

**Asia as a Topos of Fear and Desire for Nazis and Extreme Rightists:
The Case of Asian Studies in Sweden**

Tobias Hübinette

Introducing a Delicate Issue

The origin of this article comes from having spent a couple of years in the Asian studies community in Sweden as a PhD candidate in Korean studies, affiliated to the Department of Oriental Languages at Stockholm University, the principal institute for the field in Scandinavia, while at the same time being an anti-Fascist activist, an investigative journalist, and something of an expert on Swedish National Socialism. To get straight to the point, what has amazed or even shocked me is that so many names turn up simultaneously in the two worlds, namely as both Asianists and as extreme rightists. By *Asianists*, I broadly refer to scholars and writers dealing with what are generally deemed and defined as “Asian” things and subjects in a Western, usually academic, setting; and by *extreme rightists*, I refer, in this

context, to all those people who position themselves politically to the right of mainstream conservatism, and who almost always are racists and anti-Semites, anti-Communists, homophobes, and antifeminists, besides usually being antimodernists and antidemocrats.

This paper is an attempt to map out this peculiar liaison between Asian studies and right-wing extremism. The purpose is to try to understand why Nazis and extreme rightists are drawn to and attracted by Asia academically, using Asian studies in Sweden as an empirical case study. The paper introduces a number of prominent Swedish Asianists chronologically, starting at the beginning of the twentieth century when the field of Asian studies was established in the country, continuing with the 1930s when Nazism was fashionable in elite academic circles in Europe, on to the postwar era with its virulently anti-Communist, Cold War atmosphere, and ending with today's anti-immigrant populists and militant neo-Nazis. I am not claiming that all these scholars and writers I am taking up are the most typical representatives of Swedish Asian studies from a quantitative point of view, though many of them arguably are quite famous, even internationally. But I am also well aware that many European academics, particularly in the humanities, have held and still hold extremely right-wing views. Furthermore, I am neither claiming that their academic essays, monographs, and studies are "unscientific" in any way, nor that their work is wholly determined by their political standpoints. The only evidence I am presenting here is based on archival material, such as membership listings, articles in party-affiliated journals, and secondary sources, such as biographies and newspaper reports.

I am, of course, well aware of the controversial nature of this issue and how easy it is to hurt, humiliate, and dishonor prominent individuals when disclosing this previously subjugated knowledge, which up until now has remained unknown to most people in the academic world. However, it is my firm conviction that a consideration of the personal feelings of the people involved in this case would just serve to continue to cover up this hitherto largely hidden phenomenon, thereby only benefiting the extremists and their political agendas. Moreover, although references are made to Asianists in other countries like Germany, Italy, the United States, France, and Denmark, the focus on Sweden is hopefully excusable considering the extreme difficulties I have been subjected to when uncovering these "forbidden" con-

nections. One might also argue that the situation under analysis here is not limited to Sweden, but is most likely much broader in scale and may apply to the field of Asian studies in any Western country. Finally, a similar investigation into the political leanings of Western scholars in Latin American and African studies would probably reveal the reverse situation, namely a high proportion of left-liberals and leftists, meaning that Asia in particular serves as a pole of attraction for right-wing “intellectuals.”

This article takes a closer look at the various reasons behind this bizarre situation by conceptualizing Asia as a topos of fear and desire, and as an imaginary site for the fantasies and projections of these Nazis and extreme rightists. My main argument is that there has always been an intimate relationship not only between Asian studies, European colonialism, and American imperialism — which Edward Said, Samir Amin, and many others have pointed out — but also between Asian studies and Nazism. Asianists have played a pivotal role in developing racist and anti-Semitic ideas by constructing the concept of the white Aryan race in the first place, by relentlessly searching for its origin in the languages and peoples of Asia, and by creating the divide between so-called Aryans and Semites. During the 1930s, the fear of Asia became intertwined with anti-Semitism, as Europe’s “inner Orientals” were conceived of as a deadly threat to the West; at the time of the Cold War, Communism was seen as a reflection of Oriental despotism, and the current war against terrorism is also portrayed as a war against the barbarity of the Orient. The paper concludes by pointing out that the field of Asian studies, at least in Sweden and possibly in all too many other European countries, is still an impregnable ivory tower that largely missed the moments of decolonization after the end of the classical colonial period and of de-Nazification after the end of World War II and the Cold War.

Rudolf Kjellén and the Geopoliticians

The renowned political scientist professor Rudolf Kjellén (1864–1922), the founder of geopolitics and the chief ideologist of the Swedish Radical Conservative movement, is widely considered to be one of the intellectual predecessors of Nazism with his cult of violence and Social Darwinist view of the state as a biological entity seeking natural expansion; he is also credited

for having coined the term *national socialism* in the first place.¹ Kjellén also harbored a deep research interest in East Asia, in general, and in imperial Japan, in particular, as reflected in several articles, papers, and monographs.² He classified the Japanese as having a “dog character” and the Chinese a “cat character,” meaning that the former had a more dynamic and aggressive mentality, while the latter were considered haughty and self-sufficient. Further, Kjellén’s laconic but brutal comment when Japan annexed Korea in 1910 was as follows: “Japan is such a great and noble nation, that it must be an honor or even a pleasure to be killed by her!”³ Kjellén saw Japan after the Russo-Japanese War as a nation to reckon with in the future, and he warned the Westerners: “The yellows have the happiness of a lower self-consciousness, which means the absence of advanced personal needs and an inability to feel deeper suffering.”⁴ So, for Kjellén, Japan was definitely a part of Asia in spite of his adoration for the country, and, consequently, a natural biological enemy of the West. This “yellow peril,” for Kjellén, pointed to “the struggle for world hegemony between the whites and the yellows,” and the Europeans had only one alternative in this confrontation with East Asia, namely to “organize themselves as the United States of Europe.”⁵

Rütger Essén (1890–1972), another influential Swedish political scientist of the first half of the last century, was an apprentice of Kjellén and, in his own lifetime, the leading expert on Asia due to his roles as an academic, as a Swedish high-ranking diplomat in Tokyo, and as a long-time expatriate in the region.⁶ He experienced a postwar Europe of pessimism after World War I, threatened by anticolonial forces, with China already lost to the Japanese and India wanting to break free from English rule. The dominant message of Essén’s writings on Asia was that a firmer colonial grip of the continent was absolutely necessary to secure the global power of the white race.⁷ So just like his professor and supervisor Kjellén, Essén espoused an antithetical and bipolar divide between the West and the East, and his protagonists were not only Asians in Asia but also Asians in Europe, namely the Jews; he was a member of the Swedish National League that broke away from its mother party, the Swedish Conservatives, in 1934 and oriented itself toward National Socialism. From 1944 until his death in 1972, Essén acted as the party leader and the editor-in-chief of its newspapers *Dagsposten* and

Fria Ord. On May 3, 1945, Essén wrote in *Dagsposten* about the recently deceased Adolf Hitler:

The man who had accomplished this must truly have upset many people's calculations. He must have been perceived as a deadly threat to the secure world of bourgeois self-righteousness, in which the bourgeois sufficiency flowered in its puffy splendor. The global combination of robbery and monopoly capitalism together with massive popular stupidity used in an industrial manner was the first factor that built up a world front against Adolf Hitler. At its side and inside its circles, everywhere the Jews operated.⁸

