“Let us build an ark!”

Jonas De Geer and the negotiation of religion within radical nationalism

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ABSTRACT

This thesis illuminates meaning(s) of religion in a Swedish radical nationalist context. The empirical study is based on a critical text analysis of author Jonas De Geer, key ideology producer of Swedish radical nationalism. The research questions concern how the publications of Jonas De Geer, during the period 1996-2016, address issues related to religion and Christian imagery. The primary aim of the thesis – to study how the concept of religion is understood, negotiated and used in a Swedish radical nationalist context – is enunciated through an examination of how identity and antagonists are construed through the notions of religion in the material, and how these concepts change over time. An applied text analysis, informed by critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, constitutes the methodological framework of the study. The empirical analysis suggests that Christianity and national identity are construed as intertwined and natural, while Judaism is portrayed as the primary antagonist. Additionally, Islam and modernist ideals are depicted as weapons used by Jewish influence to dominate the West. Drawing on these empirical implications, the study concludes that religion functions as a racist configuration in De Geer's symbolic universe.
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I. INTRODUCTION

On the front cover of the second issue of Motgift magasin, a Swedish radical nationalist periodical, there is a picture of a small boat carrying hundreds of individuals on a dark sea foaming beneath it. In red letters the words “invasion of aliens” mark what is to be discussed in the periodical: an increasing number of people seeking refuge in Europe and how this constitutes a dangerous situation for the Occident. In the issue there is an article signed by author Jonas De Geer, with the title “Let us build an ark”, arguing that it is not refugees that need to be saved from the foaming waters of the sea, but rather the Swedish people and the “white world” from a multi-ethnic deluge of immigration. The use of biblical metaphors is not uncommon for this author. On the contrary, “religious” language is a vital part of how he construes the world. The following study will discuss this phenomenon as a case study of the function and negotiation of religion within contemporary Swedish radical nationalism.

1.1. Aim, questions and disposition

The aim of this thesis is to study how the concept of religion is understood, negotiated and used within a radical nationalist context in Sweden. Being a producer of both radical nationalist texts and recurrent notions on religion, noticeable radical nationalist writer, activist and author Jonas De Geer, and his works, are the focal points of this thesis. Through a close reading of De Geer's texts, my intention is to contribute to (a) the field of research of racialized conflicts in general and of Swedish radical nationalism in particular, and (b) a discussion of the interaction between religion, political thought and racism.

The primary question of this study is: How is religion negotiated in texts produced by De Geer? To answer this primary question, I have broken it down into three sub-questions. These three sub-questions will be used to realize the aim of this thesis. In the texts by De Geer, a) how is identity construed in relation to religion, and b) how are antagonists perceived and construed in relation to religion? Finally, c) how do these concepts change over time and how do they relate to radical nationalism?

The questions above will be answered through the following disposition: In chapter two, the design of the study is discussed through a presentation of previous research in relevant fields, for example research on the radical nationalist milieu in Sweden, and research on the relationship between
religion and radical nationalism. Subsequently, theoretical benchmarks, material and the method of the study are presented. In the final section of chapter two, Jonas De Geer and the radical nationalist milieu will be introduced as an introduction to the analysis chapter. Chapter three constitutes the primary analysis of the material. The analysis is followed by the final chapter, where the results of the analysis are discussed and the final conclusions of this thesis are presented.

1.2. Significance, scope and delimitation

Radical nationalism is arguably a significant political force in contemporary Europe. This is indicated by its strengthened positions during the 2000s and 2010s in local, regional, and national elections in, for example, France, Hungary, Poland, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, as well as in the European Parliament. Radical nationalism also seems to have an increasing influence on culture, for example in ongoing conversations and in the media sphere, especially the so-called social media. Its strengthened positions are also evident in an increasing våldskapital (meaning the resource to use of violence) through nationalist tendencies in several parts of Europe, both in state-sponsored and extra-parliamentarian violence. In contemporary Sweden, this can be illustrated by the 2015 heavy border controls and the government pledge of an increased deportation rate, but also by Anton Lundin Pettersson's white racist terrorist attack, targeting non-white children and staff at a school in the city of Trollhättan, mob-violence toward refugees and arsons at asylum centers around the country.¹

In spite of the growing impact of radical nationalism in Sweden and Europe, research in this field is limited, especially on contemporary aspects of the milieu. Its strengthened role and position in European societies, and the fact that certain aspects of this field are understudied, demands new studies and academic perspectives on radical nationalism, as discussed in the section on previous research below. This thesis is meant to be one response to the mentioned demand; it attempts to offer new questions and, hopefully, also new perspectives on radical nationalism in contemporary Sweden.

A critical question in this field is whether the concept of religion is used to negotiate identity and antagonists, and if so, why, and in what way? This question in general, and religious articulation within the Swedish radical nationalist milieu in particular, has previously not been systematically studied or analyzed. To approach the broad and critical question of this field, the writings of radical nationalist activist Jonas De Geer will be used as case study. Historian Heléne Lööw argues that this

milieu consists of several circles or layers, illustrating how different roles and positions are negotiated within it. According to Lööw, approximately a hundred individuals are situated in the most inner circle of the milieu. This circle includes individuals with leading roles in different organizations and others who has high status due to their roles as producers of ideology.\(^2\) De Geer functions as a representative of the inner circle, due to his long carrier as a writer, speaker and producer of ideology within the radical nationalist milieu. Throughout his carrier of writing, De Geer has often returned to issues concerning religion. This particular focus in his writing is something that De Geer is well-known for in the radical nationalist milieu, and it is a theme that he has publicly addressed in various contexts. Combined, these are the primary reasons why De Geer's texts were selected for this study.

The study is limited to material published by Jonas De Geer, either written or spoken. De Geer has published material since the mid-1990s, which is why the demarcated period for analysis is the years between 1996 until spring 2016. Works produced by others that cover De Geer's views are not included in this study, since the focal point are texts authored by De Geer himself. For the same reason, replies from others than De Geer (when he has participated in published conversations, for example podcast episodes or public debates) have been omitted from the analysis. For the benefit of the study, all available podcast episodes where De Geer has been involved have been surveyed. Certain episodes where the area of interest for this thesis are addressed have subsequently been selected for a more thorough analysis, which is discussed in the material section below.

2. RESEARCH DESIGN

In this section I will discuss the design of the study. By highlighting key research on radical nationalism, religion and racism, I will position this thesis within a specific field of research. Drawing on this, theoretical and methodological considerations of the study will be presented and discussed, thus constructing a framework and design for the subsequent analysis. Finally, I will discuss the background of Jonas De Geer and the milieu he has been, and still is, a vital part of.

2.1. Previous research

Research on radical nationalism in Sweden can be divided into two sub-categories: empirical historical schemas and ideological analyses. In the first category, historian Eric Wärenstam began mapping historical “Fascism and Nazism in Sweden” in 1965. Wärenstam's research was limited to the period 1920-1940, a scope shared by historian Ulf Lindström in his thesis Fascism in Scandinavia. Historian Helene Lööw's dissertation on “National Socialism in Sweden 1924-1950” also shared a similar periodic demarcation. In addition to her doctoral thesis, Lööw has produced a series of monographs related to what she identifies as “Nazism in Sweden”, covering much of the period from the early 1920s until 2014. In addition to these works, historian Lena Berggren's research on Swedish antisemitism in the early 20th century is worth mentioning as an important contribution to the field. This also applies to historian Victor Lundberg's dissertation on “a fascist labor movement in Sweden 1933-1945”.

Several in-depth studies have been performed on the political party Sverigedemokraterna (The Sweden Democrats), but this research is still limited. The studies include research on Sverigedemokraterna's development from extra-parliamentary to parliamentary actor, studies of Sverigedemokraterna's sympathizers, Sverigedemokraterna's rhetoric, and a comparative study of Moderaterna's (The Moderate Party) and

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3 Wärenstam (1965); Wärenstam (1970).
7 Berggren (2014).
8 Lundberg (2014).
12 Hellström (2010).
Socialdemokraterna's (The Social Democrats) strategic responses to the Sverigedemokraterna.\(^{13}\)

The second category – ideological analyses – includes research by sociologist Jens Rydgren on the radical right in Europe,\(^{14}\) the anthology *Brunt!* on contemporary nationalist mobilization in Northern Europe and North America,\(^{15}\) and the research initiative *Det vita fältet* with focus on contemporary right-wing extremism. *Det vita fältet* included contributions from Mats Deland et al., on right-wing extremism as a concept,\(^{16}\) Diana Mulinari and Anders Neergaard on Sverigedemokraterna and the theoretical field,\(^{17}\) Cristian Ov Norocel on the construction of masculinities within the radical right,\(^{18}\) Mathias Wåg on the development of the Swedish extreme right between the 1990s and 2000s,\(^{19}\) Benjamin R. Teitelbaum on Sverigedemokraterna's political and socio-cultural ties to other nationalist actors,\(^{20}\) and Markus Lundström and Tomas Lundström on Swedish radical nationalism 1915-2015.\(^{21}\) Beyond the mentioned research initiative, economic historian Rasmus Fleischer has also addressed this field of research in a text concerning the ideological split of the radical right.\(^{22}\)

The question of religion within radical nationalism in Sweden has been treated as a subcategory within parts of the research mentioned above, but to a limited extent. Lööw argues, for example, that the “White Power” milieu in Sweden has shifted its focus from an emphasis on Norse paganism, to an emphasis on a more general religious heritage.\(^{23}\) Studies that also need to be addressed are research on islamophobia by historian of religion Mattias Gardell,\(^{24}\) and human ecologist Andreas Malm.\(^{25}\) Both discuss Sverigedemokraterna's anti-Muslim rhetoric. Finally, ethicist Elisabeth Gerle has studied the intersections of religion and politics based on Sverigedemokraterna's texts in relation to the association *Humanisterna* (The Humanists).\(^{26}\)

Antisemitism has repeatedly been regarded as a central theme in radical nationalism.\(^{27}\) Theologian of religions Jesper Svartvik has touched upon the relation between biblical exegesis and

\(^{13}\) Kiiskinen & Saveljeff (2010).
\(^{15}\) Deland & Westin (2007).
\(^{16}\) Deland, Hertzberg & Hvitfeldt (2010).
\(^{17}\) Mulinari & Neergaard (2010).
\(^{18}\) Norocel (2013).
\(^{19}\) Wåg (2010).
\(^{20}\) Teitelbaum (2016).
\(^{21}\) Lundström & Lundström (2016).
\(^{22}\) Fleischer (2013).
\(^{24}\) Gardell (2012).
\(^{26}\) Gerle (2010).
\(^{27}\) Lööw (2015), p. 130; Berggren (2014), p. 79; 82.
antisemitism in his research. Historian Lena Berggren argues that modern antisemitism differs from pre-modern antisemitism through its shift in focus from religion to ethnicity. According to Berggren the term antisemitism was popularized by Wilhelm Marr in the late 19th century, in order to describe a conflict between Jews and Germanics, rather than a conflict between Jews and Christians. Berggren argues, however, in line with the historian Gavin I. Langmuir, that Christian anti-Judaism is a prerequisite for modern antisemitism. In other words, there was a shift in early 20th century radical nationalism: from considering religion to considering ethnicity as a primary antagonist of Christian civilization.

Gardell presents, in a study on religious dimension of White Power culture in North America, how pagan religious expression is formed in American racist and White Supremacist milieus where themes of antisemitism, conspiracy theories and racial separatism are repeated. Gardell argues that pagan religious expressions partly have taken over the role Christianity used to have in the same milieus. Christian thinking is exemplified in the heterogeneous Christian Identity movement, which has at times been influential in American White Supremacist groups, including important members of Bruders Schweigen (The Order), and the Ku Klux Klan. The Christian Identity movement in turn has its roots in a Christian theology that legitimized the US racial state, slavery and the rigid segregation through antisemitic ideas, and a vision of blacks as soulless and “pre-Adamic creations”. Gardell argues that the emergence of racial paganism and occult fascism in the 1980s and 1990s was part of the White Supremacist movement's radicalization process that further distanced it from the American ideological mainstream. 

Thus, it can be argued from previous research that shifts in the use of, and relation to, the concept of religion within these milieus are recurrent. In the following section, a theoretical framework, using the presentation of previous research on radical nationalism and religion as a benchmark, will be introduced and discussed.

2.2. Theoretical starting points

One theoretical starting point of this thesis is to primarily use De Geer's own arguments and statements to understand the ideas that negotiate meaning within his texts. I use the concept

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33 Gardell (2003), p. 67; 137.
symbolic universe to identify the totality of De Geer's ideas, arguments and convictions. Coined by sociologists Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, a symbolic universe is understood as a body “of theoretical tradition that integrate[s] different provinces of meaning and encompass[es] the institutional order in a symbolic totality”. In other words, Berger & Luckmann argue that symbols – signifiers referring to realities beyond everyday life – are ordered within systems that ascribe them meaning: the symbolic universe. It orders biographical experience – marginal realities such as everyday actions and speech, identities, and history. The symbolic universe is what makes society and the world meaningful. Thus, this thesis primary analytical premise is to comprehend the symbolic universe of Jonas De Geer. I will now, in the following section, discuss several theoretical benchmarks that will work as a guide through this particular universe.

