

# **Asia as a Topos of Fear and Desire for Nazis and Extreme Rightists as Evidenced in the Case of Asian Studies of Sweden**

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## **Introducing a difficult subject**

The origin to this paper comes from having spent some years in the Asian Studies community of Sweden as a Ph.D. 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 investigative journalist and some kind of an expert on National Socialism publishing books, writing articles, holding lectures, and consulting authorities and media. To get straight to the point and introduce this difficult subject, what has amazed me is that so many names turn up simultaneously in the two worlds, namely as both Asianists and as extreme rightists. With Asianists, I broadly refer to researchers and writers dealing with what is generally deemed as Asian things and subjects in a Western setting, and extreme rightists are for me all those people who position themselves to the right of mainstream Conservatism, and who most often are racists and anti-Semites, and anti-Communists and anti-feminists, besides usually being anti-democrats. This is an attempt at mapping out this peculiar liaison between Asian Studies and right-wing extremism as reflected in a general historical overview based on Asian Studies of Sweden, starting at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the field was established in the country, continuing with the 1930s when Nazism was fashionable among academic elite circles in Europe and the post-war era with its anti-Communist atmosphere of the Cold War, and ending with today’s anti-immigrant populists and militant Neo-Nazis.

I am of course aware of the controversial delicacy of this subject, and how easy it is to hurt, humiliate and dishonor prominent individuals in this age of proclaimed anti-racism and prescribed multiculturalism. However, it is my firm conviction that a consideration of the personal integrity of the people involved in this case would just serve to continue to cover-up this hitherto largely unknown and hidden phenomenon, thereby only benefiting the extremists and their political agendas. Moreover, in spite of the fact that references are being made to Asianists in others countries like Germany, United States, France and Denmark, the focus on Swe-

den is hopefully excusable considering the extreme difficulties and even dangers I have been subjugated to when uncovering these “forbidden” connections. One might also argue that the situation under analysis here is not limited to Sweden, but is most likely much broader in scale as it may be applicable to the field of Asian Studies in any Western country. At the end, I am taking a closer look into the various reasons behind this bizarre but nonetheless unpleasant situation by conceptualizing Asia as a topos of fear and desire, as an imaginary site for fantasies and projections, not just for these Nazis and extreme rightists but for Westerners in general. 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 as 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 deadly divide between so-called Aryans and Semites. The paper concludes by pointing out that the field of Asian Studies at least in all too many European countries still is an impregnable and brightly shining white ivory tower which largely missed de-colonization after the end of the classical imperialist period as well as de-nazification after the end of World War II and the Cold War, and continues to live on fuelled by Orientalist visions and dreams.

### **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, and he is also credited for having coined the term “National Socialism” in the first place.<sup>1</sup> Kjellén also harbored a deep interest in East Asia in general and in imperial Japan in particular as reflected in several articles and books.<sup>2</sup> 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!”<sup>3</sup>

Kjellén saw Japan after the Russo-Japanese War as a nation to reckon in the future, and 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.”<sup>4</sup> So for Kjellén, Japan was definitely a part of the “yellow” world in spite of his adoration for the country, and consequently a natural biological enemy of the West. The “yellow peril” was for Kjellén “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 United States of Europe”.<sup>5</sup> Ironically, Kjellén’s 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 united. In 1991, the French prime minister and 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”.<sup>6</sup> Edith Cresson is of course not the only one who recently has echoed Kjellén’s geopolitical perspective of the world by identifying Asia as the main enemy to the West, considering Samuel Huntington’s influential theory of the clash of civilizations and the respected British journalist Humphrey Hawksley’s best-selling novels of the West’s coming war with “green” and “yellow” Asia.

Rütger Essén (1890-1972), another influential Swedish political scientist of the first half of the last century, was an apprentice of Kjellén and his own lifetime’s leading commentator and expert on East Asia in his role as the Swedish *chargé d’affaires* in Tokyo in the 1920s and as a long-time traveler and expatriate in the region.<sup>7</sup> He experienced a post-war Europe of pessimism after World War I threatened by anti-colonial 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 Asia was absolutely necessary to secure the global power of the white race.<sup>8</sup> Essén was a member of Swedish National League that broke away from its mother party the Swedish Conservative Party in 1934 and oriented itself towards National Socialism. From 1944 and until his death in 1972, Essén acted as the party leader and the editor-in-chief of its newspapers *Dagsposten* and *Fria Ord*. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 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 to-

gether 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.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Sven Hedin and the explorers**

The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was also the classical era of travelers and explorers. One of the most widely read Swedes who visited Asia several times and published travel accounts was William A:son Grebst (1875-1920).<sup>10</sup> Grebst was at the same time the editor-in-chief of the country’s leading anti-Semitic paper *Vidi* from 1913 and until his death seven years later.<sup>11</sup> This combination of a deep concern for Asia and the Jews of Europe points to the still relatively unexplored connection between Orientalism and anti-Semitism whereby Jews were conceived as Europe’s “internal Orientals”.<sup>12</sup> 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 15 academies including the Swedish one, and without doubt the most famous Swede and Orientalist of his time. Between 1886-1935, Hedin organized several expeditions together with Swedish, German and Danish scholars with the purpose of mapping out Central Asia and bringing home manuscripts, funded by rich benefactors belonging to the Swedish elite who saw his undertakings as a glorious Swedish contribution to the colonial project. Through his expeditions, Hedin paved way for later explorers like Aurel Stein and Albert von Le Coq by charting these vast and for Westerners remote areas.<sup>13</sup> Hedin published 65 books translated into 22 languages and brought back tens of thousands of artifacts in the forms of manuscripts and art works which he left behind to the foundation which still bears his name. Many an Asianist has asked if Hedin was a Nazi, and the tendency among Swedish biographers like Eric Wennerholm, and today’s Swedish Asianists literally walking in his footsteps at the Sven Hedin Foundation is definitely to downplay his extremist ideas and activities as much as possible.<sup>14</sup> However, my own investigation gives strong evidence for Hedin being a fanatic Nazi albeit his generally acknowledged outstanding greatness as a Swedish Orientalist.