Sven Hedin and the Explorers

The first half of the twentieth century was also the classical era of Western explorers traveling through and mapping out the remote parts of Asia. One of the most widely read Swedes who visited Asia several times and published many best-selling travel accounts was William Andersson Grebst (1875–1920).⁹ Grebst was at the same time the editor-in-chief of the country's leading anti-Semitic paper, *Vidi*, from 1913 until his death seven years later.¹⁰ This combination of a deep concern for Asia and the Jews of Europe points to the still relatively unexplored and underresearched connection between Orientalism and anti-Semitism, whereby Jews were conceived as Europe's "internal Orientals."¹¹

However, the giant among Swedish explorers is, of course, the world-famous and celebrated geographer Sven Hedin (1865–1952), honorary doctor of ten universities, member of fifteen academies including the Swedish one, and without doubt the most famous Swede and Asianist of his time. Between 1886 and 1935, Hedin organized several expeditions, together with Swedish, German, and Danish Orientalist scholars, with the purpose of mapping out Central Asia and bringing home manuscripts; he was funded by rich benefactors belonging to the Swedish elite who saw his undertakings as a glorious Swedish contribution to the colonial project. Thanks to his pioneering expeditions, Hedin paved the way for later explorers like Aurel Stein and Albert von Le Coq by charting these vast and, for Westerners,

previously unknown areas.¹² Hedin published sixty-five books, which were translated into twenty-two languages, and brought back tens of thousands of artifacts in the forms of manuscripts and artworks, which he left behind to the foundation that still bears his name. Many people both within and outside of Asian studies have asked if Hedin was a Nazi, and the tendency among Swedish biographers, like Eric Wennerholm, and Swedish Asianists, who are literally walking in his footsteps at the Sven Hedin Foundation, is definitely to downplay his extremist ideas and activities as much as possible.¹³ However, my own investigation gives strong evidence that Hedin clearly and undoubtedly was a Nazi, despite his generally acknowledged greatness as a Swedish Orientalist of international standing.¹⁴

Hedin's ruthlessness in pursuing his own goals has been documented through numerous accounts. During a stay in Tehran in 1890, Hedin broke into a holy temple and cut the heads off the corpses of three holy men, to be bestowed as gifts to a famous Swedish race biologist; in 1895, as he forced his way through the desert of Taklamakan, two of his "coolies" perished as a result of the severe hardships.¹⁵ The same fate befell his "houseboy" some years later when Hedin in vain tried to reach the forbidden city of Lhasa, his "city of dreams and secrets," in order to get in contact with the mythical "white Lama," as Buddhism was conceived to be an Aryan religion in those days of romantic and occultist Orientalism. In 1908, Hedin visited Japan and Korea and met with Prince Ito Hirobumi, one of the master-builders of the Japanese empire and, among the newly conquered Koreans, a very despised man who later was murdered by a Korean patriot.¹⁶ Hedin also befriended and was greatly impressed by General Akashi Motojiro; known as "The Butcher" after his effective purges of the Korean resistance movement, he was also an inhabitant of Stockholm in the second decade of the twentieth century, as an organizer of the Japanese espionage system in Northern Europe at the time of the Russo-Japanese War.

Like Kjellén and Essén, Hedin warned the Westerners of the "yellow peril" at the turn of the century, and in 1914 he played a crucial role in toppling the democratically elected liberal government of Sweden. During World War I, Hedin, with his romanticization of homoerotic masculinity and Fascist violence and with his cult of the "purifying war," enthusiastically sided with the Germans and, not surprisingly, he welcomed the Nazi sei-

zure of power in 1933.¹⁷ At the Summer Olympics of Berlin in 1936, Hedin was one of the opening speakers and had by then already become a close personal friend of Hitler. In numerous articles in the Swedish and German Nazi press, Hedin showed his strong support for Germany's new leader and his Nazi politics.¹⁸ Hedin was a member of the two most important pro-Nazi organizations among the upper echelons of the Swedish society, the Swedish-German Association and the National Association of Sweden-Germany, and he gave financial support to Nazi groups like the Association for Swedish Student Activists and *Dagsposten*, the daily newspaper of the Fascist Swedish National League.¹⁹ In 1943 he refused to do anything to save the still surviving mixed-race Jews of Germany (the so-called *Mischlings*) after a desperate pledge from the Swedish archbishop Eidem, in spite of having direct access to Hitler's ears.²⁰ Instead, Hedin wrote back to Archbishop Eidem that the accusations that Jews like "vampires and parasites had soaked German blood" were "fully justified."

During the war, Hedin was especially close to the then world-leading German field of Asian studies, which included the Sinologist Herbert Franke, the Tibetologists Bruno Beger and Ernst Schäfer, the esoteric mystic Friedrich Hielscher, the Sanskritist and geopolitician Karl Haushofer (who was Hitler's personal mentor in "Oriental mysticism" and the main advocate behind the Nazi Lebensraum theory), and all the other German Orientalists who surrounded Vedic expert and Indologist professor SS-Standartenführer Walther Wüst. Wüst was the director of SS-Ahnenerbe, which organized Nazi Orientalist scholarship, and to which Hedin lent out his own name when its biggest and principal department, the Sven Hedin Institute for Inner Asia, opened its doors at the University of Munich in 1943.²¹ Hedin was also one of very few Swedes who, after Hitler's suicide in 1945, sent a letter of condolence to the German Embassy in Stockholm and mourned "the loss of Germany's great leader." In April 1945, when the Nazi German Reich was on the verge of complete collapse and destruction, Hedin published an almost hysterical article in a German Nazi publication in which he hoped that Germany would "liquidate the barbarity of the East."²² Like so many other like-minded extreme rightists, racists, anti-Semites, and anti-Communists, for Hedin, the "East" of course connoted the conspiratorial connection between "World Jewry," the "Oriental despo-

tism” of Communism and the ever-present peril of the “Oriental hordes.” Apparently Hedin never regretted his pro-Nazi opinions, as after the war he supported the widows of the executed Nazi leaders of the Nuremberg trials, and up until his death in 1952 he continued to befriend surviving Nazis and war veterans of the elite multinational Waffen-SS and to publish articles in the neo-Nazi German and Swedish press.²³

The Classical Orientalists and the Indologists

Among other classical Swedish Orientalists, one of the most respected ones on an international level is the recently deceased Gunnar Jarring (1907–2003), a Central Asianist, professor of Turkology at Lund University and the former Swedish ambassador to the United Nations. In the election of 1936, Jarring was a parliamentary candidate for the Fascist Swedish National League party,²⁴ and in 1942 he was bestowed with the swastika-adorned Order of the German Eagle for his loyal service as an agent in the pro-German Swedish military intelligence.²⁵ In Jarring’s bibliography, published on his seventieth birthday, articles from his Nazi past had been completely erased, although the *Tabula gratulatoria* contains many old party comrades from his time in the Swedish National League.²⁶ In one of the “missing” Nazi articles from 1936, Jarring wrote about Kashmir as a country where “the pure Aryan still lives on with all the characters of his race,” as he, like the other Nazi Orientalists, located the *Urheimat* of the Indo-European *Urvolk* somewhere in Northern India, Central Asia, and Tibet.²⁷

Björn Collinder (1894–1983), professor of Finno-Ugric Languages at Uppsala University, is credited for the introduction of both Korean and Japanese Studies to Sweden; he was also a renowned scholar in Altaic Studies and the mentor and supervisor of Cho Seung-bog, an ethnic Korean from China who arrived in Uppsala in the 1950s and later became the country’s first professor of Japanese and the founder of Korean studies in Sweden.²⁸ Like his friend, Nicholas Poppe, a Central Asianist, Soviet émigré, and Nazi collaborator, who ended up as a professor at University of Washington, Collinder was an advocate of the theory of a combined Uralic-Altaic language family. Collinder was famous among Uppsala’s scholars for his arrogant and openly anti-Semitic attitude, and in 1964 the professor chose to become a

member of the Fascist Neo-Swedish Movement.²⁹ As a young student, Collinder joined the anti-Semitic Gymnic Society; he was a frequent writer in the Swedish National League's *Fria Ord* newspaper after the war and wrote an academic paper in honor of the eightieth birthday of its editor-in-chief, Rütger Essén.³⁰