2.2.1 Radical nationalism

A widely used and popular term for describing the ideological milieu in focus of this thesis – right-wing extremism – holds serious analytical limitations. The primary problem is that the focused ideological milieu neither can be understood as unequivocally right-wing or exclusively extreme. As pointed out by Deland, Hertzberg & Hvitfeldt, there are features of this milieu that can be sourced to both the left-wing and the center of the ideological spectrum. This connects to Seymour Martin Lipset's argument that classic fascism represented an extremism of the center. Fascism, Lipset argues, shared key convictions with liberalism – mainly through its opposition to trade unions, the socialist state, big business, traditionalism and religion. Sociologist Jens Rydgren argues that the milieu he calls the radical right focuses on socio-cultural issues, and that it is primarily in this respect it can be considered “right-wing”. In a more socio-economic sense, parts of the milieu could be considered more left-wing due to its welfare-chauvinism, according to Rydgren. Likewise, the suffix extremism is also problematic as an analytical term within this field of research, mainly due to the inherent idea that there is a dichotomy between them (the extreme) and us (the normal). This idea tends to mask activities in an imagined political center by marking it as “non-extreme”, regardless how violent or authoritarian its expressions may be.

Related to works on right-wing extremism, a significant research field is that of fascism. Fascism, as a generic term, is as much a debated concept as right-wing extremism. An influential definition of

35 Berger & Luckmann (1966), p. 113 f.
37 Lipset (1960), p. 133.
generic fascism is coined by Roger Griffin, where he states that “[f]ascism is a political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism.”\textsuperscript{40} In Griffin's definition, fascism is understood as a populist ultra-nationalism, and therefore also as something that diverges from more conventional nationalism. In an article co-authored by economic historian Markus Lundström and myself, we argue that fascism should not be understood as a political degenerate of nationalism, but rather as an imagined return to the root of nationalism. We therefore argue that it is analytically more precise to speak about degrees rather than forms of nationalism.\textsuperscript{41}

We propose that radical nationalism can be used as a conceptualization of this ideological milieu. Nationalism seeks to tie an imagined inherited community, understood as “the people”, to a geographic location.\textsuperscript{42} The concept radical should be understood as a political aim to return to the imagined root (Latin, radix) of nationalism. In other words, radical nationalists aim to return to the ideological roots of nationalism. An analytical premise in this thesis is to use and develop the concept of radical nationalism.

Drawing on the results of our article, three historical and ideological currents of the radical nationalist milieu can be identified: social conservative nationalism, race-oriented nationalism and identitarian nationalism. These currents of ideas should be understood as ideal types, with both overlapping and distinctive features. The social conservative nationalist school of thought emphasizes preservation of national culture. This leads to a view of “diverging elements” (such as immigrants) as threats to society. Social conservative nationalism has periodically been in open conflict with race-oriented nationalism, a current which is closer to the historical national socialist theory of racial hierarchy. Identitarian nationalism can be understood as a link between the other two currents, with its emphasis on new methods for social change. For identitarian nationalism national identity is at the center of ideology, and the surrounding society's dominant figures of thought are challenged through conceptual and linguistic fluctuation.\textsuperscript{43}

A key aspect of radical nationalism is racism, understood as an analytical concept. The diverse field of research on racism has produced several different accents and models, which is why it will only be briefly addressed here. I will expand this framework more thoroughly in the discussion section of this study. Gardell argues that the underlying idea within racist thought is that of inherited essences,
a thought that is combined with ideas of an imagined unity of the “people” and the nation. Critical culture theorist Stefan Jonsson has developed a model to analyze racist thought (discussed further in the final chapter of this thesis), and argues that racism has its roots in the modern nation-states' regulation of their populations. Furthermore, Jonsson states that racism should not be defined as certain doctrines, but rather as mechanisms and systems of exclusion, which is why racism does not have to explicitly use language of “race” to be racist. Drawing on these understandings of racism, I argue that nationalist and racist thought have deep connections, through the idea of the “people” and the nationalist mechanisms of exclusion. This will be addressed in the following sections of the thesis: through the analysis of De Geer's texts and in the discussion on the results of this analysis.

2.2.2 Religion

To understand Jonas De Geer's and the radical nationalist milieu's relation to religion, my intention is to let De Geer's own perceptions of “religion” direct the analysis of the study. Rather than using religion as an analytical tool, religion will be explored as an emic concept. In other words: I intend to, in this thesis, analyze how the concept of religion is construed by De Geer. This connects to the field of critical religion, represented by works of Timothy Fitzgerald and William T. Cavanaugh, where a main argument is that the meaning of religion shifts in relation to temporal and spatial contexts where the term is used. Cavanaugh argues that this view differs from the two traditional approaches to the category “religion”: the substantivist and the functionalist. According to Cavanaugh, the substantivist approach delimits religion to beliefs and practices that concern things connected to the transcendent, while the functionalist approach understands religion as the overarching structure of meaning in social life. Since De Geer himself refers to these concepts, they are key to understand his own view of religion.

There are multiple occasions in the material produced by De Geer where for example “Christianity” or “Judaism” are discussed but not as explicit “religions”. Implicit discussions on “religion” in the material will thus be identified primarily through the methods presented in the following chapter. As I discuss below, terms and concepts related to religion can be identified by using a digital corpus
analysis, where collocations to the word “religion” are searched for. This emphasizes the emic approach of this study, namely to understand how religion is construed by radical nationalist De Geer himself.

2.3. Methodological approaches

In this study, I present and discuss ideas found in texts produced by Jonas De Geer between the years 1996-2016. The method used to study this material was text analysis, primarily informed by methods of critical discourse analysis. Being a part of linguistics in general, and discourse analysis in particular, critical discourse analysis promotes close examination of texts in order to understand how discourses are shaped by the link between language, power and ideology. Consequently, while undertaking the analysis of the material, I specifically drew upon methodological guidelines coined by scholars Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak. In the following two sections, I will further discuss the material of the study and methods used to analyze it.

2.3.1 Material

The material consists of the total production of published texts authored by Jonas De Geer. His early texts were published in the radical conservative magazine *Svarta fanor* (Black flags) in 1996, and De Geer got his real breakthrough near the turn of the millennium. *Svenska Dagbladet* published a series of articles written by De Geer in 1999, and he was also, at this time, the editor of an anthology on the author Tage Lindbom. This period was followed by De Geer's writing in *Salt* and the texts published about the journal in various other papers. The period after *Salt*, De Geer was working for the newly started *Nordiska förlaget* (The Nordic Publishing House), and their investments in several book projects (where De Geer contributed with forewords), events (where De Geer contributed as a speaker) and the journal *Folkets nyheter* (News of the People) (where De Geer wrote editorials). De Geer also wrote texts for the journal *Nonkonform*, published and distributed by *Nysvenska rörelsens*, (The Neo-Swedish Movement) an organization that had started in the year 1930 and had close ties to several other fascist and national socialist organizations.

In 2008, De Geer published the first entry on his blog at the website *Motpol* (Andipode). The blog remained active for almost four years, until January 2012. During this period, De Geer also started selecting texts written by himself for the book *Motströms: Skriftställning i urval 1996-2008*. The book containing his selected works was published by Nordiska förlaget in 2009. De Geer was also

continually writing for Nonkonform during this period. From 2012 and onwards, De Geer’s primary text production was found in works published by Svenskarnas Parti (Party of the Swedes), in the bulletin Framät (Forward), followed by the podcast Radio Framät. In 2014 the podcast changed its name to Motgift (Antidote), while at the same time expanding to a new magazine called Motgift magasin, including written editorials and more recorded hours each week for the podcasts.

Several of the sources have been downloaded from websites, connected to the various media outlets where De Geer has been published. Some of these websites and hyperlinks are no longer available where they were originally published. I have therefore used the non-profit digital library and web content-archive Internet Archive, to locate Internet articles that have been removed from their original websites. As for podcasts (2014-2016) and later articles (2015-2016), these are available on the same websites where they were originally published. Some of the written material has been published in journals, magazines and independent publishing houses, of which Salt and the book Den judiska rasismen (Jewish Racism) are archived by, and available at, the National Library of Sweden. Other sources – including Nonkonform, Motgift magasin, and the book Motströms – were made available to me through the independent research foundation Expo’s archive. Several selected articles from the magazines Svarta fanor and Folkets nyheter are included in the book Motströms. It should be noted that these are selected texts, probably assorted by De Geer himself, together with an editor at the publishing house Nordiska förlaget. This selection intrinsically reveals what De Geer wanted to convey in the year of its release (2009), and should therefore not be understood as fully representative of everything he has published. However, from the other sources I have available, which represents the absolute majority of what De Geer published during the years 1996-2016, it should be noted that this selection does not diverge notably from the remaining (and excluded) texts. Additionally, they remain a valuable way to access texts which otherwise would have been difficult to acquire.

2.3.2 Corpus linguistics and text analysis

A common approach is to perform critical discourse analysis on a small number of texts. However, this practice has been criticized for the risk of being atypical for larger corpora. This problem can be addressed by combining critical discourse analysis with quantitative methods of corpus linguistics. Because of the fairly large size of the corpus of this thesis, I utilized the corpus linguistics technique of collocate analysis in order to identify what words exist close to the term “religion” in the material. The initial findings of words related to “religion” enabled a more

55 For this method of collocate analysis I draw on how the technique is presented in Bergström & Boréus (2012), p. 290;
thorough analysis and close reading to be performed on specific texts that contained these connected words. The text corpus that was used for this specific process contained approximately one third of all texts produced by De Geer during the years 1996-2016. Omitted texts from the digital corpus analysis were spoken material: recordings of lectures, excerpts from TV-shows and podcasts Radio Framåt and Motgift. Written material that was not digitally searchable was also omitted from the process. This resulted in a searchable corpus of approximately 75 000 words, spanning the period 1999-2015, with a majority (73 %) of the texts produced during the period 2008-2012 (De Geer's blog).

By using the corpus analysis computer software AntConc, I studied collocations of the term “religion”, by searching for words in their immediate context. In other words, this method was used to discover which words are found close to a certain term. In this case I let the program search for five words that preceded the term “religion” in every sentence it appeared, and for five words that followed it. To include variants of the term religion, for example “religioner” (religions), “religiös” (religious) and “religiositiet” (religiousity), I used a wildcard character to substitute any ending to the proceptive characters of the word, as shown here: religi*. The search resulted in a list of 290 collocates that was found in the context of the word “religion”. After removing all grammatical words from the list, I categorized the collocates into provisional sub-categories to get an initial overview of what words were connected to the term religion. The findings were then used to manually identify key texts (within all the material, including the previously omitted digitally non-searchable texts) that related to the term religion, which was a precondition to perform the text analysis informed by critical discourse analysis.

While approaching discourse analysis, I drew on the definition proposed by Marianne W. Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, that discourse is “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)”. They argue that theory and method are intertwined in discourse analysis, and that there are certain basic premises that constitute discourse analysis: it has to include a specific view of linguistic influence on social construction, theoretical models, methodological guidelines and specific techniques for analysis. In my study, these basic ideas has worked as a presupposition for the theoretical, methodological and analytical considerations.

According to linguistics scholar Ruth Wodak, the focal point of critical discourse analysis is

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56 For this particular method I draw on the presentation of corpus linguistics in Bergström & Boréus (2012), p. 290-293.
everyday communication, which is why it can be used to analyze both spoken and written discourse.59 This made critical discourse analysis particularly useful for the analysis of this thesis, since a fair share of the examined material consists of spoken discourse. Following the methodology presented by linguistics scholar Norman Fairclough, critical discourse analysis was performed on three levels; through focus on linguistic aspects of the text, on discursive aspects of the text, and on the wider social practice to which the text belongs.60 Practically, specific choices of the author, discursive connections and the social practice of De Geer's ideological milieu were studied with a modified toolkit of critical discourse analysis. While doing this I analyzed semiotic choices in the text. In other words, I performed a basic lexical analysis of the text through a study of its vocabulary. I also attempted to draw attention to representational strategies of the text, how it presented and represented social actors and transitivity. Additionally, the use of metaphors and metonymy were of specific interest. Especially due to metaphors' ability to conceal ideology and understandings.61 Finally, several of De Geer's texts have a biographical character. This was addressed in the study through the use of some terminology generally connected to narratology and narrative analysis.62

In sum, the method used in this thesis were a combination of 1) corpus linguistic techniques to find collocates and through this identify key texts for analysis, and 2) text analysis, informed by techniques from critical discourse analysis to approach the texts, and aspects of narrative analysis to analyze biographical and narrative aspects of the texts.

62 While doing so, I drew on Mariana Souto-Manning's proposal of a hybrid methodology that she refers to as critical narrative analysis. This methodology combines critical discourse analysis with narrative analysis to enable the study of connections between the micro and macro levels – and the personal and institutional levels – in texts. Souto-Manning argues that “[t]his is an important contribution because personal narratives are constructed and situated in social and institutional realms – yet by and large, they are analyzed apart from issues of power and/or institutional discourses. [Critical narrative analysis] proposes that when individuals make sense of their experiences through narratives, they bring together the micro (personal) and the macro (social or institutional) situations in place” (Souto-Manning, 2014, p. 163). Thus, aspects of the analysis, and discussion of the results, were informed by this methodology.
2.4. Background

Jonas De Geer, born in 1971, converted to Roman Catholicism when he was 21 years old. Following his conversion he spent some time in Paris, where he met Catholics who were critical of several modern changes within the Catholic Church. A few years later, De Geer wrote that these were “[…] Catholics, who in defiance of the Pope, had clung to the traditional mass and spirituality”. De Geer began to take an interest in the history of ideas, and started to study the discipline at Stockholm University after he had returned home from Paris. During his studies he lived at his parental home in the upscale Stockholm suburb of Bromma, where he started to question ideas in the public discourse that he argued was considered “non-disputable”. On this period, De Geer later stated that:

Before then, I had for several years, and a lot of agony, moved further out toward the Toucquevillan chalk line. I knew, saw, felt that modern culture was sick – but could not formulate why, partly because I did not dare to accept the consequences of what I understood deep down inside. To distance yourself from the dogmas of modern society, to begin to think critically about what are not allowed to be questioned, that often is a long and painful process. The power of taboos over the minds of men is strong. Especially in our time.