Hedin’s ruthlessness in pursuing his own goals has been testified through numerous anecdotes. During a stay in Teheran in 1890, Hedin broke into a holy temple and cut off three heads from corpses of holy men as gifts to a famous Swedish race biologist, and in 1895 he forced his way throughout the desert of Taklamakan whereby two of his “coolies” perished as a result of the hardships.<sup>15</sup> The same fatal fate happened to his “houseboy” some years later when Hedin in his quest for the origins of the white race in vain tried to reach the “forbidden

city” of Lhasa, his “city of dreams and secrets”, 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.<sup>16</sup> Hedin also befriended and was greatly impressed by general Akashi Motojiri, known as “The Butcher” after his effective purges of the Korean resistance movement, and an inhabitant of Stockholm in the 1910s as an organizer of the Japanese espionage system in Northern Europe at the time of the country’s participation in World War I.

Politically just like Kjellén, 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 as a romantic of homosocial masculinity and Fascist violence and with his cult of the “purifying war” enthusiastically sided with the Germans, and not surprisingly he welcomed the Nazi seizure of power in 1933.<sup>17</sup> At the Summer Olympics of Berlin in 1936, Hedin was one of the opening speakers, and he had by then already become a close personal friend of Hitler. In numerous articles in the Nazi press, Hedin showed his strong support for Germany’s new leader and his Nazi politics.<sup>18</sup> Hedin was a member of the two most important pro-Nazi organizations among the upper echelons of the Swedish society, 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 Nazi party Swedish National League.<sup>19</sup> In 1943 he refused to do anything to save the still surviving mixed Jews of Germany after a desperate pledge from the Swedish archbishop Eidem in spite of having direct access to Hitler’s ears.<sup>20</sup> 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 with representatives like Sinologist Herbert Franke, Tibetologists Bruno Berger and Ernst Schäfer, the esoteric mystic Friedrich Hielscher, Sanskritist and geo-politician Karl Haushofer who was Hitler’s mentor in “Oriental mysticism” and the main advocator behind the Nazi *Lebensraum* theory, and all the other German Orientalists around Vedic expert and Indologist professor SS-Standartenführer Walther Wüst, director of SS-Ahnenerbe which organized Nazi Orientalist scholarship, and to which he lent out his name when its biggest and principal department Sven Hedin Institute for Inner Asia opened its doors at the University of Munich in 1943.<sup>21</sup> 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 of 1945 when the Nazi German *Reich* was on the verge of complete destruction, Hedin published an almost hysterical article in a German Nazi publication where he hoped that Germany would “liquidate the barbarity of the East”.<sup>22</sup> Like so many of his 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 despotism” of Communism and the ever-present peril of the “Orient”. Apparently Hedin never regretted his pro-Nazi opinions, as he after the war supported the widows of the executed Nazi leaders of the Nürnberg trials, and up until his death in 1952 he continued to befriend surviving Nazis and war veterans of the elite multinational Waffen-SS, and publish articles in the Neo-Nazi German and Swedish press.<sup>23</sup>

### **The classical Orientalists and the Indologists**

Among classical Swedish Orientalists, one of the most respected on the international scene 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 Nazi party Swedish National League,<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> In Jarring’s bibliography published on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday, articles from his Nazi past have symptomatically been completely erased, although the *Tabula gratulatoria* contains many old party comrades from his time in Swedish National League.<sup>26</sup> 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 the race”, as he like Sven Hedin and most other Nazi Orientalists located the *Urheimat* of the Indo-European *Urvolk* somewhere in Northern India, Central Asia or Tibet.<sup>27</sup>

Björn Collinder (1894-1983), professor of Finno-Ugric Languages at Uppsala University, is indirectly credited for the introduction of both Korean and Japanese Studies of Sweden as the mentor and supervisor of Cho Seung-bog, an ethnic Korean from China who arrived in Uppsala in the 1950s and later himself became the first professor of Japanese and the founder of Korean Studies in Sweden.<sup>28</sup> Like his friend Central Asianist, Soviet emigré and Nazi collaborator Nicholas Poppe who ended up as a professor at University of Washington, Collinder was a convinced advocator of the theory of a combined Uralic-Altaic language family. Collinder was famous among Uppsala’s scholars for his arrogant anti-Semitic attitude, and in

1964 the professor choose to become a member of the Fascist Neo-Swedish Movement.<sup>29</sup> As a young student Collinder had joined the anti-Semitic Gymnic Society, and he was a frequent writer in Swedish National League's *Fria Ord* newspaper after the war whose editor-in-chief Rütger Essén he celebrated with an academic paper on his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday.<sup>30</sup> Among Orientalist historians of religion, worth mentioning are professor Hugo Odeberg (1898-1973), an expert on Judaism who acted as the chairman of 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 professor Jan Hjärpe at Lund University who has written for Swedish National League's newspaper *Fria Ord* and who in the 1980s at a court trial to the surprise and anger of Swedish Jews and anti-racists defended a mad anti-Semitic hatemonger.<sup>31</sup> This involvement should not come as a surprise as many a prominent Orientalist like the "great" Frenchman Ernest Renan and the likewise "great" German Max Müller has contributed heavily to develop the hate ideology of anti-Semitism and denigrate Judaism by portraying the Jews as "murderers of God", and some like the German Orientalist Friedrich Delitzsch even tried to prove that Jews had stolen their religion from the ancient Assyrians and that Jesus was an Aryan and not a Jew.