Among Orientalist historians of religion, worth mentioning are Hugo Odeberg (1898–1973), an expert on Judaism who acted as the chairman of the pro-Nazi National Association of Sweden-Germany throughout the war years (even if his student, Professor Tryggve Kronholm, has refused to acknowledge this fact in his biography), and the contemporary Islamologist Jan Hjärpe, at Lund University, who has written for *Fria Ord* and who, to the surprise and anger of Swedish Jews and antiracists, defended a mad anti-Semitic hatemonger in a 1980s court trial.³¹ This involvement should not come as a surprise, as many a prominent Orientalist — for example, France's Ernest Renan and the equally legendary German, Max Müller — has contributed substantially to developing the ideology of anti-Semitism and the denigration of Judaism by portraying the Jews as “murderers of God”; and some, like the German Orientalist Friedrich Delitzsch, even tried to prove that the Jews had stolen their religion from the ancient Assyrians and that Jesus was an Aryan, not a Jew.

Among Swedish Indologists, the well-reputed Stig Wikander (1908–83), a professor of Sanskrit, wrote for right-wing extremist journals in the 1930s, was a member of the National Association of Sweden-Germany during the war, and was a close friend of the leading German Nazi academic Otto Höfler.³² Like his French supervisor and mentor the great Georges Dumézil, who lectured on “Aryan religion” at Uppsala University and who socialized with French extreme rightists and Fascists, Höfler wrote extensively on the Aryan *Männerbund* (or warrior societies) that stood as the model for Himmler's SS. Erik Gren (1904–59), another Swedish Indologist, who in 1952 founded the peer-reviewed journal *Orientalia Suecana* and became its first editor-in-chief, had an active membership in the Fascist Neo-Swedish Movement; like many of his Orientalist colleagues, he wrote for the Swedish *Fria Ord* and the German *Nation Europa*, the most important, international neo-Nazi “theory” journal after the war.³³ It is important to remember that Sanskrit studies and Indology had a strong affiliation with National Social-

ism, and the fields certainly played a major role in the development of race-thinking and the Aryan myth.

Ever since the 1780s, when the Welshman Sir William Jones was able to prove a linguistic relationship between Sanskrit and the old Mediterranean languages and thereby can be said to have founded modern Asian studies, linguistic relationships have uncritically presupposed cultural and biological kinship. Many Indologists are still laying heavy stress upon classical India with its “pure and noble Sanskrit” and “mighty and warlike Aryans.”³⁴ Perhaps unsurprisingly, Germany has always been the center of Indological research, including such names as Friedrich Schlegel, Christian Lassen, and Franz Bopp. During the Nazi era, many of the best-known German Orientalists were actually organized members of the German Nazi Party (NSDAP), and also of its elite organization, the SS, after the “Aryanization” of the field and the expulsion of their Jewish colleagues and Orientalists from German universities. Names include: the Iranists and Sanskritists Hermann Lommel and Hermann Güntert; the linguist Gunther Ispen; the professor of Jainology Ludwig Alsdorf; the expert in Indian law and SS-Unterscharführer Bernhard Breloer; the professor of Indian religions, leader of the Nazi pagan Wotan movement, and personal friend of Heinrich Himmler SS-Hauptsturmführer Jakob Wilhelm Hauer; the Sanskritist and SS-Obersturmführer Richard Schmidt; and, above all, the legendary authority on Indian philosophy Erich Frauwallner who joined (as did California’s governor Arnold Schwarzenegger’s father) the then illegal Austrian Nazi Party in 1932. According to one of his own students, Frauwallner also used to lecture in his shining black SS uniform, elegantly designed by his fellow countryman and Nazi comrade Hugo Boss.³⁵

In 1995, Hollywood released the historically revisionist production *Seven Years in Tibet*, about the Austrian Tibetologist, Nazi storm-trooper, and SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Harrer, one of several German Orientalists personally dispatched by Himmler to Central Asia and Tibet with the mission to find clues to the origin of the white race.³⁶ This never-ending quest, scientifically expressed as the search for the *Urheimat* of the Indo-Europeans, has, according to the English archeologist Colin Renfrew, been the dominating theme for Indologists and many other Asianists; it, of course, has been the *raison d’être* for the field of *vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* in its relent-

less attempts to reconstruct the Indo-European *Ursprache*, thereby paralleling the obsession with finding the origins to the Finno-Ugric peoples, which Finnish and Hungarian Nazi academics were engaged in during the 1930s and 1940s.³⁷ Buddhist and Tibetan studies seem to have especially attracted many Nazis and extreme rightists in the search for the “white Lama of the lost city of Shangri-La” or “Shambhala” and the “secret Kalachakra initiation rituals” and in the belief in Buddhism as a “pure Aryan religion” of originally Western and sometimes even antique Greek origin, in contrast to the weak and villainous “Oriental-Jewish Christianity.”³⁸ The world-famous Buddhologist Giuseppe Tucci was an ardent Italian Fascist in his strong admiration of D. T. Suzuki’s version of Zen Buddhism and the “authoritarian culture of the Orient,” just like his contemporary, the German Buddhologist Wolfgang Schumacher. Moreover, the American Sanskritist Revilo Pendleton Oliver at the University of Illinois, one of the founders of the John Birch Society, was a racist and anti-Communist; a modern example of a scholarly proponent of “Aryan Buddhism,” following *Völkisch* and occult racialists and Nazis like Madame Blavatsky and Savitri Devi, is the Danish Indologist Christian Lindtner, who is also deeply engaged in the Holocaust denial business.³⁹ The American professor of geography Nigel J. R. Allan has written on the relationship between Nazi landscape aesthetic and its preoccupation with Tibet and Central Asia; he argues that the Nazis were prepared not only to exterminate all native nonwhites of the region after having found the *Urheimat*, but also the “non-Aryan” plants and animals, in their plans to accomplish a recreation of the “Aryan paradise” according to the principles and recommendations of the Nazi biologist Hans Brücher, yet another academic colleague of Sven Hedin.⁴⁰

The quest to find the origin of the white race is still prevalent, albeit less explicit, in the work of some contemporary Central Asianists, such as Elizabeth Barber and Victor Mair, as reflected in their obsession with the “Aryan” Tocharians and Sakas and their connections to prehistoric Hittites and Celts and in their media-hyping of the newly excavated “white mummies” in Chinese Xinjiang.⁴¹ In 1994, a Swedish expedition to Chinese Central Asia took place following in the footsteps of Hedin and funded by the Sven Hedin Foundation and the Swedish Royal Academy of Science, with the purpose of surveying the former and present riverbed of the

Yar-tonguz-darya.⁴² The expedition consisted of, among others, the Sinologist Joakim Enwall and Håkan Wahlquist, curator of the Swedish National Museum of Ethnography and chairman of the Sven Hedin Foundation, and took the opportunity to excavate some “white mummies.” In the reports by Enwall that followed, it is clear that those mysterious mummies, said to have a “genetic kinship with the West,” played an important role for the expedition: “Emotional was the finding of a grave from Jazluq at Cherchen, dated to 1000 BC, which contained a mummified young woman with her arms and legs cut off. Beside her was a four-month-old infant, and in the middle of the grave a three-year-old boy had been put with his head in front of him. The hair of the woman was still well preserved, and the face features clearly pointed to the Caucasian race.”⁴³