It was during this process toward the “Toucquevillan chalk line” that De Geer found historian Tage Lindbom's writings. De Geer viewed Lindbom as a “preacher of Word and Truth” and decided to write an essay on Lindbom's works. In the early summer of 1994, De Geer and Lindbom met for the first time. This meeting resulted in the founding of a small group of students, including De Geer, who came together for recurring “Tage-sessions”, where they could listen to Lindbom's teachings. The biography of Jonas De Geer is based on data primarily collected within his own published works. If an assertion in this biographical section stems from another source, this is clearly marked in the text or the footnotes.

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63 The biography of Jonas De Geer is based on data primarily collected within his own published works. If an assertion in this biographical section stems from another source, this is clearly marked in the text or the footnotes.
64 De Geer (1999a), pp. 29-30.
67 Alexis de Tocqueville (b. 1805) was a liberal thinker who was skeptical of democracy, and critical of much of the development after the French revolution (Bobbio, 1993, pp. 49-53).
68 De Geer writes that the gathering around Lindbom, who Gardell (2010, p. 200f) describes as “the nestor of Swedish radical conservatism”, involved writer and social scientist Johan Tralau, Jan Olof Bengtsson and Carl-Johan Ljungberg amongst others. The group also included Muslim conservative thinker and poet Mohamed Omar. Omar met with De Geer in the late 90s, and was introduced to “conservative and traditionalist thinkers” like Lindbom by him (Björkqvist 2010; Omar 2010, p. 99; 185 ff).
It also marked the start for what De Geer later spoke of as a friendship between him and Lindbom, and of a process where De Geer ended up calling Lindbom his “master”. The encounter with Lindbom was later described by De Geer as an important turning point. In his own story, De Geer's encounter with Lindbom is represented as something close to a narrative of conversion.

Following the encounter with Lindbom, De Geer got his first texts published. During the years 1996-1999, De Geer wrote occasionally for different newspapers, magazines and book projects. In 1999 he founded the journal *Salt*, together with P-O Bolander. De Geer was appointed editor-in-chief, and contributors were gathered from other conservative periodicals and from De Geer's acquaintances from the “Tage-sessions”. The journal got some media attention when it started, and was initially criticized for being an intellectual defense of right-wing extremism. The critique peaked when a major controversy evolved around the third issue, titled “The Holocaust is Within You”. In this issue, the editors presented Swedish media and political establishment as part of a “cult”, obsessed with the Holocaust. In a following issue of *Salt*, the journal published an interview – conducted by De Geer – with British writer and Holocaust denier David Irving. This made resellers, sponsors and contributors, abandon and abort deals with the journal. *Salt* was discontinued by the tenth issue, after the publishing rate had been drastically reduced.

De Geer would later describe *Salt*, with its “well-written, regime-critical journalism”, as a project ahead of its time. For himself, the *Salt* controversies meant that he had been “marked” by the “media establishment”. But it also meant that De Geer could orientate beyond “the political editorials of [Svenska Dagbladet]”, and thus what he considered the “establishment”. What began during the *Salt* period as tentative antipathy to “Jewish influence” and skepticism to the alleged consensus on the history of the Holocaust, evolved for De Geer into an overt antisemitism during the early 2000s. In 2004, De Geer wrote a foreword to *Den judiska rasismen* (*Jewish Racism*), a Swedish edition and abridged version of American white nationalist David Duke's autobiographical work *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening to the Jewish Question*. Historian of religion Mattias Gardell argues that David Duke, as “Imperial Wizard” of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, had pushed for a “benign and polished image” of the Klan during his active period in the 1970s. Duke

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69 De Geer (1999a), pp. 31-34.
70 This connects to narratives of Christian revivalism. For a study of Swedish revivalist narration, see Thörn (2014), pp. 216-227.
73 De Geer (2010f).
74 De Geer (2010f).
left the Klan in 1980 due to disagreements concerning which methods where most effective for attracting more people to the “cause”. Duke has since then been active in various political projects, and been a leading promoter of White Supremacist and antisemitic ideas.\textsuperscript{76} In the foreword to the Swedish edition of Duke's book, De Geer expressed mild skepticism to Duke's “socio biological views [and his] opinions on race”, but argued that the reader still should “embrace the facts” presented in Duke's work.\textsuperscript{77}

In the early 2000s, De Geer began identifying as nationell (literally meaning “national”, referring to an ideological position synonymous to “nationalist” and often used as a self-identifying term by Swedish radical nationalists).\textsuperscript{78} In December 2000, De Geer participated in the first manifestation in remembrance of Daniel Wretström, a young skinhead and member of the White Power music group \textit{Vit Legion} (White Legion), who had died after an assault in the Stockholm suburb of Salem.\textsuperscript{79} The yearly political rallies, called \textit{Salemmarschen}, was organized by individuals linked to race-oriented fanzine \textit{Info-14}, and attracted thousands of radical nationalists from various parts of northern Europe.\textsuperscript{80} De Geer appeared as a speaker at the rallies on several occasions.\textsuperscript{81}

In 2001, De Geer approached the new party \textit{Nationaldemokraterna} (The National Democrats), and later became a member.\textsuperscript{82} Nationaldemokraterna was founded the same year by a group of prominent members of Sverigedemokraterna who had been excommunicated. The new party attracted several local groups from Sverigedemokraterna, but also people from the race-oriented nationalist scene, including individuals from the group around Info-14.\textsuperscript{83} De Geer became an important figure in Nationaldemokraterna, and functioned as the party press officer during a short period.\textsuperscript{84} During this time, he also worked as a writer for the publishing house Nordiska förlaget and its various publications.\textsuperscript{85}

According to himself, De Geer left his assignment as press officer in the mid-2000s, after receiving a series of threats aimed at himself and his family, and moved with his wife and two children to

\textsuperscript{76} Gardell (2003), p. 50.
\textsuperscript{77} De Geer (2004), p. 12
\textsuperscript{78} Folkhemmet (2001).
\textsuperscript{79} Lööw (2015), p. 80; Motgift (2016b).
\textsuperscript{80} Lööw (2015), p. 80 ff.
\textsuperscript{81} De Geer (2009a).
\textsuperscript{82} Folkhemmet (2001).
\textsuperscript{83} Lundström & Lundström (2016), p. 46 f.
\textsuperscript{84} Nationaldemokraterna (2005).
\textsuperscript{85} Nordiska förlaget was an organization connected through several key individuals to Nationaldemokraterna. De Geer wrote forewords for some books and worked as a columnist in their journal \textit{Folkets nyheter}. (Wåg 2010, p. 105 f).
Orkney Islands in Scotland.\textsuperscript{86} According to journalist Mathias Wåg, this was also a turbulent time for Nationaldemokraterna. The conflicts led Nordiska förlaget to cut its ties to the party and to found a new organization called Nordiska förbundet (The Nordic Association).\textsuperscript{87} In turn, Nordiska förbundet organized a series of events and started several new projects. Two of these were the annual conference Nordiska festivalen (The Nordic Festival) and the blog portal Motpol.\textsuperscript{88} De Geer had an active part in both projects – as a speaker at Nordiska festivalen and as a blogger at Motpol for four years.\textsuperscript{89}

In the early 2010s, De Geer joined Svenskarnas Parti and became an active voice within the party.\textsuperscript{90} Svenskarnas Parti was originally founded in 1994 as Nationalsocialistisk front (National Socialist Front), but changed its name and form of organization in the late 2000s.\textsuperscript{91} Together with Magnus Söderman and Dan Eriksson among others, De Geer was one of the most high-profiled writers in Svenskarnas Parti's member bulletin Framåt. The trio started the podcast Radio Framåt in 2012, which eventually changed name to Motgift in 2014 and became a larger media project and thinktank, including a magazine, videos, blogs and editorials. The Motgift thinktank partially succeeded the terminated member bulletin of Svenskarnas Parti. De Geer was at the time of writing (May 2016) still an active member and content producer at Motgift. Since the mid-2010s, De Geer has also been running a small publishing house called Reconquista Press, a project that he has described as a “Scotland based traditional catholic publishing house working to re-establish the Social reign of Christ the King”.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{87} Wåg (2010), p. 107.
\textsuperscript{88} Wåg (2010), p. 110 ff.
\textsuperscript{89} De Geer (2009a). The blog's title was De Geer's initials JDG.
\textsuperscript{90} De Geer (2011).
\textsuperscript{91} Lundström & Lundström (2016), p. 43.
\textsuperscript{92} Reconquista Press (2016).
3. ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the research questions of this thesis will be discussed through an analysis of the collected published writings of Jonas De Geer. The first section will discuss De Geer's understanding of religion, and the second how De Geer construes antagonists through his understanding of religion. Subsequently, the third section concerns De Geer's view of nationalism and how this connects to his understanding of religion, while the final section of this chapter will touch upon diachronic perspectives of the views found in De Geer's texts.

3.1. De Geer and religion

How is religion negotiated in texts produced by De Geer? This question is key to understand De Geer's own symbolic universe, but also to guide us into how religion may be understood within the broader context of radical nationalism. Thus, it constitutes a relevant starting point for the analysis section of this thesis.

3.1.1 Identifying religion

As discussed in the method section above, I utilized a digital corpus analysis to find collocates to the word “religion” within texts produced by De Geer. After performing this digital corpus analysis, I identified five categories of words connected to “religion” within the text corpus. The first of these categories is Judaism. The words found within this category are "Jew/s", "Jewish", "Judaism", "semitic" and "Zionism". No words concerning ceremonialism, faith or spirituality are situated in the context of this category. The words in the immediate context of the collocates of the category "Jews" instead circle around more political concepts like "Israel", "control", "the Holocaust", "power", "ethnocentrism", "wealth" and "anti-semite". This would indicate that "Judaism" as religion for De Geer is understood in primarily an immanent, rather than transcendent way.

The second category of collocates concern Christianity. This category contains the words "Christian/s", "Christianity", "Catholic", "crucifix", "priest" and "bishop". Since there is a connection between "Christianity" and objects like crucifixes, priests and bishops, it can be said that the collocates relating to "Christians" have a broader range of meaning in comparison to the collocates relating to "Jews". This is underlined when looking at the immediate context of the

93 De Geer's texts are written in both Swedish and English, but in this section I will translate all words to English. In Figure 1, the original language is shown.
94 Search terms: jew*, jud*, judi*. The examples are listed if there are two or more hits.
collocates, where words like "faith", "identity", "values", "orthodox", "Church", "conversion", "Jesus", "Europe" and "nationalism" appear. Thus, the category of "Christianity" relates both to ceremonialism (crucifix, priests), ideas (values, conversion, faith, identity, Jesus) and political concepts (Europe, nationalism).

The third category of collocates consists of emotion and action. "Fervor", "deception", "opposition", "conviction", "faith", "heresy", "conversion" and "love" are collocates found within this category. This indicates that De Geer considers religion as connected to both certain emotions (fervor, faith, love, conviction) and certain actions (deception, opposition, heresy, conversion). Following this, the nexus of collocates that constitutes the fourth category is centered around terms that in their contexts are associated to values and valuation, for example: "human dignity", "tradition", "traditional", "moral", "historic", "cultural", "tolerance", "family", "people", "identity", and "nationality". Finally, the words "modernity", "God" and "secular" also appears as collocates to religion, and could be categorized as conceptions.

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Figure 1

Thus, five categories of words – Judaism, Christianity, emotion and action, values and valuation, and conceptions – can be distinguished as collocates to the word "religion" in the text corpus. This is illustrated in Figure 1, where frequency of appearance is listed to the left of the categorized collocates. Through these collocation categories I could identify key texts in De Geer's collected works. In the following section, I will analyze these identified key texts.

Search term: kris*8. The examples are listed if there are two or more hits.

Worth to notice is that "Islam", and words related to it, did not appear in the digital search. However, as I will discuss in the analysis, this theme was manually found in some texts that were omitted from the digital corpus analysis.
3.1.2 The negotiation of religion

In a public debate with American writer and white nationalism promoter Greg Johnson, recorded in Stockholm April 2015, De Geer made the following initial statement about his approach to Christianity:

I shall for the purpose of this discussion focus on the sociological benefits of Christianity to our societies in general and the nationalist resistance in particular. This is not be understood as though I have a functionalist approach to the Faith or would reduce it to some sort of psycho-political tool.\textsuperscript{97}

In this brief statement, De Geer mentions two approaches toward Christianity which he endorses, a “sociological” approach and a “non-functionalist” approach. As outlined in the previous section, Christianity is closely connected to religion in De Geer's symbolic universe. Consequently, the approaches that De Geer introduces in the quote above can be applied to religion in general.

