

1.12.2023 SHOW NOTES:

A BRIEF LOOK AT CULTURAL MARXISM

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THE STRANGER

Jordan Peterson's Idea of Cultural Marxism Is Totally Intellectually Empty

Charles Mudede Mar 25, 2019

I finally figured out what all of this cultural Marxism noise is about. The insufferable exemplar of self-sourced self-certainty, Jordan Peterson, sees it as a cultural project instigated by Western Marxism (he may not know that term, by the way) after the economic doctrines that were established by classical Marxism (he may not know that one either) in the 19th century collapsed in the face of the catastrophe of Soviet totalitarianism (he definitely knows this one).

Peterson argues, with little or no real intellectual force (but with the passion of a bulldog focused on the hopping and acrobatic happenings of a squirrel beyond its reach), that in a cultural mode, classical Marxism (poor man versus rich man) became the postmodernism (effete intellectual versus Joe Sixpack) disseminated by an exchange between elite US universities and French intellectuals in the 1970s. And so Marxism, which saw the subjects of history as labor and capitalists, morphed into a program that pushed Peterson's *bête noire*: identity politics. I have more to say about this, but, I, unlike Peterson, will make real demands on my readers.

Postmodernism and Cultural Marxism | Jordan B Peterson

This is so much nonsense. And dear followers of this character know that he likely does not read books or, certainly, cannot be connected with anything that can be defined as serious scholarship. Yes, Marxism did suffer a blow in the 1950s and 1960s, but not because of the failure of command economies defined by socialist states in the East. No. It was because of the success of state interventionist capitalism in the West. Peterson sees the two state forms as different, but state socialism and state interventionist capitalism have the exact same root, which is, precisely, the Marxist class critique of deep and brutal class conflicts in the 19th century. Despite its success, state interventionist capitalism (robust social welfare, unions, wages), or, put another way, the West's response to the Soviet project, was abandoned in the 1970s.

Sorry, [Peterson fans](#), but you need a much better historian, and one who is an actual intellectual. I know hearing this hurts. My [last post](#) about Peterson exposed me to your powerful feelings about this Canadian character. You really love and believe in him. But I'm the black cloud carrying away the ersatz sun. I come as the facts that are facts. And here are a few you need to grasp.

The project of capitalism is, one, extremely brutal, as attested by Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness*, and the real-world history (the 19th century Congo) it's based on. And this is not to mention the massive human catastrophe of American slavery, which was a capitalist project.

Indeed, the young French economist Thomas Piketty even challenged, in his popular book [Capital in the Twenty-First Century](#), the popular idea introduced by the late and neo-classical US economist Gary Becker, "human capital." For Piketty, it misrepresents what capital actual is, whereas a description of American slavery would represent it precisely: these humans were valued in exactly the same way you value a house or a financial asset—in short, as capital. And how much of this dead capital was tossed into the sea during its shipment across the Atlantic? This was capitalism. And so was [the potato famine](#).

Secondly, postmodernism is a post-structuralist project and not a Marxist one. Why? Sorry, but your Peterson has no idea about this because, I suspect, he has just not read the books (I must repeat this real possibility in the hope of curing you of the spell he has cast on you). Anyone with a basic (and not complex) grasp of the history of French or continental intellectual developments at the end of the 20th century is very aware of the fact that the classical Marxism that crashed in the 1960s (during the *Trente Glorieuses*—1945 to 1975—the Keynesian response and solution to the real threats of a socialism born in the 19th century) did not take a new and altered form, a Marxism by other means. The truth is there was a real rupture. This rupture is found in the French turn to Nietzsche and the key structuralist concept of historical contingencies. Both developments mark a violent break from classical Marxism. As for the celebration of difference, this had nothing to do with classical Marxism and lot do with breakthroughs in the science of the times. You will not understand Deleuze's celebration difference if you place out of the context of the revolution biological or evolutionary thinking.

Marxism survived in the structuralist moment in France (1950s and 1960s) by way of Louis Althusser, but not as the post-structuralism of Deleuze, Foucault, and Derrida, none of whom can be called a Marxist without causing laughter among those in the know (Peterson, who can be described as a third-rate [Bernard-Henri Lévy](#), is clearly not in this group). The simple reason is the point of departure for post-structuralists is a philosopher that apparently Peterson admires, Nietzsche. For classical Marxism, it is clearly Hegel. These, intellectually speaking, are two different languages or landscapes.

If you want a quick introduction to these important late-20th century developments, I simply recommend stop listening to Peterson on YouTube and read a very accessible 2013 book by the Swiss sociologist [Razmig Keucheyan](#), *The Left Hemisphere*. It explains why post-structuralism struck a note with elite North American universities. It was an idea that simply did not exist for classical Marxism, but one that was important for American Empire, whose emerging neoliberal project, globalization by corporations, was very useful or even crucial to its propagation. It was a tolerance of cultural and sexual identities and racial differences in an expanding world market. Identity politics is actually problematic for Marxists (not neoliberals) precisely because it does not privilege the economic. Think of it this way—identity politics can produce an openly gay CEO of Apple. It does not disrupt the system. It confirms it.