The Koreanists and the Case of Åke J. Ek

Tellingly, the two main introductions to Korea written by Swedes both have right-wing extremists as authors: *Koreansk t kalejdoskop* (1972) by Åke J. Ek and *Koreaboken* (1997) coauthored by Carin Cederberg and Janica Lundholm.⁴⁴ Ek is the founder and leading member of the Swedish-Korean Society that was formed in 1951, while *Koreaboken* was published by the Korean Association in Sweden, established in 1961. The Korean Association is today the principal organization for Swedes with an interest in Korea and has from its beginning been dominated by Swedish officers who have served at the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Panmunjom, South Korea, since the armistice of 1953. Among them, many have long records with Nazi and Fascist parties, such as Arne Uggla, from the Neo-Swedish Movement, and Carl-Olof Wrang, from the Swedish National League and the Swedish Socialist League, and a former volunteer of the Waffen-SS during the war.⁴⁵ *Koreaboken*, published in 1997 by the Korean Association in Sweden, is partly written by Carin Cederberg, who has an MA in Korean studies from Stockholm University and a background in the Swedish congregation of the well-known Unification Church led by the South Korean leader Sun Myung Moon, a charismatic quasireligious, anti-Communist leader who played an important part in the South Korean military regime during the 1970s and 1980s.⁴⁶ The church’s most outspoken member in Sweden is

otherwise the journalist and Korea expert Tommy Hansson, who in the 1990s was the editor-in-chief of *Aktuellt om Korea*, an expensive and glossy magazine on Korea, and today is editor-in-chief of *Contra*, the classic voice of Swedish right-wing extremism since the 1970s.

Ek, a Koreanist listed in the *Directory of Korean Studies in Europe*, has published papers and monographs on the educational system of Korea and, throughout the years, has participated in several Korean studies conferences organized by the South Korean Academy of Korean Studies and the Association for Korean Studies in Europe.⁴⁷ He has a strong political background in the most radical of the Swedish Nazi parties during the 1940s, the Swedish Socialist League.⁴⁸ Ek volunteered for pro-Nazi Finland in 1944, and at the end of the war he took part in the smuggling of SS war criminals who fled to Sweden from Norway and the Baltic countries, some of whom stayed in the country while others fled to South America.⁴⁹ In 1944, he wrote in an address for the Fighting Anti-Semitic Committee: "After the invasion of tens of thousands of Semites that has befallen our country after the outbreak of war, the Jewish plague has grown to terrible proportions. For every racist and anti-Semitic Swede, it is clear that the propaganda against Jewry in our country must be seriously intensified . . . With anti-Semitic fighting regards."⁵⁰

Ek's relationship with Korea started as he served in the first contingent of the Swedish Red Cross Hospital in Pusan during the Korean War; upon returning to Sweden, he founded the Swedish-Korean Society in 1951. The society was the leading Swedish friendship association for South Korea until the 1970s, with an odd membership composed of the first generation of adoptive parents of Korean children, hospital veteran servicemen from the war, and many of Ek's old Nazi comrades from the 1940s who felt a strong sympathy for South Korea from an anti-Communist and, most probably, an anti-Semitic standpoint, since according to Nazi ideology Jews are behind Communism.⁵¹ Ek went as far as to facilitate the adoption of Korean children in Sweden to please his anti-Communist ally by lobbying for social benefits for adoptive families and acting as an information resource center on adoption issues.⁵² In this way, ironically, Nazis came to play a crucial part in popularizing the adoption of Korean children, who definitely must be said to be the wrong kind of master race *Sonnenkinder* that postwar Nazis tried to procreate to make ground for the Fourth Reich. During the postwar

years, Ek has been the leading member of the Swedish branch of the World Anti-Communist League, like a modern Anti-Comintern, an international of extreme rightists, anti-Communists, Fascists, and Nazis from all continents, which was founded by president Syngman Rhee in close cooperation with Taiwan's Chiang Kai-Shek in Seoul in 1954. Members of the Swedish branch, most of them notorious Swedish Nazis and right-wing extremists, regularly attend the league's congresses in Asian cities like Taipei, Seoul, Manila, Tokyo, and Bangkok.⁵³ In 1990, after the end of the Cold War, the organization rebaptized itself as the World League for Freedom and Democracy and is nowadays said to be promoting democracy in the global community.⁵⁴

Japanese Studies and the Sasakawa Foundation

Japan has for many years played a special role for Sweden's extreme rightists, and, as a historical ally of Nazi Germany, the country has always had a privileged place in the more popular cultural Nazi imagery of Samurai culture, Zen Buddhism, and martial arts. Relations between Swedish Nazis and Japanese fascists have existed since the Swedish-Japanese Association of the 1930s, when Swedes like Essén and Hedin fraternized with Japanese militarists, and a Japanese counselor played a part in the still not solved Nazi murder plot of the Danish agent Jane Horney in Stockholm at the end of the war.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the most scary of the old Nazis of Sweden, Carl-Göran Borgenstierna — who volunteered for Waffen-SS as late as 1945 and was politically active until his death in 1995, who after the war became a mafia-style leader and owner of sex clubs, who was a collector of skulls that he was reputed to have gained through commissioned murders, and who was known in the criminal underworld as the spiritual leader behind the murder of prime minister Olof Palme in 1986 — was married to a Japanese woman with Fascist sympathies.⁵⁶ Other examples of this unholy alliance between Japanese fascism and Japanese studies is the adoration among the latter for the ultranationalist author Yukio Mishima and for Japanese Zen Buddhism, which played a crucial part in the Fascist ideology and cultural nationalism of militaristic Japan in the 1930s; it is not surprising that the white supremacist American leader Samuel Jared Taylor was a teacher of

Japanese at Harvard University.⁵⁷ An even more striking example of this bizarre alliance is the case of the Sasakawa Foundation, founded in 1986, and named after its donator the late Ryoichi Sasakawa.

With her royal highness Princess Christina, the sister of the king of Sweden, as chairwoman for Sweden, the foundation distributes substantial financial resources to the country's Japanologists, in spite of the fact that the European Association for Japanese studies and many Western universities openly dissociate themselves from the dubious foundation. However, this is not the case for the Japanologist Bruno Gollnisch at the University of Lyon; an ideologist and strongman for the Fascist Front National, as well as the closest aide to its leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, he openly supports and cooperates with the Sasakawa Foundation.⁵⁸ Sasakawa was Japanese fascism's *éminence grise*, together with his right-hand man and Yakuza boss, Yoshio Kodama.⁵⁹ In 1931, he founded Kokusai Taishuto, whose members wore black shirts, and he personally met with Mussolini — according to Sasakawa “the most perfect Fascist” — during a visit to Rome. After the defeat, Sasakawa was classified as a class-A war criminal by the Americans, and he was put into Sugamo jail for three years with the upcoming prime minister Kishi Nobosuke as his cellmate. However, in postwar Japan, Sasakawa, together with many from similar doubtful backgrounds, became a part of the leading political and economic elite of the country in the name of anti-Communism. In 1959, he received the monopoly of betting for racers from the above-mentioned prime minister Nobosuke, which made Sasakawa an astronomically rich man. “I am the world's richest Fascist,” Sasakawa used to boast, as he, at the same time, was the leader of the neo-Fascist Zenai Kaigi, the Unification Church in Japan, and the chairman of the Japanese branch of the World Anti-Communist League.