The second, “non-functionalist” approach is not explicitly explained in the quote above. De Geer implies that it is more to Christianity than being a mere “sociological” phenomenon. Christianity (“the Faith”) is for De Geer distinguished from a functionalist worldview. Arguably, in contradiction to this statement, De Geer recurrently presents both substantivist and functionalist ideas in several texts. In an editorial to the journal \textit{Salt}, co-authored with P-O Bolander almost fifteen years prior to the previous quote, De Geer implicitly discusses the meaning of religion in a manner that draws on both a substantivist and a functionalist approach. In this text De Geer discusses a conference on the Holocaust, held in January 2000:

This giant conference is best understood as a kind of Church council for what in practice has now become the post-war West's new state religion. Like Christianity, the Holocaust cult is a doctrine which proclaims that salvation is possible only for those who confess guilt and are willing to make amends. Within the Holocaust cult it is not Jesus Christ who saves the world by his sacrificial death on the cross. Instead, it's the Jewry, tormented throughout history, who faced its Calvary in the Nazi concentration camps, and by its incomparably great suffering redeems humanity into a new world order in which democracy and respect for human dignity must prevail.\textsuperscript{98}

The conference on the Holocaust was, according to De Geer, a sign that a “Holocaust cult” had

\textsuperscript{97} De Geer (2015a).
become the “West's new state religion”. There are several concepts that are framed as key elements of religion in the quote above, thus revealing both a functionalist and a substantivist stance. The functionalist understanding of religion is revealed through the understanding of religion as an overarching structure of meaning, which can be applied to different worldviews and ideologies. In this particular case it is attributed to the “Holocaust cult”. Furthermore, De Geer implies that resemblance to Christianity is a main point in understanding something as a religion, when he states that: “Like Christianity, the Holocaust cult is a doctrine [...]”. In other words, this likeness to Christianity is crucial in De Geer's identification of religion. Resemblance to Christianity as a criteria for religion could be understood as a substantivist understanding. This substantivist understanding of religion is emphasized throughout the text, when De Geer points toward resemblance between Christianity and the “Holocaust cult”. For example in describing the Death Camps as “pilgrimage sites”, a “personal and strong emotional experience of insight” of the history of the Holocaust as a “conversion”, the Swedish state-sponsored Holocaust information project Levande historia as a “young church”, and critique of the “Holocaust cult [...] stigmatized as blasphemous”. In the final sentence of the text, De Geer urges the reader to “refuse sacrifice to the State's new gods”, thus also framing gods and sacrifice as part of the religious discourse.

In another text, written almost a decade later and published on his blog, De Geer returns to the discussion about Christianity as a religion, but also to Christianity's relation to Judaism. In this particular text, De Geer discusses the movie The Passion of the Christ (directed by Mel Gibson, 2004) and the public criticism that followed its release:

What then does Mel Gibson want with his film? It is pretty obvious. According to Christian belief, Jesus had two natures: he was God and man. He was tormented and let himself be crucified for our sake, an unimaginable sacrifice. His love for us was boundless, was divine, but his suffering and death was exceedingly human. [...] [Mel Gibson] is a traditional Catholic, that is, he does not accept the radical and destructive reforms implemented within the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). Thus he embraces an unspoiled Christianity.

100 Bolander & De Geer (2000).
102 Bolander & De Geer (2000).
103 Bolander & De Geer (2000).
De Geer states that “according to the Christian faith, Jesus had two natures”, thus arguing that a key belief within Christianity is that of Jesus Christ being both God and man. In the second part of the passage, De Geer argues that Mel Gibson is a “traditional catholic” that does not accept changes made within the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council, and that this position represents an “unspoiled Christianity”. This “traditional” Catholicism is, in other texts by De Geer, connected to sedevacantism and the organization SSPX.

Another aspect of the quote above is the focus on the love of Christ. This love is described as an “inconceivable sacrifice”, as infinite and divine. Love is framed as a center of the faith for De Geer, and this idea is elaborated on in other parts of the text on The Passion of the Christ:

Our fathers' faith for centuries, the Catholic faith, the foundation of Western civilization, is not “anti-Semitic” in any reasonable sense. Christianity remains the religion of love, not hatred. However, it is incompatible with Judaism, and has been so from the beginning. [...] I myself am a traditional Catholic, since more than ten years. I am so due to both faith and reason. And I have, for that matter, experienced the hatred which this evokes in some places.

Christianity is understood as “the religion” of “love”. In this passage, both Christianity and Judaism are framed as “religions” by De Geer, but in opposition to each other, and “incompatible”. Love is thus an important concept in De Geer's understanding of Christianity, and it is understood as a unique feature in relation to other religions. There are however strict categories for what could be considered “Christian” according to De Geer. In a text in the magazine Nonkonform in 2005, De Geer argues that the “political correct rubbish” found in the magazine Amos, published by the Swedish Lutheran Church, indicates that “political correctness” could not be considered as part of Christianity:

My point is that the magazine [Amos] is not Christian. This is logical, since the Swedish Church of today no longer is Christian, even though there certainly exist pious, sincere Christians within the Swedish Church. The best you could say about it is that it is democratic. [...] Just the same kind of disintegration
and distortion of the faith also characterizes the modern Catholic Church, though it may not yet have gone as far.\textsuperscript{109}

The quote illustrates how De Geer disqualifies certain aspects of Christianity. De Geer identifies himself as a “traditional Catholic”.\textsuperscript{110} He motivates this identification by claiming both “faith and reason” as part of his religious affiliation. However, discussions about what De Geer calls “faith”, and other times “spirituality”, are generally, and notably, absent in the texts. One of the exceptions is a short blog entry titled “Palm Sunday”, written in 2010 where De Geer discusses the holy and the sacred:

Holy / sacred time is, as Mircea Eliade writes, ontological time par excellence; a Divine dimension's breakthrough into the ephemeral. [...] One of the most important aspects of the multifaceted symbolism of the Cross, is the union between the vertical and the horizontal, between Heaven and Earth. Death and Eternal Life.\textsuperscript{111}

The reference to historian of religion Mircea Eliade's concept of “sacred time” is worth noticing. In the passage above, De Geer's fixation is on the Christian Easter celebration and the start of the Holy Week. While referring to Eliade's idea of time, De Geer implies that Easter is an example of circular time where the eternal mythical present is repeatedly reintegrated. In a section where Eliade elaborates on the concept of sacred time, the following is stated:

Hence religious man lives in two kinds of time, of which the more important, sacred time, appears under the paradoxical aspect of a circular time, reversible and recoverable, a sort of eternal mythical present that is periodically reintegrated by means of rites. This attitude in regard to time suffices to distinguish religious from nonreligious man; the former refuses to live solely in what, in modern terms, is called the historical present; he attempts to regain a sacred time that, from one point of view, can be homologized to eternity.\textsuperscript{112} [Emphasis mine]

A focus of Eliade's concept of sacred time is distinguishing religious man from nonreligious man. It can be argued that this distinction is shared by De Geer, as illustrated by his dichotomies in the quote above: the “Divine dimension” versus the “ephemeral”, the vertical versus the horizontal,


\textsuperscript{110} De Geer (2010c).

\textsuperscript{111} De Geer (2010b). Translated from Swedish. In original language: “Helig/sakral tid är som Mircea Eliade skriver ontologisk tid par excellence; en Gudomlig dimensionens genombrytning i det förgängliga. […] En av de viktigaste aspekterna av Korsets mångfacetterade symbolik är föreningen mellan det vertikala och det horisontella, mellan Himmel och jord. Död och evigt liv.”

\textsuperscript{112} Eliade (1963), p. 70.
Heaven versus Earth, Death versus Eternal Life. Other aspects of Eliade's phenomenology of religion seems to also have informed De Geer, especially the idea of encountering the sacred as the essence of religion. Or as De Geer puts it in the quote above: “a Divine dimension's breakthrough into the ephemeral”. Stefan Arvidsson argues that Eliade included antisemitic ideas into his understanding of religion. Arvidsson writes: “For Eliade, the historiography of the Bible, and the fact that the Jews carry out their rituals and holy days in memory of (supposedly) historical events, appeared as a 'fall' from the true ('archaic' or 'primitive') world where 'eternal' ideas, unbound by time, were the basis for religious action”.

Furthermore, according to religious studies scholar Horst Junginger, Eliade had an official affiliation with the violently antisemitic and fascist organization the Iron Guard in Romania, and was therefore partly responsible for the political success of the organization. Junginger argues that radical right wing groups in Romania and other parts of Europe from the early 1990s and onward began pointing affirmatively toward Eliade's background as involved with the radical nationalist milieu during WWII. According to Ted Anton, referred to by Junginger, the “extreme right wing Movement for Romania […] made reading of Eliade's work obligatory for joining”. De Geer's seems to share this positive view of Eliade, and he also recurrently discusses his interest in the Iron Guard. The Iron Guard, De Geer argues, was:

[…] a movement with almost a million activists for whom prayer [was] part of the discipline, whose members fast[ed] (from food, drinks and tobacco) twice a week, with an elite team of ten thousand celibate.

The combination of nationalist discipline and Christian devotion in the Iron Guard seems to fascinate De Geer in the quote above. The quote about the Iron Guard also reveals that De Geer understands prayer, fasting and celibacy as key Christian practices. Consequently, both truth claims (e.g. about Jesus, as discussed above) and certain practices (as illustrated in the quote on the Iron Guard) are seen as part of Christianity. However besides the emphasis on religion as something that consists of practice and truth claims, De Geer also relates to religions as “sociological”.

Even though he claims this not to be a “functionalist approach to the Faith”, he argues that nationalists should acknowledge the role of Christianity:

So it makes very much sense to tap in to the religious Tradition of the West, a Tradition that, in spite of
what has happened to the established churches during the past fifty years, is still unbroken and alive. Also for those who do not have a personal belief in God, it would certainly be wise and wholesome to, if not embrace the Faith, at least acknowledge the fundamental, vital role that Christianity has played in our history, in moulding our mentality and our values throughout the centuries, to rediscover that Traditional, Christian European culture from which, by now, several generations have been alienated. [Emphasis mine; sic]

The quote indicates that De Geer understands religion (Christianity in this particular case) almost instrumentally, in other words: religion is something to be used in work for the “cause”. Christianity moulds our mentality and values into a right state of mind. However, as an opposite force, De Geer argues that the multicultural society always attacks the ones who hold on to this rightful thinking. In his foreword to the book Dialog om Invandringen (written by Jan Milld), De Geer frames the enemies (in this case, the mass media) of multiculturalism as religious interrogators: “The mass media shares the Inquisition's task, to track down, and as a warning to others, scandalize all who do not show proper enthusiasm for the 'multicultural' transformation”.

In a text published on the National Day of Sweden in 2003, De Geer argues that Sweden at present is in a situation of moral, social, religious and ethnic disintegration. This collapse is framed by De Geer, within a wider aspect of European decay:

[T]he last some 200 years of history [has] largely [...] been concerned with just that: the destruction of (Western) religion and nationality. A process that has accelerated in the last 50 years and now is about to reach its conclusion: the last remnants of Christian consciousness is already extinct in the majority of the people's minds, now the last remnants of national, ethnic identity are to be wiped out.

Three ideas are of specific importance in this quote. First, the idea of a Western religion, and second, the idea of a Christian consciousness and third, the idea of national and ethnic identity. This particular arrangement, can be understood as an ideological hierarchy where ethnic identity is at the core, while Christian consciousness surrounds it, and Western religion is found at the periphery of the nexus. Following the idea of an ideological hierarchy, De Geer argues in this text for drastic measures to save the Swedish people from total perdition:

118 De Geer (2015a). The original text is written in English.
120 De Geer (2009a), p. 76.
We can no longer stop the multi-ethnic deluge surging over Sweden and the white world. But we as nationally conscious Swedes can, with dedication and intelligence, build an ark with which we can save our people. Let us build it!\(^{122}\)

Thus, De Geer understands ethnic identity as the last rubble that can be saved from the perceived multi-ethnic deluge. De Geer elaborates on this in a comment on this text written five years later, in 2008. In this comment he explains that what he meant by the ark reference, was to promote the development of “new survival strategies” for the “peoples of the West”.\(^{123}\) The statement of the first text's headline (“Let us build an ark!”) alluded, De Geer explains, to the story of Noah's Ark. What can be saved from the deluge is the “Swedishness”. He argues that this “Swedishness” has survived through the ages. De Geer writes that Sweden has been “heathen, Catholic, Lutheran, a country of poverty, a country of major power, a scientific and industrial nation”, and that inspite the shifts of the different epochs, “Swedishness” has prevailed.\(^{124}\) This seems to confirm that religious affiliation is for De Geer of secondary importance to ethnic identity. However, the figurative language used in these two texts (“Let us build an ark!” and the comment on that text) contains explicit Bible references. The comment on the first text also has an implicit but apparent reference to Christian eschatological imagery, when De Geer asks the rhetorical question “Maybe Aslan is coming?”.\(^{125}\) It can be said that through the use of C.S. Lewis well-known Christ-figure Aslan, De Geer implies that the end of days are approaching. “The ark must be finished in time” is the dramatical ending of the comment concerning the ark-metaphor, which consolidates the alluding to the end of time. Worth to mention here is that De Geer republishes the text one more time, in 2014.\(^{126}\) The act of republishing indicates that this particular text holds a significant role in De Geer's symbolic universe.

In sum, religion is construed in two different ways in the material. First, De Geer presents a substantivist approach to religion. Here, religion is understood as consisting of certain key elements of core convictions that connect to transcendence. Second, De Geer argues for a view that he calls “sociological”. This view could be understood as instrumental or functionalist, and refers to the specific role that religion plays in the drama portrayed by De Geer. However, it is mainly Christianity that is construed in a substantivist sense, while Judaism is primarily presented in a functionalist way. This lays the foundation to De Geer's view of antagonists, which will be


\(^{123}\) De Geer (2008c).

\(^{124}\) De Geer (2009a), p. 76.

\(^{125}\) De Geer (2008c).

\(^{126}\) De Geer (2014b).
discussed in the following section.

3.2. De Geer and antagonists

As I have showed in the previous section, religion is primarily construed in two different ways in the texts written by De Geer. However, the attitude toward religion shifts and contradicts in the corpus, but also in specific texts. Religion is often discussed affirmatively by De Geer, but in other parts of the texts, religion is understood in a rather negative way. Religion can be seen as the source of conflict, and specific forms of religion are sometimes considered the antagonist by De Geer. In this section, I will discuss antagonists and conflicts relating to religion in texts produced by De Geer.