Among Swedish Indologists, the well-reputed Stig Wikander (1908-83), professor of Sanskrit, wrote for right-wing extremist journals in the 1930s, and was a member of the National Association of Sweden-Germany during the war and close friend of the leading German Nazi academic and Germanist Otto Höfler.<sup>32</sup> Like his professor and mentor, the celebrated Georges Dumézil who taught and lectured on "Aryan religion" at Uppsala University and who socialized with French extreme rightists and Fascists, he wrote extensively on the Aryan *Männerbund* or warrior societies which stood as the model for Himmler's SS. Another Swedish Indologist, professor Erik Gren (1904-59) who in 1952 founded the peer-reviewed *Orientalia Suecana* and became its first editor-in-chief, had an active membership in Fascist Neo-Swedish Movement, and like many of his Orientalist colleagues he wrote for Swedish *Fria Ord* and German *Nation Europa*, the most important international theoretical Neo-Nazi journal after the war.<sup>33</sup>

It is important to remember that Sanskrit Studies and Indology as an academic subject has a strong affiliation to National Socialism, and the field has 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 antique Mediterranean languages and can be said to have founded modern Asian Studies, linguistic relationship has uncritically presupposed cultural and biological kinship, and present

day's Indologists are still laying heavy stress upon classical India with "pure and noble Sanskrit" and "mighty and warlike Aryans".<sup>34</sup> Unsurprisingly, Germany has always been the center of Indologist research with such classical names like Friedrich Schlegel, Christian Lassen and Franz Bopp, and during the Nazi era many of the most well-known German Orientalists were actually organized members of the German Nazi party NSDAP and most of them also of its elite organization SS after the "Aryanization" of the field whereby their Jewish colleagues and Orientalists had been expelled and exiled; Iranists and Sanskritists Hermann Lommel and Hermann Güntert, the linguist Gunther Ispen, professor of Jainology Ludwig Alsdorf, the expert in Indian law SS-Unterscharführer Bernhard Breloer, professor of Indian religions, leader of the Nazi pagan Wotan movement and personal friend of Heinrich Himmler SS-Hauptsturmführer Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, Sanskritist and SS-Obersturmführer Richard Schmidt, and above all legendary authority on Indian philosophy Erich Frauwallner who joined the then illegal Austrian Nazi party in 1932 and according to one of his own still living students used to lecture in his shining black SS-uniform, elegantly designed by his countryman and Nazi party comrade Hugo Boss.<sup>35</sup>

In 1995, Hollywood released the historical revisionist production *Seven Years in Tibet*, the story about the Austrian Tibetologist, Nazi stormtrooper and SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Harrer who was one of several German Orientalists dispatched by Himmler to Central Asia and Tibet with the mission to find the clues to the origin of the white race once and for all.<sup>36</sup> This never-ending quest, scientifically expressed as the search for the *Urheimat* of the Indo-Europeans, has according to the English archeologist professor Colin Renfrew been the ever-dominating theme for Indologists and many other other Asianists, and of course the *raison d'être* of the venerable field of *vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* in its relentless attempts at reconstructing the Indo-European *Ursprache*, thereby paralleling the obsession with finding the origins to the Finno-Ugric peoples which Finnish and Hungarian Nazi academics engaged in at the time of the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>37</sup> Especially Buddhist and Tibetan Studies seem to have 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 villainous "Oriental-Jewish Christianity".<sup>38</sup> 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 German Buddhologist Wolfgang Schumacher. Moreover, the American Sanskritist Revilo Pendleton Oliver was a racist and anti-Communist, and 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 symptomatically also deeply engaged in the murky Holocaust denial business.<sup>39</sup> 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, and his argument is that the Nazis were prepared not only to exterminate all non-whites of the region after having found the *Urheimat*, but also the “non-Aryan” plants and animals in their advanced plans to accomplish a recreation of the “Aryan paradise” according to principles and recommendations of the Nazi biologist Hans Brücher, yet another close friend of Sven Hedin.<sup>40</sup>

The quest to find the origin of the white race is still prevailing albeit less explicitly among contemporary Central Asianists such as Elizabeth Barber and Victor Mair as reflected in their obsession with the “Aryan” Tocharians and Sakas their connection to pre-historic Hittites and Celts, and their media hyping of the newly excavated “white mummies” in Chinese Xinjiang.<sup>41</sup> 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 Yartonguz-darya.<sup>42</sup> The expedition consisted of the secretary of Sven Hedin Foundation professor Staffan Rosén of Korean Studies, the Sinologist Joakim Enwall and Håkan Wahlquist, curator of the Swedish National Museum of Ethnography and chairman of the foundation, who took the opportunity to excavate some “white mummies”. In the reports by Rosén and Engwall that followed those mysterious mummies, said to be a “genetic kinship with the West”, played an important role as there are passages like:

Emotionally was the finding of a grave from Jazluq at Cherchen, dated to 1000 B.C., which contained a mummified young woman with her arms and legs cut off. Beside her was a four months’ old infant, and in the middle of the grave a three years’ 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.<sup>43</sup>

