and literature theoretic respects; they presented this in *L'Anti-Œdipe* (1972). The Deleuze expert Philip Goodchild has described Deleuze and Guattari's take on the rhizome concept as a style of thought (1996: 85). Their definition of a rhizome is, however, perhaps even better described in their second volume of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia, A Thousand Plateaus* (2004). There are six main characteristics that are connected and that can be summarized in a simplified manner as follows:

1 & 2: *Principles of connection and heterogeneity*: any point of rhizome can be connected to another. A rhizome is, basically, rootless; unlike the tree which is genealogical.

3. *Principle of multiplicity*: multiplicity is rhizomatic and thus there is no pivot, neither subject nor object. Since multiplicity implies (endless) combination possibilities there is no unity, no beginning and no end.

4. *Principle of asignifying rupture*: a rhizome might be broken at a given spot, but it can start up again at a new or old place. "The rhizome is an antigenealogy".

5. & 6. *Principles of mapping and decalcomania*. The rhizome is a map and not a tracing process, unlike for instance Noam Chomsky's linguistic trees. But the emergence of rhizomes can in fact take its point of departure at trees and roots (Deleuze & Guattari 2004: Introduction).

One should note that even though there are similarities between rhizome and hypertext these should not be taken too far (Landow 2006: 61-61). Therefore, I do not put an equal sign between these two concepts. Intertextuality, hyperintertextuality and rhizomatic structures might overlap each other at certain points, but they still need to be separated and understood in their own regard.

One can also ask whether these characteristics of rhizome are all relevant as tools of analysis – which I intend to use – and also if they are enough in their own simplified right; but

since it is these main traits that Deleuze and Guattari's actually have outlined it is still relevant to take these as a point of departure. It is also possible to reconnect with other parts of their work in question in order to understand how these concepts can be understood even more fruitfully. The same goes for Landow's take on hypertext and hypertextuality.

2.2. Friend and foe distinctions

The German professor of law, Carl Schmitt (1888-1985), has during recent decades retrieved "new" attention from scholars and theoreticians in a rather vast number of fields but in particular those that in simple terms can be regarded as adherents of the left-wing. Ten scholars have written about certain components of Schmitt's corpus of ideas in *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* (1999), a piece of work that I will return to at various places of this section. The American political scientist, Paul Gottfried, has noted the mini-Renaissance of Schmitt's work earlier (Gottfried 1990: chapter 1).

Speaking of Gottfried, there is another category of thinkers that have taken interest in Schmitt's work: those who, in simple terms, belong to the academic right, such as the French new right ideologists Alain de Benoist and Guillaume Faye, and the Croatian-American Tomislav Sunic. The latter two can also be put in another category of thinkers that are influenced by Schmitt's work – those who use his ideas as part of a political driving force. With this I refer to Faye's non-academic work, such as *Archeofuturism* (2010) and *Why We Fight* (2011), and Sunic's work as an American Third position ideologist. This second category is not, however, of any interest in this chapter, even though it might possibly overlap the two other categories in certain respects.

One of Schmitt's most famous texts is *Der Begriff des Politischen* (2009). In this text Schmitt describes his outlook on the concept politics, the political friend and the political foe. Schmitt's work is more focused on the political enmity than friendship, but in order to understand what the political enemy is, from his perspective, one must first discern what he means with politics and also what distinguishes a political foe from similar epithets, as well as other kinds of grudges and enemy relations. The political sphere – which comes after the formation of the state – is a sphere of friends and foes; it is not politics if these antagonisms do not exist. This is the first major distinction and presumption for his further analyses. Schmitt also discusses pluralism and concludes that the world is non-universal and pluralistic (Schmitt 2009: 50). On

the other hand he also asserts in another text⁴⁰ that political unity, the state with its certain ethics, cannot be pluralistic; it can only be so to the extent that for instance political parties can exist if they recognize common premises. If those premises are not shared, politics is reduced “into mere rules of the game”, which will lead to a post-political situation (Mouffe et al 1999: 207).

Regarding political foes it is in turn relevant to make two major distinctions. A foe (*hostis*) is not the same as a competitor – in a market society most often related to economics⁴¹ – or a personal enemy (*inimicus*). A personal enemy could, however, at the same time be a political enemy or the other way around, and a competitor too for that matter. Schmitt rejected democratic pluralism (Schmitt 2009: 41-54) and had an almost dualistic view in this regard (Mouffe et al 1999). This, perhaps false, dichotomy is in itself a problem, not for Schmitt but for how the dynamics of contemporary politics should be understood. For instance in Sweden it is unhesitatingly hard to discern between competitors and foes: the emergence of third-way politics⁴², at the end of 1980’s, in many senses eradicated the liberal right-wing and socialist left-wing dichotomy (Ibid; Giddens 2000, 2002). The Social democrats and the Moderate Party can in fact no longer be regarded as foes; at least not in every relevant major sense. They can compromise in certain senses and in general they are competitors rather than foes, since they share views on topics such as immigration policies and sometimes even tax policies.⁴³ Still there are main components of their politics that are in direct opposition with each other, which is a proof of the complexity and diversity of this issue. This does not mean, however, that real political enemies can cooperate and meet half-way – if the discrepancy between two parties or ideological groups is too big then there is no room for compromises, something that Paul Hirst seems to agree with (Mouffe et al 1999: 14). Even so, in representative democracy debates and voting it is still possible for parties that are foes in general to find common denominators. A concrete example of this is when the Swedish Left Party (together with the Social Democrats and the Green Party) and the Sweden Democrats – two parties which are normally within the frames of the Swedish parliament political opponents – have voted against propositions that the four party

⁴¹The name of the original text is called “Staatsethik und pluralistischer Staat”, but it is incorporated as an English version in the last chapter of *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* (Mouffe et al 1999: chapter 11).

⁴²One may note, however, that part of Schmitt’s critique against liberalism is related to that he asserts that liberalism is non-political since liberals transform political enemies into competitors and/or discussion partners. Another way of regarding it is to say that liberals often make economics superior to politics.

⁴³A centralism synthesis of market economy and social welfare systems to put it very simple. Social democracy is often being considered as third way politics.

⁴⁴Social Democrats about its tax policies: <http://www.socialdemokraterna.se/Var-politik/Var-politik-A-till-O/Skatter/>. The Moderate party about its tax policies: <http://www.moderat.se/web/Skatter.aspx>.

minority government alliance has suggested⁴⁴. Schmitt would perhaps have seen this as a post-political state in which pluralism, heterogeneity and temporary alliances – politics reduced to a mere instrument – are the only things left (Mouffe et al 1999: 49). Another dimension that is worth to emphasize is that de-politicization – at least in totalitarian and neo-liberal discourses – might also mean de-humanization of the “other”: the foe is just another criminal, worthy of no rights and dignities (Ibid: 107).

The main point about these concepts – friend, foe, personal enemy, competitor and pluralism – is that even if they still are relevant within contemporary politics, they always need to be problematized and (re)elaborated in order to be accurately understood, or even meaningful, within their specific historic contexts and discourses (Ibid: 178). I assert that albeit Schmitt primarily focused on political friend and foe relations, personal friend and enemy relations as well as competitor relations are still relevant to investigate in relation to the instances of micro politics in this thesis.

2.2. Ideal types

The German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) coined the concept *ideal type* (*Ideal typus*). The particular elaboration of this concept was distributed in a collection of essays, *Geasammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*. It basically refers to an abstract entity that can be constructed in order to “concretize” relevant traits, ideas or components that can be observed during historical events. Such phenomena are often complex and non-monolithic, but in order to describe these things and make them comprehensible it is sometimes relevant to construct different kinds of ideal types. It can also be described as a first step of an analysis of empirical material (Svedberg & Agewall 2005: 119-120). The concept can also be described as a painting that avoids all the disturbing elements of reality – it simply reduces the real historical events and persons and make them into something “ideal” (Cahnman et al 1995: 38-39). Weber used the concepts in for instance *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, in order to describe a capitalist entrepreneur (Weber 2003: 71), but within that specific work he primarily used the term to describe different European denominations: “We can of course only proceed by presenting these religious ideas in the artificial simplicity of ideal types, as they could at best seldom be found in history.” (Ibid: 98)

⁴⁵TCO newspaper: <http://www.tcotidningen.se/oppositionen-tvingar-regeringen-andra-upphandlingsregler>. 2011-06-15.

The chief problem with the ideal type theory has already been mentioned. The ideal types that one produces are, if not distortions, then at least simplifications of the real. It is therefore important not to stop at this stage of analysis and description of real phenomena – ideally one must instead regard it as a point of departure to deepen, nuance and problematize these pictures and make them more fuzzy and grotesque, if necessary.

3. Methodology

This study is completely based on in-depth reading of primary sources. No interviews have been conducted, and there are number of relevant reasons for that. First of all, I assert that studies of primary material are the most efficient way to approach the subjects in question, since I specifically study contemporary Swedish Traditionalists and Identitarians on the Internet and to lesser degree in printed books (Mohamed Omar, Jonas De Geer). That in turn has made it possible to answer the research questions without data from interviews. There is, however, one constructive thing that comes with interviews and that is the possibility to decide whether there is a real person behind a pseudonym or not. Still there is nothing that indicates that there are any fraud persons behind the nick names mentioned in this study – and many, such as Mohamed Omar, Jonas De Geer, John Järvenpää and other Motpol writers are undoubtedly real and official persons – and even if they were not, the texts that have been written would still count as manifestations of Traditionalist and Identitarian ideas.

My general methodological approach can be described as an interplay between my research questions, the reading of previous research as well as the reading of primary material, and also the immersion of the theoretical framework and its concepts. In this sense one could almost speak of a *hermeneutical spiral* – the parts generate the whole and the whole affects the parts in

a (never-ending) cyclic process – where new insights are being absorbed gradually (Gadamer 1985).⁴⁵

In chapter 5, I have used the terminologies of Landow (*hypertextuality*), Deleuze and Guattari (*rhizome*, *anti-genealogy*) and Fairclough (*manifest intertextuality*). To a much lesser degree I have also used concepts from Orr (*intertextuality*, *interdiscursivity*) and Clayton and Rothstein (*influence*). All concepts and tools of analysis were outlined in section 3.1. and on the

⁴⁵This does not mean, however, that any distinct “truth” can be discerned. It is rather a more a general analyze model of thinking, reading and writing, and overall deal with the available material.

whole they all belong to what basically can be considered as literature theory, even though they overlap semiotics, basic computer technology, psychoanalysis and linguistics to some extent. I have used these concepts as tools of analysis mainly to answer the following questions:

How are contemporary Swedish Traditionalists and Identitarians organized? How do contemporary Traditionalists use the writings of earlier Traditionalists? I have also looked for hyperlinks that interconnect the subjects of study and associated blogs and websites.

The content in Chapter 6 is based on the Schmittian concepts that were defined and problematized in section 2.2., and which in turn chiefly belong to the political science field. On the other hand, I have also had a “discursive approach” – without explicitly drawing from any tradition within the rather vast field of discourse theory and analysis – and thus one can speak of an interdisciplinary and twofold text analysis in this chapter. I have used these concepts in regard to several topics of interest for on one hand lines of possible conflicts *within* the contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and Identitarian milieu. In more concrete terms I have read the sources and looked for themes that are related to conflicts such as (fierce) criticism of Islam that are written by Motpol bloggers, and themes that are related to criticism of Traditionalism and Identitarianism within other ethno-nationalistic fractions that are being manifested on the Internet. The process demands selection, which is why a large amount of texts in this field have been left out.

There are both theoretical and methodological similarities between chapter 6 and 7, but in the latter, I have focused on possible lines of conflicts *between* Identitarian Traditionalists and non-Traditionalist ethno-nationalists. Since these two chapters treat different things, the concepts of Schmitt have been incorporated in slightly different manners, but these are defined the same. I have also looked for different themes and friend and foe relationships and thus focused on other texts. Another difference is that I have at specific points constructed ideal types in order to concretize a diverse amount of different tendencies in regard to opinions about Islam and Muslims. These ideal types have also been problematized to examine nuances and individual differences. The intertextual and hypertextual concepts and perspectives are not nearly as salient as in chapter 5, but since I work with similar texts on the Internet it seems to be hard to fully make distance from these components.

Chapter 8 is likewise centered on Schmittian friend and foe distinctions and Weberian ideal types. The difference is related to the subjects, themes and typologies that I have tried to distinguish, and thus I have also made a different selection in relation to the primary material.

The method is, however, overall the same as in the previous chapter. My aim has been to identify ideal types and then distort the pictures.

4. Formative background

4.1. The main history of Perennialism and Traditionalism

The term *philosophia perennis* was coined in 1540 by the Catholic scholar Augustinus Steuchus to describe some of Marsilio Ficino's (1433-1499) – a prominent humanist philosopher of the early Italian Renaissance – writings, in particular his translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Ficino gave Platonism, which bloomed during this period, a religious touch and claimed that both Plato and Jesus were the works of God. Traditions such as Platonism and Christendom, as well as for instance Zoroastrianism, were thus all the same divine Ur-essence according to Ficino. It is therefore impossible to separate Perennialism from Platonic, Christian and Zoroastrian, among other Traditions, and the history of religions in general (Faivre 1994: 7, 58; Sedgwick 2004: chapter 1).

Even though perennial philosophy bloomed during this specific period it later declined and became marginalized during the early 17th century. During the 19th century, however, it regained new attention in Western circles due to Orientalist studies of the *Vedas*. It was in this form that the Frenchman René Jené-Marie Joseph Guénon (1886-1951) encountered this school of thought and gave it somewhat new colors. Guénon approached Perennialism from a *Vedanta* perspective, especially in his books *Introduction générale à l'étude des doctrines hindoues* (1921) and *L'homme et son Devenir Selon le Vêdânta* (1925). He claimed that the *Vedanta* particularly emphasized the kernel of the Ur-Tradition, while at the same time bearing the same divine essence as the various true religions that have been manifested throughout history.

Two other books are of importance for Guénon's main tenets of Traditionalism: *Théosophisme*, published in 1921, and *L'erreur spirite*, published in 1923. Both works can be regarded as a ferment critique of occultism – which Guénon had close ties to during a certain period (Sedgwick 2004: chapter 2) – in general and Theosophy in particular. Guénon – and later Evola (Evola 2002, 2003) – believed that the embracing of new religious forms would lead to “counterinitiation” and “inversion”. He did not invent these concepts but made them integral and central parts of Traditionalism. Being more or less intertwined, counterinitiation is the

supposed product of a false initiation, while inversion stands for the ubiquitous forces that characterize modernity in general. The catastrophic situation of the modern West is described in *La Crise du Monde Moderne* (1927), while other important components of Traditionalism are expressed in *Orient et Occident* (1924) (Sedgwick 2004: chapter 1; Hanegraaff 1996: 408).

I will neither dwell on details of Guénon's life nor his gradual rapprochement to his specific life stance later known as Traditionalism. There are, however, a couple of more aspects that need to be considered. Even if Guénon hinges the main traits of his beliefs on perennial philosophy (or Perennialism or *philosophia perennis*, to use the most common synonyms) and studies of the *Vedanta*, his close relationship to Sufism and Islam is something that cannot be ignored, neither for the sake of Guénon's personal-spiritual development nor his successors. In this regard the Swedish painter and Sufi Muslim Ivan Aguéli (born John Gustaf Agelii, later Sheikh Abd al-Hādī 'Aqīlī) is particularly important. Aguéli spent most of his life time in France and Egypt – in the former country he encountered Theosophical and anarchist ideas, while in the latter he approached Islam. The Islamic theologian Ibn-Arabi (1165-1240) became utterly important for Aguéli's specific take on the esoteric aspects of Islam (Wessel 1988: 77-96; Gauffin 1940-41: 299-304) and later also for the Traditionalism movement in general. Aguéli did also introduce Guénon to his secret Sufi society Al Akbariyya in France in 1911. Albeit Guénon's relationship to Islam and Sufism cannot completely be linked to Aguéli, the latter is nevertheless important. Guénon encountered Theosophy, Freemasonic circles, Catholicism and the *Vedanta* (although he never practiced it), but it is Islam and particularly certain orientations of Sufism that are the most important religious forms for Guénon and in many regards Traditionalism in whole (Sedgwick 2004: chapter 2, 3, 6, 7).