3.2.1 Judaism as antagonist

The primary antagonist framed by religious terminology in De Geer's texts is interchangeably described as Judaism, Jews, Zionism, and Zionists:

Judaism as religion and its secular offspring, Zionism, [...] rests entirely on a religiously codified fixation on race, passed down through the centuries. Because Jewry is not a peripheral and insignificant ethnic/religious minority, it is not insignificant to understand this in order to understand our history and the present times.\(^{127}\)

As illustrated in this quote, De Geer argues that Judaism has a focus on race. This idea is repeated with the use of the term “ethnocentrism” as another way to describe this focus.\(^{128}\) The term “ethnocentrism” indicates in De Geer's symbolic universe that Jews has inherited an idea of being better and above all other “people”. This “ethnocentrism” takes its shape through Jewish hostility and hate of “non-Jews”,\(^{129}\) but also through the “domination” of “TV, the press, Hollywood and the financial world”.\(^{130}\)

In the quote above, De Geer makes a distinction between secular and religious Judaism; where Zionism is described as its secular version. However, “ethnocentrism” is considered to be central to both versions of Judaism by De Geer, but the secular version is rooted in a “religiously coded” focus on the racial issue. De Geer returns to this idea repeatedly, as in the following quote:


\(^{128}\) De Geer (2004), p. 11; De Geer (2008a); De Geer (2008b); De Geer (2009d); De Geer (2010g).


\(^{130}\) De Geer (2010h).
Jewish ethnocentrism, racism and xenophobia is actually an integral part of traditional Judaism, codified in its sacred records, the Torah and Talmud.¹³¹

Thus, De Geer argues that roots of this Jewish “ethnocentrism” are found in the holy texts of Torah and Talmud. De Geer elaborates on this in the same text where he discusses Mel Gibson's alleged antisemitism, while arguing that Judaism is hostile toward Christianity:

In the Jew's collection of sacred texts, Talmud, it is for example written that the Blessed Virgin was a whore and Christ an imposter who is punished for his heresies by being boiled in sperm.¹³²

Judaism is presented as an antagonist of Christianity through a reference to Talmud and its alleged treatment of Christ. This idea of Judaism as a main antagonist of Christianity is also a recurring theme in De Geer's texts. One example of the construction of conflict between Christianity and Judaism is the text where De Geer argues that Christianity is the religion of love.¹³³ This statement is then followed by the quote above about Jesus being “boiled in sperm”.

Jewish “ethnocentrism” is key to understand Jewish “power and influence”, according to De Geer.¹³⁴ This power and influence is presented in several different ways in the texts, revealing an overarching narrative where Jews are characterized as prone to conspiracy and cunning. The first aspect of what De Geer sees as Jewish power and influence are linguistic taboos, where the mention of some things concerning Jews and Judaism are considered to be prohibited in the public debate. He argues that the words “Jews” and “Jewish” can only be used in a positive way, when it is not controversial for, or critical of, Jews.¹³⁵ The idea of Jewish linguistic power also concerns the history of the Jewish people, especially the Holocaust and the events during, and in proximity to, WWII. In the text quoted in the previous section, De Geer argues that a “Holocaust cult” has been created to promote certain ideas in favor of Jewish influence. And since he sees this as a new religion, there are even more reasons to monitor it: “Due to the Holocaust cult's claims of having a sacrosanct status, it becomes important, though controversial, to inspect its crasser aspects. In other words: who benefits?”¹³⁶ De Geer frames this “Holocaust cult” as a movement that promotes ideas

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¹³³ De Geer (2010c).


that affects large parts of society, and that benefits Jewish interests, but also as something that works through certain “terminology”. This terminology establishes a *tankeförbud* (a prohibition to consider or express) critique against Jews and Judaism, and introduces a “(mental and pecuniary) liability” to Jews for the (according to De Geer, exaggerated idea of) historic violence toward the Jewish people.\(^{137}\)

The second aspect of how De Geer frames Jewish power is his idea of Jewish ownership and control over media and financial corporations. Internationally, there is a “complete Jewish dominance” within media, according to De Geer, and he continues to state that a “very large part” of Swedish media is owned by Jews.\(^{138}\) Connected to the idea of linguistic power, De Geer argues that this dominance over Western mass media implies that Jews have “power over people's minds”.\(^{139}\)

The “financial influence” of Jews is also a recurring metonym of “Jewish power”.\(^{140}\) In passages mentioning “global finance”, the tone is at times aggressive, as in a text where De Geer discusses the global financial crisis in 2008:

> It is possible, even likely, that the dragon has trainers who slips in and out of hidden jib doors in the wall which surrounds the subjects of global financial capitalism. Perhaps [the tamers] names are, for example, George Soros and Alan Greenspan. [...] St George – arrive soon! The dragon must die!\(^{141}\)

As in other passages, De Geer sometimes uses symbolic language when speaking about Jewish power and the struggle against it. In the quote above there are three main symbols: the dragon, the dragon's tamers (exemplified by Soros and Greenspan) and St George. In this specific text, the dragon represents “global finance capitalism”, the tamers Soros and Greenspan represents Jews and Jewish interests, while St George represents resistance against global finance capitalism and Jewish interests. Notice the Christian imagery, with the legend of St George and the dragon, with its origin in the crusades and its popularization during the romantic era. This underscores the conflict between Christianity and Judaism, where the Christian hero (St George) saves the world from, and kills, the dragon (global finance capitalism) and its trainers (the Jews).

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\(^{137}\) Bolander & De Geer (2000).


\(^{140}\) De Geer (2008e).

Besides the idea of Jews as controllers of world finance, De Geer also argues that the Jews are in control of public argumentation and use of language, especially opinions and statements on migration. In a text where De Geer criticizes former Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt for a speech on solidarity toward refugees, he states the following:

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the speech is when Reinfeldt argues that “together we create a better world”. For whom is a world without homogeneous nations better? The embarrassingly childish choice of words says a lot about what this is about. Only in a world without nations might the chosen people rule in accordance to God's promises, only then can the Messiah come, that is. About these beliefs and the role they play in the evolvement of our societies, the distinguished French author Hervé Ryssen, for example, has written extensively and well documented in recent years, mainly with the modern Jewish sources as a starting point. [...] Mass immigration, ethnic nihilism and programmatic individualism for the white Christian nations – tradition, ethnic awareness and unity for the Jews themselves, that's the recipe.\footnote{De Geer (2014c). Translated from Swedish. In original language: “Det kanske intressantaste med talet är när Reinfeldt hävdar att 'tillsammans skapar vi en bättre värld'. För vem är en värld utan homogena nationer bättre? Den pinsamt barnsliga formuleringen säger väldigt mycket om vad det här handlar om. Först i en värld utan nationer kan det utvalda folket härska i enlighet med Guds löften, först då kan Messias komma, nämligen. Om dessa föreställningar och den roll de spelar för våra samhällens utveckling har t ex den utmärkte franske författaren Hervé Ryssen skrivit omfattande och väldokumenterat på senare år, med utgångspunkt i huvudsakligen moderna, judiska källor. [...] Massinvandring, etnisk nihilism och programmatisk individualism för vita kristna nationer - tradition, etnisk medvetenhet och sammanslutning för judarna själva, det är receptet.”}

Once again, Jewish religious views (God's promises and the return of the Messiah) are discussed as a premise for the ascendancy of the Jews and the decline of the “white Christian nations”. Jewish influence on the “ethnic nihilism” of the “white Christian nations” is framed as a very conscious struggle against Christianity. In another text De Geer argues explicitly that:

[The] the Jews, who today control the flow of information, dominates all Western countries, and impel their own agenda of foreign and security policies, traditionally nurture a considerably stronger hatred toward Christians than Muslims.\footnote{De Geer (2015b). Translated from Swedish. In original language: “[The] Judarna, som i dag kontrollerar informationsflödet, dominerar alla västländer och sätter deras utrikes- och säkerhetspolitiska agenda, när av tradition ett avsevärt starkare hat mot kristna än mot muslimer.”}

As presented above, the idea of Jewish “ethnocentrism” is, according to De Geer, not only illustrated through the search for influence and power, but also through hatred toward Christians and Muslims. Thus, De Geer views the Jews as not only antagonists due to their power and influence, but also due to their ideas of supremacy and malice toward other groups, especially Christians.
3.2.2 Islam as antagonist

Islam and Muslims are, however, also depicted as antagonists by De Geer. In a text from 2005, De Geer discusses what he considers to be the main negative aspect of Islam, namely “intolerance”:

Islam is not, and can not, be a tolerant religion. Anyone who says otherwise is either a hypocrite or does not know what he is talking about. Islam is claimed to teach submission and definitely requires submission.¹⁴⁴

One of the important ideas about Muslims in the texts by De Geer is that European Muslims will inevitable undermine and overcome the non-Muslim majority. In one text from 2008, De Geer states that the readers should expect “[…] real terror from the multi-million strong Muslim fifth column in the Western world”.¹⁴⁵ However, a fundamental concept in De Geer's symbolic universe is that this Muslim “fifth column” is not a result of Muslim influence and economic assets, but is rather controlled and operated by Jews. In a comment on the terror attacks in Paris against the magazine Charlie Hebdo in January 2015, De Geer states that “[T]he anglo-american-jewish power structure has been educating islamists during the last twelve years to wage a war against Arab nationalists regimes[…][¹⁴⁶], and in a comment on the November 2015 attacks in Paris, De Geer argues that the Charlie Hebdo-attacks was a “false flag” operation.¹⁴⁷ De Geer's ideas about the attacks in Paris echoes in a blog text from 2011, where he comments the terrorist attacks in Oslo and on Utøya:

A decade has passed, and it is now clear to every thinking person who is only even a little informed that the Bin Laden story is not true, that Building 7 did not collapse by itself, that it cannot possibly have been a Jumbo Jet that flew into the Pentagon, etc. What is frightening to see, even for someone who long ago understood that the established media were propaganda organs, is the almost total silence after the exposure that the official version, and pretext for the disastrous wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as a hoax. At the time of writing there are coming new, conflicting reports all the time about the attacks in Norway. I am not saying anything about them now, it is just too early. But most likely they cannot be understood in any other context than 9/11. There are strong reasons to be skeptical about the information we will be fed with the next few days.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Motgift (2015a).
¹⁴⁷ Motgift (2015b).
In this text, De Geer discusses the ongoing terror with his euphemisms for Jewish influence, for example “media” as “propaganda organizations”, and implies that both the 9/11-attacks and the (as of his writing) ongoing terror attacks in Norway had Jewish involvement. In a text published by Motgift in November 2015, De Geer implies that “Israel is behind ISIS”. And in a podcast from January 2016, De Geer speculates on why Jacob Rubenstein killed John F Kennedy's suspected murderer, implicating a Jewish conspiracy: “No one asks any questions on Jack Ruby, you know Jacob Rubenstein, nobody ever.” Similarly, De Geer writes in a text about the serial killer called Jack the Ripper that he also was Jewish, and that this is part of a pattern. It is this […] complex of problems, this pattern that actually makes the new findings about Jack the Ripper dynamite today. That a perverse, insane Jew murdered five women for over 126 years ago, of course does not that show Jews everywhere in a bad light, not now, not then. But however, the fact that this has been carefully obscured for so long, tells a lot about both Jewish power and mentality.

This pattern of connecting Jewish conspirators to major criminal cases and terror attacks in the West reveals an idea of both Muslims and Jews as antagonists, but with the Jews as being in control of Muslim (and criminal) action. These antagonist attacks are directed against Christianity, according to De Geer:

[T]he cross is hateable for freemasons, Jews and Muslims. […] The hatred against Christ, His Church and all Christian symbolism runs like a golden thread through Western history[…].

The year 2008, De Geer republished a text written by the pseudonym Anton Assarsson on his blog and urged his readers to read this “very urgent” text. The headline of the text is “Eurabia or the coming Dhiminate”, a text where Assarsson argues that Europe faces a threat of being conquered by the “expansionist Muslim faith”. The conquest of Islam, Assarsson declares, is not executed through military power but through an increased birth rate of the Muslim population within Europe. This conquest can be carried out since the Europeans are characterized by ignorance and decadence;
“[n]ativity is being defeated by nativity”. In Assarsson's words, this is “the demographic crisis of Europe”, and this demographic crisis is constituted by the “islamization” of Europe. “In Granada, there are now so many practicing Muslims that the Alhambra has been demanded to once again become a center of Muslim culture and spirituality”, Assarsson writes.

In line with Assarsson's argument, De Geer recaptures a narrative about the “Battle of Poitiers” and a narrative about “Vienna 1683”, in a speech at Nordiska festivalen earlier the same year. The basic plot in the first narrative is that Frankish forces, led by Charles Martell, fought back the “arabs” at Poitiers. The plot in the second narrative is that “the Turks” (framed as a “Muslim threat” by De Geer) where fought back by “German and Polish” forces outside Vienna in the year 1683, claiming for long “Christian Europe's final victory, after a thousand years of Muslim aggression”. He continues to discuss the concept called “The Gates of Vienna”:

*The gates of Vienna* has been a symbol of the triumphant defense against the Muslim danger. All those millions of Europeans that for a millennium suffered, fought, and sacrificed their blood and their lives to repel Islam's continuous attacks – how would we explain to them that Europe's deeply corrupt people in power, for a few decades in the late 20th century, voluntarily would beat the doors to Europe wide open for millions and millions of Muslims.