The Neo-Nazis and Populists

Today's militant Nazi movement of Sweden, by far the most vibrant and dynamic in the Western world, was born during the first half of the 1980s with the growth of the violent skinhead subculture and on the foundation of so-called action groups.⁶⁰ The national leader of the action groups, for many years known to the public as “Sweden's Neo-Nazi leader,” was the regularly

convicted Staffan Winlöf. A less-known aspect of Winlöf is that he studied various Asian languages at Lund University, with Thai as his major subject; nowadays he is a successful chief executive officer for Bangkok's biggest martial art center.⁶¹ Young neo-Nazis in general have an ambivalent attitude toward ethnic Asians living in Sweden, subscribing to the view of Asians as "honorary whites" that goes back to the historical legacy of the alliance between Nazi Germany and Japan. There are many stories from all over the country about local skinhead gangs who meet at Chinese restaurants, while others have wives adopted from Korea.⁶² A Thai woman was in the core of the action group White Aryan Resistance in the 1990s, and Thomas Nakaba, one of the leading Danish neo-Nazis who has operated in Sweden, has a Japanese father. Furthermore, an adopted man from Sri Lanka—who as a Sinhalese claims an "Aryan belonging"—is gaining a reputation in the Fascist Neo-Swedish Movement.⁶³

The other aspect of Sweden's racist and extreme-right movement is the whole array of different populist parties who share a common denominator: wanting to stop nonwhite immigration from non-Western countries.⁶⁴ Some years ago the leading party was New Democracy, and today the more fascist-style party of Sweden Democrats dominates the scene. In those parties, the tax-hating petit-bourgeoisie unifies with destitute working-class men, as both groups have been marginalized in their own ways in the age of elite, liberal multiculturalism in Sweden. During the election of 1998, the nobleman Count Ian Wachtmeister created the anti-immigrant New Party, and on its candidate list for the parliament Lars Berglund appeared, an associate professor of Sinology, historian of art, and former curator of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm.⁶⁵ Berglund has also turned up as a writer of articles for the journal *Salt*, the voice of the academia-based Radical Conservative movement that is developing in Sweden as a response to the still influential "decadent generation of 1968." This "intellectual" movement honors "the fatherland, the family, and the army" and despises everything that can be branded as "feminism, multiculturalism, and mob rule," the last being, of course, a code word for parliamentary democracy.⁶⁶

Some Tentative Explanations

So, with all this said, with such ample evidence from the Swedish milieu, we must ask: why are all these extreme rightists — from violent and hardcore Nazis to more discreet, intellectual right-wingers — so frequently and variously involved with Asian studies and the fetish of “Asia”? To begin with, a first point of departure must be the general appreciation for Asian peoples and cultures coming from the public at large in the West. In contrast to the various cultures of the Americas, Africa, and Oceania that Europeans encountered during their conquest of the world and which, with few exceptions, were deemed “primitive” according to the “scientific” logic of Social Darwinist thinking, Asia was considered to be an equal, at least in its glorious past of empires and civilizations; its contemporary state was universally condemned as having fallen into rampant stagnation and decay, thereby legitimizing missionary activities, military interventions, and, in the end, outright colonization.

The classic “Oriental lure” whereby Westerners simply imagine and create their own “Asia” through representation and appropriation has certainly played an important role in the development of Western culture. The American Sinologist Raymond Dawson traces the Western tradition of using Asia as a backdrop for ideological deployment back to the Enlightenment.⁶⁷ According to Dawson, India, China, and soon also Japan became symbols and role models for conservative forces in a longing for the premodern, and the “laws of nature” were often translated into Hinduism or Confucianism, and, as a political ideology, with social hierarchies naturalized. This romantic Orientalism can be found among such diverse representatives as: the canonical authors of romanticism; the various occultist and esoteric New Age sects inspired by “Oriental” philosophy, religion, and “Ariosophy,” such as the Jungians, the Hare Krishnas, and the followers of Rudolf Steiner’s “Anthroposophy” or Madame Blavatsky’s “Theosophy”; and last, but not least, Western popular culture’s almost childlike fondness for any expression of “Oriental mystique.”⁶⁸ There is, of course, a difference between the circulation of Oriental elements in Western popular culture like belly dancing, yoga, acupuncture, and martial arts, and academic appropriations like those of the American poet and fascist Ezra Pound, who, like the French post-

structuralist Roland Barthes, was obsessed by the “pictographic characters of the Orient,” or of feminist scholars like Julia Kristeva and Hélène Cixous, who went in search of “Oriental femininity.” However, the tendency to use Asia as a projection of one’s own wishes and desires is clearly the same.⁶⁹

Paradoxically, even today’s neo-Nazis are showing a growing appreciation for Asia, a region perceived as being “racially homogenous” and where “the *Führer* principle” still governs. In 1996, the American neo-Nazi magazine *Resistance* published a dialogue between the Canadian Nazi-ideologist George Eric Hawthorne and Andrew Oswald, an African-American Muslim from the Nation of Islam, with both of them praising the rapid industrialization of South Korea and China as a natural result of an “Asian National Socialism.”⁷⁰ The “scientific” grounding for this viewpoint comes from theories of East Asian intellectual superiority, with the race theorists Richard Lynn, Philippe Rushton, and Arthur Jensen as the main proponents and widely popularized through the best-seller *The Bell Curve* (1994) by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray.⁷¹ Barry Sautman has examined this image of East Asians as intellectual “supermen” and how it has been used to explain the Asia Pacific economic miracle not only by Westerners but by Asians themselves, in a version of internalized Orientalism.⁷²

However, side by side with this positive image of Asia, there is a paranoid and resurgent repulsion from and fear of Asia, whether manifested as the “yellow peril” at the time of the colonial period, the “Jewish question” during the 1930s, the “Oriental despotism” of “Socialismus Asiaticus” during the Cold War, the current “green peril” of Islamism, Samuel Huntington’s “Confucian-Islamic alliance,” or Bush’s “axis of evil”; in these terms, Asia is seen as a powerful threat, potentially superior to Western civilization, and therefore a combatant in an inevitable race war for global power.⁷³ Because of this fear and perceived danger, it becomes necessary for Westerners to master the languages and cultures of Asia, not to mention to dominate the region politically and economically. This does not exclude the somewhat mundane fact that today’s Asian studies and the recent upsurge in the study of Asian languages and cultures also has a lot to do with the spread of global capital and business opportunities, as Tim Oakes rightly points out.⁷⁴ To master Asia and the Asians was also the reason why Asian studies in the West was born in the first place, with Arabic as its first subject in the thir-

teenth century at the time of the Crusades. Similarly, it was during the eighteenth century, when Western colonial domination in Asia became more pronounced and obvious, that the study of the various languages spoken on the vast continent increased significantly, with the birth of Orientalism or Oriental studies. James Hevia has written on how British scholarship ethnographically mapped its way through China just as it did through India, that is, by building up an extensive Orientalist archive as an integrated part of the colonial project. This archive served not only to decode and recode the country and to provide intelligence in the contest with other Western powers to dominate the local scene, but also to show that the spirit of this ancient and venerable Chinese civilization had stagnated and was gone forever and was therefore ripe for colonization.⁷⁵

Ultimately, then, the reasons why Nazis and extreme rightists are drawn to Asian studies can be found in this mixture of fear and desire for Asia. Political scientists and classical Orientalists like Rudolf Kjellén, Rütger Essén, and Sven Hedin all feared Asia and especially East Asia, as a worthy enemy and near-equivalent to Western civilization, which in a not-too-distant future would outpace and perhaps overrun the Western hemisphere. Ironically, their vision seems to come true at this very moment, as there has been many a proponent for the European Union who has referred explicitly to the threat coming from East Asia and the need for the Europeans to stand together. In 1991, the French prime minister and the European Union's education commissioner Edith Cresson, picturing economic competition between the West and East Asia as a global race war, stated that Japan was a "nation of ants" and that East Asians were "little yellow men" who "stay up all night thinking about ways to screw the Americans and the Europeans. They are our common enemy."⁷⁶ Edith Cresson is, of course, not the only one who recently has echoed Kjellén's geopolitical perspective on the world by identifying Asia as the main enemy to the West; consider, for example, Huntington's influential theory of the clash of civilizations or the best-selling novels of respected British journalist Humphrey Hawksley on the West's coming war with "green" and "yellow" Asia.