### **The Koreanists and the case of Åke Ek**

The two main introductions to Korea written by Swedes have symptomatically both right-wing extremists as authors: *Koreanskt kalejdoskop* (1972) by honorary doctor of Laws Åke J. Ek, and *Koreaboken* (1997) with Carin Cederberg and Janica Lundholm as co-

authors.<sup>44</sup> Ek is the founder and leading member of Swedish-Korean Society that was formed in 1951, while *Koreaboken* is published by Korean Association in Sweden, established in 1961. Korean Association in Sweden 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 from Nazi and Fascist parties like Arne Ugglå from the Neo-Swedish Movement, and Carl-Olof Wrang from Swedish National League and Swedish Socialist League, a former volunteer of Waffen-SS during the war.<sup>45</sup> *Koreaboken* from 1997, published by the association, is partly written by Carin Cederberg who has a Master's in Korean Studies from Stockholm University and a background in the Swedish congregation of the world-known Unification Church led by the South Korean leader Moon Sun Myung, a charismatic quasi-religious leader who played an important part in the South Korean military regime during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>46</sup> The church's most outspoken member in Sweden is the journalist and Korea expert Tommy Hansson, in the 1990s editor-in-chief of *Aktuellt om Korea*, an expensive and glossy magazine on Korea, and today editor-in-chief of *Contra* which is the classical voice of Swedish right-wing extremism since the 1970s.

Ek is a Koreanist listed in the *Directory of Korean Studies in Europe* and has done research on the educational system of Korea.<sup>47</sup> He has a solid political background in the most radical of the Swedish Nazi parties during the 1940s, Swedish Socialist League.<sup>48</sup> 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 of whom some stayed in the country and others went on to South America.<sup>49</sup> 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 racialist and anti-Semitic Swede, it is clear that the propaganda against Jewry in our country must be seriously intensified...With anti-Semitic fighting regards Åke Ek.<sup>50</sup>

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, and 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 composition of the first genera-

tion 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 in reality an anti-Semitic standpoint as according to Nazi ideology Jews are behind Communism.<sup>51</sup> 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 act as a information resource center on adoption issues.<sup>52</sup> In this way, ironically Nazis came to play a crucial part in popularizing adoption of Korean children who definitely must be said to be the wrong kind of master race *Sonnenkinder* post-war Nazis tried to procreate to make ground for the Fourth *Reich*. During post-war years, Ek has been the leading member of the Swedish branch of 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 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.<sup>53</sup> In 1990 after the end of Cold War, the organization re-baptized itself as the World League for Freedom and Democracy and is nowadays said to be promoting democracy in the global community.<sup>54</sup>

### **Japanese Studies and 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 traditions 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.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, the most scaring 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, after the war a mafia-style leader and owner of sex clubs, a collector of skulls which he is reputed to have gained through his own commissioned murders and known in the criminal world as the spiritual leader behind the murder of prime minister Olof Palme in 1986, was married to a Japanese woman with Fascist sympathies.<sup>56</sup> Other good examples of this unholy alliance between Japanese Fascism and Japanese Studies is the adoration among the latter for the ultra-nationalist author Yukio Mishima and Japanese Zen Buddhism which played a crucial part of the Fascist ideology and

cultural nationalism of militaristic Japan in the 1930s, and it is not surprising that the white supremacist American leader Samuel Jared Taylor was a teacher of Japanese at Harvard University.<sup>57</sup> An even more lucid example of this bizarre alliance is the case of Sasakawa Foundation, founded in 1986, and named after its donator the late Ryoichi Sasakawa.

With her royal highness, princess Christina as chairman for Sweden, the foundation distributes substantial financial resources to the country's Japanologists in spite of the fact that European Association for Japanese Studies and many Western universities openly dissociate themselves from the foundation. However, this is not the case for the Japanologist professor Bruno Gollnisch at the University of Lyon, ideologist and strongman of Fascist Front National and its leader Le Pen's closest aide who openly accepts money from Sasakawa Foundation.<sup>58</sup> Sasakawa was Japanese Fascism's *éminence grise* and grand old man together with his right-hand man the Yakuza boss Yoshio Kodama.<sup>59</sup> In 1931, he founded Kokusai Taishuto whose members wore black shirts, and he personally met with Mussolini during a visit to Rome, according to Sasakawa "the most perfect Fascist". 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 becoming prime minister Kishi Nobosuke as his cellmate. In post-war Japan, Sasakawa together with many of 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 abovementioned 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 Neo-Fascist Zenai Kaigi, the Unification Church in Japan and the chairman of the Japanese branch of 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 whole Western world, was born during the first half of the 1980s with the growth of the violent skinhead subculture and the foundation of so called "action groups".<sup>60</sup> 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 his studies of various Asian languages at Lund University with Thai as his major subject, and nowadays he is a successful C.E.O. for Bangkok's biggest martial art center.<sup>61</sup> Young Neo-Nazis in general have an ambivalent attitude towards ethnic Asians living in Sweden, pointing to the view of Asians as "honorary whites" which 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.<sup>62</sup> Around the core of the action group White Aryan Resistance in the 1990s, there was a Thai woman, one of the leading Danish Neo-Nazis who has operated in Sweden, Thomas Nakaba, has a Japanese father, and an adopted man from Sri Lanka is gaining a reputation in the Fascist Neo-Swedish Movement.<sup>63</sup>

The other aspect of Sweden's racist and extreme rightist movement is the whole array of different populist parties with the common denominator of wanting to stop immigration from non-Western countries.<sup>64</sup> Some years ago, the leading party was New Democracy, and today the more Nazi-style party of Sweden Democrats dominates the scene. In those parties tax hating petty bourgeoisie unifies with destitute working-class men as both groups have been marginalized in their own ways in the age of the left-liberal elite saluting multiculturalism. During the election of 1998, the nobleman count Ian Wachtmeister created the anti-immigrant New Party, and on its candidate list for the parliament professor Lars Berglund appeared, a Sinologist, historian of art and former curator of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm.<sup>65</sup> 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 very sober and intellectual movement seriously honors "the fatherland", "the family" and "the military", and despises everything that can be branded as "feminism", "multiculturalism", and "mob rule", the last being of course a code word for parliamentary democracy.<sup>66</sup>

### **Some plausible explanations**

So with all this said, why are Nazis and extreme rightists so frequently and variously involved with Asian Studies as empirical evidence from the Swedish milieu shows? To begin with, a first point of departure must be a general appreciation for Asian peoples and cultures coming from the public at large in the West. Contrary to the various cultures of the Americas, Africa and Oceania which Western colonialism encountered during its 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 empire buildings even if its contemporary state was universally condemned to have fallen into rampant stagnation and decay, thereby legitimizing missionary activities and military interventions and in the end outright occupation and colonization.