The broader context of islamophobic conspiracy theories is multifaceted, but De Geer clearly displays in these texts that he is inspired by this specific ideological milieu. While activating narratives of Muslim invasions (Poitiers and Vienna) and simultaneously accusing Western political leaders of being “corrupt” and bringing a new “invasion” of Muslims upon Europe, De Geer connects to what Gardell calls post-Cold War islamophobia. In this milieu, the most prominent ideas concern Muslim “demographic warfare” through increased birth rate, and Islam as a hostile invader of Europe for more than 1400 years. Furthermore, Gardell argues that the utilization of the narratives of Poitiers 732 and Vienna 1683 are found at the center of this ideological milieu.

In short, Islam and Muslims are portrayed as a threat by De Geer. They are construed as an enemy

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154 De Geer (2008h).

155 De Geer (2008h). Translated from Swedish. In original language: “I Granada finns det numera så många praktiserande muslimer att det har framförts krav att Alhambra åter skall bli centrum för muslimsk kultur och andlighet.” The word “islamization” is not used in this particular text, but is used by De Geer in other texts, for example in De Geer (2009f).


158 Gardell, 2013, p. 196-197.
within – a fifth column – biding its time, inevitably overcoming the Occident through an ongoing increase in birth rate. De Geer uses common islamophobic imagery to underline this scenario. However, the portrayed ongoing invasion of Islam is orchestrated by Jews, due to the Jewish hate of Western values. It can thus be argued that De Geer's islamophobia is dependent on, or at least strongly connected to, an overarching antisemitism. De Geer argues that Islam should be understood as submission, as illustrated through the first quote of this section. Subsequently, the global “Jewry” is what De Geer understands Islam as subordinate to.

3.2.3 Modernity as antagonist

From early on in his writings, De Geer depicts modernity or modern society as a key antagonist. In a text published in 1996, De Geer writes that contemporary man thinks he has “in a rational and scientific manner dethroned his God and taken his office in possession”.

De Geer argues that modern society has “dogmas” that need to be criticized. For De Geer, one of modernity's dogmas and central aspects is “secularism”. This term is sometimes used interchangeably with “modernity” and sometimes used alongside it, as one of modernity's most vivid expressions.

De Geer argues that modern society is sick – but could not formulate why, partly because I did not dare to accept the consequences of what I understood deep down inside. To distance yourself from the dogmas of modern society, to begin to think critically about what are not allowed to be questioned, that often is a long and painful process. The power of taboos over the minds of men is strong. Especially in our time.

De Geer argues that modern society has “dogmas” that need to be criticized. For De Geer, one of modernity's dogmas and central aspects is “secularism”. This term is sometimes used interchangeably with “modernity” and sometimes used alongside it, as one of modernity's most vivid expressions. In the secular context, De Geer argues, man has exchanged God with himself, and chosen a materialistic worldview where “[…] the sensous is everything and the supersensous is nothing”. The progress of Western society toward a secular world view is not a natural process according to De Geer, but rather an expression of an “ingenious hostility toward Christianity”.

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159 De Geer (2009a), p. 15. Translated from Swedish. In original language: “[…] på rationellt vetenskaplig väg ha detroniserad sin Gud och tagit hans verk i besittning[…]”.


161 For example in De Geer (2011e) and De Geer (2011f).

162 De Geer (2008f). This is a quote from Tage Lindbom, which is also stated in the text. Translated from Swedish. In original language: “[…] den sinnliga tillvaron är allt och den översinnliga är intet”.

163 De Geer (2010c).
expanding secularization of society. In the public debate with Greg Johnson (mentioned above), De Geer expands on this idea when arguing that there is a Jewish conspiracy that has changed the Church, and in turn all of Western society into a secularized state:

[T]he Conspiracy [of Jewish and Masonic forces] eventually triumphed in the early 1960’s, which, given the influence of Catholic Church, had disastrous cultural and social consequences for all of Western Civilization, indirectly also for those parts that were predominantly Protestant.

The triumph of the Conspiracy in the 1960's that De Geer mentions in this text, is the Second Vatican Council. De Geer states that the Church was in many ways destroyed by the decisions made at the Second Vatican Council, and this destruction was part of a long term infiltration and conspiracy against Christianity by Jewish and Masonic forces and their ideologies “modernism and liberalism”. In De Geer's view, the decisions made at the council were part of a “coup initiated by the modernists that had been condemned by previous popes”.

De Geer argues that the Second Vatican Council was the starting point for a radical shift in the Western world, changing long-time values and removing traditional ideas and boundaries. The conspiracy against the Church succeeds, since it is not just the Catholic Church, but society as a whole that is being transformed after the Second Vatican Council:

It is immediately after the Second Vatican Council that the cultural revolution, the so-called sexual revolution, divorce on a large scale, institutionalized abortion, mass-immigration, proclamations of “multicultural societies”, etc, etc, are introduced, with full force, since the last bulwark of european integrity – the Church – had just been eliminated by the powers that be. Now the floodgates were opened wide and the European population could be reduced to a mass of degenerate, brain-dead consumers.

According to De Geer, the “social and moral change” launched by the Second Vatican Council is generating a series of conditions and ideas that threatens the very existence of the “European population”. The first part of this “cultural revolution” was the “so-called sexual revolution”, De Geer argues. In a different text, De Geer argues that this “new societal view” on sexuality might lead to severe problems for white Europeans:

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164 De Geer (2010c).
165 De Geer (2015a). The original text is written in English.
166 De Geer (2015a).
168 De Geer (2015a). The original text is written in English.
169 De Geer (2015a).
Sure – the general promiscuity, encouraged by the State and the Media, is an anomaly that needs to be addressed, but besides all the moral aspects of condom culture and the so-called “Sexual liberation”, it too often leads to disastrous, sometimes fatal, consequences for enamoured, naive teenage girls who engage in relationships with Kurds, Arabs or Negroes.170

Following the argument that sexual liberation might have catastrophic impacts through relationships between white Europeans and “Kurds, Arabs or Negroes”, De Geer also argues against “divorce”, “institutionalized abortion” and “mass-immigration”. These views could be framed in a moral conservative way, but for De Geer, these conditions are of a more serious nature than merely private morality issues: they threaten the very existence of the Swedish people, Europeans and “white Christianity”.171 In a blog text from 2009, De Geer states that free access to contraceptives and abortions, in combination with a “programmatic propaganda for promiscuity”, is a “recipe for ethnic suicide”.172 “The destruction of the family has been a prerequisite for the disintegration of our nations”, De Geer argues in another text from 2011.173

This reveals that there are two recurring motifs in De Geer's texts about the “sexual revolution” and the “destruction of the family”. The first one is a suicide motif and the other one a genocide motif. The suicide motif refers to an idea where Western culture, or European ethnicity, is being driven by a desire to self-destruct. This self-destruction is initiated through the weakening of the family, an increase of the abortion rate and by allowing an influx of immigrants to Europe. In the genocide motif on the other hand, focus is that Europeans are attacked by hostile agents. The genocide is initiated – as in the suicide motif, through weakening of family values, increasing abortion rates and influx of immigrants – by agents from the outside. In a text from 2008, De Geer accuses Judaism of having a role in assisting the West in its suicide, thus transforming it into a genocide.174

Modernity is also killing spirituality and the sense of the Sacred, according to De Geer. Thus he frames modernity as a primary antagonist to (the Christian) religion, spirituality and reverence of religious traditions. In a text from 2010, De Geer argues that modernity has made contemporary man spiritually withered:

172 De Geer (2009e).
Many of us spiritually atrophied modern people still have some sort of rudimentary sense of the Sacred. At least with regards to the room. Most people understand that you cannot behave as you please in Church, a temple, out of respect for the believers, if nothing else.  

In another text from 2009, De Geer writes about his generation in a similar way, when he describes them as “[…] modernity's spiritually and culturally mutilated great-grandchildren”. It can thus be argued that De Geer understands modernity as part of the destruction of religion. Though being part of a “Jewish” agenda, modernity cannot be totally disconnected to religion itself, since “Judaism” is understood as a religious phenomenon to De Geer. For De Geer, modernity is thus destroying religion, but primarily the true religion and the ethnicities of the Western world.

3.3. De Geer and nationalism

In the previous two sections of the analysis chapter, I have discussed De Geer's view of religion and antagonists in relation to religion. In the following section, I will continue to discuss the view of religion within the material, but with ideas surrounding nationalism as the focal point. The line between what is seen as religion or Faith by De Geer, and what is seen as part of nationality or ethnicity, is at times remarkably vague. An illustration of this vagueness is when De Geer discusses the Romanian Iron Guard:

And the posterity does not cease to be impressed and inspired by this movement, who would have been inconceivable without his saintlike leader, forward-looking, innovative, but with solid roots in the mystical folkgemenskapen (also with departed and future kinsmen), the fatherland and the Christian faith of the fathers. [Emphasis mine]

Historian Heléne Lööw describes the Romanian Iron Guard as “an ultra-nationalistic, anti-semitic organization, influenced by mysticism and Romanian Orthodox religiosity”. The unification of the nation (“the mystical folkgemenskapen”, meaning the community of the People of the Nation) and religion (“the Christian faith of the fathers”) within the Romanian Iron Guard seems to be the motive for De Geer's interest in the organization. De Geer even describes the leader of the organization as “saintlike” in the quote above, and he returns to this person, Romanian Iron Guard


leader Corneliu Zelea Codreanu (sometimes referred to as the “Captain”), several times in his writings. De Geer presents Codreanu as an “exceptional” “hero” and “martyr” of the 20th century, who “in the name of God and the nation raised the flag of revolt against Romania's deeply corrupt establishment, and against communism that threatened to take over the country”. To De Geer, both Codreanu and the Iron Guard had a “Christian core”, something that De Geer seems to consider as a vital part of a healthy nationalism. In a speech at the conference Identitär Idé in 2011, De Geer expands upon these ideas:

All healthy societies depend on respect for God, family and fatherland, on loyalty to one's own family and its extension: the people. Since the 1960s, an anti-culture has been introduced to the Western world – an area that not long ago was called The Christianity – where inverse values prevail. Rejection of Christianity, of the family, contempt for traditional values and the denial of your own ethnicity are the anti-values that are nurtured and rewarded in this post-humane society.

In De Geer's texts, the concepts God, family and fatherland, constitute a web of meaning – or what Laclau & Mouffe has called a chain of equivalence. As stated in the quote above, De Geer makes no difference between “the Western world” and what was recently called Christianity; the two are different names for the same essence. This is underlined in the following quote, written by De Geer in 2010:

As we know, the victors write history. Because of this, few know the story of the heroes and martyrs who since the French Revolution have resisted the destruction of Christianity and Europe, and Europe is the Faith, and Faith is Europe, as Belloc wrote.

De Geer mentions “Christianity” and “Europe” as interchangeable in this passage, and ends it by quoting French-British author Hilaire Belloc (b. 1870). The use of the Belloc-quote that merges the concepts of Faith and of Europe clarifies that De Geer's view of the line between Christian faith and faith in the “cause” is remarkably vague, or at times even non-existing. This could be understood as a part of the school of thought called integral nationalism, a term – coined by French nationalist

180 De Geer (2011g).
182 Laclau & Mouffe (2001), pp. 127-134.
183 De Geer (2010a). Translated from Swedish. In original language: “Segrarna skriver, som bekant, historien. Få känner därför till historien om de hjältar och martyrer som sedan franska revolutionen gjort motstånd mot förstörelsen av kristenheten och Europa, och Europe is the Faith, the Faith is Europe, som Belloc skrev.”
author Charles Maurras – that refers to an idea where the nation is considered the highest principle, under which all other principles are subordinate.\textsuperscript{184} De Geer quotes Maurras several times,\textsuperscript{185} and returns to the organization Maurras led, \textit{L’Action Française}, at a couple of occasions,\textsuperscript{186} thus revealing that the ideas of Maurras are not unfamiliar to him.

However, in other texts, De Geer uses the epithet “nationalist” to describe himself in a more hesitant way.\textsuperscript{187} “God has divided humanity into nations and tribes”,\textsuperscript{188} he notes in an article from 2005, thus implicitly arguing that nationalism is subordinated to God. In an attempt to define and explain the concept of nationalism, De Geer argues that nationalism is not always sound:

> Is nationalism something sound? Not always, not necessarily. The fact is that nationalism as an ideological phenomenon is both a sign of health and a symptom of disease. The ethnic identity is normally so fundamental that it should not have to be formulated. [...] My nationalist belief is basically purely reactive; a defense against the systematic denial of our ethnicity and resistance to the destruction of Christian European culture. [...] The impulse for ethnic self-preservation is fundamental, but not Alpha and Omega.\textsuperscript{189}

Nationalism is thus understood as a natural state for De Geer, a fundamental “ethnic identity” that usually does not need to be promoted as an ideology. For De Geer, nationalism as an “ideological phenomenon” is a sign of reaction to attacks against, and “denial” of, European ethnicity and culture. Later in the same text, De Geer argues that too much focus on ethnic identity is hazardous, and he warns the reader of falling into the trap of “extreme ethnocentrism”, which “Hitler and German national socialism did”.\textsuperscript{190}

Another example of De Geer's hesitant attitude toward nationalism is found in the speech at Nordiska festivalen 2008. In this speech, he argues that the “identitarian approach” is better than the nationalism of the 1930s and latter-day “stillborn democratic” nationalism, represented by Sverigedemokraterna.\textsuperscript{191} A primary influence on the identitarian nationalist complex of ideas is the...
(Guénonian) Traditionalism school and the perennial philosophy. One of its principal thinkers, Julius Evola, is quoted by De Geer, and by others often referred to as a significant influence to the French New Right, Third Way fascism and the identitarian movement. Historian Mark Sedgwick argues that the Traditionalist movement's main idea is that the “[…] modern West is in a crisis as a result of [a] loss of transmission of tradition”. According to Sedgwick, some of the most influential Traditionalist practitioners, among them Julius Evola and Mircea Eliade, connected it to European fascist thought in the 1920s- and 30s. De Geer's “invaluable mentor” Tage Lindbom was also influenced by the Traditionalist school, mainly through connections to German Sufist and influential Traditionalist thinker Frithjof Schuon. This is referred to by De Geer:

The conclusions Lindbom arrive at in the book, could be summed up with a formula borrowed from René Guénon - that it is pointless to speak of a crisis of modernity in our time, when it is the very modernity that constitute a crisis in human history. The Occident's development since the late Middle Ages is presented by Lindbom as an ongoing spiritual decline. It is the story of the emergence of the Human Kingdom, the world in which man gradually has turned his gaze away from God, until man in his blindness perceives himself as the absolute ruler of creation.