The Guénonian branch of perennial philosophy that is known as Traditionalism retained new followers not long after. The Englishman Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy's (1877-1947) writings, mostly on Indian philosophy, can however be considered as a slightly different take on *philosophia perennis* rather than the works of a successor (Ibid: chapter 2). Julius Evola is a successor of Guénon and claimed that his magnum opus, *Rivolta contro il mondo moderno* (1934), was largely influenced by Guénon's writings (Evola 2009: 96-104). But at the same time, he was also a deviator from Guénon's outlines in certain senses (Goodrick-Clarke 2002: chapter 4; Sedgwick 2004: chapter 5). The "true successors" of Guénon is first and foremost the Swiss Frithjof Schuon (later Isa Nur al-Din Ahmad al-Shadhili al Darquwi al-Alawi al-Maryami) and the Iran-born American Hossein Nasr, the Englishmen Martin Lings and the

Italian Titus Burckhardt. The above-mentioned persons, among other Traditionalists, have added their own individual features in certain senses in their writings but are still mainly followers of the theoretical outlines provided by Guénon, and later Schuon (Sedgwick 2004: chapter 6, 7).

4.2. The emergence of Traditionalism in Sweden

As it has been said above, in order to understand Guénon's Perennialism one must both turn to the history of Traditionalism – which in turn is an integral part of the history of Western esotericism – and the Swede Aguéli. In other words: the history of Traditionalism is in fact closely related to Sweden in certain respects. If one considers Tage Lindbom (1909-2001) and Kurt Almqvist (1912-2001) there are even more substance in that assertion. Lindbom (later Sidi Zayd), a political scientist, social democrat and radical conservative (Dahl 1999), wrote a vast number of books concerning conservative political stances as well as spiritual books with main focus on Islam. His break with socialism/social democracy was the book *Sancho Panzas värderkvarnar* (1962) and he developed his aversion for these ideologies in *Myt i verkligheten* (1977). Later he also wrote for the conservative magazine *Samtidsmagasinet Salt* (issue one, 1999). Regarding religious beliefs, his Islamic tendencies were seldom salient, albeit he wrote works such as *Den gyllene kedjan* (1984) and *I Frithjof Schuons fotspår* (2003).

Did his friend and colleague – the doctor in Romance languages, Kurt Almqvist – perhaps have a more explicit Muslim identity? Even though they were both followers of *philosophia perennis*, Almqvist had a closer relation to Schuon and wrote works on René Guénon (1977). These presumptions can, however, concern degree more than anything else: both converted to Islam and joined Schuon's Shadhili-Maryami order. They shared similar beliefs in many senses and even died the same year, in 2001. Both also left a rather large amount of texts for later Traditionalists to discover. Some of these “contemporaries” are the linguist docent Ashk Dahlén, who for a while was a disciple of Seyyed Hossein Nasr⁴⁶, and the unknown person behind Café Exposé⁴⁷.

There are, in simple terms, two main categories of contemporary Traditionalists: those who mostly write about Sufi-related Traditionalism and try to find congruences between certain

⁴⁷Dahlén asserted this in an e-mail correspondence in early 2011. Dahlén is also the translator of the book *Vid det klara morgonljuset: essäer om Islams andliga liv* (2006) and has written the introduction to Lindbom's *I Frithjof Schuons fotspår* (2003).

⁴⁸Café Exposé: <http://cafeexpose.wordpress.com/>.

expressions of Islam and other religious forms, for instance Buddhism (Café Exposé, Perennial), and those who are clearly non-Muslim Traditionalists (Oskorei, Solguru, Gudomlig komedi, Arya Varta, which all belong to the blog portal Motpol). Mohamed Omar can perhaps be regarded as an idiosyncrasy in this sense. Omar, born in 1976 in Uppsala⁴⁸, is primarily a Muslim who has taken immense interest in Traditionalists such as Lindbom, Almqvist, Guénon, Schuon, Nasr and Evola. As one may note, these categories are however not definite, something that I intend to return to later.

The blog portal Motpol – one of the most important platforms for Traditionalist ideas in Sweden and Scandinavia – was created in 2006, and at the moment it has twenty-four active blogs and a guest chronicle; four of these seem to be totally inactive⁴⁹. There are also a number of blogs that have ceased to exist. Motpol has close ties to Nordiska Förbundet (Nordic League, an ethno-nationalist base project which also includes the “alternative encyclopedia” Metapedia, the newspaper The Folk’s News (Folkets Nyheter)⁵⁰, the Internet community Nordic (Nordisk), and the Nordic festival (Nordiska festivalen, a yearly culture-related festival) (Deland et al 2010: 110-111)⁵¹. The amount of readers may differ from one blog to another, but most of the blogs are not even registered on ranking websites such as Bloggtoppen⁵² and it is thus impossible to outline a specific number. Weblog Oskorei is likely the blog with most readers and has 3000-4000 unique visitors per week, on average⁵³. Another prolific writer is the Catholic traditionalist Jonas De Geer, born in 1971, who is also the former publisher of the conservative magazine *Samtidsmagasinet Salt* (Deland et al 2010: 106) and has been a spokesperson for several movements within the ethno-nationalist orbit in Sweden⁵⁴. De Geer, an outspoken member of SSPX⁵⁵, has also participated in Swedish television at two occasions, in 2000 and 2001⁵⁶. He is notorious for his anti-Semitic statements and in September 2011 he joined Svenskarnas parti (The Swedes Party)⁵⁷, which has Nazi roots⁵⁸.

⁴⁸Omar, Mohamed. Small Biography: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/bio/>.

⁴⁹Motpol: <http://www.motpol.nu/>.

⁵⁰Since 2008 the release of this journal seems to have stopped.

⁵¹The publishing house Nordiska förlaget (Nordic Publishers) seems to have transformed into Arktos Media, which saw its light in 2010. Since Nordiska förlaget is shut down it is difficult to make a relevant comparison, but I assert that the supply of Arktos is generally more diverse. With that said it mainly focuses on literature that is related to Traditionalism, Identitarianism and neo-Paganism.

⁵²Bloggtoppen: <http://www.bloggtoppen.se/>.

⁵³Oskorei at Bloggtoppen.se: <http://www.bloggtoppen.se/blogg/5208/>.

⁵⁴De Geer, Jonas. Makes a speech during the Salem manifestation: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00Q_WI8D5ic&feature=related.

⁵⁵De Geer, Jonas: A Little Clarification about SSPX: <http://jdgeer.motpol.nu/?p=62>. 2009-01-29.

⁵⁶De Geer, Jonas. Debate against Carl Rudbeck in Swedish national television show “Centrum”: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TYi1KROlQqA&feature=related>.

It is not easy to categorize neither the blog portal in question nor its writers under one single ideological appellation since its writers treat a vast number of different subjects, but the three words *kulturkamp*, *folkbildning*, *samhällsdebatt* (cultural struggle, education of people, social debate) do at least sum up the intention with the existence of Motpol. Cultural struggle and meta politics are two closely intertwined concepts that are retrieved from Gramsci via the *Nouvelle Droite* (Deland et al 2010: 127). Fierce critique of “mass immigration”, especially from outside of Europe, can be regarded as the lowest common denominators between the Motpol bloggers.

Regarding Traditionalism, it is not easy to decide which of these bloggers that can be regarded as Traditionalists or not. Some are outspoken, such as Oskorei⁵⁹, SolGuru⁶⁰, Gudomlig komedi⁶¹ and Arya Varta⁶², while Christian writers like Wodinaz, Rent principiellt (Lennart Svensson)⁶³, Tristan⁶⁴, and definitely Jonas De Geer, are traditionalists in a non-Guénonian sense.⁶⁵ Furthermore there are bloggers such as Olympiark and Nordanvind who have taken interest in Traditionalism and Traditionalist authors⁶⁶ without being outspoken Traditionalists. Due to this diversity it is suitable to approach these writers in a situation-based kind of way; they are not copies of each other, even though they probably influence one another to some extent since they all belong to a single, yet multifaceted Traditionalist and Identitarian web milieu.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pU2JQnPfZCs&feature=related>. Jonas De Geer and Nationaldemokraterna debates against Expo in the television show Insider at TV3: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AL596JG3IT4&feature=related>.

⁵⁷Nationell.nu: Jonas De Geer Enters the Swedes Party: <http://www.nationell.nu/2011/08/30/jonas-de-geer-gar-in-i-svenskarnas-parti/>. 2011-08-30.

⁵⁸The Swedish Security Police Force about The Swedes Party: <http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se/forfattningsskydd/politiskextremism/vitmaktmiljon/grupper.4.3b063add1101207dd46800055810.html>. The Swedes Party about the change of name and formation of the new party: <http://www.svenskarnasparti.se/2009/11/29/folkfronten-blir-svenskarnas-parti-svp/>. 2009-11-29.

⁵⁹Oskorei – About: http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?page_id=2.

⁶⁰SolGuru – Sweden is not the World’s Navel and the Ethno-Pluralism: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=1026>. 2010-07-25.

⁶¹Gudomlig komedi: Civilization’s Suicide: Comment on Traditionalism: <http://gudomligkomedi.motpol.nu/civilisationernas-sjalmord/#comments>. 2011-06-24.

⁶²Arya Varta: <http://aryavarta.motpol.nu/>.

⁶³Svensson about his new blog: <http://lennart-svensson.blogspot.com/2011/01/ny-blogg-startad.html>. 2011-01-19.

⁶⁴Arya Varta: Race, Identity and the Soul – Tristan Comment: <http://aryavarta.motpol.nu/?p=109#comments>. 2011-05-21.

⁶⁵Oskorei: de Benoist about Heathen Renaissances - Comments: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=4192>. 2010-12-05.

⁶⁶Olympiark: Guénon About Individualism and Protestantism: <http://olympiark.motpol.nu/2010/03/25/guenon-om-individualism-och-protestantism/>. 2010-03-25. Nordanvind: Fascist Occultism and its Close Relationship to Tantric Buddhism: <http://nordanvind.motpol.nu/?p=11>. 2006-08-20.

The Traditionalist blog Café Exposé⁶⁷, hosted by what seems to be one male person who calls himself Caféföreståndaren (the café director), is different – it is specifically Traditionalist, even though other topics are sometimes being discussed. Something similar can be said about Perennial.⁶⁸ It is very alike in regard to which topics – Perennialism and Traditionalism – that are being treated. The main difference is rather quantitative than qualitative: Café Exposé published its first blog post in March 2005⁶⁹, while Perennial entered the blog scene in April 2008.⁷⁰ The former blog is also more frequently updated than the latter.

5. Contemporary Swedish Traditionalism – Hypertextuality and organization

There is a twofold aim of this chapter: to grasp how several contemporary Swedish Traditionalists on the Internet – those who were presented in the previous chapter – use the texts of earlier Traditionalists; and to look into how these Traditionalists are organized.

5.1. Hypertextuality and Intertextuality

First of all: *there is unhesitatingly no formal or official movement or organization of Traditionalists in contemporary Sweden.* In fact, there are not “even” any official study groups of Guénon, Coomaraswamy, Evola, Schuon, Lings, Burckhardt, Nasr or any other well-known Traditionalist, with one exception: the study group Aguéli in Uppsala. This group is far from exclusively Traditionalism- or Aguéli-oriented – dealing with topics such as Zionism, history revisionism (concerning both the Holocaust and 9/11), Darwinism, political Islam etcetera – but due to the rather big focus on Sufism, a consequence of Mohamed Omar being the founder and the Sufi master Ahmed Valsan a recurrent lecturer⁷¹, it is still a rather salient part of it. The group has published a manifesto, by means of a quotation from the prophet’s *Sunnah* (Nahjol Fasaha), which points out that it is an Islamic association that defends the importance of knowledge. These are some quotes that summarize its purpose:

But we do not regard knowledge that is synonymous with superficial information and thus we also want to highlight character making aspects of learning. (...) Man cannot live without beauty and she always and everywhere strive for to beautify her personality and her ambient. (...) The study group Aguéli hinges on four

⁶⁷Café Exposé: <http://cafeexpose.wordpress.com/>.

⁶⁸Perennial: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/>.

⁶⁹Café Exposé: Chronological Index: <http://cafeexpose.wordpress.com/kronologiskt-index/>.

⁷⁰Perennial: Chronological Index: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/2008/04/>.

⁷¹Omar, Mohamed. About the study group Aguéli: http://www.mohamedomar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=53&Itemid=63.

pillars: education, culture, spirituality and politics. (...) The study group is *radical* and *Islamist*. We are radical in that sense that we look inward and backward in the Islamic tradition, towards its roots, radices, in order to collect power and inspiration. There are of course different kinds of *Islamism*. The study group Aguéli affirms diversity of the Islamic movement and wants to be a forum for respectful dialogue. We are Swedish Muslims and our primary focus is Swedish society. In dialogue and cooperation with different Islamic groups, but also non-Islamic, we want to formulate problems and find solutions that are urgent for our homeland and our society. (...) Sufism is the inner dimension of Islam and is totally necessary for the seeker who wants to expand his conscience. (...) The study group is named after the Swedish artist Ivan Aguéli (1869-1917) that also was a Sufi. He was an artist, Sufi and political activist and thus practiced Islam in all its aspects, which makes him an excellent role model for us.⁷²

There are a number of internal category hyperlinks on the website in question that present the study group and one of them collects all published articles. These are mainly written by Omar, but the anti-Zionist and history revisionist Lasse Wilhelmsson is also a rather frequent contributor. The treated topics mainly cover religion and politics and are mostly short comments on selected news. One article, however, deals solely with some of Aguéli's ideas – it is actually a longer excerpt from *Ivan Aguéli* (Gauffin 1941)⁷³. Another post focuses on the Swedish archeologist, mystic and poet Johannes Bureus' (1568-1652) links to *philosophia perennis*. Omar writes from an Islamic perspective but does mainly sum up the main tenets of Bureus' ideas, partly with help from the *Adulrunan och den götiska kabbalan* (2005) by Thomas Karlsson, the founder of the dark magic movement Dragon Rouge. In the last section, however, Omar also reconnects with Islam and the *Quran* and states that this is the book that can help men to separate the divine from the human, truths from falsehood etcetera⁷⁴.

Omar does also hyper link to his own blog where more explicit Traditionalist ideas and Traditionalist writers are being promoted. Omar has for example posted two interviews with Hossein Nasr (those were not, however, carried through by Omar but have been copied and pasted from other publications) and posted interviews with other Traditionalists such as the German Martin Schwarz and Oskorei. He has also written a text *in memoriam* to Tage Lindbom and reconnected with his and Kurt Almqvist's ideas in other texts; one of them has also been

⁷²Manifesto of the study group Aguéli:
http://www.mohamedomar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=236:studiegruppen-aguelis-manifest&catid=35:artiklar&Itemid=49.

⁷³Omar, Mohamed: The Islamization Program from Ivan Aguéli:
http://www.mohamedomar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=145:islamiseringsprogram&catid=35:artiklar&Itemid=49.

⁷⁴Omar, Mohamed: Johannes Bureus and the Geatish Kabbalah:
http://www.mohamedomar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=91:johannes-bureus-och-philosophia-perennis&catid=35:artiklar&Itemid=49.

published in *Minaret*⁷⁵. Aguéli is also mentioned in several blog posts. One of them, “Radikalism och talande djur” (Radicalism and talking animals), sums up certain events of Aguéli’s life, especially his take on radical Islam. Omar frequently refers to Hans Henrik Brummer’s (et al) book *Ivan Aguéli* (2006) – which Omar has contributed to – and writes in a semi-scholarly manner while also integrating more personal interpretations⁷⁶.

Another blog post of interest is “Västerlandet och islam” (The West and Islam), since it focuses on Traditionalism and Western civilization from an Islamic point of view:

By tradition we do not mean old customs, no, Tradition is, according to René Guénon [1] [during] the whole history of mankind and in both time and room, a permeating stream of light, that has its Divine source in the Ur-state itself, in Paradise, or the projection of time, the “Hyperborean” Golden Age.