At the same time, Asia is also the distant homeland of the white race, as expressed in the obsession with Central Asia and Tibet, and in the almost sacred veneration of Sanskrit and ancient India. One bizarre aspect worth

mentioning of the quest for the origin of the white race is the various “scientific” proposals of the Kalmucks, the Maoris, the Ainu, or even the Koreans as distant kin to the white race.⁷⁷ Thus the conservatives naturally admire Confucian East and Southeast Asia, while the hardcore Nazis go for Central and South Asia in their search for Aryan brethren, and the more aesthetic-minded seem to prefer West Asia, where they can find solace for their romantic Orientalism. In other words, by imagining and conceptualizing an Asia of their own, Asia ontologically and epistemologically becomes a code word and a metaphor for political authoritarianism, racial homogeneity, patriarchal familialism, and cultural traditionalism, all typical extreme rightist components in a Western ideological context. Accordingly, it is no surprise that antidemocratic right-wing extremists, such as Gunnar Jarring and Stig Wikander, were respected Oriental studies scholars of the colonialist era or that fanatic anti-Communists and anti-Semites, such as Åke J. Ek and Erik Gren, could be rewarded area studies scholars during the Cold War period. The fact that Asia functions as a topos of fear and desire explains why the field harbors so many Nazis and extreme rightists; because of this twofold schizophrenic process, Asian studies in Sweden largely missed the moments of decolonization and de-Nazification and continues to be fuelled by Orientalist fantasies and dreams.

Notes

This article was first published in Swedish as “Varför dras nazister och högerextremister till Asien?” (“Why Are Nazis and Extreme Rightists Attracted to Asia?”) in *Orientaliska Studier* 111 (2003): 36–48, and presented at the conference *The Question of Asia in the New Global Order* at the Asian/Pacific Studies Institute at Duke University, on October 1, 2004. I am grateful to Ralph Litzinger and Leo Ching at Duke University, as coorganizers of the conference, and for the comments received there; I am also grateful for the comments from the coeditors of this volume, Yan Hairong and Dan Vukovich, and from the anonymous reviewers.

- 1 Nils Elvander, “Rudolf Kjellén och nationalsocialismen” (“Rudolf Kjellén and National Socialism”), *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift* 59 (1956): 15–41.
- 2 Bert Edström, “Rudolf Kjellén och Japan” (“Rudolf Kjellén and Japan”), *Orientaliska Studier* 89 (1996): 13–35.
- 3 Rudolf Kjellén, *Politiska essayer: Studier till dagskrönikan (1907–1913) 1: Internationell politik*

- och geopolitik (*Political Essays: Studies to the Daily Chronicle (1907–1913) 1: International Politics and Geopolitics*) (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1914), 13.
- 4 Rudolf Kjellén, *Den stora Orinten: Resestudier i österväg (The Great Orient: Travel Studies Eastward)* (Gothenburg: Åhlén and Åkerlund, 1911), 267.
 - 5 *Ibid.*, 257–72, 311–15.
 - 6 Åke Holmberg, *Världen bortom Västerlandet II: Den svenska omvärldsbilden under mellankrigstiden (The World beyond the West II: The Swedish Image of the World during the Mid-War Period)* (Gothenburg: Kungliga Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-samhället, 1994), 110–18. Essén published many books on East Asia; see *Mellan Östersjön och Stilla havet: Asiatiska problem och minnen (Between the Baltic Sea and the Pacific Ocean: Asian Problems and Memories)* (1924), *Kinas omdaning (China's Transition)* (1927), and *Från Asiens oros-härddar (From Asian Conflicts)* (1931). Essén's daughter Marianne Rasmuson, born in Tokyo during one of her parents' many visits to East Asia, is today a professor of Genetics at Umeå University and has followed in her father's political footsteps with articles in *Fria Ord*. See Marianne Rasmuson, "Generna och hjärnan" ("Genes and the Brain"), *Fria Ord*, September 15, 1984.
 - 7 Rütger Essén, *Sverige upplever världen: Vår politiska historia från sekelskiftet till nu 1935 (Sweden Experiences the World: Our Political History from the Millenium Shift to 1935)* (Stockholm: Lindfors, 1935), 64.
 - 8 Rütger Essén, "Hitler är död" ("Hitler is Dead"), *Dagsposten*, May 3, 1945.
 - 9 See Grebst's travel accounts: *I soluppgångens land: På velociped genom Japan (In the Land of the Rising Sun: Bicycling through Japan)* (1909) and *I Korea: Minnen och studier från "Morgonstillhetens land" (In Korea: Memories and Studies from the Land of the Morning Calm)* (1912).
 - 10 Nils Weijdegård, "Tidningen Vidi och det homosexuella kloakträsket" ("The Paper *Vidi* and the Homosexual Marshland"), *Lambda Nordica* 1–2 (1995): 47–60.
 - 11 For a rare examination of this fascinating connection, see Jonathan Hess, "Johann David Michaelis and the Colonial Imaginary: Orientalism and the Emergence of Racial Antisemitism in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Jewish Social Studies* 6 (2000): 56–101.
 - 12 For a critical account of the opening of Central Asia, see Peter Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road: The Search for Lost Treasures of Central Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
 - 13 See the main biography by Eric Wennerholm, *Sven Hedin: En biografi (Sven Hedin: A Biography)* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1978), Lasse Berg and Stig Holmqvist, *I Sven Hedins spår (In the Footsteps of Sven Hedins)* (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 1992), and the homepage of the Sven Hedin Foundation: www.etnografiska.se/hedinweb/index.htm (accessed May 21, 2003).
 - 14 A groundbreaking contextualization of Sven Hedin as a Nazi has been made by Sarah K. Danielson in her forthcoming study "The Intellectual Unmasked: Sven Hedin's Political Life from Pan-Germanism to National Socialism."
 - 15 Arne Reberg, "Han gillade både Hitler och-Mao . . ." ("He Liked Both Hitler and Mao . . ."),