By quoting thinkers like Evola, Eliade and Lindbom, and sharing ideas connected to the New Right, De Geer positions himself close to the “identitarian approach”. In combination to his open connections (e.g. through publishing a book on Nordiska förlaget) to the Swedish identitarian network, De Geer's nationalism must be understood as identitarian. In sum, De Geer's texts consists of an oscillating view of the nation as a primary value – closely connected to the will of God – to a more hesitant view of nationalism and “ethnocentrism”. This indicates that De Geer construes a specific nationalist stance, best described by following his own words, as identitarian nationalism.
3.4. Diachronic perspectives

Jonas De Geer has been publishing texts for approximately two decades. As stated in the background section, he began his writing in Stockholm in the late 1990's and is at present time (2016) working from Orkney, Scotland. The shifting experiences from this relatively long period of time, can be traced through his published works. In the texts produced by De Geer, both changes and continuities are visible when applying a diachronic perspective.

3.4.1 The change of the view on Lindbom

The character Tage Lindbom is recurrently mentioned in De Geer's writings from the first published text to some of the latest. As previously noted, De Geer himself presents the meeting with Lindbom as something of a conversion. De Geer describes his relationship with Lindbom as a deep friendship, and in a short obituary over Lindbom published in the last issue of Salt, De Geer states that he has now lost a “soulmate” and that he doubts that he “[…] will ever find such a friend again”. During the period 1996-2002, Lindbom is highly present in De Geer's texts, especially through mentions, quotes and encapsulations. In the journal Salt (1999-2002), where De Geer was editor-in-chief, texts by Lindbom occurred in four out of ten published issues. This was followed by a dramatic change in the relation to Lindbom, since De Geer only mentioned him at a couple of occasions between the years 2002-2011.

In 2011, De Geer revisited the impact of Lindbom's ideas on his thinking, when he, on his blog, republished his Bachelor thesis on Lindbom's writing. When commenting the republishing, De Geer states that the text concerns “[…] Tage Lindbom's progress from various left-wing standpoints to radical traditionalist”. This process was, according to De Geer, by Lindbom himself called “his reevaluation” initiated by a growing critique of modern progress optimism. While developing his views, Lindbom exposed himself to a “public excommunication from the debate”, De Geer argues. Five months prior to these texts about Lindbom's “reevaluation”, De Geer wrote two autobiographical blog texts on his experiences with the journal Salt (published approximately ten years before the publishing date) – texts that follow a similar narrative pattern to those on the “reevaluation” of Lindbom.

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199 De Geer (2008f); De Geer (2009d); De Geer (2011b); De Geer (2011c); De Geer (2011d).
200 De Geer (2011b).
201 De Geer (2011b).
202 De Geer (2011c).
De Geer argues that Lindbom's “fully logical progress” from left-wing to traditionalism was almost an unavoidable consequence of Lindbom's earlier writings. De Geer's own autobiographical turn from conservative to radical nationalist is also understood, by himself, as a similar progression. De Geer underscores that his progress is natural. When discussing the early days of *Salt*, he states that it is “a myth that has been cultivated about *Salt* [...] that we were 'decent’” until the journal started discussing the Holocaust and Jewish influence on culture and finance. Following this line of thought, the antisemitism and radical nationalist position of De Geer's later texts should not be understood as a radical shift, but rather as a development of ideas established much earlier. According to De Geer, Lindbom became “more and more isolated within his own movement” after he began his critique of social democracy. This negative turn of events is echoed by De Geer in his own autobiography, when the “media of the establishment” accused *Salt* for “antisemitism, racism and homophobia”.

The well-known contributors who wrote in *Salt* were pressured by their employers to stop. [...] After a while, [Svenska Dagbladet's] photo agency, Scanpix, took a “policy decision” not to sell photos to us. Half of all retailers began to boycott us after #5, etc., etc. So it went on.

In the texts by De Geer in 2011, the story of Lindbom is used almost as a metaphor for his own autobiographical narrative. Thus, Lindbom shifts from being a character of inspiration for De Geer (in the late 1990s), into being a structure that initiates a sense of purpose, meaning and order (in the early 2010s). It is as if Lindbom's face is looking back at De Geer from the mirror.

3.4.2 The change of religion

In the early writings of De Geer (1996-2005) two of the most discussed religious phenomenas are Christianity and Judaism. The words “Islam” and “Muslim” are practically non-existing in texts written by De Geer prior to 2005. In the early writings, the main conflict is depicted as (Western) Christianity versus Judaism and Modernity. But in a text in the journal *Nonkonform* in 2005, De Geer argues that the uprisings in the suburbs of Paris was part of an attempt to “colonize France”. In this text Islam is depicted as the “great threat to Europe”, and the “mass-immigration” of

\[204\] De Geer (2011b).
\[205\] De Geer (2010f).
\[207\] At least in my analysis and the reading I have done of De Geer's writings. There is of course a risk that I have missed it somewhere, but this is however then a minor exception.
\[208\] De Geer (2005a).
Muslims will eventually lead to a “race war” in Sweden. However, according to De Geer, the Muslims are not the masterminds of this coming race war:

[It is not] Muslims themselves who brainwashed Europeans to this collective suicide. Propaganda agencies, newspapers, TV stations, and film companies who campaigned for mass immigration and “multiculturalism” - who has pathologized all impulses to European self-preservation – are not owned by cunning Saudi oil billionaires with imperial ambitions. The disintegration, or “deconstruction” of Europe is spelled Marx, Freud, Boas, Adorno, Horkheimer, Derrida. Not Bin Laden.

As the masterminds to the “collective suicide” of the Europeans, De Geer lists six scholars in this quote. They are all of Jewish descent, and Adorno and Horkheimer are usually included in the sociological and Marxist Frankfurt school. The “Frankfurt school” is recurrently connected to the derogatory expression “Cultural Marxism”, a conspiracy theory that indicates that left-wing and liberal leaning academics, politicians and media has been engaged in a decade spanning confederacy to havoc Western values and culture. In the quote above, De Geer is showing that he is beginning to regard Islam as an important antagonist to Christianity and the West. However, according to De Geer, Islam and the Muslims are sent and/or tricked to Europe, in an effort to disintegrate it. All planned and executed by influential Jews, De Geer argues.

After 2005, the idea of a Muslim colonization of Europe is repeated in several texts by De Geer. As discussed in a previous section, De Geer published a text in 2008 by another author on his blog with the title “Eurabia or the coming Dhiminate”, and thus revealed that he is open to the use of a *Counterjihad* terminology. Lööw argues that the Counterjihad movement is a loosely connected network of anti-muslim organizations, and a virtual subculture mainly consisting of blogs and networks on social media forums. A key idea within the Counterjihad milieu is that there exists a conspiracy of Muslims, which aim and desire to conquer Europe (the *Eurabia*-theory), and that this conquer primarily is achieved through a demographic shift in European population, through an increase of Muslim birth rate. However, even though he shares some ideas from the Counterjihad milieu, De Geer is also open about his aversion to certain aspects of it. In a blog post on Norwegian

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212 De Geer (2008h).
215 Gardell (2010), pp. 204-211.
terrorist Anders Behring Breivik, De Geer called Breivik a “fanatic pro-Israeli”\textsuperscript{216} that was inspired by a website run by a “Jewish Zionist”.\textsuperscript{217} De Geer rejects the ideas that Breivik and the ideological milieu he represents as “typical politically correct liberal right-winger. Let be an unusually militant one.”\textsuperscript{218} For De Geer it seems important to recurrently note that the Muslims “not only strolled [to Europe] by themselves”, there is a greater conspiracy driven by Jewish interest behind this immigration.\textsuperscript{219}

It can thus be argued that De Geer's view of religion changes over time; from reluctantly antisemitic in the late 1990s, to openly antisemitic in the early 2000s and then increasingly islamophobic, combined with a superordinate and overt antisemitism, in the late 2000s and early 2010s.

### 3.4.3 The change of nationalism

It seems as if De Geer does not use the concept \textit{nationalism} before September 2008.\textsuperscript{220} After this date he starts to reluctantly use the term “nationalist” to describe his own ideology.\textsuperscript{221} As discussed in a previous section, De Geer seems to establish a growing interest in the Romanian Iron Guard during the early 2010s. The organization and its leaders are understood and promoted as nationalist role models by De Geer.\textsuperscript{222}

However, a nationalism related terminology is present in earlier writings of De Geer. In an article from 1999, De Geer argues that “[t]he increasingly vehement left-wing attacks on such values as family, Christianity and patriotism […]” were accepted in all of Swedish political discourse in the 1970s, even by right-wing conservative party \textit{Moderaterna}.\textsuperscript{223}

It can be argued that De Geer's ideological progress over the years is not in a direction of being increasingly \textit{extreme}, but rather in a direction of being a more \textit{pronounced} nationalist. De Geer is arguably increasingly \textit{radical} as nationalist, in the etymological sense of the word: he is promoting an ideological turn to the roots of nationalist thinking. Thus, the ideological unfolding and organizational progression of De Geer is pointing to an increasingly radical nationalism, as can be

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{216} De Geer (2012).
\textsuperscript{217} De Geer (2011k).
\textsuperscript{218} De Geer (2011k).
\textsuperscript{220} De Geer (2009a), p. 107. This is the first mention of the ideology in a self-describing manner that I have found. However, there is a TV-debate from 2000, where De Geer argues that he is not the type of nationalist that he is accused of by the other debater. The general picture is that De Geer does not use the word before 2008.
\textsuperscript{221} De Geer (2009a), pp. 105-109; De Geer (2009d).
\textsuperscript{222} De Geer (2010d); De Geer (2011g); De Geer (2011h).
\textsuperscript{223} De Geer (1999a).
\end{footnotesize}
drawn from him being a young conservative intellectual in the mid-1990s, followed by being a press officer for Nationaldemokraterna in the early 2000s, to joining the race-oriented organization Party of the Swedes in the early 2010s. De Geer is taking nationalism more and more serious over the years.

This progress can also be illustrated by De Geer's relation to, and understanding of, fascism. Fascism is understood by De Geer as a particular historical phenomena, and is in the late 2000s and early 2010s increasingly understood as a good example worth noticing and taking lessons from. In 2014, De Geer states that “[…] fascism was the prime political mark of freedom that Europe had experienced since the French revolution”.\textsuperscript{224} Understood as a radical version of nationalism, fascism is for De Geer an important example of unity within a nation. He writes:

\begin{quote}
That persons from different social classes, but from the same people, can accomplish so much, made more individuals see through the Jewish/marxist class war-paradigm.\textsuperscript{225}
\end{quote}

In sum, the progression of De Geer's ideology can be understood as a path toward an increasing focus on nationalism. De Geer's progression can be understood as an exploration of nationalist concepts. However, as I briefly discussed in the section \textit{De Geer and nationalism}, this might also be disparate movements back and forth in his ideology, thus revealing contradictious views and inconsistencies over time. In the following final sections of this thesis, I will return to this question.

\textsuperscript{224} De Geer (2014a), p. 11.
4. DISCUSSION

To answer the primary question of this thesis, I have addressed three sub-questions concerning protagonists, antagonists, and diachronic perspectives in the material. The writings of De Geer have worked as a case study of the negotiation of religion within radical nationalism. In this final chapter, I will further discuss how De Geer's symbolic universe can be understood as a crosscut of the cosmology of the radical nationalist milieu. I will also discuss the results of how religion is construed and negotiated within the material, and what further theoretical and ideological inclinations these results comprise.

4.1. The religious frame

Theologian William T. Cavanaugh argues that both substantivist and functionalist approaches to religion tend to be essentialist due to their presupposition that religion is “a thing out there in the world, a basic, transhistorical, and transcultural component of human social life identifiable by its content or function[...].” Following this, it can be argued from the results of the analysis that De Geer was, and – at the time of writing – still is, firmly rooted in an essentialist understanding of religion. In several texts, predominantly those that discuss Christianity, he accedes to a substantivist view of religion – implicitly and explicitly arguing that true religion revolves around beliefs and practices concerning ideas of transcendence. The substantivist view is however contrasted with a more functionalist stance when De Geer implies that religion is to be understood as an overarching structure of meaning. When discussing Judaism and Jewish influence, De Geer tends to accede to a more functionalist understanding – for example when he frames an influential information project on the Holocaust as a “cult” and a “new state religion”.