Tradition is, according to the Swedish Sufi Kurt Almqvist [2], the sum of all the light streams which originated from the central or polar Ur-state (the Hyperborean “culture” was according to the legend located in the North Pole) that floated to the different parts of the world, and there all these streams became the spider veins that through all times have given all cultures divine life. (...)

The truth of Islam is also the truth of the West, for truth is one. There are no “Western values” in contrast to “Islamic values” except in a shallow and time-bound sense. (...) ⁷⁷

Julius Evola has also been mentioned, both in passing and in more depth. One example is his involvement in a general European anti-Semitic discourse due to his foreword of an Italian edition of *The Protocol of the Elders of Zion* (1938), which Omar promotes – by means of a hyperlink – as some sort of evidence for what, according to him, must be done in order to defend both the Western and the Islamic world from Freemasonry and Zionism.⁷⁸ Given a number of examples of how Traditionalism can be promoted in practice, it shows that there is a possible interplay between oral texts (things that are being said in the meetings of the study group Aguéli) and written texts that are published on the website⁷⁹, his own blog⁸⁰ and other texts. Omar, and to some degree also his companions, are thus hyper(inter)textual agents that

⁷⁵Omar, Mohamed. About Kurt Almqvist: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/2009/04/13/viveca-wessel-nagra-minnen-av-kurt-almqvist/>. 2009-04-13.

⁷⁶Omar, Omar: Ivan Aguéli and Talking Animals: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/2011/06/13/radikalism-och-talande-djur/>. 2011-06-13.

⁷⁷Omar, Mohamed: The West and Islam: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/2009/04/04/vasterlandet-och-islam/>. 2009-04-04.

⁷⁸Omar, Mohamed: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/2011/05/26/pa-filmpremiar-med-juri-lina/#more-4834>. 2011-05-26.

⁷⁹Omar, Mohamed. Personal website: <http://www.mohamedomar.org/>.

⁸⁰Omar,

Mohamed.

Personal

blog:

<http://alazerius.wordpress.com/>.

use the Internet and hyper linking to promote certain material; it does not end with the text itself.

Café Exposé seems to be organized in a quite similar way, even though its founder is not part of any study group (that I know of). A major difference is any case that it is more specifically Traditionalism-oriented, and it can be categorized as a special-interest blog (Landow 2006: 80), but Café Exposé, along with Perennial, is perhaps even more specialized than Omar and the Motpol bloggers, since the latter often writes about history, everyday politics, make comments on news etcetera. The category “Sufism, Islam and timeless philosophy” consists of closely one hundred blog posts, while other categories – being more or less linked to Traditionalism – consist of between one and two hundred posts. To put it simple: it is essentially a blog about Traditionalism. Like Omar’s blog its posts are often intertextual and/or hyperintertextual – it refers manifestly to other books⁸¹ or hyperlinks to other blogs and blog posts on the Internet. One example of multifaceted hypertextuality is his post on Titus Burckhardt’s hermeneutic take on the medieval author Dante Alighieri. It consists of hyperlinks to both the Swedish and the English version of Wikipedia (which, as one should know at this time, in turn consists of a vast number of hyperlinks to other headwords, articles and bibliographies) – by means of that the author presents for instance Ingvar Björkeson, Dante Alighieri, Titus Burckhardt, Ernst Jünger and Mircea Eliade, the Traditional school, Tage Lindbom, Frithjof Schuon etcetera. Although hyperlinks to Wikipedia articles dominate this specific blog post it does also include hyperlinks to other websites, such as the online version of the Catholic publication *Signum* (in this case a translation of Burckhardt’s article on Dante into Swedish by Ingvar Björkeson)⁸².

Café Exposé has a hyperlink list on its right side that covers all blogs that hyperlinks to Café Exposé, and the Motpol bloggers SolGuru⁸³, Oskorei⁸⁴ and Lennart Svensson⁸⁵ are some of the names on the list, among Perennial⁸⁶. In the case of the last-mentioned blogger one may note that the posts are often organized similar to Café Exposé – explicit intertextual references to other works of Traditionalists and hyperlinks to articles are often the foundation of the written material. Perennial also consists of a hyperlink list to, from the writer’s perspective, valuable resources and links to religious records, such as the *Bible*⁸⁷ and the *Quran*⁸⁸, that one may find

⁸¹Café Exposé: Thematic Index: <http://cafeexpose.wordpress.com/tematiskt-index/>.

⁸²Signum: Titus Burckhardt on *Divina Commedia*: <http://www.signum.se/signum/template.php?page=read&id=1995>.

⁸³SolGuru: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/>.

⁸⁴Oskorei: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/>.

⁸⁵Svensson, Lennart. Personal blog: <http://lennart-svensson.blogspot.com/>.

⁸⁶Perennial: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/>.

⁸⁷The *Bible* in Swedish: <http://www.bibeln.se/>.

on the Internet for free usage. Writers that have been shed light on are for instance Aristotle, Plato, Ananda Coomaraswamy⁸⁹, Meister Eckhart⁹⁰ and C.S. Lewis.⁹¹ The number of references to religious records such as the *Bible*, the *Upanishads* and the *Sutras* are also rather vast.

It is easy to stir blind on similarities and ignore major differences – or the other way around – when one approaches these blogs. I assert that it is relevant to examine both what bridges and what divides so-called contemporary Traditionalists (or those who at least promote Traditionalist writers). One example of a similarity between many contemporary Traditionalists is their critique of modern science, such as reductionism, relativism and empiricism – it is conspicuous that Omar⁹², Café Exposé⁹³, Perennial⁹⁴, Gudomlig komedi⁹⁵ and SolGuru⁹⁶ have promoted a rather vast number of posts that deal with counter-evidences and objections to what they regard as typical for modern science. The manifest intertextuality is not however salient in these respects. One has to look at for instance SolGuru's post on Meister Eckhart⁹⁷ to identify these: Café Exposé hyperlinks to the three texts that SolGuru has written about Eckhart in a blog post that summarizes certain traits of Eckhart's works on religion and philosophy⁹⁸.

The blogger Gudomlig komedi – in a post that was posted on his personal blog before he became part of Motpol – has certainly emphasized the dichotomy that, according to him, can be

⁸⁸The *Quran* in Swedish translations: <http://www.koranensbudskap.se/>.

⁸⁹Perennial: Man is Doomed to Dogmatism: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/2009/02/02/manniskan-ar-domd-till-dogmatik/>. 2009-02-02. Perennial: Consciousness and Intelligence: Two Arguments against Reductionism: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/2010/04/28/medvetande-och-intelligens-tva-argument-mot-reduktionism/>. 2010-04-28.

⁹⁰Ibid: Worn Concepts – Introduction: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/2011/05/29/slitna-begrepp-inledning/>. 2011-05-29.

⁹¹Ibid: The Infernal Philologist's Politics: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/2010/09/08/de-infernaliska-filologernas-politik/>. 2010-09-08.

⁹²Mohamed Omar: Category: Darwinism: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/category/darwinism/>.

⁹³Café Exposé: Secular Fundamentalism and Darwinian Pseudo Science: <http://cafeexpose.wordpress.com/2007/10/29/sekular-fundamentalism-och-darwinistisk-pseudovetenskap/>. 2007-10-29.

⁹⁴Perennial: Consciousness and Intelligence – Two Arguments against Reductionism: <http://aperennial.wordpress.com/2010/04/28/medvetande-och-intelligens-tva-argument-mot-reduktionism/>. 2010-04-28.

⁹⁵Gudomlig komedi: <http://gudomligkomedi.motpol.nu/>.

⁹⁶SolGuru: Category: Theories of Science: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?cat=12>. 2009-04-04.

⁹⁷SolGuru: Apex Mentis I – Meister Eckhart's Life and Time: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=152>. 2009-09-08. Ibid: Apex Mentis II – Meister Eckhart's Thought: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=159>. 2009-09-09. Ibid: Apex Mentis III – Why read Meister Eckhart?: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=178>. 2009-09-17.

⁹⁸Café Exposé: Meister Eckhart – Christianity's Chief Perennial Philosopher and the German language's Innovator: <http://cafeexpose.wordpress.com/2010/10/03/master-eckhart-kristenhetens-framste-perennialistiske-filosof-och-det-tyska-sprakets-nydanare/>. 2010-10-03.

found between Traditionalism and modern society but without any explicit references to any prominent Traditionalist:

Traditionalism – PKPK (Political Correctness of the Political Class)

Family – Antifamily

Norms – Dissolution of Norms

Rationality (not Rationalism) – Irrational though taboos (PK)

Feeling – Suppresses the Feeling

Spirituality – Anti-Spirituality

Quality (for example traditional craft) – Quantity (mass production)

Home and Roots – Rootlessness, do not belong anywhere

Order – Disorder (believes that order is oppressive)

Masculinity – Anti-masculinity, “men are animals”

Femininity – Anti-femininity, “the sex is a social construction”

Social responsibility – Individualism

Unique persons – Exchangeable individuals (men are like gears)

Organic order – Mechanic order (Society as a machine)

Nature – Devastation of nature

History – Has no history

Living and self-controlling local communities – Centralization

Own responsibility – “It is someone else’s fault”

Identity, can have several identities at the same time, for example Smalander, Swede, European – Cosmopolitan without identity (for example “There are no Swedes”), does not belong anywhere.

Moderation – “Greed is good”

Heroes – Bureaucrats

Saints – Porn stars

Mystics – Social Constructivism

Freedom – 1984

Love – Fucking

Limits – Boundlessness

Philosopher – Engineers

Fatherland – The political class is transnational, not loyal to any country.

Loyalty – Take care of one's own within the political class

Honor – Corruption (protects for example the Bank mafia)

The different peoples in the world shall live according to their nature, culture and faith. – It is desirable that the whole world submits to a controlling system. (think 1984)

Sweden – “Sweden will be good if we just exchange the population and at the same time centralize the power by means of EU”

Europe – “Europe will be good if we just exchange the population and at the same time centralizes the power by means of EU”⁹⁹

This oppositional scheme is certainly a proof of mixed discourses, i.e. interdiscursivity – a concept closely related to intertextuality (Orr 2003: 42-44) – where Traditionalism traits are mixed with Catholic virtues, Patriotism, and “traditional” perceptions overall. Concepts like *tradition*, *organic society*, *quality over quantity*, *honor*, *heroism* and a dichotomy between the sexes do certainly fit with this blogger's general penchant for Evola's writings.¹⁰⁰ Many of these ideas can be found in Evola's principle *Revolt Against the Modern World* (1995: chapter 12, 13, 20), in *Men Among the Ruins* (2002: chapter 3, 4, 10, 15) and *Ride the Tiger* (2003: 16, 28). One can speak here of a palpable influence from certain writings of Evola.

On the other hand, concepts like *family*, *norms*, *saints* and *moderation* seem more like “traditional” Catholic and Western values in general rather than Evolian Traditionalism; at least if one takes the books that I have mentioned above as a point of departure. On the other hand, Evola would have disliked modern decadence even more than Catholic bourgeoisie values. (Evola 2003: 21, 22, 27, 28) Many of the bold lettered things that the blogger in question

⁹⁹Gudomlig komedi: Traditionalism vs. PKPK: <http://gudomligkomedi.blogspot.com/2010/03/traditionalism-vs-pkpk.html>. 2010-03-20.

¹⁰⁰Gudomlig komedi: How does one build an Ark?: <http://gudomligkomedi.motpol.nu/hur-bygger-man-en-ark>. 2011-08-16.

promotes as positive manifestations, things that he stands for¹⁰¹, could also count as Identitarian traits, and it is therefore utterly hard to identify where the discourses start and where they end, and also where they overlap each other. It might also be a proof of more personal interpretations of the term “Traditionalism”.

Oskorei, on the other hand, has besides from Evola examined writings of Guénon¹⁰² and Schuon¹⁰³, while SolGuru has presented some of Martin Lings’ poems¹⁰⁴. Oskorei says “that beside Guénon, Evola and Nasr Frithjof Schuon is one of Traditionalism’s most famous names and original thinkers”. He also makes a brief comparison between Evola and Schuon and emphasizes that Schuon was more hopeful in regard to a loving god, who would not allow anything else but a transcendent unity between all the great religions in the world that all bear the truth within them. The rest of the text is a rather extensive excerpt from Schuon’s relationship with American Indians, taken from a Schuon fansite¹⁰⁵. Albeit there is no actual hyperlink to the website in question the web address is incorporated into the post – thus there are tenets of both manifest intertextuality and hypertextuality in Oskorei’s text.

The Danish Motpol blogger Arya Varta, who at this point is the only one that writes his posts in English, claims that Evola’s *Revolt Against the Modern World* and *Bhagavad-Gita* are his two major influences:

Along with my interest in Asatru and heathenism, came a growing interest in politics, and a glowing desire to do something actively to change the current world order. I was in my teens quite influenced by authors such as Steven McNallen and Varg Vikernes, and the concept of Odalism as presented by the Heathen Front. Vikernes presented a view of Asatru as more than just a religion. It was a way of life, a way to organize society politically, and a system meant for protecting and nourishing a people. I learnt that Vikernes had been influenced by the Italian author Julius Evola, in particular a German translation of his book *Heathen Imperialism* and Evolas most important book: *Revolt Against the Modern World*. This book together with *Bhagavad Gita* is probably to this day the book that has influenced me the most.

Evola and what I later learned was called ‘Traditionalism’ presented a view of the world that in almost every respect was identical to my own. It contained a fierce critique of the modern society, its egalitarian values,

¹⁰¹Gudomlig komedi: Traditionalism vs. PKPK: <http://gudomligkomedi.blogspot.com/2010/03/traditionalism-vs-pkpk.html>. 2010-03-20.

¹⁰²Oskorei: Guénon on Royalty: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=138>. 2005-11-21.

¹⁰³Oskorei: Frithjof Schuon – Castes and Race: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=465>. 2007-09-28. Ibid: Frithjof Schuon on Indian Spirituality: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=152>. 2005-11-18.

¹⁰⁴SolGuru: Martin Lings: Collected Poems: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=1231>. 2010-12-20.

¹⁰⁵Oskorei: Frithjof Schuon on Indian Spirituality: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=152>. 2005-11-18.

consumerism and the lack of higher values. In contrast to this it presented the age-old ideas and beliefs of our forefathers, the Indo-Europeans, as a consistent and valid alternative to the modern malaise.¹⁰⁶

De Geer has criticized the renowned Traditionalist Frithjof Schuon.¹⁰⁷ He has written about his former friend Tage Lindbom in three posts – these are, however, centered on political issues rather than religious or spiritual questions. Actually, the three posts are rather extensive excerpts from De Geer’s bachelor’s thesis in history of ideas from the 1990’s¹⁰⁸. De Geer was also the co-author to a friend book to Tage Lindbom (1999).

Given these examples one can assert that the connections between different earlier Traditionalists and contemporary Traditionalists are more or less obvious in regard to hyperlinks (which can be described as instances of hypertextuality) and intertextuality by means of references to certain texts. Traditionalists read each other’s blogs, more or less, and they show this explicitly by means of hyperlinks to *associated blogs* (Landow 2006: 78). It is only to this extent that contemporary Swedish Traditionalists are “organized” on the Internet. And even though it is sometimes comfortable, and relevant, to group these together under one appellation (or in some cases as Motpol bloggers, i.e. Identitarian Traditionalists) it is also pertinent to regard any of these as a specific subject with a specific individual take on Traditionalism. One might also add that it differs, both individually and between single blog posts, if it is Identitarian and/or Traditionalist propaganda or texts that are written from a history of ideas perspective, or rather both (or between), that have been produced. This question is, however, not of major significance.

5.2. Rhizome or Genealogy?

At this point, I have outlined some characteristics of contemporary Swedish Traditionalists on the Internet, and how they are connected to each other by the means of hyperlinks. The next task is to investigate if this “organization” is rhizomatically ordered (that is, basically, unordered) or rather genealogical (tree-oriented), or something else – if one takes the given analytical outlines of Deleuze and Guattari serious it cannot be both at the same time: rhizomes are anti-genealogical.