So what exactly is Peterson feeding his many readers? Not an informed critique of Marxism or Cold War politics. His is not even a critique of neoliberalism, which is actually pro-identity politics or the respect of cultural difference (this is made clear by an important book that tracked these

developments, *The University in Ruins*, and also the crisis of Brexit). It's exemplified by the corporate community's (from Budweiser to Amazon) rejection of Trump's Muslim ban, and the emergence and limited significance of a New Marx Reading—[Neue Marx-Lektüre](#)—on the critical theory scene. These are the facts. Not Marxism, but a neoliberalism that found its intellectual force in what Peterson imagines as Cultural Marxism but is, in fact, a post-structuralism that exploded on the scene in the 1970s, was promoted by North American universities, and was vigorously anti-classical Marxism. This is how it went down, dear lover of the nonsense pushed by that Canadian charlatan.

Tags: [Economy](#)



[Charles Mudede](#)

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MISES INSTITUTE

What Is Cultural Marxism?

By Chris Calton 06/21/2018

The term “cultural Marxism” has gained traction in recent years, usually employed pejoratively against young leftists and Social Justice Warrior ideologues. Like any such political pejorative, including those used by both the left and the right, the common rejoinder is that, by the overuse of the term, it has either been rendered meaningless or has always been without meaning.

But “cultural Marxism” is a term that has real meaning, and not necessarily a pejorative meaning (that would presumably depend on your own ideological preferences). **The idea of cultural Marxism is derived from Marx’s theory of history as it evolved through the discipline of history by Marxist historians as they gradually became less orthodox.**

The Marxist Theory of History

The original Marxist theory of history consisted of a few assumptions. The first is that the history of any society could be divided into three epochs: the ancient society, the feudal society, and the capitalist society. This was Marx’s unique idea of a “stages theory of history,” though stage doctrines of history were hardly new. The pre-Marxian Christian philosophy of history, for example, offered a similar pattern of stages from the epoch of sinless bliss, to that of wicked suffering, and finally, Christian salvation.

But the Christian philosophy of history moved under the invisible direction of a “Prime Mover”: God. Marx’s theory of history also contains an invisible Prime Mover: the ambiguously named “material forces of production.” What, specifically, these material forces of production actually are depends on the epoch. In feudal times, of course, it was land. In the capitalist epoch, it would be manufactories, or the capital goods that specifically replaced the feudal serf with the capitalist wage-laborer.

This leads to the second major element of Marx’s theory of history: class consciousness. Marx believed that each societal epoch contained internal contradictions that would progressively divide the different “classes” of people. In feudal times, this would be the serf and the landlord. Under capitalism, of course, Marx divided people into the *proletariat* and the *bourgeoisie*. The internal contradictions would lead to a conflict between classes known as the “class struggle,” and eventually, the lower class would overthrow society and usher in the subsequent stage. This is Marx’s famous class analysis.

The third and final major element of Marx's theory of history was a determinist theory, positing that the movement of society from one stage to its successor stage was inevitable, and through this inevitability, the fourth and final epoch would eventually be ushered in by the proletariat's overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Of course, this final stage was socialism ([as I have detailed elsewhere](#)), Marx did not originally make any distinction between socialism and communism, and this alteration to his theory of history was made by Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin).

The deterministic outlook on history was not unique to Marx, either. As Mises points out in *Theory and History*, this deterministic idea was borrowed from and combined with the Enlightenment view of human progress.

The Enlightenment thinkers believed that as society progressed, human reason would inevitably yield an upward linear progression of history – being that each era of human history would be inevitably better than the period that preceded it. The Enlightenment determinism was necessarily optimistic, and Marx embraced their idea and combined it with his own stages doctrine. Thus, by accepting both the optimistic Enlightenment theory of human progress and Marx's stages doctrine, Marx could argue, without any need to substantiate his claims, that the inevitable stage of socialism would be consequently *better* than the capitalist stage that preceded it, on the sole merit that it came later.

Marx's criticisms of the "bourgeoisie economists" reveal his dedication to his theory in dismissing his opponents by charging that the classical economists were governed by their own class consciousness, and therefore their economic arguments should be dismissed without consideration. The only proof that anybody needed that socialism was the superior economic system was to accept that it was the historically inevitable economic system.

In brief summation, Marx's theory of history consisted of (1) a stages doctrine (2) class consciousness, dictated by a "prime mover," and (3) an optimistic version of historical determinism. The term "dialectical materialism" that refers to Marx's theory of history is derived from the "materialistic" aspect of the "prime mover" contained in Marx's "material forces of production," and the "dialectical" aspect of the inner contradictions that plague each stage of society.

The Marxist Historians

Of course, even modern day Marxist historians generally reject the bulk of Marx's theory of history. Although I often argue that historical determinism is still smuggled into certain historical explanations ([as I did here](#)), historians have generally rejected any theories of historical determinism. This was the first element of Marx's theory of history to be largely abandoned.

