

The importance of conspiracy theory in extremist ideology and propaganda

Fink, A.H.

Citation

Fink, A. H. (2020, April 16). *The importance of conspiracy theory in extremist ideology and propaganda*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/87359

Version: Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/87359

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/87359 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Fink, A.H.

Title: The importance of conspiracy theory in extremist ideology and propaganda

Issue Date: 2020-04-16

The Importance of Conspiracy Theory in Extremist Ideology and Propaganda

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 16 april 2020
klokke 16.15 uur

door

Andrew Heath Fink
geboren te Philadelphia (USA)
in 1985

Promotor: Prof. dr. A. Ellian Co-promotor: Dr. B.R. Rijpkema

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. P.B. Cliteur

Prof. dr. J.C. Herf (University of Maryland, College Park, USA)

Prof. dr. E. Muller Dr. A.J. Kwak Dr. E.S. Daalder

Dedication

To my father and mother.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the support, financial and spiritual, of my parents. My father was also the editor of all the first drafts of every chapter, and his good sense and editorial voice greatly improved the final product.

I would also like to especially thank my promotor, Professor Dr. Afshin Ellian, for guiding me through the whole process and sagaciously helping me structure my argument and my narrative. During the three-and-a-half-year-long process of producing this document, Prof. Dr. Ellian consistently demonstrated his uncanny ability to suggest research angles which appeared obscure to me, but soon emerged as essential to the thesis. I could not have received a better teacher, and getting to know him, learn from his experience and work, and becoming his friend have been the most rewarding parts of writing this thesis.

While living and working in Ukraine to do research and keep costs down, I became dependent on part-time work offered by many friends of mine. I would like to extend a special thanks in this regard to Brian Mefford, Andy Bain, and Will Schreiber, who both went well out of their way to provide me with work that enabled me to keep going. My good friend Jason smart also deserves extra special thanks for letting me live in his apartment and raid his pantry for months at a time.

Also along those lines, I would like to thank the staff of Mission to the World (MTW) in Ukraine, and especially Dr. Clay and Darlene Quarterman, David and Erin Pervis, and Jon and Tracy Edie. They invited me to house-sit in their homes, eat at their tables, and connected me to a wide range of people in Ukraine who helped me in figuring out how to live, without which my extended sojourn in Ukraine would have been impossible.

The many librarians and archivists that I worked provided invaluable assistance and advice. The staff of the old periodicals section of the Ukrainian National Library, of the Slavic collection at the National Library of Finland, and of the British Library deserve special thanks from me. I should also thank my friend and colleague Bruce Grover for his assistance in tracking down some documents that I could not get ahold of any other way.

I should also take this opportunity to thank the long-suffering language teachers that I have tormented over many years. Each of them deserves my gratitude, but in particular, I would like to single out three teachers whose kindness and persistence really made a critical difference in my studies at important times: Dr. Maria Shardakova, Ulia Sinaieva, and Narguess Farzad.

Without the assistance I received from friends of mine who were native-speakers of various languages this thesis would be much less interesting and contain many more errors. Specifically, I would like to acknowledge the invaluable translation assistance offered by Jeff Nusratu, Dr. Caroline Varin, Janina Brennan, Anna Mironjuk and of course my fiancée Helen. That being said, I take full responsibility for all the translations provided in this thesis, unless a source that I am copying from is indicated in a footnote. In addition to those in the translations, any other kinds of errors or oversights in this thesis are mine alone.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER 2: THE PRE-HISTORY OF THE GRAND CONSPIRACY THEORY: DECEPTION,	
LEGITIMACY, AND POWER	18
CHAPTER 3: THE EMERGENCE OF THE GRAND CONSPIRACY THEORY AFTER THE FRENCH	
REVOLUTION	35
CHAPTER 4: METTERNICH, PARANOIA, AND THE POLICE STATE	55
CHAPTER 5: ANTI-JESUIT CONSPIRACY THEORIES AND THE GRAND CONSPIRACY THEORY:	
FROM PARIS TO MOSCOW	88
CHAPTER 6: JEW-HATRED AND THE GRAND CONSPIRACY THEORY, 1806-1870	123
CHAPTER 7: IDEOLOGICAL MIXING VIA ANTI-JEWISH CONSPIRACY THEORIES, AND THE	
EMERGENCE OF THE PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION	160
CHAPTER 8: THE REVOLUTION OF 1905 AND THE JUDEO-MASONIC CONSPIRACY THEORY	195
CHAPTER 9: THE GRAND CONSPIRACY THEORY AND THE BIRTH OF NAZI IDEOLOGY	230
CHAPTER 10: LENIN AND THE GRAND CONSPIRACY THEORY	269
CHAPTER 11: THE GRAND CONSPIRACY THEORY COMES TO THE MIDDLE EAST	311
CHAPTER 12: CONSPIRACY THEORY, QUTB, AND SUNNI EXTREMISM	343
CHAPTER 13: KHOMEINI AND THE GRAND CONSPIRACY THEORY	377
CHAPTER 14: CONCLUSION	404
SUMMARY	415
SAMENVATTING (DUTCH SUMMARY)	419
BIBLIOGRAPHY	424
CURRICULUM VITAE	470