¹⁰⁶ Arya Varta: Introducing Kalki: <http://aryavarta.motpol.nu/?p=35>. 2009-05-19.

¹⁰⁷ SolGuru: Martin Lings: Collected Poems: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=1231>. 2010-12-20.

¹⁰⁸ De Geer, Jonas: Tage Lindbom’s Reconsideration: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=908>. 2011-02-13. Ibid: Tage Lindbom’s Reconsideration II: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=1561>. 2011-02-14. Ibid: Tage Lindbom’s Reconsideration: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=1561>. 2011-02-14. Ibid: Tage Lindbom’s Reconsideration III: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=1569>. 2011-02-15.

1 & 2: Principles of connection and heterogeneity: any point of rhizome can be connected to another. A rhizome is, basically, rootless; unlike the tree which is genealogical. Traditionalism in contemporary Sweden on the Internet is unhesitatingly rootless. The Internet is a rhizome or at least has rhizomatic “structures” (anti-structures) – it has neither any distinct beginning nor a distinct end, much like how the universe is generally described in scientific theories. Therefore, the conditions of Traditionalism are changing accordingly: contemporary Swedish Traditionalism does, for starters, not end in Sweden; one can even ask if it begins there, since the “roots” of Traditionalism is from for example the *Vedanta*, according to the writings of Guénon. The links to web newspapers such as *Alternative Right* – which at least some Traditionalists hyperlink to¹⁰⁹ – or Traditionalism-oriented web shops like ArktoS are not limited to Sweden, Swedish readers or to Swedish consumers: they are transnational.

If one, on the other hand, regards the diachronic intertextual connection between for instance Guénon, Schuon, Nasr and Omar as a historic branch, then that branch might have a tree and the trees in turn have roots. One problem of the history of religions is then which the actual roots are, but nevertheless the figure of thought still counts: there is a genealogy; Traditionalism is in at least one sense tree-oriented. Is it possible that contemporary Traditionalism is both rhizomatic and genealogical?

3 Principle of multiplicity: multiplicity is rhizomatic and thus there is no pivot, neither subject nor object. Since multiplicity implies (endless) combination possibilities there is no unity, no beginning and no end.

I have partly already treated this above, but one may add a few other things. If the Traditionalists in question are hypertextually organized, then it is also possible to have multiple combination possibilities by means of hyperlinks. But that implies that there are an endless number of Traditionalism-related subjects (blogs, blog posts, websites, portals, religious records etc.) to attach one/it to, and there is not much that indicates that this “organization” is more extensive than those individuals that have been mentioned in this chapter; at least not on the Internet.

4 Principle of asignifying rupture: a rhizome might be broken at a given spot, but it can start up again at a new or old place. “The rhizome is an antigenealogy”.

¹⁰⁹Oskorei: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/>. SolGuru: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/>. Gudomlig komedi: <http://gudomligkomedi.motpol.nu/>.

Here is another obstacle. The quasi-branches and hypertextual connections between contemporary Traditionalists – Café Exposé, Perennial, Mohamed Omar, the Motpol bloggers etc. – give the observer a practical tool in order comprehend for instance the “organization’s” size, range and its contents. The problem is that it may cover up Traditionalist elements that are not explicitly connected to the world of blogs and websites. For example, SolGuru – under the name Zyklon Boom – has produced rap songs which have been distributed free online¹¹⁰ and most of these songs are also available on YouTube. The lyrical concepts are diverse but often conservative, “politically incorrect” and critical of the contemporary Swedish society. In some cases they are even Traditionalism-oriented. The song “Tigerrytt (växa som person)”¹¹¹ does also include references to Evola, Guénon, Eckhart and the Indian *Vedas*.¹¹² This phenomenon is interesting and can count as an instance of Perennialism and Traditionalism in popular culture, but it is also relevant as a rhizomatic trait. The links between SolGuru and other subjects within the contemporary Swedish Traditionalism “organization” on the Internet are hypertextually broken but do actually start up again at another place: at YouTube in this case. One may note, though, that in 2007 – before SolGuru started blogging at Motpol – Oskorei wrote about Zyklon Boom and thus the textual connections are actually there.¹¹³

Another example of music with partly Traditionalism-oriented contents is the Swedish metal band Sigrblot, with base in Stockholm. The band released an album called *Blodsband (Blood, Religion, Manifest)* in 2003¹¹⁴ and has also contributed with one song to a tribute album to the Romanian nationalist activist Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, as well as four songs on a split album together with the German NSBM¹¹⁵ band Absurd and the anti-Jewish American black metal band Grand Belial’s Key. While the songs on the debut album were more related to race, folk and ethnicity – albeit from a partially spiritual perspective¹¹⁶ – the four songs on the split album *Weltenfeind* (2008) are more apocalyptic and esoteric, both music- and lyrical-wise. The

¹¹⁰ Aschberg, Robert in *Aftonbladet*: Here Do Nazis and Home Philosophers Exchange Ideas: <http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/robertaschberg/article12679164.ab.2010-11-26>. SolGuru has not rejected this information, which makes it rather likely: SolGuru: The Sect – Comments: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=1220#comments>. 2010-11-30.

¹¹¹ This means tiger ride (grow as a person) and is most certainly an allusion to Evola’s book *Cavalcare la Tigre*. (1963). The cover of this work is incorporated in the YouTube clip (see below).

¹¹² Zyklon Boom: “Tigerrytt (växa som person)”: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jFTQQ5drTNI>. 2009-09-14.

¹¹³ Oskorei: Zyklon Boom: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=349>. 2007-01-14.

¹¹⁴ This album was originally released on Nordiska förlaget.

¹¹⁵ An abbreviation for National Socialism Black Metal.

¹¹⁶ Metal Archives: Sigrblot – Blodsband: http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Sigrblot/Blodsband_%28Blood_Religion_Manifest%29/35926.

songs seem to be largely influenced by the Greek-French writer Maximiani Portaz, commonly known as Savitri Devi – one of her speeches is incorporated into the ending song “Kali Yuga Intifada” – and the lyrics are generally centered on an esoteric neo-Nazi discourse. On the other hand, one might identify more explicit Traditionalist traits such as the using of the concepts *Golden age* and *Kali Yuga*. There are no explicit intertextual links to Guénon or Evola but one may guess that at least the latter is one of several influences in regard to the lyrical concepts:

^s
Swords of the light boreal – scimitars of the obsidian stone. Anguish in blood smeared runes – fervour welded in the burning jade flames. Symbols of the sol invictus, patterns of the glazing crescent night eye. To reach out and bestow death, yet shroud oneself in its loving embrace. Dual warrior mythos to behead the global serpent. (“Kali Yuga Intifada”)

Shadows of old whispered throughout the ages; smothered by the roar of the eternal adversary – iconoclast of the ancient truths imprinted on the soul. Venomous hazes of their serpent seed malice carried over our burial grounds and floating in the very veins of the bowels of this earth. The Siren’s call of hollow riches summon the voracity of Men in Time; choir of spiritual eunuchs chanting mantras to our great End. (“Exiles of the Golden Age”)

”I dunkelhetens omvärld ett cykliskt tillstånd i vilket dag och natt synes sammanlänkade...”
 (“Varg i veum”)¹¹⁷

On the other hand, Portaz also used the Kalpan doctrine of the four Yugas within some of her writings, and the concept *Men in Time* is typical for her version of Ariosophy (Goodrick-Clarke 1998: 112-118). As far as I know there are no explicit links between Sigrblot and other Traditionalists in contemporary Sweden. Sigrblot – which keeps a very low profile – has been mentioned on Oskorei’s blog¹¹⁸ and discussed on Nordisk¹¹⁹, but that might be the only connections. Nevertheless, one may identify a rhizomatic and anti-genealogical trait in this regard, even if it is possible to identify the opposite in other respects. Traditionalism-related music¹²⁰ is often to be found on YouTube, which in turn opens for the possibility of hypertextuality.

¹¹⁷ Ibid: Sigrblot: Weltenfeind: <http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Sigrblot/Weltenfeind/207455>.

¹¹⁸ Oskorei: Centvrion – Riding the Tiger: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=5110>. 2011-05-30.

¹¹⁹ Nordisk: Sigrblot: <http://www.nordisk.nu/archive/index.php/t-79.html>. 2007-04-16.

¹²⁰ For an interesting examination of about neo-Pagan, antinomian and Traditionalism related symbols and themes in contemporary music, see Granholm, Kenneth. (2011). “Sons of Northern Darkness”: Heathen Influences in Black Metal and Neofolk Music. *Numen*, 58, number four.

5 & 6. Principles of mapping and decalcomania. The rhizome is a map and not a tracing process, unlike for instance Noam Chomsky's linguistic trees. But the emergence of rhizomes can in fact take its point of departure at trees and roots.

At this point it is difficult to unequivocally say if contemporary Swedish Traditionalists on the Internet are actually rhizomatically or genealogically "organized". If one accepts that there exist historical and textual "roots" in the sense that there is a palpable diachronic chain between earlier generations of Traditionalists and later generations of Traditionalists, it is also possible to say that today's "organization" is a rhizome which takes the tree of Traditionalist text corpuses – be it Guénon, Coomaraswamy, Schuon, Evola, Aguéli, Lindbom, Almqvist, Burckhardt, Lings, Nasr or anyone else – as a point of departure. The emergence is possible due to these writers and their texts, but also because of the history that precedes them. On the other hand: if it is mostly because of that Internet is intrinsically rhizomatic and thus "makes" every textual connection that takes place on it rhizomatic, it would not be very relevant to make the assertion that contemporary Swedish Traditionalism on the Internet is rhizomatic. On the other hand – the Internet has no agency, and it is living subjects that use the possibility of hyperlinking in order to create pseudo structures and even a certain "organization" to some extent. Motpol is a concrete example of that – a junction for Swedish Traditionalism on the Internet.

As contradictory as it may sound from a Deleuzian and Guattarian perspective: the "organization" in question is best described as both genealogical and rhizomatic, depending on which components and aspects that are highlighted. On the other hand, Deleuze and Guattari do regard dualism as imaginary – "we invoke one dualism only in order to challenge another" (2004: 22) – and therefore it is perhaps no contradiction involved since there is no dualism between genealogical structures and rhizomatic anti-structures. The rhizome can also be considered as a style of thought (Goodchild 1996: 85) and as such it must not be taken too literally.

6. The Identitarian Traditionalist discourse: Ethno-politics or spiritual awakening?

In my first level master's thesis, *"Evolianism" in Contemporary Sweden* (2010), I analyzed certain traits of what can be regarded as an Identitarian Traditionalist discourse – the Motpol bloggers Oskorei and SolGuru are both so-called Identitarians and Traditionalists, a

combination that in turn have consequences regarding for instance immigration policies and Islam. I will now argue, partly by means of Schmitt's terminology, for how the promoters of this discourse regard the line of conflict between adherence to certain forms of Islam and immigration.

As has been said, not every Motpol blogger is explicitly a Traditionalist and/or Identitarian and far from all of these have written about the "Islam question". I will therefore only give a limited number of examples of how the promoters of both Identitarianism and/or Traditionalism regard Islam. SolGuru has written a post that very directly treats this question: "Min fiendes fiende är inte min vän" (my foe's foe is not my friend). In this post SolGuru writes about Islam in an overall manner and discusses, as he sees it, both good and bad sides with Islam; he also underscores that it is always desirable to increase one's knowledge about things and that one should, as an Identitarian, be able to have a dialogue with anyone. After the sub heading "ensidiga, ohållbara allianser" (unilateral, unsustainable alliances), SolGuru comes to the following conclusion (my translation from Swedish):

Exactly the same must reasonably be said about the anti-Zionism of Muslims, or their will to preserve their own culture. I really indulge them to preserve their culture. I regard it as tragic that Saudi Arabian Puritanism and fanaticism will be more widespread in the Muslim world, and that it gradually impoverishes the religious heritage in countries such as Indonesia. But that is for once their own problem, and is not something that Sweden should interfere in. On our land, on the other hand, I do not want to see Indonesian *Abangan* Islam or Saudi Wahhabism – or some other form of Islam for that matter – in every case certainly not as a political power tool and a form of ethnic organization. It is simply very inappropriate, and in any case not good for Sweden. To demonstrate side by side with Muslim radicals, whose ultimate goal is to create a global caliphate, and that have as little respect for Swedish ethnic and cultural survival as ever the globalists is not a sustainable strategy.¹²¹

SolGuru is both general and specific. In the comments to this post he discusses a certain demonstration that took place at Sergels torg in Stockholm – the Al-Quds demonstration that was carried through in September 2009, where both groups of Muslims (for instance Mohamed Omar, who held a speech)¹²² and groups of ethno-nationalists demonstrated – and he rejects this project as such and similar forms of cooperation. SolGuru is not seemingly anti-Islamic and even mentions what he considers as interesting orientations within Islam, such as

¹²¹SolGuru: My Foe's Foe is not my Friend: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=209>. 2009-09-29.

¹²²Omar, Mohamed: Speech at the Al-Quds Day: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/2009/09/21/leve-palestina-mitt-tal-pa-qudsdagen/>. 2009-09-29.

Indonesian Abangan and Sufism¹²³. On the other hand, he says that these radical Islamic groups (Omar et consortes?) do strive for a global caliphate; this he does, however, without explicit references to the Eurabia discourse (see Gardell 2010: chapter 8; Malm 2009: chapter 1, 4). Hence SolGuru does not explicitly state that Swedish “Muslim radicals” are foes (*hostis*) but rather does so implicitly. These Muslims – and maybe Muslims in general – are not competitors, personal enemies (*inimicus*), or personal friends (*amicus*). They are just plain and simply (ethno-)political foes (*hostis*), according to SolGuru. One may note, however, that SolGuru at a later time has written a post that downplays the Islamic threat¹²⁴.

The fellow Motpol blogger Oskorei has presented a slightly different take on the matter. He has chosen to speak *with* Muslims rather than about them – he was interviewed by Mohamed Omar in March of 2009¹²⁵ and in turn he interviewed Omar in December of 2010.¹²⁶ This sheds light on Oskorei’s attitudes to Muslims and the links to the general immigration policy he promotes as an Identitarian and ethno-pluralist. In one comment of the blog post “Därför identitär” (therefore Identitarian), he explicitly says – as an answer to a question about how he regards Islam – that Iranian Shia Islam, Albanian Bekhtashism and/or Sufism are the best alternatives for eventual converts. In general, however, he is skeptical to conversion to Islam due to “ethno- political reasons”. From Oskorei’s perspective, it is necessary for Sweden to repatriate, among other people, a significant number of Muslims back to their home countries: for a convert it can lead to problems of loyalty if you know that your “brothers” in the mosque later have to be sent back home.¹²⁷

Oskorei has also written a text called “Islamiseringsdiskursen” (the Islamization discourse) that describes the risk with identifying Islam and Muslims as the major problem from an ethno-political point of view. First of all, Oskorei states that economic, religious, and criminal political consequences of immigration are all secondary: as “ethnically aware” it is primarily a question of genetics and aesthetics – blond hair and blue eyes will eventually disappear as typical Swedish bio-ethnic/racial traits if too much miscegenation takes place; it is thus a question of a slow ethnic suicide. He also stresses that another risk of the “Islamization discourse” is that it

can

¹²³SolGuru: Comments on “My Foe’s Foe is not my Friend”: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=209#comments>. 2009-09-29.

¹²⁴SolGuru: Polarization, Islamization and a Mature Debate: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=1618>. 2011-08-18.

¹²⁵Omar, Mohamed: Liberalism is the Largest Threat – Interview with Oskorei: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/2009/03/09/liberalismen-ar-det-storsta-hotet-intervju-med-oskorei/>. 2009-03-09.

¹²⁶Oskorei: Interview with Mohamed Omar: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=4192>. 2010-12-05.