- Expressen*, October 8, 1978, and Bosse Sandström, "Storsvensken: Sven Hedin, adlad, nazist och upptäcksresande" ("The Great Swede: Sven Hedin, Honored with Knighthood, Nazi and Explorer"), *Aftonbladet*, September 25, 1977.
- 16 Sven Hedin, *Stormän och kungar 2 (Great Men and Kings 2)* (Stockholm: Fahlerantz & Gumaelius, 1950), 65–78.
- 17 Hedin, who never married, once told the Swedish public that "Asia is my cold bride." For an excellent treatise on Fascism's cult of masculinity and violence, see Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985–89).
- 18 See, among others, "Den verkliga vännen: Sven Hedin är uppskattad i Nazityskland" ("The Real Friend: Sven Hedin is Appreciated in Nazi Germany"), *Trots Allt*, no. 20 (1940): 7; "Sven Hedin lovar ett fredsparadis: Lovsjunger profetiskt sitt rätta fosterland" ("Sven Hedin Promises a Paradise of Peace: He Praises His Real Fatherland Prophetically"), *Trots Allt*, no. 43 (1941): 5; "Sven Hedin kämpft: Bolsjevismen ska utrotas" ("Sven Hedin is Fighting: Bolshevism Is to Be Exterminated"), *Trots Allt*, no. 47 (1941): 2; "Hedin i fält" ("Hedin at the Front"), *Trots Allt*, no. 2 (1942): 9; and "Svensk akademiledamot i dåligt sällskap: Sven Hedin medarbetar i schalburgarnas tidning" ("Swedish Academy Member in Bad Company: Sven Hedin Writes in the Paper of the Schalburgers"), *Trots Allt*, no. 9 (1944): 1. See also "Sven Hedin om Versailles-freden" ("Sven Hedin on the Versailles Treaty"), *Tysk veckorevy* 64 (1941): 11, and Sven Hedin, "En hälsning till Nordisk Ungdom" ("An Appeal to Nordic Youth"), *Ungt Folk* (Midwinter 1943): 6, where he warns the members of Sweden's most fanatic and violent National Socialist youth organization of "the barbarians of the East."
- 19 "Riksföreningen Sverige-Tyskland årsmöte: Professor Nilsson-Ehle avgår som ordförande ordförande och efterträdes av professor Liljeqvist" ("Annual Meeting of Riksföreningen Sverige-Tyskland: Professor Nilsson-Ehle Resigns as Chairman and is Replaced by Professor Liljeqvist"), *Sverige-Tyskland* 2 (1939): 12; and "Ur Dagspostens historia: Aktievalören sänkes och nytt kapital anskaffas" ("From the History of *Dagsposten*: The Stock Value Is Lowered, and New Capital Is Claimed"), *Trots Allt*, no. 6 (1944): 2.
- 20 "Sven Hedins iskalla brev om judarna" ("Sven Hedin's Ice Cold Letter on the Jews"), *Expressen*, April 15, 1987.
- 21 Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS 1935–1945: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches (The SS Ahnenerbe 1935–1945: A Contribution to the Cultural Politics of the Third Reich)* (Stuttgart: Deutsches Verlags-Anstalt, 1974).
- 22 Sven Hedin, "Die einzige Macht" ("The Only Power"), *Der Deutsche in Schweden (The Germans in Sweden)* 4 (1945): 11.
- 23 Sven Hedin, "Gruss an die deutschen Studenten" ("Regards to the German Students"), *Nation Europa* 2 (1952): 16, and Sven Hedin, "Sven Hedin om Fria Ord: Det är vår plikt att hålla ut" ("Sven Hedin on *Fria Ord*: It Is Our Duty to Prevail"), *Fria Ord*, November 8, 1952.

- 24 “Fyrstadskretsens nationella lista klar” (“The Nationalist Candidate List of Four Cities Is Set”), *Nationell Tidning* 34 (1936): 11. In 1972, when ambassador Jarring mediated in the Arab-Israeli conflict on behalf of the United Nations, Swedish journalists revealed his Nazi past. See Lars Svedgård, “Jarring som var riksdagskandidat för ett nazivänligt parti krävde Sveriges utträde ur NF” (“Jarring Was the Parliament Candidate for a Nazi-Style Party Demanding Sweden’s Exit from the UN”), *Aftonbladet*, May 9, 1972.
- 25 On the Swedish military intelligence during World War II, see Maj Wechseltmann, *De bruna förbindelserna (The Brown Connections)* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 1995).
- 26 Former party comrades of Jarring worth mentioning are Arvid Fredborg, Karl Olivecrona, Erik Rooth and Uno Willers. See *Gunnar Jarring: En bibliografi (Gunnar Jarring: A Bibliography)*, ed. Christopher Toll and Ulla Ehrensvärd (Stockholm: Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul, 1977).
- 27 Gunnar Jarring, “Ett paradys på jorden” (“A Paradise on Earth”), *Nationell Jul*, 1 (1936): 3.
- 28 Seung-bog Cho, *A Phonological Study of Korean with a Historical Analysis* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1967), xi-xiii. However, this does not imply that professor Cho in any way inherited the ideology of his mentor and benefactor.
- 29 See the report from the Uppsala branch in “Rapport från Uppsala” (Report from Uppsala), *Vägen Framåt* 15 (1964): 4.
- 30 Carl-Ernfrid Carlberg, “Stamråd och övriga medarbetare” (“Founders and Other Coworkers”), *Gymn* 2 (1929): 2, and *Rütger Essén på 80-årsdagen 19/3 1970 (Rütger Essén on his Eightieth Birthday, March 19, 1970)* (Stockholm: Uniprint, 1970).
- 31 See Hugo Odeberg’s own archive at the library of Lund University, Lund, and *Radio Islam: Radiostationen, rättegången och debatten (Radio Islam: The Radio Station, the Trial, and the Debate)*, www.isk.kth.se/~isk_nisc/arbeten/radioislam/radioislam.htm (accessed May 15, 2003).
- 32 Leon Ljunglund, “Rapport” (“Report”), *Fri Opposition* 1 (1936): 2; Ljunglund, “Rapport” (“Report”), *Fri Opposition* 9 (1937): 3; and Gunnar Berg, “En tysk kulturkritiker” (“A German Cultural Critique”), *Sverige-Tyskland* 3 (1939): 7.
- 33 See the membership lists from 1941 and 1955 in the archive of its leader Per Engdahl, Riksarkivet, Stockholm; Erik Gren, “Begåvning och självständighet” (“Intelligence and Independence”), *Fria Ord*, June 16, 1956; Erik Gren, “Neukonservatism” (“Neoconservatism”), *Nation Europa* 10 (1954): 13; and Armas Sastamoinen, *Nynazismen (Neonazism)* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1961), 122.
- 34 Kai Friese, “The Aryan Handshake: Blood and Belonging in India,” *Transition* 83 (2000): 4–35.
- 35 Sheldon Pollock, “Deep Orientalism? Notes on Sanskrit and Power beyond the Raj,” in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 80–96.
- 36 On the SS expeditions to Tibet, India, and Central Asia, see Christopher Hale, *Himmler’s Crusade: The True Story of the Nazi Expedition to Tibet* (London: Bantam, 2004).