The “Oriental lure” whereby Westerners simply create their own Asia by the use of the classical colonial strategies of representation and appropriation has certainly played an important role in the development of Western culture. 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” like the Jungians, the Hare Krishnaites, and the followers of Rudolf Steiner’s Anthroposophy or Madame Blavatsky’s Theosophy, and last but not least Western popular culture’s almost child-like fondness of everything from belly dance to yoga, comics and cinema, acupuncture and martial arts, and numerous other expressions of “Oriental mystique”.<sup>67</sup> There is of course a difference between the turning up of “Oriental” elements in Western high and popular culture versus academia such as among French language philosophers like Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes, but the tendency to use Asia as a projection of visions and dreams is clearly the same.<sup>68</sup>

The American Sinologist Raymond Dawson traces the Western tradition to use Asia as a backdrop for ideological visions back to the Age of Enlightenment with its chic chinoiserie.<sup>69</sup> According to Dawson, China and soon also Japan became symbols and role models for Conservative forces and in their longing for the pre-modern, and “the laws of nature” were often translated into Confucianism as a political ideology with social hierarchies perceived to be naturalized. Thus, the conservative types naturally admire Confucian East and South East 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. 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 Ainus or even the Koreans as distant kin to the white race.<sup>70</sup> In other words, by imagining and conceptualizing an Asia of their own, Asia becomes a code word for political authoritarianism, racial homogeneity, patriarchal familialism and cultural traditionalism, all typical extreme rightist components in a Western ideological context. During the course of 20<sup>th</sup> century history, all these ideological ingredients have been able not only to survive but to dominate the field of Asian Studies either as the racist Orientalism of the colonialist era, or as the anti-Communist and highly politicized Area Studies of the Cold War. Accordingly, it is no surprise that a Nazi of the 1930s like Essén and a Nazi of the Cold War like Ek are to be found as rewarded and respected Asian Studies scholars.

Paradoxically, even present days’ Neo-Nazis are showing a growing appreciation for East Asia, a region perceived as “racially homogenous” and where “the *Führer* principle” is

governing. In 1996, the American Neo-Nazi magazine *Resistance* published a dialogue between the Canadian ideologist George Eric Hawthorne and Andrew Oswald, an Afro-American Moslem from Nation of Islam, where both were praising the rapid industrialization of South Korea and China as a natural result of an “Asian National Socialism”.<sup>71</sup> The scientific grounding for this comes from theories of East Asian intelligence superiority with the race theorists Richard Lynn, Philippe Rushton and Arthur Jensen as its main proponents and widely popularized through the bestseller *The Bell Curve* (1994).<sup>72</sup> Barry Sautman has examined this image of East Asians as intellectual “supermen”, and how it has been used to explain the Pacific Asian economic miracle not only by Westerners but also among Asians themselves in the indigenized version of internal Orientalism.<sup>73</sup>

However side by side with this appreciation, there is a continuous paranoid and resurgent fear of Asia, whether manifested as the “yellow peril” at the time of the colonial period, the “Jewish peril” during the 1930s, the “Oriental despotism” of “Socialismus Asiaticus” during the Cold War, the current “green peril” of Islamism, Huntington’s “Confucian-Islamic alliance” or Bush’s “axis of evil”, as an almost equal to Western civilization and therefore its coming combatant in an inevitable race war for global power and in the end its possible future superior.<sup>74</sup> Because of this fear and perceived danger, it is absolutely necessary for the 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 study of Asian languages and cultures also has a lot to do with the spread of global capital and business opportunities as Tom Oakes points out.<sup>75</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> century at the time of the Crusades. In analogy with this, it was during the 18<sup>th</sup> century when Western colonial domination in Asia became more pronounced and obvious, that the study of the various languages spoken on the vast continent took on a more serious manner with the birth of Orientalism or Oriental Studies. James Hevia has written on how British scholars ethnographically mapped its way through China just like they did in India by the building up of an extensive Orientalist archive as an integrated part of the colonial project to be able to decode and recode the country, provide intelligence in the contest with other Western powers and dominate the local scene, but also to be able to show that the spirit of this ancient and venerable civilization was gone forever and that it had stagnated and therefore was ripe for colonization, while simultaneously creating its own fears of the country in the form of the “yellow peril” which still makes itself heard in the subconscious mind of Western culture.<sup>76</sup>

Further, as has been shown by Ravi Palat in his analysis of Asian Studies as Area Studies and by Harry Harootunian for Japanese Studies, Asian Studies is indeed composed by a strange mixture of classical Orientalism and Area Studies with its heavy stress on knowledge of languages and pre-modern history as the method of understanding contemporary Asia and even diasporic Asians, and more importantly with its positivist, atheoretical and descriptive nature in commenting, categorizing, cataloguing and translating manuscripts and artifacts which all too often have been stolen and looted, and which still unfortunately is the main activity of Asian Studies in Sweden and in most other European countries.<sup>77</sup> Finally, the Asianists themselves are with few exceptions predominantly white males, the absolute majority coming from an upper-class background, and they are the ones monopolizing the positions of secure, well-paid and full-employed tenures and professorships. To be an Asianist is a lifestyle by consuming the racialized Other and going native considering the fact that so many occasionally like to dress up in “Oriental” clothes, play “Oriental” games, practice “Oriental” dance, martial arts and meditation, and eat “ethnic” food, while many female Asianists like to color their hair black or use “Asian” make-up style. Ethnic Asians in the field of whom most happen to be females, are confined to low-paid part-time teaching as “native informants” – conversation teachers, calligraphy instructors and the like.