¹²⁷Oskorei: Therefore Identitarian: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=518>. 2007-07-29. Oskorei: Julius Evola and Islam: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=150>. 2005-11-04.

lead to a sort of negative self-identification: everything that is non-Muslim is therefore intrinsically good from this, according to Oskorei, misguided perspective. Oskorei even regards certain Islamic characteristics – in a slightly stereotypical fashion – as being superior to present Swedish “individualism”: loyalty within the group, identification with a specific group, demarcated gender roles etcetera.¹²⁸ He also defends Swedish Muslims to bear veils instead of being assimilated into the “post-liberal consumerist society”.¹²⁹

The interview with Omar does only fortify that assumption. Oskorei even gives advice to tomorrow’s Muslims who want to protect their identity from global mass consumption culture and capitalism: they should work meta politically and make alliances with different kinds of groups, depending on the situation and question. He also says that the first generations of immigrants – including Muslims – who have migrated to Sweden, are often more decent than the second generations, since the first-mentioned category of people emerge from “organic” communities. He also underlines that the emergence of Islamic groups on European ground would be unequivocally positive – since it could be seen as a possible revitalization of Europe – if it were not intimately related to “mass immigration”. Oskorei does also criticize the double standards and lack of consistency within the argumentation of current Islamophobes, since there, in his opinion, are similarities between Swedish ancestors and contemporary Muslims: the resentment and aversion against Muslims lead to what Friedrich Nietzsche called “the last man” – something that, according to Oskorei, is very similar to contemporary European individualism, which in turn has led to the current negative situation of society (including “mass immigration”). Lastly, Oskorei mentions conservative and ethno-nationalistic ideologists and politicians that were sympathetic to Islam; he also mentions ideologists that could be relevant and interesting for Swedish Muslims to read: Ernst Jünger, Julius Evola, Carl Schmitt, Oswald Spengler and Per Engdahl.¹³⁰

I have not found anything that contradicts Oskorei’s non-Islamophobic position: it is neither Islam nor the Muslim identity that is the problem, but most Muslims’ race and ethnicity. The supposed problems are demographic in nature, not religious. The only text that slightly questions this position is his second post in regard to the Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik in which he treats the latter’s anti-Islamic ideology and now notorious manifesto –

¹²⁸Oskorei: The Islamization Discourse: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=3524>. 2010-08-18.

¹²⁹Oskorei: Post-liberal Debate on the Veil: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1903>. 2009-12-14. See also Bernsand (2010).

¹³⁰Mohamed Omar: Liberalism is the largest Threat – Interview with Oskorei: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=3524>. 2010-08-18.

2083 – *A Europe Declaration of Independence* – but it seems to be only on a hypothetical level that he asks if it could be possible to cherish the Islamization discourse and make alliances with non-Muslim ethnic groups, such as Christians and Jews in the Middle East, in order to repatriate large amounts of Muslims from Europe.¹³¹

I do not know anything about Omar and Oskorei's personal relationship – if it exists or not – but it is at least more likely that they are personal friends (*amicus*) rather than personal enemies (*inimicus*) based on the friendly interview exchanges. This is not, however, of any chief relevance for the general understanding. Regarding Oskorei's view on Muslims and Islam one can express with Schmitt's terminology that he regards certain forms of Islam as valuable and first generations of Muslims as decent. Muslims are only foes (*hostis*) in so far as they might intermingle with bio-ethnic Swedes, which is negative from an Identitarian point of view. As Oskorei has said before – there are other available Traditions that fit better with Identitarianism: traditional Catholicism, Orthodox Christendom and perhaps certain forms of neo-Paganism¹³². Spiritual awakening in combination with bio-ethnic policies – often under the collective term ethno- pluralism¹³³ – is in fact a non-existing dilemma for an Identitarian Traditionalist, at least if one asks SolGuru and Oskorei. The verbal grudges between neo-Pagans and Christians are sometimes blatantly exposed (see chapter 8) as one possible line of conflict within the ethno- nationalist movement in general and the Motpol orbit in particular¹³⁴, but there are in fact no bloggers that belong to the portal in question that are Muslims, so it seems to be a qualitative difference between neo-Paganism and particular forms of Christendom on one hand, and Islam on the other.

As I stated earlier, it is not easy to decide which ones who actually use the Identitarian Traditionalist discourse specifically, since it is hard to disentangle which ones who are both outspoken Identitarians and Traditionalists; not everyone seems to use explicit designations or choose other ones, such as *Archeofuturist* in the case of John Järvenpää (Reaktion)¹³⁵. There is no explicit

¹³¹Oskorei: 2083 – An Analysis of Ideology, part II: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=5488>. 2011-08-29.

¹³²Oskorei: To Ride the Tiger 2008 – Fragments: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=748>. 2008-08-09.

¹³³Oskorei: Traditionalism and Ethno-pluralism: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=161>. 2005-12-17. SolGuru: Ethno-pluralism: Principles and Objections: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=13>. 2008-06-11. SolGuru: Basic Ethno-Pluralism: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=1479>. 2011-04-12.

¹³⁴Oskorei: de Benoist and Heathen Renaissance's: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1620>. 2011-07-06. Oskorei: Trollkyrka: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1301>. 2009-03-21.

¹³⁵Nilsson, Johannes: Guest column: To Sell Your Soul or Lose the World: <http://gk.motpol.nu/johannes-nilsson-att-salja-sin-sjal-eller-forlora-varlden/>. 2011-03-15. Oskorei has also taken serious interest in Archeofuturism. There is a single category on the current Oskorei blog that is called Archeofuturism: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?cat=13>, and there

race or ethnic awareness – even less any anti-Muslim sentiments – of writers such as the people behind Café Exposé and Perennial. They are thus not taking part of the Identitarian ideology and do therefore not write within an Identitarian Traditionalist discourse. Regarding other Motpol writers the general take on the matter seems to fit with SolGuru's problem description. The Christian blogger Lennart Svensson (Rent principiellt) has even produced texts that might be considered as anti-Muslim and/or Islamophobic¹³⁶. Still, he has not managed to avoid fierce criticism from some ethno-nationalists visible on the Internet.¹³⁷ In November 2011, Svensson lost his internship at the Mid Sweden University in Härnösand after having written about the Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik. He said that Breivik was too impatient and should have waited until the “politically correct regime” collapses. Svensson stated that he does not support violence as means to an end but that the war itself, that Breivik feels himself being part of, is legitimate.¹³⁸

7. The Inner Enemy: Traditionalism and Identitarianism in the ethno-nationalist movement

Even though Schmitt's critique of pluralism within a state has to be understood in its proper context, its concepts and problem formulations are still relevant in regard to the topic that I intend to deal with at this place: the conflict between contemporary Swedish ethno- nationalists and/or neo-Nazis, and Traditionalists and/or Identitarians. There are several parties and groups that represent some sort of ethno-nationalism – Motpol, Nordic Youth (Nordisk ungdom), the National Democrats (Nationaldemokraterna), the Swedes Party (Svenskarnas parti), Autonomous Nationalists (Fria nationalister), the Swedish Resistance Movement (Svenska motståndsrörelsen), and to lesser degree also the Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna). There is thus a self-evident pluralism in regard to the actual number of ethno-nationalist groups, but do they share any common premises? This premise would in this case primarily be the intrinsic value of the white race and more specifically ethnic Swedes. All of these groups have in turn been discussed at various places on the Internet, such as

is a non-active but still available blog called Archeofuturist, which Oskorei is responsible for:

<http://arkeofuturist.blogspot.com/>.

¹³⁶Rent principiellt: Eurabia: <http://princip.motpol.nu/eurabia/>. 2011-08-03. Ibid: Sharia = Extraterritorial Law: <http://princip.motpol.nu/sharia-exterritorialratt/>. 2011-03-17.

¹³⁷Nationell.nu: "Traditionalists" Libels the Nordic Woman: <http://www.nationell.nu/2011/01/31/traditionalister-smadar-nordiska-kvinnan/>. 2011-01-31.

¹³⁸Svensson, Lennart: Breivik Was Too Impatient: <http://lennart-svensson.blogspot.com/2011/11/breivik-var-for-otalig.html>. 2011-11-09.

Flashback¹³⁹ and the ethno-nationalist/neo-Nazi oppositional web newspaper *Nationell.nu*.¹⁴⁰ I will take various discussions on the latter website as a point of departure in order to identify how the racial/ethnic question can be understood, and also how Traditionalism and Identitarianism are looked upon among some other ethno-nationalists/neo-Nazis. This, in turn, makes it necessary to also examine other – more or less hypertextually linked – texts in other parts of the Internet.

In January 2011 a reader of *Nationell.nu*, Erik Svedberg (who labels himself as National Socialist), wrote a rather polemic article that was directed towards so-called “Traditionalism” in the “den nationella rörelsen” (the ethno-nationalistic movement). His thesis is that Traditionalism – represented by for instance Motpol and the web forum Nordisk – due to its strong historical links to Islam, is dangerous for the overall ethno-nationalist movement. Svedberg uses what seems to be quotes from the Swedish version of Wikipedia, more specifically articles on the Traditional school (Traditionalism).¹⁴¹ He also mentions a couple of influential Traditionalists – Guénon, Burckhardt, Schuon, Lings, Nasr and Evola – and claims that all of these, except from Evola and Nasr (who already was a Muslim) were converts to Islam. In regard to Evola, Svedberg, however, asserts that he, although not a convert, was still very sympathetic towards the religion in question by means of an excerpt from *Revolt Against the Modern World*¹⁴². Svedberg has also quoted a text from the website Living Islam¹⁴³ as well as Mohamed Omar as support for his thesis. Omar’s text is then implicitly compared to the web shop Arktos and the Traditionalism-oriented web newspaper *Alternative Right* (“who even lets Jews contribute with texts”, according to Svedberg)¹⁴⁴. Svedberg also states that twelve out of twenty-two writers of Motpol are outspoken Traditionalists.¹⁴⁵ In regard to Arktos Media he cites parts of the information text on the website: “We do not seek consistency. Rather, we

¹³⁹Flashback: Category: “National Socialism, Fascism and Nationalism”: <https://www.flashback.org/f34>.

¹⁴⁰*Nationell.nu*: <http://www.nationell.nu/>. The first news articles were published in January 2009.

¹⁴¹Svedberg, Erik. *Nationell.nu*: ”Traditionalism” – A Danger for Nationalism: <http://www.nationell.nu/2011/01/12/traditionalismen-en-fara-for-nationalismen/>. 2011-01-12. The reader can compare the quotes in the abovementioned article with the Wikipedia article on the Traditional school: http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Traditionella_skolan.

¹⁴²The reader will find this quotation on page 244 in the English edition from 1995. This excerpt is also a part of a more extensive excerpt from *Revolt Against the Modern World* which Oskorei has included in a blog post from 2005 (Oskorei: Julius Evola on Islam: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=150> . 2005-11-04.

¹⁴³Living Islam: <http://www.livingislam.org/>.

¹⁴⁴This is correct since the Jewish-Americans Paul Gottfried and Byron Roth have contributed to the online news paper in question: About Paul E. Gottfried: <http://www.alternativeright.com/authors/paul-e.-gottfried/>. About Byron Roth: <http://www.alternativeright.com/authors/byron-roth/>.

¹⁴⁵This could hardly be the case, especially if it is Traditionalist in a more or less Guénonian sense that he denotes. Four to six – Oskorei, SolGuru, Gudomlig komedi, Arya Varta, and perhaps also Wodinaz and Olympiark – is probably closer to the truth.

want to provide the resources for individuals of many different inclinations to find alternatives to the onslaught of modernity. We leave it to the Fates to decide which of these seeds will bear fruit in the future.”¹⁴⁶ The problem, as Svedberg sees it, is that Traditionalism – which looks consistent on the outside – is in fact divisive and individualistic in practice and might even be pro-Islamic and pro-Jewish. Svedberg concludes that National socialists, nationalists and patriots have to be careful and regard Traditionalists with suspicion – otherwise they can end up as Muslims with taken Arabic names like for instance René Guénon.¹⁴⁷ He has not said anything about the posts that Oskorei, SolGuru and Rent principiellt have written on the “Islam question” that might contradict this notion.

Before I return to the comments on this text it is relevant to turn to other texts with similar content. The implicit and explicit critique of Traditionalists, Identitarians and perhaps other sub-groups of ethno-nationalists is nothing new. The leader of the Swedish Resistance Movement, Klas Lund, wrote an article in March of 2007 on so-called Strasserists within the ethno-nationalist movement. Being a neo-Nazi, Lund often explicitly uses the problem formulation and terminology from a traditional National Socialism discourse. By reconnecting with the historical grudge between the Strasser brothers, Gregor and Otto, their Black Front and NSDAP – which took place in Germany during the 1930’s and which eventually led to the murder of Gregor during the Night of the Long Knives – Lund concludes that those so-called nationalists or rather national socialists are traitors, the inner enemy¹⁴⁸. The problem is, according to Lund, that much like the Strasser brothers who wanted to promote socialism, socioeconomic components and other issues at the expense of the central question for traditional National Socialism (race), the contemporary inner enemy is misled due to either unawareness or the corrosive modern and “Judaized” liberal democracy. These inner enemies might even be “racially suspicious”, according to Lund. He concludes at the end of his text (my translation from Swedish):

It is of course the Resistance Movement’s task to reverse as many of these people as possible, since many of them hopefully have embraced some kind of Strasserism due to lack of insight. Nevertheless the threat exists within this

¹⁴⁶Arktos Media: About Arktos: http://www.arktos.com/about.html?_store=gb&_from_store=se.

¹⁴⁷Svedberg, Erik. *Nationell.nu*: ”Traditionalism” – A Danger for Nationalism: <http://www.nationell.nu/2011/01/12/traditionalismen-en-fara-for-nationalismen/>. 2011-01-12.

¹⁴⁸Like many other ethno-nationalists he often uses the Swedish term *nationell*, which is utterly hard to translate into English. It is a sort of collective term that not every ethno-nationalist prefer to use, for instance Identitarians such as Oskorei and SolGuru. Therefore have I put the Swedish concepts in brackets at some points in this thesis.

ideological fraction and we must always look out for those who consciously use these heresies as a weapon against us. Thus, be vigilant and remember, that all “nationella” is not nationella.¹⁴⁹

There are a number of main differences between this text and the one which is written by Svedberg. In Lund’s text there is more emphasis on (international) Jewry and race, and Islam or Muslims are not mentioned at all. Another difference is that the inner enemy (*hostis*) is not mentioned by its explicit name, but by means of metonymic code words: Strasserism and Strasserists. Oskorei wrote a reply a couple of days after Lund’s text was launched. In a comment to this blog post he asserted that the text was only secondarily a reply to Lund’s text; it was primarily a reply on a general debate on generic Strasserism that had taken place after an incident where autonomous nationalists demonstrated in Helsingborg¹⁵⁰. He said that there are no Strasserists within the ethno-nationalist movement and raised three contra arguments against the usage of the term in the present historical context: Someone who follows the doctrine of the Strasser brothers (Oskorei says that no one does that today); someone who regards the ethnic question as secondary (Oskorei claims that no ethno-nationalist does that today); someone who does not follow Hitler’s doctrine (Oskorei claims that no one does that today, especially not in a strict manner, due to that the conditions are different in the present era).¹⁵¹ The text does also briefly problematize the relativization of the “race question” while it also seeks reciprocal respect and lowest common denominators within “the movement”, even though it is diverse and heterogeneous.

The conflict within fractions of the ethno-nationalistic movement, in particular between certain Identitarian Traditionalists and other groups and individuals – even among the Motpol bloggers to some degree – is, however, not limited to these two polemic texts (Lund, Svedberg). In March of 2009 Oskorei was, as earlier said, interviewed by Mohamed Omar, which led to fierce reactions from many ethno-nationalists – some showcasing their specific ideological and group belonging, but many were anonymous readers. At this date there are exactly one hundred comments on the blog post that mentions the interview, but there are strong indications that many polemical comments have been erased by the moderator of the blog, namely Oskorei. I will now provide several examples of reactions and how they produce what can be regarded as both an Islamophobic discourse, but also sum up the overall content of the comments. The

¹⁴⁹Lund, Klas. Patriot website: Strasserism – the Inner Enemy: <http://www.patriot.nu/artikel.asp?artikelID=907>. 2007-03-18.