A fundamental conflict in De Geer's texts is construed in terms of religion. By framing Christianity (or the Christian West) as protagonist of his narrative, De Geer underscores this fundamental conflict. He argues that Christianity has “moulded” the mentality of the West, and implies that the culture of traditional Christian Europe is an object requiring salvation from foreign aggression. Furthermore, De Geer implies that the ethnicity of Europeans is a core of his ideological view of identity, while it is dependent on a Christian consciousness and the Western religion. The view of identity can be illustrated with a model of a circle with layers, where ethnic identity is found at the center, surrounded by Christian consciousness, that in turn is surrounded by Western religion (as

\[\text{Cavanaugh (2009), p. 58.}\]
seen in Figure 2). This illustration reveals an ideological hierarchy where ethnic identity is construed as a prerequisite for the fundamental (religious) conflict in De Geer's symbolic universe. However, it is dependent on a Christian consciousness and the Western religion to fully function as a protagonist that can work for the “cause”.

Moreover, in addition to identity and protagonism, antagonists are also construed with vocabulary connected to religion. The main antagonists are Judaism/Jews, Islam/Muslims and Modernity. Both Islam and Modernity are seen as aggressors to Christian ideals and values, but are construed as subordinate to, and dependent of, Judaism. Thus, in the fundamental conflict of De Geer’s texts, the protagonist is Christianity, understood as the religion of love and the foundation of Europe. The antagonist is Judaism, understood as an “ethnocentric” ideology and religion, seeking world dominion. It can be argued that Judaism is particularly threatening in De Geer's symbolic universe since it has a different core (“ethnic identity”) than the Christian Europe. De Geer argues that other ideologies are used by Judaism to attack Christianity, mainly Islam and Modernity, which eventually will result in the cultural suicide (and/or “genocide”) of European culture and identity.

Economic historian Rasmus Fleischer argues that the role attributed to Jews within modern antisemitism differs from the role that is attributed to Muslims within anti-Muslim racism. While antisemitism is directed from an imagined “below” position with its focus on a powerful conspiracy, anti-Muslim racism is articulated from an “above” position through its common depiction of
Muslims as a mass problem. This understanding could explain how De Geer is able to mobilize antisemitic and anti-Muslim racism simultaneously in his texts. As discussed above, De Geer construes Jews as being in control of the collapse of Europe, while Muslims are the weapon used by the Jews to initiate this collapse. Consequently, the pattern in De Geer's texts follows Fleischer's analytical model of antisemitism having a “from below” perspective, while anti-Muslim racism consists of a “from above” perspective. De Geer's view on Judaism and Islam generally follows Fleischer's proposed model. In De Geer's view however, his anti-Muslim views are construed as subordinate to the antisemitic views, when De Geer argues that Muslim aggression are driven by Jewish interest.

Religion as a fundamental conflict simultaneously functions as a racist configuration in De Geer's texts. Here, racism is understood as a mechanism of modern society where imagined alien and unwanted elements are excluded from the population. This follows Jonsson's argument that racist discourse consists of three coordinated nodes: a doctrine of ethnic and moral difference between groups of people, an imagined community represented through collective characteristics of culture, and control – through formal or informal methods – of human movement over geographic, economic, political, cultural and linguistic borders. In line with this understanding of racism, it can be argued that De Geer's view of religious antagonists is construed according to a racist configuration. As I have argued in the analysis section, both Judaism and Islam are presented by De Geer as essentially different from Christianity. The difference is described in ethnic terms, exemplified by De Geer's concern about the birth rate of Muslims. Furthermore, disparity between Christianity and its antagonists is also narrated in terms of morality, for example when De Geer accuses Judaism of an inherent aggressive “ethnocentrism”, which in turn accentuates the alleged Jewish quest for world domination. Gardell argues that the key idea of racism circles inherited essences, and that this idea has been passed on from ideas of biological races in the 20th century, to contemporary common concepts like culture, ethnicity and religion. Drawing on Jonsson's and Gardell's arguments and the results of the analysis of this thesis, religion is arguably a primary carrier of racism within De Geer's symbolic universe. This can be illustrated by the following figure (Figure 3), which is a modified version of a figure initially presented by Jonsson:

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When introducing his analytical model of racism, Jonsson illustrates this with a figure, representing a social formation, consisting of a triangle where three coordinated nodes of racist discourse are placed in its corners. In the center of the triangle he places the racist discourse influencing a specific social formation, for example “race” in German national socialism and “immigration” in neoracist discourse. Drawing on Jonsson's model, “religion” can be regarded as the racist discourse influencing De Geer, as is illustrated in Figure 3. In each corner are specific concepts that informs the racist configuration: as doctrine are ethnicity, antisemitism, traditionalism and cultural differences salient. As means of control, De Geer recurrently articulates themes on anti-immigration, sexual morality and cultural/linguistic struggle. Finally, the imagined community, key to De Geer's symbolic universe, consists of both a true Christian Europe (or Occident) and the Nation. The three nodes produce the racist dynamic in De Geer's texts. In other words, this figure illustrates how religion functions as a racist configuration.

4.2. The conspiring enemy

Political scientist Michael Barkun argues that a “conspiracist worldview implies a universe governed by design rather than by randomness”.

Barkun notes a connection between conspiracy theories and millenialism, understood as the expectation of an imminent perfection of human existence. He argues that there are three categories of millenialism: religious, secular and

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231 Barkun (2003), p. 3.
improvisational. The first two categories – religious and secular millenialism – are bound to construct conspiracy theories within their own symbolic universes. Improvisational millenialism in contrast, Barkun argues, is more free to adopt a mix of different types of conspiratorial belief, in simultaneous use of ideas from, for example, both Marxism and Protestantism in combination with New Age visions. In an attempt to identify how this connection between conspiracism and millenialism works, Barkun argues that they reinforce each other:

Conspiracy theories locate and describe evil, while millennialism explains the mechanism for its ultimate defeat. Hence the two can exist in a symbiotic relationship, in which conspiracism predisposes believers to be millenialists and vice versa, though each can exist independently. They are thus best viewed as mutually reinforcing.

It can be argued that De Geer draws on both conspiracist and millenialism themes in his texts. As I have showed in the analysis section, De Geer recurrently refers to Jewish influence and power. De Geer uses imagery that is common in antisemitic conspiracy theories. For example The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, a booklet containing an alleged protocol of a meeting where Jewish “Elders” are giving speeches on how to rule the world. This booklet is in turn an aspect of what Barkun refers to as the New World Order conspiracy theory, a theory that is mentioned and used by De Geer on several occasions. New World Order conspiracy theories contend that events of history and present have been shaped by a powerful and secret group in order to gain absolute power and control.

While trying to illuminate his antagonists, De Geer constructs and enunciates an intricate web influenced by several different, and at times inconsistent, conspiracy theories – ranging from Masonic power to the New World Order, Jewish influence, Eurabia and the leverage of the Gay lobby – as one object in need of immediate attention. Antisemitic conspiracy theories are often obscured through euphemisms and metonymy in De Geer's writing, a strategy that Barkun argues is common within New World Order conspiracism. According to Barkun, anti-Catholicism is also connected to conspiracism, a view that at first glance could seem contradictitious for a conservative Catholic thinker like De Geer. However, as Barkun also briefly mention, an anti-Catholic view might be drawn from a belief that the turnout of the Second Vatican Council was due to a conspiracy directed at the Church's traditional values. As I argued in the analysis section, the

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Second Vatican Council and what followed is a crucial narrative in De Geer's view of modern Christianity. The multifaceted conspiracism that De Geer represents is, as Gardell puts it, part of an “ever circular flow of suspiciousness”. In sum, the ideas of conspiracies are key in De Geer's symbolic universe. The conspiracy theories fixate on the imagined Jewish influence and power, which in turn is informed by several antisemitic ideas, as discussed in the analysis section above.

4.3. The radical nationalist ideology

A recurrent theme in De Geer's writing is the idea of the nation. As discussed above, De Geer is at times ambiguous toward the ideology of nationalism, but still puts the nation at the forefront of his symbolic universe. De Geer understands the nation as natural, even Divinely given and ordered. By large, De Geer is rooted in identitarian nationalism, and draws on the perennial philosophy and Traditionalist school of thinkers like Eliade and Evola. When applying Griffin's analytical concept of generic fascism to texts by De Geer, it can be argued that they meet the basic criteria of the concept. Griffin's proposed ideal type of fascism is two-fold, its mythical core consists of I) a populist ultra-nationalism and II) a focus on rebirth of the nation.

Hence, De Geer's ideology can be understood as fascist, as conceptualized by Griffin. This corresponds well with De Geer's own understanding of his ideology, even though he generally refers to fascism as a thing of the past. As he puts it, “Fascism was realistic, honest and brave – it is action, ultimately only action, that counts, that makes a difference, and there are only a few who are ready for this.” With this argument we can establish that Griffin's conceptualization of fascism fits well with De Geer's views. However, it also reveals that there is a general problem with attributing an ideology to someone who himself indeed understands this ideology as something positive, but still as a mere historical phenomenon.

Nationalism as an overarching ideology is another way to conceptualize De Geer's worldview. As analytical concept however, the definition of nationalism lacks academic consensus – or is at least to wide to be useful in this context. Consequently, radicalization (understood as the active attempt to return to the roots) of nationalism identifies several ideal types commonly understood as neo-fascist or radical/extreme right. Radical nationalism as an analytical concept has the advantage of being wide, combined with a simultaneous ability to exclude non-radical nationalist currents, such

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240 See Wodak's discussion on the variety of conceptualizations within research on nationalism and national identity, e.g. her account of the concepts Kulturnation, Willesnation and Staatsnation (2009, pp. 18-21).
as parliamentary liberalism or social democracy, which draw on nationalist discourse combined with other ideologies, resulting in partial disloyalty to nationalism.

Political scientist Cas Mudde argues that “key features of the populist radical right ideology – nativism, authoritarianism, and populism – are not unrelated to mainstream ideologies and mass attitudes. In fact, they are best seen as a radicalisation of mainstream values.” Following this line of thought, De Geer's ideas should not be understood as something essentially different to current mainstream ideologies, but rather as a radicalization of recurrent popular ideas. Connecting to the introduction of this thesis where parliamentary and government attitudes and actions against migrants were briefly discussed – for example tightened border controls and a proposed increased deportation rate from Sweden – it can be argued that several of De Geer's ideas represent a radicalization of views abiding in the imagined Swedish political center.

4.4. Concluding remarks: “Let us build an ark!”

The main result of this thesis is that “religion”, depending on the context, has varying functions in De Geer's texts. When De Geer discusses Christianity, religion is connected to deeds and traditions, but also to notions and beliefs. As for Judaism, De Geer's view is different. Connected to Judaism, religion is understood as something that creates antagonists, which aims to wipe out the Christian and Western national identities. According to De Geer, “Judaism” thus initiates attacks directed against the West through Muslim immigration and modernist ideals. In other words, religion is construed as a producer of identity in De Geer's symbolic universe when it comes to Christianity, but antagonistic when it comes to Jewish and Muslim expressions. As I have discussed in the previous section, religion functions in this way as a racist configuration in De Geer's symbolic universe. These results need to be connected to the broader field of research on the relationship between religion and radical nationalism. Thus, the results enable future research. Possible question for future research are does De Geer's vision correspond with views of other producers of radical nationalist ideology in Sweden, and what are the main differences and similarities in their understandings of religion?

Furthermore, De Geer republishes a specific text on the need to save the Swedish people from a multi-ethnic deluge three times between the years 2003 and 2014. De Geer uses the biblical ark-metaphor to indicate that this rescue mission requires immediate attention. Through the metaphorical narration of this text, important aspects of De Geer's symbolic universe are made

clear. In recapitulating narratological ideas of Paul Ricoeur, Ruth Wodak argues that:

The quintessence of Ricoeur's concept of narrative identity is that the person as a narrative figure draws his or her identity from the identity of the story's plot.\textsuperscript{242}

Following this line of thought, De Geer could be argued to draw his identity of the plot of his narrative. De Geer's protagonist is the “people” drowning in the flood of immigration, and in Jewish propaganda and interest. The results from the analysis of this thesis indicate that De Geer's narrative could be summarized into the plot of a people that needs to be saved through extraordinary measures from an imminent deluge, initiated by vicious conspirators. “Let us build an ark!”, is De Geer's outcry and solution. This specific plot also reveals the central role of religion in De Geer's symbolic universe. By construing Christian religion and the nation as intertwined, De Geer reproduces nationalist themes that connect to school of thoughts stemming from fascist intellectuals of the interwar years. By quoting and drawing on these thinkers, De Geer situates himself within a contemporary nationalist current, commonly referred to as the French New Right or identitarian nationalism. This ideological current needs more academic attention due to its role as mediator between the two main Swedish radical nationalist tendencies of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century: social-conservative nationalism and race-oriented nationalism. As De Geer himself puts it: the “identitarian approach” is more adaptable for our age, than “models of the 30s” or “stillborn democratic operation”. I argue that this three-folded ideological milieu that De Geer sees himself a part of, can be called radical nationalism, and the three currents he mentions are analogous to the three prisms mentioned in the theory section of this thesis: social-conservative (“stillborn democratic”), race-oriented (“models of the 30s”) and identitarian nationalism (“identitarian approach”).\textsuperscript{243}

Finally, it is worth noting the Swedish government's use of the metaphor “breathing space” while introducing new policies on immigration and increased border controls in November 2015. This indicated a situation of emergency.\textsuperscript{244} In a similar fashion, De Geer utilizes his metaphor of the ark to indicate that an even more catastrophic situation is at hand. Simultaneously, thousands of people struggle for breathing space on their own arks in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, however in a dramatically less metaphorical sense.

\textsuperscript{242} Wodak et al. (2009), p. 14.
\textsuperscript{243} See also Lundström & Lundström (2016).
\textsuperscript{244} Regeringskansliet (2015).
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