Even more disturbing is the still going strong general feminization and infantilization of Asia as according to my personal estimate of Sweden and Europe at least 75 percent of these white men are married to Asian women, driven by the sexualization of Asian women with its classical ingredients of Harem fantasies, Indian Tantrism, geishas and kisaengs, and contemporary Middle Eastern homosexual sex tourism and South and South East Asian heterosexual or even paedophilic sex tourism, while the rest and all too many of the female Asianists have adopted an Asian child. The phenomenon of sexual relations between “scientists” and “native informants” has been dealt with by Benedict Anderson for the case of United States as it obviously has persisted in the field, even if reversed from those of the colonial era: “...[r]ather than the scholar-bureaucrat being creolized by these relationships, out there in the colony, it is the spouse or significant other, moved to California or Massachusetts who is likely to be Americanized.”<sup>78</sup> Thus, paradoxically Asian spouses or adopted children become Americanized or Europeanized, while the Asianists become Asianized. However, the Asianists do not stop at collecting “natives” in their colonial desires; they also collect “Oriental” art, manuscripts and rare books which very often have been purchased and smuggled out using dubious methods, a practice which is legitimized by shallow scientific arguments colonial rescue fantasies. So to sum up, I argue that the fact that Asia functions as a topos of fear

and desire either as a distant homeland of, an equal to or a threat to the West, explains the fact that the field of Asian Studies has become a sanctuary and safe haven for Nazis and extreme rightists, race ideology, right-wing extremism, white supremacy, authoritarian thinking and colonial romance. Through this twofold schizophrenic and split process Asian Studies largely missed the moments of de-colonization and de-nazification, and continues to live on fuelled by racist fantasies and dreams.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Nils Elvander, "Rudolf Kjellén och nationalsocialismen", *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift* 59 (1956): 15-41.

<sup>2</sup> Bert Edström, "Rudolf Kjellén och Japan", *Orientaliska Studier* 89 (1996): 13-35.

<sup>3</sup> Rudolf Kjellén, *Politiska essayer. Studier till dagskrönikan (1907-1913) 1: Internationell politik och geopolitik* (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers förlag, 1914), 13.

<sup>4</sup> Rudolf Kjellén, *Den stora Orienten. Resestudier i österväg* (Göteborg: Åhlén & Åkerlund, 1911), 267.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 257-72 and 311-15.

<sup>6</sup> *Sunday Times*, June 23, 1991. For a typical treatise on the future global conflict where Asia is conceptualized as the main enemy of the West, see Brigitte Schulz, "Germany, the United States and future core conflicts", *Journal of World-Systems Research* 1 (13 1995): [http://jwsr.ucr.edu/archive/vol1/v1\\_nd.php](http://jwsr.ucr.edu/archive/vol1/v1_nd.php) (2003-10-31)

<sup>7</sup> Åke Holmberg, *Världen bortom Västerlandet II. Den svenska omvärldsbilden under mellankrigstiden* (Göteborg: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-samhället, 1994), 110-118. Essén published many books on East Asia: *Mellan Östersjön och Stilla havet. Asiatiska problem och minnen* (1924), *Kinas omdaning* (1927) and *Från Asiens oros-härddar* (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", *Fria Ord*, September 15, 1984.

<sup>8</sup> Rütger Essén, *Sverige upplever världen. Vår politiska historia från sekelskiftet till nu 1935* (Stockholm: Lindfors, 1935), 64.

<sup>9</sup> *Dagsposten*, May 3, 1945.

<sup>10</sup> See Grebst's travel accounts *I soluppgångens land. På velociped genom Japan* (1909) and *I Korea. Minnen och studier från "Morgonstillhetens land"* (1912).

<sup>11</sup> Nils Weijdegård, "Tidningen Vidi och det homosexuella kloakträsket", *Lambda Nordica* 1-2 (1995): 47-60.

<sup>12</sup> 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 (2 2000): 56-101.

<sup>13</sup> 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).

<sup>14</sup> See the main biography by Eric Wennerholm, *Sven Hedin: En biografi* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1978), Lasse Berg and Stig Holmqvist, *I Sven Hedins spår* (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 1992), and the homepage of the Sven Hedin Foundation: <http://www.etnografiska.se/hedinweb/index.htm> (2003-05-21)