¹⁵⁰I have not been able to find any credible information about this event.

¹⁵¹Oskorei: There are No Strasserists: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=421>. 2007-03-29.

signature “Bodhisattva” writes the following, which in turn makes the Motpol blogger Rimfaxe (Lennart Pettersson, who is a neo-Pagan and Identitarian but not a Traditionalist and very critical of Islam and Omar)¹⁵² pay tribute in a comment (my translation from Swedish):

The alien group that threatens Sweden and the Western world the most with displacement and cultural extinction as a consequence is the Muslim. I myself have met a couple of intellectual Muslims during my days, then they have mostly been white or partly white converts, but to believe in such a friendly tone between Western and Muslim Traditionalists after the Muslims have become a majority in our countries is a dangerous wishful thinking that seem to have hit the majority of the so called national movement. I understand that people with lack of insight can prefer that rather than the American liberal consumption culture, but the main difference is that within the latter there is still possible to build cultural enclaves, this will not be tolerated in a Muslim society. One should not forget that lies are even rewarded in the Quran as long as it benefits Islam. Islamophobia is also an equally ridiculous term that only proves that Muslims are one of the rulers protected groups, there are for example no Europhobes or the likes. Of course, there are similarities between the heathen Sweden for 2000 years ago and contemporary Islam, just like I can find similarities between almost all old traditions in the sense that they often were less “liberal”, but it was definitely not Nordic with burqa, Halal or female circumcision. Liberalism is a common threat to Europe and the Muslim world, but it can never legitimate the colonization of Europe by Muslims. The Muslims are in a global perspective not an oppressed minority, they just want to have more influence in Europe in order to spread Islam, with violence if necessary, that is nothing that Muslim leaders pretend if, for instance the president of Iran. I am against the US’s invasions of the Muslim countries and I am against the mass immigration of Muslims to Europe!

The signature “Övralid” continues: “I agree with Bodhisattva. Why are all the usually so talkative ‘feminists’ suddenly so quiet when the Islamic invasion is being discussed? Do they believe that Islam is a driving force for their own cause, hardly not. Are ‘feminists’ cowardly scum? Yes, probably.” The former Motpol blogger AUTONOM¹⁵³, from Norway, belongs to those few – along with “Torbjörn”, “Asson”, and “Tor” – that defend Oskorei’s dialogue with Omar (my translation from Swedish):

Excellent interview, Oskorei. Think it is too bad that many do not see the tremendously positive things with this communication and don’t have the ability to go beyond their own obsessions. Oskorei is like I an Indo-European Traditionalist, but that does not mean that you should not think free and open, but that one is secure with one’s own values, also in contact with the unknown or other traditions (...).

The signature “Lakedaemon” continues in the same spirit as “Bodhisattva” and most other fierce critics of the presence of Islam and Muslims in Europe and Sweden (my translation from Swedish):

¹⁵²Oskorei: Interview with Mohamed Omar – Rimfaxe Comments: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=4192>. 2010-12-05.

¹⁵³AUTONOM: <http://autonom.motpol.nu/>. This blog has ceased to exist.

Oskorei, you know very well how much blood that has been spilt in order to prevent Islam from blight the rest of Europe, from Pioters 732 to Constantinople 1453 to the gates of Vienna in 1683. The European folks that you mention are related to renegades or colonizers! I myself belong to a family who in several rounds has bled and died in order to prevent what we now are letting happen; a full-scale Islamization of Europe. This is nothing else but reprehensible and has nothing to do with letting the Muslims be faithful to their religion. Islam is a religion that never will accept to just play second fiddle, it is aggressive and intolerant, either Europe will be Muslim or it will remain secular / Christian, no middle ground exists. When Islam huggers thus begin to speak about peaceful coexistence ad modum Alhambra or the Ottoman Constantinople (I refuse to call it something else, well Miklagard I can accept) it is in these cases clear that it is Islam and the Muslims that are the strong part / rulers; this religion does not accept anything else but dominance and this you do not want to see in Europe, do you?!

Unfortunately, it is not possible to cover all comments on this post, but the debate is definitely infected and diverse. On the other hand, it is possible to distinguish relevant ideal types in this regard: one Islamophobic and one non-Islamophobic (rather than pro-Islamic). The proponents of the Islamophobic position regard Islamic expansion – which goes hand in hand with “mass immigration” of Muslims – as a dangerous threat to Swedish and European cultural and religious identity. There is no, or hardly any, middle ground: it is either a non-Muslim European community, or something that will gradually transform itself into a caliphate. Muslims are something that “we” (the Europeans) are not, and the other way around. It is almost essentially Manichean in this sense. Without explicitly drawing from Islamophobic ideologists such as Robert Spencer or Bat Ye’or, there are similarities between the Eurabia theories that they have presented in regard to this category (see Gardell 2010: chapter 8; Malm 2009: chapter 1, 4).

The non-Islamophobic side, on the other hand, is not “Islamophiles” but rather non-dualistic in regard to both Islam and Muslims, and albeit they may regard Muslim immigrants as problematic – especially from an ethnic and racial perspective – they can also have positive values and it is any case interesting to seek dialogue with “them”. Oskorei and the former Motpol blogger AUTONOM, and to lesser degree also SolGuru and Jonas De Geer, can within this specific context be regarded as non-Islamophobes, while the Identitarian Rimfaxe and many anonymous commenters exemplify the opposite. These differences are however not as definitive as they may look at first sight, since, as has been said, there is with few exceptions no distinct evidence of “Islampohilia” or pro-Islamic sentiments within the Identitarian discourse. Some Identitarians have been critical (mostly because the tendencies to cooperation with Muslims are unacceptable) while other Motpol bloggers as well as common readers, regarded the interview as interesting and nothing to be upset about.

There is certainly some sort of implicit intertextual connections between this text, the text produced by Lund, and the text written by Svedberg: some ethno-nationalists/neo-Nazis remember “the true face”, as they see it, of Identitarians and/or Traditionalists after Oskorei’s interview with Omar, but also due to what might be considered as a great betrayal. The signature “Krigaren” says that “Förbundet (Nordic League), Nordisk (Nordic web forum), Motpol is an insidious and dark danger for nationella.” The signature “.” agrees and calls the Nordic League Strasserists, which also the signature “Hell Lund!” does. The signature “Gere” is, however, less fierce but still very critical (my translation from Swedish):

“Very interesting reading. I have looked up the things that Svedberg writes about and it seems to be correct. There appears to be a wolf in sheep’s clothing within the movement. Like Strasserism is dangerous to National Socialism it seems that Traditionalism is dangerous to nationalism. (...)”¹⁵⁴

There is thus sometimes a distinction between being a National Socialist and a nationalist – many Identitarian Traditionalists do label themselves as neither “nationella” nor National Socialists, but sometimes as nationalists.¹⁵⁵ If that generally is correct then the Identitarians and Identitarian Traditionalists are, from an emic perspective, not even an integral part of “den nationella rörelsen” (the ethno-nationalist movement)¹⁵⁶. They belong to a different “we”. Still they doubtlessly are, more or less, ethno-nationalists and therefore have too much in common with other groups who strive for unity and consistency; it would be irrelevant to attack for instance the Social Democrats in this respect. Some Motpol bloggers – SolGuru, Rimfaxe¹⁵⁷ and Gudomlig komedi – have in turn responded to the text in a topic at the web forum Nordisk, and there is still a divergence between the two former and the latter.¹⁵⁸

Before one makes any conclusions in these regards it is relevant to look at another relevant text that has been published on *Nationell.nu*, seemingly written by the editorials.¹⁵⁹ It is a scrutiny of the German-Swedish “New Right guru” Patrik Brinkmann, and the thesis is that Brinkmann strives to make European ethno-nationalism anti-Islamic, Identitarian and “Jew friendly”;

¹⁵⁴Comment on Svedberg, Erik. *Nationell.nu*: “Traditionalism” – A Danger for the Nationalistic Movement: <http://www.nationell.nu/2011/01/12/traditionalismen-en-fara-for-nationalismen/>. 2011-01-12.

¹⁵⁵Omar, Omar: Interview with Oskorei – Liberalism is the Largest Threat: <http://alazerius.wordpress.com/2009/03/09/liberalismen-ar-det-storsta-hotet-intervju-med-oskorei/>. 2009-03-09.

¹⁵⁶A generic term for ethno-nationalists in Sweden. *Nationell* is the Swedish word for national but they are in fact not totally synonymous.

¹⁵⁷He goes under the nick name “Lodur” and is super moderator of the web forum in question.

¹⁵⁸Nordisk: “Traditionalism” is a Danger for Nationalism”: <http://www.nordisk.nu/showthread.php?t=48148&page=4>. 2011-01-14-2011-01-17.

¹⁵⁹Richard Langéen is the name of the outspoken publisher of the web newspaper in question. According to Metapedia he started the project *Nationell.nu* in 2003: <http://sv.metapedia.org/wiki/Nationell.nu>.

Identitarianism and “the New right” is thus “Jew Friendly”. This is backed up by certain connections to leading Jews in Israel (without references to literature but to an interview on SR, Swedish Radio, and several YouTube clips). The comments on the blog post – serious or not – are in some cases even fiercer than those on Svedberg’s article, and the critique, even though other Swedes are not mentioned in the referred data, is also laid on contemporary Identitarians and Traditionalists, for instance Oskorei. The signature “Martin” writes: “Very interesting. Those who have not already understood that Identitarians/Motpol bloggers/Nordisk.nu adherents/Traditionalists etc. are traitors of the people that shall be shot without hesitation should undeniably understand that after reading this.” One comment written about Oskorei’s view on ethnicity is also of interest: The signature “Karolus Magnus” refers to a post written by Oskorei, which he regards as a “Swede hater”¹⁶⁰, in which the latter promotes a “tribal” outlook on Swedish ethnicity: adopted individuals and “intermarriage immigrants” should be regarded as Swedes as well, which is a proof of race relativization and a certain degree of “ethnic openness”.¹⁶¹

All blog posts, articles and comments are just bits and pieces of how certain neo-Nazi and ethno-nationalists argue, but at least they say something about the diversity and complexity of the issue. Identitarians and Identitarian Traditionalists are accused of being both pro-Islam, pro-Jewish and sometimes even too less concerned about the white race and ethnic Swedes: if not all of them, then at least some of them, are too flexible, pragmatic and divisive and certainly deviate from a traditional National Socialism discourse. And if race (and ethnicity only based on race) is the lowest common denominator within “den nationella rörelsen” (the ethno-nationalist movement), then the Identitarians and/or Traditionalists are divisive as well – they are regarded as the inner enemy by some National Socialists and other kinds of ethno-nationalists. Or to view it through Schmittian lenses: there is too much pluralism within the Identitarian Traditionalist discourse, at least for those who aim for unity and consensus in the contemporary Swedish ethno-nationalist movement. Another way to look at these Internet-related grudges is that the Identitarians and/or Traditionalists also are competitors – Motpol are “stealing” readers from websites such as *Nationell.nu* or the other way around – but there is not much in the above-mentioned texts that at least explicitly suggests that.

¹⁶⁰*Nationell.nu*: Nationell.nu Examines Identitarian Ideologue on a Pro-Jewish Crusade: <http://www.nationell.nu/2011/06/01/nationell-nu-granskar-identitar-ideolog-pa-pro-judiskt-korstag/>. 2011-06-01.

¹⁶¹Oskorei: The Islamization Discourse – Part II: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=3532>. 2010-08-21. SolGuru totally agrees with the content in the blog post in the comment field.

It occasionally seems that the adherents of the contemporary Swedish ethno-nationalist movement yearn for the creation of a group of individuals organized as a micro version of a future pure breed state, and then there is little or no room for compromises. Perhaps it is therefore that the Identitarians want to label themselves as something different than “nationella” (ethno-nationalists and/or neo-Nazis). The Muslim community in Sweden does not belong to the category of political friends, rather the opposite, from an Identitarian perspective, but perhaps neither all so-called “nationella”. Identitarians and Identitarian Traditionalists want to be at least slightly different than ethno-nationalists/neo-Nazis, who regard compromises and nuances in questions concerning race, “the Jewish question” and Islam as divisive. On the other hand, Identitarians and/or Traditionalists are not united in all questions, which partly is because some are also Traditionalists while some are not; some are more positive to Islam and Muslims than others.

How this explosive divisiveness will develop in the future remains to be seen. The latest attempt to make peace and stop picking on each other in the general Swedish right-wing – which in this particular case includes the whole spectrum from the neo-liberal think tank Timbro to the ethno-nationalist/neo-Nazi extreme right – comes from SolGuru’s pen¹⁶². A user at the web forum Nordisk, “Daniel F.”, that claims that he is Daniel Friberg – one of the leading persons behind Nordiska förlaget (Deland et al 2010) and now involved in Arktos Media (see Faye 2010, 2011)¹⁶³ – may, on the other hand, make this verbal truce go away¹⁶⁴.

8. Neo-Paganism, Christianity and Tradition

Although Identitarians and Identitarian Traditionalists might have a “pluralistic” take in regard to religious traditions, it still primarily seems to be an active choice between different forms of Paganism or Christianity; Islam in general is, as we have seen, not an appropriate option. It is therefore relevant to look into lines of possible conflicts between these two religious categories.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶²SolGuru: The Right’s Pointless Squabbles: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=1758>. 2011-10-24.

¹⁶³Friberg has done the layout of the English version, sold and distributed by Arktos Media, of Guillaume Faye’s two books *Archeofuturism* (2010) and *Why We Fight* (2011).

¹⁶⁴“Daniel F.” at Nordisk: Thoughts on *Nationell.nu*: <http://www.nordisk.nu/showthread.php?t=51072&p=607319#post607319>. 2011-09-18.

¹⁶⁵One may note that the Motpol blogger FAS, an orthodox Christian, left Motpol after being anonymously threatened – which also happened to most other bloggers of the portal in question – e-mail-wise: Oskorei: Misery and Freedom of Speech: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=2735>. 2010-05-18.

One input to these topics are discussions that have taken place on the Internet, more specifically in the comment field of Oskorei's blog. In a post called "Trollkyrka" an infected debate has sprung up between different commenters. The signature "Anarko" says that he has never understood the neo-Pagan life of praying, nor its theology, and therefore asks how many hours per day a Pagan prays. The Motpol blogger Rimfaxe, who is an Identitarian and neo-Pagan – but not a Traditionalist – shares his views in a rather extensive expose (my translation from Swedish):

Since the subject is interesting I intend to philosophize a bit about the theme Paganism and pre-Christian rites in general. The pagan attitude is generally that soul and matter stand in some kind of relationship to each other, which is in contrast to the dualism that the Abrahamic religions apply to the soul as cut off from the physical. Of course there are then different views on the soul among Pagans. Some mean that the soul can exist without the body, while others claim that the body and the soul can only exist in a harmonized whole, where the soul of course holds the main course. (...) Personally I regard the soul as – to a certain degree – inherited through the genes, which is in line with what some of our ancestors thought about the rebirth of older generations, which however do not make it less significant when it expresses the higher essence of a human being. Schopenhauer meant that the soul of a human could best be conveyed through music, and overall is it precisely in the different forms of expression that a soul and spirituality gets its outlet, just like in meditation, nature mediation (hiking, fishing, mountain climbing, etc.), and in certain forms of physical exercise and martial arts. To engage in the spiritual life is something that looks different depending on what views a human has regarding what is spirituality. A Pagan do often see nature and cosmos as something higher, which is desirable to be in communion with. (...)