- 37 Colin Renfrew, *Archeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (London: Cape, 1987). For a couple of excellent treatises on this subject, see Stefan Arvidsson, *Ariska idoler: Den indoeuropeiska mytologin som ideologi och vetenskap (Aryan Idols: Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science)* (Eslöv: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag, 2000); Bruce Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and Vasant Kaiwar, "The Aryan Model of History and the Oriental Renaissance: The Politics of Identity in the Age of Revolutions, Colonialism, and Nationalism," in *The Antinomies of Modernity: Essays on Race, Orient, Nation*, ed. Vasant Kaiwar and Sucheta Mazumdar (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 13–61.
- 38 On the Tibetologists and the many myths of Tibet, see Renate Koller and Markus Vock, *Traumwelt Tibet: Westliche Trugbilder (Dreamworld Tibet: Western Illusions)* (Bern: Haupt, 2000), 35–93.
- 39 Gustavo Benavides, "Giuseppe Tucci, or Buddhology in the Age of Fascism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 161–96, and Lindtner's homepages: holocaustuddannelse.dk/lindtner/ and www.lindtner-myhre.dk/ (accessed May 15, 2003).
- 40 See, for example, Allan's review of David Zurick's and P. P. Karan's *Himalaya: Life on the Edge of the World* (1999): "The Tyranny of Scholarship," *Himal South Asian*, August 2000.
- 41 Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *The Mummies of Ürümchi* (London: Macmillan, 1999), and P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000).
- 42 Staffan Rosén, "Sidenvägen och svensk centralasienforskning" ("The Silk Road and Swedish Central Asian Studies"), *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok (Yearbook of the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities)* (1995): 143–55.
- 43 Joakim Enwall, "Mot Yar-tonguz — Den svensk-kinesiska Takla-makan-expeditionen 1994" ("Against Yar-tonguz — The Swedish-Sino Takla-makan Expedition of 1994"), *Orientaliska Studier* 86–87 (1995): 3–34.
- 44 Åke J. Ek, *Koreanskt kalejdoskop (Korean Kaleidoscope)* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1972), and Carin Cederberg and Janica Lundholm, *Koreaboken (The Korea Book)* (Stockholm: Korean Association in Sweden, 1997).
- 45 "Ett stridsflyg i Fjärrkarelen" ("A Fighter in Far Carelia"), *Nysvensk Tidskrift* 4 (1943): 8, and "Midvinterhälsningar" ("Midwinter Greetings"), *Ungt Folk* 11 (1941): 10.
- 46 Carin Cederberg, "Skolbarn i vår tid: Trött på att läsa, saknar kontakt, utan framtidshopp" ("Pupils in Our Time: Tired of Reading, Missing in Contact, and without Hope for the Future"), *Nytt Hopp*, special issue (1979): 11–12. Other members of the church who have studied Korean at Stockholm University are Georg Isacson and Per Nylén, former reverend of the Swedish Lutheran church.
- 47 *Directory of Korean Studies in Europe* (Seoul: Korea National Commission for UNESCO, 1998), 84.

- 48 Sven-Olov Lindholm, "Julhälsningar" ("Christmas Greetings"), *Den Svenske Folk-socialisten* 51–52 (1943): 11.
- 49 "Två nazister åtalas för vapenstöld" ("Two Nazis Are Convicted for Weapons Theft"), *Arbetaren*, June 8, 1946.
- 50 See the archive of the Swedish intelligence at Riksarkivet, Stockholm, vol. F5DC4.
- 51 Among them, worth mentioning is Lennart Hansson; see "Med Lindholm till seger!" ("With Lindholm to Victory!"), *Ungt Folk* 2 (1942): 1.
- 52 "Adoption av koreanska barn" ("Adoption of Korean Children"), *Koreansk Journal*, 3 (1967): 12–15.
- 53 Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League: The Shocking Exposé of How Terrorists, Nazis, and Latin American Death Squads Have Infiltrated the World Anti-Communist League* (New York: Dodd, 1986).
- 54 See the organization's homepage: www.wlfd.org (accessed October 29, 2003).
- 55 Yuriko Onodera, *Mina år vid Östersjön (My Years at the Baltic Sea)* (Stockholm: Probus, 1993), 99–105.
- 56 I personally remember a Nazi skinhead studying Japanese during my undergraduate years, obviously fascinated by the Japanese tradition of fascism and militarism; propaganda texts from the right-wing extremist European Labour Party, the Swedish branch of the sectarian and American-based Lyndon LaRouche movement, regularly turn up in the corridors of the department.
- 57 For Western Japanologists' obsession with Zen Buddhism and its strong affiliations to Japanese fascism, see Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen and Japanese Nationalism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 107–60.
- 58 See Bruno Gollnisch's homepage: www.gollnisch.com (accessed May 21, 2003).
- 59 The story of Sasakawa's dramatic life is taken from Anderson and Anderson, *Inside the League*, 60–70.
- 60 Heléne Lööw, *Nazismen i Sverige 1980–1997: Den rasistiska undergroundrörelsen: musiken, myterna, riterna (Nazism in Sweden, 1980–1997: The Racist Underground Movement: The Music, the Myths, the Rites)* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 1998).
- 61 Jan Andersson, "Han vill ge thaiboxningen en kick" ("He Wants to Give Thai Boxing a Boot"), *Smålands-Posten*, July 26, 2001.
- 62 The information comes from personal experiences and from colleagues, including scholars, journalists, and policemen who are monitoring Swedish neo-Nazism.
- 63 Martin Johansson, "Funderingar kring adoptionsproblematiken," *Nysvensk Tidende* 5 (2000): 17.
- 64 Anna-Lena Lodenius, *Populism, makt, demokrati (Populism, Power, Democracy)* (Stockholm: Landsorganisationen, 1999).

- 65 Fredrik Mellgren, "Multikultur inget för d" ("Multiculture, Nothing for 'D'"), *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 24, 1998.
- 66 See the manifesto in *Salt* 1 (1999) and Berglund's article in the same issue "Konstig samtid" ("Strange Presence").
- 67 Raymond Dawson, *The Chinese Chameleon: An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).
- 68 Victor and Victoria Trimondi, *Hitler, Buddha, Krishna: Eine unheilige Allianz vom Dritten Reich bis heute* (Vienna: Überreuter Verlag, 2002). On popular Orientalism and its eroticizing aspects, see Sheridan Prasso, *The Asian Mystique: Dragon Ladies, Geisha Girls, and Our Fantasies of the Exotic Orient* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005).
- 69 On Orientalism among French authors and philosophers, see Marie-Paule Ha, *Figuring the East: Segalen, Malraux, Duras, and Barthes* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000).
- 70 George Eric Hawthorne, "Interview with a Black Nationalist," *Resistance*, Spring 1996.
- 71 See Richard Lynn, "The Intelligence of the Mongoloids: A Psychometric, Evolutionary, and Neurological Theory," *Personal and Individual Differences* 8 (1987): 813–44, and numerous articles in *Neue Anthropologie* and *Mankind Quarterly*, the academic journals of race theorists.
- 72 Barry Sautman, "Theories of East Asian Intellectual and Behavioral Superiority and Discourses on 'Race Differences,'" *positions* 4 (1996): 519–67.
- 73 For a general history of the trope of the "yellow peril," see Heinz Gollwitzer, *Die gelbe Gefahr: Geschichte eines Schlagworts; Studien zum imperialistischen Denken* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962).
- 74 Tim Oakes, "Bathing in the Far Village: Globalization, Transnational Capital, and the Cultural Politics of Modernity in China," *positions* 7 (1999): 307–42.
- 75 James L. Hevia, "The Archive State and the Fear of Pollution: From the Opium Wars to Fu-Manchu," *Cultural Studies* 12 (1998): 234–64.
- 76 *Sunday Times*, June 23, 1991. For a typical treatise on the future global conflict with Asia, see Brigitte Schulz, "Germany, the United States, and Future Core Conflicts," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 1 (1995), jwsr.ucr.edu/archive/v011/v1_nd.php (accessed October 31, 2003).
- 77 See, for example, Tony Ballantyne, "Race and the Webs of Empire: Aryanism from India to the New Zealand," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 2 (2001), muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/v002/2.3ballantyne.html (October 12, 2003); Wladimir W. Mitkewich, *Koreans Are White* (Boston: Meadow, 1956); and Kirsten Refsing, "Lost Aryans? John Batchelor and the Colonization of the Ainu Language," *Interventions* 2 (2000): 21–34.