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- <sup>15</sup> Arne Reberg, "Han gillade både Hitler och-Mao...", *Expressen*, October 8, 1978, and Bosse Sandström, "Storsvensken. Sven Hedin, adlad, nazist och upptäcksresande", *Aftonbladet*, September 25, 1977.
- <sup>16</sup> Sven Hedin, *Stormän och kungar 2* (Stockholm: Fahlerantz & Gumaelius, 1950), 65-78.
- <sup>17</sup> For an excellent treatise on Fascism's cult of masculinity and violence, see Klaus Theweleit, *Male fantasies* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1985-89).
- <sup>18</sup> See among others "Den verkliga vännen. Sven Hedin är uppskattad i Nazityskland", *Trots Allt* 20/1940, "Sven Hedin lovar ett fredsparadis. Lovsjunger profetiskt sitt rätta fosterland", *Trots Allt* 43/1941, "Sven Hedin kämpft. Bolsjevismen ska utrotas", *Trots Allt* 47/1941, "Hedin i fält", *Trots Allt* 2/1942 and "Svensk akademiledamot i dåligt sällskap. Sven Hedin medarbetar i schalburgarnas tidning", *Trots Allt* 9/1944. See also "Sven Hedin om Versaillesfreden", *Tysk veckorevy* 64/1941, and Sven Hedin, "En hälsning till Nordisk Ungdom", *Ungt Folk* Mid Winter/1943, where he warns the members of Sweden's most fanatic and violent National Socialist youth organization of "the barbarians of the East".
- <sup>19</sup> "Riksföreningen Sverige-Tyskland årsmöte. Professor Nilsson-Ehle avgår som ordförande ordförande och efterträdes av professor Liljeqvist", *Sverige-Tyskland* 2/1939, and "Ur Dagspostens historia. Aktievalören sänkes och nytt kapital anskaffas", *Trots Allt* 6/1944.
- <sup>20</sup> "Sven Hedins iskalla brev om judarna", *Expressen*, April 15, 1987.
- <sup>21</sup> Michael H. Kater, *Das "Ahnenerbe" der SS 1935-1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (Stuttgart: Deutsches Verlags-Anstalt, 1974).
- <sup>22</sup> Sven Hedin, "Die einzige Macht", *Der Deutsche in Schweden* 4/1945.
- <sup>23</sup> Sven Hedin, "Gruss an die deutschen Studenten", *Nation Europa* 2/1952, and Sven Hedin, "Sven Hedin om Fria Ord. Det är vår plikt att hålla ut", *Fria Ord*, November 8, 1952.
- <sup>24</sup> "Fyrstadskretsens nationella lista klar", *Nationell Tidning* 34/1936. In 1972, when ambassador Jarring mediated in the Arab-Israeli conflict on behalf of the U.N., Swedish journalists revealed his Nazi past. See Lars Svedgård "Jarring som var riksdagskandidat för ett nazivänligt parti krävde Sveriges utträde ur NF", *Aftonbladet*, May 9, 1972.
- <sup>25</sup> On the Swedish military intelligence during World War II, see Maj Wechseltmann, *De bruna förbindelserna* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 1995).
- <sup>26</sup> Former party comrades of Jarring worth mentioning are Arvid Fredborg, Karl Olivecrona, Erik Rooth och Uno Willers. Christopher Toll & Ulla Ehrensverd (ed.), *Gunnar Jarring: En bibliografi* (Stockholm: Svenska forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul, 1977). One of the missing articles was published in *Nationell Jul*, magazine of the radical Malmö branch.
- <sup>27</sup> Gunnar Jarring, "Ett paradys på jorden", *Nationell Jul* 1936.
- <sup>28</sup> 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 inherited the ideology of his mentor and benefactor.
- <sup>29</sup> See the report from the Uppsala branch in *Vägen Framåt* 15/1964.
- <sup>30</sup> "Stamråd och övriga medarbetare", *Gymn* 2/1929, and *Rütger Essén på 80-årsdagen 19/3 1970* (Stockholm: Uniprint, 1970).
- <sup>31</sup> See Hugo Odeberg's own archive at the library of Lund University, Lund, and *Radio Islam. Radiostationen, rättegången och debatten*: [http://www.isk.kth.se/~isk\\_nisc/arbeten/radioislam/radioislam.htm](http://www.isk.kth.se/~isk_nisc/arbeten/radioislam/radioislam.htm) (2003-05-15)
- <sup>32</sup> *Fri Opposition* 1/1936 and 9/1937, and "En tysk kulturkritiker", *Sverige-Tyskland* 3/1939.
- <sup>33</sup> See the membership lists from 1941 and 1955 in the archive of its leader Per Engdahl, Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Erik Gren, "Begåvning och självständighet", *Fria Ord*, June 16, 1956, Erik Gren, "Neukonservativism", *Nation Europa* 10/1954, and Armas Sastamoinen, *Nynazismen* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1961), 122.

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- <sup>34</sup> Kai Friese, "The Aryan handshake. Blood and belonging in India", *Transition* 83 (2000): 4-35
- <sup>35</sup> Sheldon Pollock, "Deep Orientalism? Notes on Sanskrit and power beyond the Raj", in *Orientalism and the postcolonial predicament*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge & Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 80-96.
- <sup>36</sup> 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).
- <sup>37</sup> 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* (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 & Sucheta Mazumdar (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 13-61.
- <sup>38</sup> On the Tibetologists and the many myths of Tibet, see Renate Koller & Markus Vock, *Traumwelt Tibet. Westliche Trugbilder* (Bern: Haupt, 2000), 35-93.
- <sup>39</sup> 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: <http://holocaustuddannelse.dk/lindtner/> and <http://www.lindtner-myhre.dk/> (2003-05-15)
- <sup>40</sup> See for example Allan's review of David Zurick's & P.P. Karan's *Himalaya. Life on the edge of the world* (1999), "The tyranny of scholarship" in *Himal South Asian* August/2000.
- <sup>41</sup> Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *The mummies of Ürümchi* (London: Macmillan, 1999), and P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim mummies* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000).
- <sup>42</sup> Staffan Rosén, "Sidenvägen och svensk centralasienforskning", *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok* (1995): 143-55.
- <sup>43</sup> Joakim Enwall, "Mot Yar-tonguz - Den svensk-kinesiska Takla-makan-expeditionen 1994", *Orientaliska Studier* 86-87 (1995): 3-34.
- <sup>44</sup> Åke J Ek, *Koreanskt kalejdoskop* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1972) and Carin Cederberg & Janica Lundholm, *Koreaboken* (Stockholm: Korean Association in Sweden, 1997).
- <sup>45</sup> "Ett stridsflyg i Fjärrkarelen", *Nysvensk Tidskrift* 4/1943, and "Midvinterhälsningar", *Ungt Folk* 11/1941.
- <sup>46</sup> Carin Cederberg, "Skolbarn i vår tid: Trött på att läsa, saknar kontakt, utan framtidshopp", *Nytt Hopp Special*/1979. Other members of the church who have studied Korean at the university are Georg Isacson and Per Nylén, former reverend of the Swedish protestant church.
- <sup>47</sup> *Directory of Korean Studies in Europe* (Seoul: Korea National Commission for UNESCO, 1998), 84.
- <sup>48</sup> "Julhälsningar", *Den Svenske Folksocialisten* 51-52/1943.
- <sup>49</sup> "Två nazister åtalas för vapenstöld", *Arbetaren*, June 8, 1946.
- <sup>50</sup> See the archive of the Swedish intelligence at Riksarkivet, Stockholm, volume F5DC4.
- <sup>51</sup> Among them Lennart Hansson, see "Med Lindholm till seger!", *Ungt Folk* 2/1942.
- <sup>52</sup> Adoption av koreanska barn", *Koreansk Journal*, 3/1967.
- <sup>53</sup> Scott Anderson & 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).
- <sup>54</sup> See the organization's homepage: <http://www.wlfd.org/> (2003-10-29)
- <sup>55</sup> Yuriko Onodera, *Mina år vid Östersjön* (Stockholm: Probus, 1993), 99-105.