"Anarko" then answers (my translation from Swedish):

(...) Christianity during the first one thousand years struggled with the dualistic outlook on body and soul which among others the Manicheans and Gnostics defended and where they put the body in opposition to the soul. In the Christian theology, the understanding of the soul and body was different. The soul is totally immaterial, the body is material. Everything which is created is good, even the material world (against the Manicheans). Even the fallen angels have a good nature – why no strict dualism on the ontological plane is the case. The Devil has in other words a good nature, in that sense that he has been created by God. But he has turned his nature against God and is in this respect fallen from his own place in the divine hierarchy. His deeds and thoughts are therefore evil in the sense that they are turned away from God and the natural order. Therefore are actions that go against nature, like for instance pedophilia, satanic sins – just because they turn away from the natural order of the creation. (...) ¹⁶⁶

The signature "Bockas" also gives his opinions (my translation from Swedish):

As a "Pagan" I have to say that I spend zero hours per day for the "spiritual life". I have never sat rapt in any kind of prayer. For my part, the spiritual stimulus come from reading, beholding, creating art etc. Sure this can be seen as parts of the spiritual life, but I guess that this was not what you meant.

¹⁶⁶Oskorei: Trollkyrka: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1301>. 2009-03-21.

The signature “Mogura” then adds (my translation from Swedish):

I am a confessing Pagan. I honor the gods, maybe not every day, but frequent enough to call myself a “religious man”. I have participated in rituals and blots. Many of my friends and familiars are also Pagans, which is natural since I socialize in these circuits: sedare¹⁶⁷, Wiccans and other.

In the name of honesty it should be said that the tolerance for Christians is not particularly big among my pagan brothers and sisters. Which is entirely understandable. I am myself not a relativist – I do not give much for the Abrahamic religions. Nietzsche called Christianity “the Jewish consequence”. I agree.¹⁶⁸

At this point it is relevant to identify two ideal types based on this discussion and two other such¹⁶⁹: one pro-Pagan and one pro-Christian. There are two positions that stand in contrast to each other: one pre-Christian, polytheistic and pagan; one Christian, monotheistic and theological. The Christians assert that neo-Paganism is at best a spiced up form of atheism and at worst “a form of Satanism”, to quote Jonas De Geer, while the neo-Pagans believe that Christianity is dualistic, moralistic and in some cases more or less a false religious tradition.¹⁷⁰ This conflict is a sort of false dichotomy according to Identitarians and Traditionalists such as Oskorei¹⁷¹ and SolGuru¹⁷²; hence there is no distinctive division in this regard between different Identitarians and/or Traditionalists, and between any Identitarians and/or Traditionalists or any other group. Still the lack of unification in regard to which religious tradition that should be preferred seems to be an inner problem for this particular orbit, and it certainly divides, if not entire groups, then at least certain individuals: neo-Pagan writers such as AUTONOM might have left Motpol as a consequence of these kinds of conflicts¹⁷³.

There is, however, another intimately related obstacle in regard to Tradition: how this concept should be interpreted and understood. Another discussion that dealt with neo-Pagan life stance and spirituality leads to this particular discussion. De Geer writes bantering (my translation from Swedish):

¹⁶⁷With this the commenter most certainly refers to “forn sed”, a Swedish name for certain Nordic neo-pagan traditions which are practiced by the members of for instance Svenska Asatrosamfundet (Swedish Asatru Foundation).

¹⁶⁸Oskorei: Trollkyrka: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1301>. 2009-03-21.

¹⁶⁹Oskorei: Alain de Benoist about Pagan Renaissances: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1620>. 2009-07-06. Jonas De Geer: The Hidden Reality: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=1460>. 2011-01-06.

¹⁷⁰Oskorei: Trollkyrka: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1301>. 2009-03-21. Oskorei: Alain de Benoist About Pagan Renaissance's: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1620>. 2009-07-06.

¹⁷¹Oskorei: To Ride the Tiger 2008 – Fragments: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=748>. 2008-08-09.

¹⁷²Oskorei: Alain de Benoist about Pagan Renaissances: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1620>. 2009-07-06.

¹⁷³Flashback: About AUTONOM: <https://www.flashback.org/t1167381>. 2010-04-10-2010-09-30.

Rimfaxe Feelings does not belong here. Big praises to the posts from Reaktion and Solguru. I read Alain de Benoist before I converted for that matter. I was not impressed by his religious philosophical speculations, they are frankly embarrassingly shallow; fried air.

Alain dB (sic), despite all his other merits, does not stem in that regard. As the above mentioned has said is it the same old gambit: dress race materialism in toga, put a Viking helmet on it, put Plato under its arm and give it the blessings of Bertrand Russell.

The commenter “Fredrik Gustafsson” agrees: “I do not understand the point with calling oneself Pagan, either. Why voluntarily apply a concept that would only lead to being seen as a wacko?” The commenter “Arete” then asks if a Pagan can simultaneously be a traditionalist, whereupon De Geer says: “no self-appointed Pagan can be a traditionalist in my opinion.” He then meets opposition from all three debaters and then concludes (my translation from Swedish):

No, “tradition” means precisely that something is transmitted, an unbroken link. Hence is “tradition” and “Asatru” since a long time ago self-contradictory terms. If people then say that they have rediscovered the “ancient rite”, sure. but (sic) “tradition” is not what it is about, per definition.

The neo-Pagan debater “Bockas” replies in two polemic but reasoning posts (my translation from Swedish):

a) “Relevance?” Well. I normally do not call myself anything, I have made that clear several times at for instance Nordisk.nu (...) So I do not know what I should answer on that, when it does not have anything to do with me. I am simply a spiritual Northerner. Which in my world excludes nearly all existing –isms and all Middle Eastern religions. (...)

b) Regarding “traditionalism” it is much a question about definitions. Your religion is barely “traditional” in any sense at all – as little as Donald Duck on Christmas evening¹⁷⁴ is it yet in roughly for 800 years. Everything from the theology to the liturgy and the hierarchy within your church, is built on diverse concoction from a number of cults, and cultures, mystery religions and such as. The option was between the Mithras cult and the Catholicism during that time, and due to that the first mentioned primarily appalled to men in the higher classes, the last mentioned became more successful. So maybe you should explain what is “traditional” about Catholicism first, then maybe it would be easier for me to understand what you are talking about? (...)

De Geer hesitates to answer the questions raised by “Bockas”, but instead asks two interesting counter questions (my translation from Swedish):

I ignore your personal attacks and other insignificant things, but answer friendly – which are the [religious] records of Paganism?

How have they been transmitted?

¹⁷⁴At 3pm every Christmas evening Swedish national television broadcasts an hour-long show – “Kalle Anka och hans vänner” (Donald Duck and his friends) – that includes miscellaneous elements from well-known Disney cartoon movies. It is thus a typical Swedish tradition in a profane sense.

For it is precisely that which is the only reasonable criteria for tradition.

The signature “Human potential” then answers (my translation from Swedish):

Joas (sic) De Geer. Tradition does not need [religious] records. Tradition does only mean that something meaningful is transmitted between people over generations. There is other evidence of tradition than [religious] records, like [the fact] that the same rites occur in several countries, have been depicted during earlier generations or affected different historical courses.

I do not think it is shallow to call oneself “Pagan”. It is what we Indo-Europeans were for thousands of years before we became Christianized. It is in our blood, in what we really are purely biologically, which of course creates predispositions for soul functioning, like a wagon for spirituality.

Christianity adapted a number of ancient rites and customs in order to not seem too alien. The apostolic tradition existed of course before Christ, for example within Vedic tradition. The unique thing about Christianity is that it is so misunderstood. The things that Jesus taught were just a passionate Judaism, possibly colored by some sort of narcissism and schizoid delusions of Christ himself. The cult of his person and the fixation with universal love and the importance of forgiveness, are pure misunderstandings of something that was meant to do the sect of Jesus closely knit. Christianity is really outdated as the savior of the Indo-European people. What we need is not to learn to love Africans and Arabs, forgive them and try to make them into something which most of them due to biological reasons cannot be. A good Christian must namely be able to think abstractly and also control himself. We should stop being good Christians first and foremost. Then organize a new world for us. Based on what we are: Pagans with respect for women, children and animals. Not for dead sect leaders.¹⁷⁵

It seems that these discussions have generated partly a debate on Christianity versus neo-Paganism, partly a debate on how the concept tradition should be understood; these topics go more less hand in hand. One may note that none of the commenters uses a capital letter on this particular concept, and the discussion is not specifically – or rather, solely – about Traditionalist interpretations. Some refer to Guénon and Evola in regard to these questions, while some Catholics and neo-Pagans want to share their thoughts on the matter in a more general sense; they have different interpretations of the concept “tradition”. From the Christian perspective, De Geer asserts that Catholicism – at least in regard to SSPX one may suppose – has been able to absorb and transmit its orthopraxy during the entire history of Christianity, while neo-Pagans assert that valuable ideas, rites and customs can be transmitted without the means of religious records. The neo-Pagans in this debate do also tangent a comparative history of religions discourse, in which reductionist claims on the historical Jesus and why Christianity managed to attract many different social classes are used to criticize the development

¹⁷⁵Oskorei: Alain de Benoist about Pagan Renaissances: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1620>. 2009-07-06.

of this particular religious tradition. It is at various places possible to identify implicit anti-Semitic and racist sentiments – Christianity is regarded as Semitic and Judaized, and culture and religious traditions are linked to biological traits within different race groups. There are other views that stand in opposition with each other, for instance an atheistic science-reductionist discourse and a Christian metaphysics discourse¹⁷⁶. It is notable that this does not have to be reduced to a verbal struggle between neo-Pagans and Christians – even less between Traditionalists and non-Traditionalists – but the non-Traditionalist neo-Pagans, like the Motpol blogger Rimfaxe and the frequent commenter Johan Björnsson¹⁷⁷ are fiercely critical of De Geer's belief in possession and evil powers. Or the problem might rather be for some that he writes about them on his blog instead of keeping them to himself (my translation from Swedish):

In what direction is Motpol heading? What kind of nonsense is this? Jonas De Geer, if you believe in this, can you not keep it to yourself? Do you believe that normal Svenssons¹⁷⁸ that stumble into Motpol through surfing (and finally find an intellectual forum where they can read the truth about today's multiculturalism, the creeping totalitarian society, the HBT-lobby, Judaism and the Jews control of the West, the major banks, "the war against terrorism", etc.) feel compelled to visit Motpol again, when motpol bloggers write about exorcism and seriously claim that there are angels and demons?¹⁷⁹

Rimfaxe – who has not written a single blog post at Motpol since the 26th of February¹⁸⁰, which in turn perhaps is an implication of his resentment against the current trend that he has identified – then asserts, and partly agrees with the above-mentioned commenter, with sarcastic undertones (my translation from Swedish):

Johan, I partly agree with you. At the same time I do not see any point with being upset. When one comments on someone else's blog one should do exactly as when one visits someone's home. Even if you think that the flower beds in their garden are totally misplaced, from your own perspective, you do not need to trample in them, but just plain and simply respect that the house owner wants it that way.

Motpol is a portal where primarily Christians and Traditionalists write, in the sense that it has only been that kind of writers that have been recruited for the last years. The writers of Motpol must of course be able to express the things that they believe in, which means a strong religious character over the entire spectrum.

With this kept in mind one must not have too high expectations of Motpol if one is not a believing Christian or Traditionalist (René Guénon et al).

¹⁷⁶De Geer, Jonas: The Hidden Reality: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=1460>. 2011-01-06.

¹⁷⁷Björnsson, Johan. Blog: <http://johanbjornsson.blogspot.com/>. Note that in a later comment he accuses Motpol of being to "Islamophilic", which in turn makes the blogger Olympiark object.

¹⁷⁸A Swedish expression for the man on the street or the "average Swedish person".

¹⁷⁹De Geer, Jonas: The Hidden Reality: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=1460>. 2011-01-06.

¹⁸⁰Rimfaxe: <http://rimfaxe.motpol.nu/>.

Personally I go to Realisten¹⁸¹ when I want to read important and in depth analyses, while Motpol can be interesting any time when non-religious subjects are being treated. Each has its own taste, plain and simple.¹⁸²

Even though the above-mentioned debates in this chapter are perhaps not as infected as the debate in the wake of Omar's interview with Oskorei, it is still proof of several lines of inherent conflicts within the Identitarian and Traditionalism milieu, more specifically Motpol. The French Identitarians, like Alain de Benoist and Guillaume Faye, have always promoted neo-Paganism and regarded Christianity as being one of the roots of the European crisis (see de Benoist 2004; Faye 2011), and there is perhaps an implicit anti-Christian sentiment among some contemporary Swedish Identitarians, like Rimfaxe, and many of the Motpol readers. The investigation of both posts and comments written by Motpol bloggers indicates that this is a simplification, and that many neo-Pagans have respect for Christianity and the other way around¹⁸³ – they can have respect for Islam as well but it is not a suitable religious tradition to pick for a Swedish Identitarian or ethno-nationalist – and it even seems that the religious aspect is subordinated to questions on immigration and demographics. The enmity is not total, so to speak, and the meta political friends seem to be able to co-exist despite individual differences in regard to more or less relevant (or irrelevant) questions. The common premise is thus the ethnic and racial question.

Nevertheless, there are lines of conflict within the Identitarian and Identitarian Traditionalist discourses – which often but not always overlap each other interdiscursively – regarding spiritual and religious views: the relationship to Islam in Sweden is one example; the tensions between some neo-Pagans and Christians are another. All of these things might lead to problems for Identitarians and Identitarian Traditionalists in order to be meta politically successful, but they certainly lead to fierce debates and thus attention from several directions. These discourses are an integral part of the Swedish debate scene on the Internet and the authors are definitely creating dynamic discussions.

¹⁸¹This is the web news paper of the Swedes Party: <http://www.realisten.se/>.

¹⁸²De Geer, Jonas: The Hidden Reality: <http://jdg.motpol.nu/?p=1460>. 2011-01-06.

¹⁸³Solguru: The Lord's Eye – Brief post on the National Day: <http://solguru.motpol.nu/?p=11>. Oskorei: The Islamization Discourse: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=3524>. Oskorei: Alain de Benoist about Pagan Renaissances: <http://oskorei.motpol.nu/?p=1620>. 2009-07-06.

9. Conclusive discussion

At this point it is suitable to reconnect with the research questions of this study. The first two questions concern chapter 5, while the other two concern chapter 6, 7 and 8. It is also relevant to summarize what has been said so far in order to sum up a certain number of conclusions and discuss the meaning, as well as alternative interpretations, of these.

*How are contemporary Swedish Traditionalists and Identitarians organized on the Internet?
How do contemporary Traditionalists on the Internet use the writings of earlier Traditionalists?*

I have concluded that contemporary Swedish Traditionalists on the Internet are bound together by the means of hyperlinks in, primarily, the blogosphere. The blog portal Motpol can be regarded as both an Identitarian and Traditionalist junction, but the “organization” does not end there – its branches stretches to other blogs such as Omar’s, Café Exposé and Perennial. And – from a rhizomatic perspective – more or less unlinked expressions of these kinds of ideas can be found, for instance in music such as Zyklon Boom and Sigrblot. On the other hand, the adherents of Traditionalism use the texts of earlier, more well-known writers, and the diachronic genealogical chain cannot be ignored. As contradictory as it may seem from a Deleuzean and Guattarian perspective, this “organization” of bloggers manifests itself in both rhizomatic and genealogical ways, and hypertextuality is often the main “tool”. One may note, however, that this is just some ways to grasp how all these textual references manifest themselves. There are alternative ways to approach the Internet material that has been examined in this study. Still, I assert that my theoretical and methodological strategies and tools of analysis are fruitful since they manage to narrow down a number of rather complex and multifaceted phenomena without ignoring relevant differences between different research subjects. With that said – I have only examined a very limited number of texts in regard to bloggers that tend to offer miscellanies of different subjects. That goes for the study in whole and not just chapter 5.

How are contemporary Swedish Traditionalism and Traditionalists, as well as Identitarianism and Identitarians, regarded among ethno-nationalists, more specifically “nationella”, on the Internet?

How does the schism between neo-Pagans and Christians within the Traditionalistic and Identitarian Internet milieu express itself?

Two major lines of conflict have been identified and examined *within* the Traditionalism and Identitarian milieu (primarily Motpol): the approach to Islam and Muslims, and the schism between neo-Pagans and Christians. One can also add a conflict between Identitarians and/or Traditionalists and other ethno-nationalists, not least those who are more or less National Socialists, or “nationella”, and that have been expressed on websites such as *Patriot.nu* and *Nationell.nu*. These two conflicts, which have been treated in chapter 6 and 7, are in fact closely related to each other. Oskorei was interviewed by Mohamed Omar and expressed, in some people’s eyes, too much gratification towards Islam and Muslims, which made both a certain number of Identitarians and anonymous readers react and express fierce criticism. As has been said above, the different positions are not as dualistic as one may think at first. Bloggers that are both Identitarian and Traditionalist, like SolGuru, do on one hand defend the right to converse with anyone, but on the other hand regard Muslims on European ground as an ethno-political threat and thus it is highly inappropriate to cooperate with for instance Islamists like Mohamed Omar.

The Identitarian “we” still constitutes something “other”, whereas the latter is outside of this ideological framework. That in turn means that other ethno-nationalists do not necessarily accept the ideas that they promote, like for instance less dualistic perspectives on Islam, Muslims and Jews, as well as race and ethnicity: they do not want to promote the Identitarian or Identitarian Traditionalist discourses. Some ethno-nationalists/neo-Nazis argue that Traditionalism in itself might even be dangerous, from an ethno-nationalist point of view, since its adherents might end up as Muslims with taken Arab names, like for instance René Guénon. This verbal conflict does also overlap questions concerning race and ethnicity, and there are certain texts that indicate that this is more important than the religious affiliations. In some ethno-nationalists’ eyes the Identitarians and Traditionalists are even regarded as the inner enemy (*hostis*) – the ethno-nationalistic movement strives for ideological unity and does not want any “Strasserists”. Would it be possible to find any kind of accepted pluralism within the latter movement as well? Possibly. I have looked at specific themes and only focused on very specific posts that deal with these – what divide Identitarians and/or Traditionalists, and “nationella” – and one could instead focus on what unite them. But as long as Identitarians and/or Traditionalists (those who are concerned about race and

ethnicity, particularly Motpol bloggers) prefer to call themselves something else than (ethno-)nationalists or “nationella”, it will most likely still exist a chasm between them and the latter.

The Christian and neo-Pagan conflict – like the other ones it is verbal and located at Motpol blog comment fields – can also be initially grasped by means of Weberian ideal types: one pro-Pagan (and anti-Christian) and one pro-Christian (and anti-Pagan). However, when one looks closer the nuances, even in these rather limited discussions, are discerned: some debaters are not necessarily pro-Pagan and anti-Christian, or pro-Christian and anti-Pagan, but rather more or less pro-both, and Identitarian Traditionalists such as Oskorei and SolGuru seem to share this particular view. Islam has, in the long run, not a proper place within this milieu – and perhaps there is a breaking point somewhere in this hypertextual rhizome. Rent principiellt, Gudomlig komedi, SolGuru and Oskorei may hyperlink to bloggers such as Café Exposé or even Mohamed Omar and some of them may even have a nuanced and in some senses respect for (at least certain forms) of Islam and their adherents. But if, at the end the day, race and ethnicity are more important than personal spirituality preferences then the mutual respect is subordinated. It seems to be that way based on what has been said in this study. The directions that the subjects of study will take in the future do however seem to be an open question, given the multiversity of positions in regard to Islam and Muslims that have been presented. Perhaps this it is not a question of major significance in a few years?

At this point, particular elements, questions and topics within this rather multi-faceted Internet milieu have been examined to a certain extent. Similar phenomena in the physical life – like the observation of study groups such as Aguéli, attendance at seminars like Identitarian idea (identitär idé)¹⁸⁴, and different sorts of focus on other issues by means of text analysis – have not yet been explored and are left to possibly be scrutinized in future studies.

¹⁸⁴Identitarian Idea: <http://www.identitet.org/>.

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Appendix: Extensive Quotes in Swedish

Med Traditionen avser vi inte i första hand gamla sedvänjor, nej, Traditionen är, enligt René Guénon [1], en hela mänskligheten i tid och rum genomsköljande ström av Ljus, som har sin Gudagivna källa i själva Urtillståndet, i Paradiset, eller dess första projektion i tiden, den "hyperboreiska" guldåldern.

Traditionen är, förklarar den svenske sufien Kurt Almqvist [2], helheten av alla de ljusströmmar som från det centrala eller polära Urtillståndet (den "hyperboreiska" kulturen var enligt legenden förlagd till Nordpolen) flöt ut till jordens skilda delar, och där blev dessa flöden till de ådernät som genom alla tider har skänkt gudomligt liv åt de olika kulturerna. Detta har överallt skett så, att varje generation i "kanaler" har fört vidare ("tradition" kommer av latinets *tradere*, "föra vidare") detta Livets vatten till nästa generation som ett heligt arv. (Mohamed Omar: See page 39)

Exakt detsamma måste rimligen sägas om muslimers antisjonism, eller vilja att bevara sin egen kultur. Jag unnar verkligen muslimer att bevara sin kultur. Jag ser det som tragiskt att Saudiarabisk puritanism och fanatism kommit att bli allt mer utbredd i den muslimska världen, och att detta successivt utarmar det religiösa arvet i länder som Indonesien. Men det är nu en gång för alla deras eget problem, och är inte något Sverige ska lägga sig i. På vår mark, däremot, vill jag vare sig se indonesisk *abangan*-islam eller saudisk wahabism – eller någon annan form av Islam heller – i varje fall och i synnerhet inte som politisk maktfaktor och etnisk organisationsform. Det är helt enkelt oerhört olämpligt, och inte på något sätt bra för Sverige. Att demonstrera sida vid sida med muslimska radikaler, vars yttersta intresse är att skapa ett globalt kalifat, och som har lika lite respekt för svensk etnisk och kulturell överlevnad som någonsin globalisterna är inte en hållbar strategi. (SolGuru: See page 49)

Den främmande grupp som hotar Sverige och västvärlden mest med undanträngande och kulturell förintelse som följd är den muslimska. Jag har själv träffat ett par intellektuella muslimer i mina dagar, då har dom iofs varit vita eller delvis vita konvertiter, men att tro på en så vänskaplig ton mellan västerländska och muslimska traditionalister efter att muslimerna blivit i majoritet i våra länder är ett farligt önsketänkande som verkat ha drabbat större delen av den sk. nationella rörelsen. Jag förstår hur en del med dålig insyn i hur det är att leva i ett muslimskt land kan föredra detta framför den amerikanska liberala konsumtionskulturen, men den stora skillnaden är att i den senare finns det fortfarande utrymme för byggandet av kulturella enklaver, detta kommer inte tolereras i ett muslimskt samhälle. Man ska inte heller glömma att lögnen om premieras i Koranen så länge de gynnar Islam. Islamofobi är dessutom en lika löjlig term som homofobi vilket bara visar att muslimer är en av de styrandes skyddade grupper, det finns t ex inga eurofober eller liknande. Givetvis kan man hitta liknelser mellan det hedniska Sverige för 2000 år sedan och dagens Islam, precis som jag kan hitta likheter mellan nästan alla gamla traditioner i det att dom oftast var mindre "liberala", men det var definitivt aldrig nordiskt med burka,

halalslakt eller kvinnlig omskärelse. Liberalismen är ett gemensamt hot mot Europa och den stora muslimska världen, men det kan aldrig legitimera muslimers kolonialisering av Europa. Muslimerna är globalt sett ingen förtryckt minoritet, dom vill bara ha mer inflytande i Europa för att sprida Islam, med våld om så krävs, det är inget stora muslimska ledare hymlar om, t ex Irans president. Jag är emot USAs invasioner av muslimska länder och jag är emot massinvandringen av muslimer till Europa! ("Bodddhisattva": See page 57)

Utmärkt intervju, Oskorei. Tycker det är synd att inte flera ser det oerhört positiva i denna kommunikation och inte har förmågan att se bortom sina egna tvångstankar. Oskorei är som jag en indoeuropeisk traditionalist, men det betyder inte att man inte skall tänka fritt och öppet, utan att man är säker på sin egen värdegrund, också i kontakt med den främmande eller andra traditioner. ("AUTONOM": See page 57)

Oskorei, du vet mycket väl hur mycket blod som spillts för att hindra islam från att förpesta resten av Europa, från Poitiers 732 via Konstantinopel 1453 till Wiens portar 1683. De europeiska folk som du nämner som muslimer är ättlingar till överlöpare alternativt kolonisatörer! Jag är själv av en släkt som i flera omgångar har blött och dött för att hindra det som vi nu låter ske; en fullskalig islamisering av Europa. Detta är inget annat än förkastligt och har ingenting att göra med låta muslimerna vara sin religion trogen. Islam är en religion som aldrig kommer att acceptera spela på andrafiolen, den är aggressiv och intolerant, antingen så blir Europa muslimskt eller så förblir det sekulärt / kristet, något mellanting finns inte. När islamkramare så börjar tala om fredlig samexistens ad modum Alhambra eller det Ottomanska Konstantinopel (Jag vägrar kalla staden något annat, ja Miklagård kan jag väl acceptera) så ska det vara klart att det i dessa fall är islam och muslimerna som är den starka parten / maktavarna; denna religion accepterar inte annat än dominans och detta vill du väl inte ska ske i Europa?! ("Lakedaemon": See page 58)

Eftersom ämnet är intressant tänkte jag filosofera lite allmänt kring temat hedendom och förkristna seder. Den hedniska inställningen är generellt att själ och materia står i någon form av förbund med varandra, vilket hamnar i en kontrast till den dualism som de abrahamitiska religionerna applicerar på själen såsom avskuren från det fysiska. Här finns många missförstånd att finna. Givetvis finns det sedan olika syn på själen bland hedningar. En del menar att själen kan existera utan kroppen, medan andra anser att själ och materia endast kan existera som en harmonierande helhet, där själen givetvis håller den huvudsakliga styrningen. ("Rimfaxe": See page 62)

Kristendomen under de första tusen åren brottades med den dualistiska synen på kropp och själ som bla manikéerna och gnostikerna försvarade och där de satte kroppen i motsatsförhållande till själen. I den kristna teologin var förståelsen av själen och kroppen annorlunda. Själen är helt immateriell, kroppen är materiell. Allt skapat är gott, även den materiella världen (mot manikéerna). Även de fallna änglarna har en god natur – varför

ingen sträng dualism på det ontologiska planet är fallet. Djävulen har med andra ord en god natur, i det att naturen är skapad av Gud. Däremot har han vänt sin natur mot Gud och i denna mening är fallen från sin egen plats i den gudomliga hierarkin. Hans gärningar och tankar är därför onda i den meningen att de är vända från Gud och den naturliga ordningen. Därför förknippas handlingar mot naturen, t.ex. pedofili, som sataniska synder – just för att de vänder sig mot skapelsens naturliga ordning. ("Anarko": See page: 62)

Jag är bekännande hedning. Jag hedrar gudarna, kanske inte varje dag, men ofta nog för att kunna kalla mig en "religiös man". Jag har deltagit i ritualer och blot. Många av mina vänner och bekanta är också hedningar, vilket är naturligt eftersom jag umgås i sådana kretsar: sedare, wiccaner och andra.

I ärlighetens namn skall sägas att toleransen mot kristna inte är överdrivet stor bland mina hedniska bröder och systrar. Vilket är fullt förståeligt. Jag är själv inte någon relativist- de abrahamitiska religionerna har jag inte mycket till övers för. Nietzsche kallade kristendomen för "den judiska konsekvensen". Jag instämmer. ("Mogura": See page 63)

a) "Relevansen"? Tja, alltså. Jag brukar rent allmänt inte kalla mig något alls, det har jag gjort klart ett otal ggr. t.ex. på Nordisk.nu när någon kommer med standardfrågan "Vah? Ärunde nachonäll!?" Så jag vet inte riktigt varför jag skall svara på det, då det inte riktigt gäller mig. Jag är en andlig nordbo, helt enkelt. Vilket i min värld exkluderar nära nog alla befintliga -ism'er samt alla mellanösternreligioner. (...)

b) Detta med "traditionalism" blir mycket en definitionsfråga. Din religion är ju knappast "traditionell" i någon mening alls – lika lite som Kalle Anka på julaftonen är det ännu på i runda slängar 800 år. Allt från teologin till liturgin och hierarkin inom din kyrka, bygger ju på diverse hopkok från ett antal kulturer, och kulturer, mysteriereligioner o.dyl. Valet stod mellan Mithraskulten och katolicismen på den tiden, och pga. att den förstnämnda vände sig främst till män ur de högre stånden, så blev den sistnämnda mer framgångsrik. Så du kanske skulle förklara vad som är "traditionellt" med katolicismen först, så kanske det blir lättare för mig att förstå vad du pratar om? ("Bockas": See page 64)

Joas De Geer. Tradition kräver inte urkunder. Tradition betyder bara att något meningsbärande överförs mellan människor över generationer. Det finns andra bevis på tradition än urkunder, som att samma sed förekommer i olika länder, har avbildats under tidigare generationer eller påverkat olika historiska förlopp.

Jag tycker inte det är ytligt att kalla sig "hedning". Det är vad vi indo-européer var i tusentals år innan vi kristnades. Det finns i vårt blod, i det vi verkligen är rent biologiskt, som ju också bildar anlag för själsligheten, som en vagn för andligheten.

Kristendomen anammade en mängd hedniska riter och seder för att inte verka alltför främmande. Den apostoliska traditionen fanns naturligtvis innan Kristus, exempelvis inom vedisk tradition. Det unika med kristendomen är att den är så missförstådd. Det som Jesus lärde ut var bara en passionerad judendom, möjligtvis färgad av ett slags narcissism och schizoida vanföreställningar hos själva Jesus. Kulten kring hans person samt fixeringen vid universell kärlek och vikten av förlåtelse, är rena missförstånd av något som var menat att göra Jesus sekt väl sammansvetsad. Kristendomen är verkligen överspelad som räddare av det Indo-Europeiska folket. Det vi behöver för vår överlevnad är knappast att lära oss att älska afrikaner och araber, förlåta dem och försöka göra dem till något som de flesta av dem inte kan vara av rent biologiska skäl. En bra kristen måste nämligen kunna tänka abstrakt och dessutom behärska sig själv. Vi borde sluta vara goda kristna först och främst. Därefter organisera en ny värld för oss. Baserad på det vi är: Hedningar med respekt för kvinnor, barn och djur. Inte för döda sektledare. ("Human Potential": See page 65)

I vilken riktning är Motpol på väg mot? Vad är det för jönsier? Jonas de Geer, om du nu tror på sådant här, kan du inte hålla det för dig själv? Tror du att vanliga svenssons som snubblar in på Motpol via surfning (och äntligen upptäcker ett intellektuellt forum där de kan läsa sanningen om dagens mångkultur, det smygande totalitära samhället, HBT-lobbyn, judendomen och judiska gruppers ägande och kontroll av Väst, storbankerna, "kriget mot terrorismen", osv) känner att dom vill besöka Motpol igen, när motpolbloggare skriver om exorcism och på fullt allvar påstår att det finns änglar och demoner? (...) ("Johan Björnsson": See page 66)

Johan,

Jag håller med dig till viss del. Samtidigt ser jag inte någon mening med att bli upprörd. När man kommenterar på någons blogg bör man göra precis som när man besöker någons hem. Även om man tycker att rabatterna på deras tomt står helt fel, efter ens eget perspektiv, så behöver man inte trampa i dem, utan helt enkelt respektera att husägaren vill ha dem just så.

Motpol är en portal där främst troende kristna samt troende Traditionalister skriver, i och med att nästan enbart denna slags skribenter har rekryterats till portalen under de senaste åren. Motpols skribenter måste givetvis kunna uttrycka sig angående det som de tror på, vilket innebär en stark religiös prägel över hela spektrumet.

Med detta i åtanke bör man inte ha alltför höga förväntningar på Motpol om man inte är en troende kristen eller Traditionalist (René Guénon et al).

Själv går jag främst till Realisten när jag vill läsa viktiga och djupgående analyser, medan Motpol kan vara intressant närhelst icke-religiösa ämnen tas upp. Var och en har sin egen smak, helt enkelt. ("Rimfaxe": See page 66–67)