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<sup>56</sup> I personally remember a Nazi skinhead studying Japanese during my undergraduate years, obviously fascinated by the Japanese tradition of Fascism and Militarism, and propaganda texts from the right-wing extremist European Labour Party, Swedish branch of the sectarian and American-based Lyndon LaRouche movement, regularly turns up in the corridors of the department.

<sup>57</sup> For Western Japanologists' obsession by 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.

<sup>58</sup> See Bruno Gollnisch's homepage: <http://www.gollnisch.com> (2003-05-21)

<sup>59</sup> The story of Sasakawa's dramatic life is taken from Scott Anderson & 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), 60-70.

<sup>60</sup> Heléne Lööw, *Nazismen i Sverige 1980-1997. Den rasistiska undergroundrörelsen: musiken, myterna, riterna* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 1998).

<sup>61</sup> "Han vill ge thaiboxningen en kick", *Smålands-Posten*, July 26, 2001.

<sup>62</sup> The information comes from personal experiences and from colleagues in the form of scholars, journalists and policemen who are monitoring Swedish Neo-Nazism.

<sup>63</sup> Martin Johansson, "Funderingar kring adoptionsproblematiken", *Nysvensk Tidende* 5/2000.

<sup>64</sup> Anna-Lena Lodenius, *Populism, makt, demokrati* (Stockholm: Landsorganisationen, 1999).

<sup>65</sup> Fredrik Mellgren, "Multikultur inget för d", *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 24, 1998.

<sup>66</sup> See the manifesto in *Salt* 1/1999 and Berglund's article in the same issue "Konstig samtid".

<sup>67</sup> Victor and Victoria Trimondi, *Hitler, Buddha, Krishna. Eine unheilige Allianz vom Dritten Reich bis heute* (Wien: Überreuter Verlag, 2002).

<sup>68</sup> 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).

<sup>69</sup> Raymond Dawson, *The Chinese chameleon. An analysis of European conceptions of Chinese civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

<sup>70</sup> 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 (3 2001), Wladimir W Mitkewich, *Koreans are White* (Boston, 1956), Kirsten Refsing, "Lost Aryans? John Batchelor and the colonization of the Ainu language", *Interventions* 2 (1 2000): 21-34.

<sup>71</sup> George Eric Hawthorne, "Interview with a Black nationalist", *Resistance* Spring/1996.

<sup>72</sup> See Richard Lynn, "The intelligence of the Mongoloids: A psychometric, evolutionary and neurological theory", *Personal and Individual Differences* 8 (6 1987): 813-844, and numerous articles in *Neue Anthropologie* and *Mankind Quarterly*, the academic journals of race theorists.

<sup>73</sup> Barry Sautman, "Theories of East Asian intellectual and behavioral superiority and discourses on 'race differences'", *positions* 4 (3 1996): 519-567.

<sup>74</sup> For a general history of the "yellow peril"-motive, see Heinz Gollwitzer, *Die gelbe Gefahr. Geschichte eines Schlagworts. Studien zum imperialistischen Denken* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962).

<sup>75</sup> Tim Oakes, "Bathing in the Far Village: Globalization, transnational capital, and the cultural politics of modernity in China", *positions* 7 (2 1999): 307-342.

<sup>76</sup> James L. Havia, "The archive state and the fear of pollution: From the Opium Wars to Fu-Manchu", *Cultural Studies* 12 (2 1998): 234-264.

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<sup>77</sup> Harry Harootunian & Naoki Sakai, "Japan Studies and Cultural Studies", *positions* 7 (2 1999): 593-647. Ravi Arvind Palat, "Fragmented visions: Excavating the future of Area Studies in a post-American world". *Review* 19 (3 1996): 269-315, and "Beyond Orientalism: Decolonizing Asian Studies. *Development and Society* 29 (2 2000): 105-135.

<sup>78</sup> Benedict Anderson, "The changing ecology of Southeast Asian Studies in the United States, 1950-1990", in *Southeast Asian Studies in the balance: Reflections from America*, ed. Charles Hirschman, Charles F. Keyes and Karl Hutterer (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1992), 25-40.