The stages doctrine of history was still considered useful by many historians, at least for analytic purposes. In the historiography of the Old South (the slave states prior to the American Civil War), historians in the mid-twentieth century debated whether or not the slave economy qualified as a capitalist society. The disagreement was on purely Marxist grounds, with the Marxist historians

being those who rejected the arguments that the Old South was capitalistic because it was, according to Marx's defined epochs, a *feudal* society (though some alterations to the stages doctrine and the analysis were offered as Marxist historians became less orthodox).

But while the stages doctrine of Marxist history might still survive in some literature, its analytical use has been increasingly rejected as well. This leaves the element of Marx's class analysis, and it is the most persistent element of Marx's theory of history that, despite its own alterations by non-orthodox Marxists, has survived in the more modern literature. From the various alterations of Marx's class analysis, though, do we find the definition of "cultural Marxism."

Probably the most important element in the specifically Marxist class analysis is Marx's idea of "exploitation." This concept is the primary distinguishing characteristic between the Marxist and Austrian class analysis, as Rothbard first observed and [Hoppe elaborated on](#) (Rothbard uses the distinction of "caste conflict" in *Man, Economy, and State* to highlight the distinction between Marxist exploitation, which falls apart under sound economic scrutiny, and the Libertarian theory of exploitation which is based on the *hegemonic* relationships between various people, compared to voluntary relationships).

In the field of history, the Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm penned an essay entitled "Notes on Class Consciousness" that offered an orthodox interpretation of Marxist class theory. Class and class conflict, Hobsbawm argued, were present "whenever society was divided between exploiters and exploited," and political organization was required to "channel such conflict into an emancipatory class consciousness."¹

But this isn't *cultural* Marxism; it's just Marxism. A less orthodox Marxist historian, E.P. Thompson, modified Marx's class theory by emphasizing the cultural elements of the proletarian class. Instead of their consciousness being dictated by *only* economic forces, as Marx posited, they were also dictated by cultural and religious factors. In his influential book *The Making of the English Working Class*, Thompson accepted the Marxist ideas of class consciousness and the proletariat, but the reaction to industrialization was, in Thompson's view, partly shaped by their inherited culture.

As Anna Green and Kathleen Troup point out, "It is this emphasis upon the role of ideas or popular morality that has led Thompson to be characterized as a 'cultural' Marxist."² In Thompson's book, he wrote, "Class consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas and institutional forms."³

Cultural Marxism and Social Justice

Given the idea of cultural Marxism that has existed, non-pejoratively, among avowed Marxists, we can turn to Mises's analysis on history that identify further what constitutes genuine cultural Marxism aside from merely the idea of "consciousness influenced by culture."

Throughout history, Mises argues, philosophers were on a quest to discover an absolute standard of values. Writing in the 1950's, Mises claimed that many thinkers argued that "justice" was the primary value to be pursued. Of course, this begs the eternal question of how justice can be defined and measured, but that complex debate is not important regarding the issue of cultural Marxism. Mises points out that in any society, disagreements exist over the best method of political or social organization. This, of course, need not necessarily refer to judgments of value.

However, he then describes what can only be called "social justice." Mises writes:

Social institutions, [people] assert, must be just. It is base to judge them merely according to their fitness to attain definite ends, however desirable these ends may be from any other point of view. What matters first is justice. The extreme formulation of this idea is to be found in the famous phrase: *fiat justitia, pereat mundus*. Let justice be done, even if it destroys the world.⁴

Naturally, this fails to answer any question of what justice actually is, in the minds of any advocate of this maxim. But people calling for social justice often have no coherent definition of justice to identify; instead, they offer a grab-bag of platitudes, often in contradiction with each other (see, for example, [the people who wish to combat racism by celebrating racially segregated graduation ceremonies](#), as a means of, somehow, upholding the incompatible platitudinous ideals of both racial diversity and racial inclusivity).

But it is possible to envision a people who rationally debate the best method of organizing society and engage in civil discourse over the definition of justice and social institutions. Mises points to the "extreme formulation" that the idea of social justice can lead to, but not everybody who advocates "social justice" is guilty of this extreme formulation. However, Mises's offers another identifying characteristic:

The world view that was displaced by modern rationalism did not tolerate dissenting judgments of value. *The mere fact of dissent was considered an insolent provocation, a mortal outrage to one's own feelings*. Protracted religious wars resulted (emphasis added).⁵

Here we have the notion of intolerance toward dissenting ideas and preferences that culminates in violence (not necessarily religious, as Mises is speaking about historical wars, but the modern implications are not difficult to extrapolate). Violent opposition to dissenting opinions is certainly something that we can observe in modern society, as university campuses are becoming increasingly aware through the violent protests against politically controversial speakers.

To tie Mises's observations in with E.P. Thompson's, then, we do have an interesting trend. It is certainly not *necessarily* the case that people who hold certain cultural values – more often attributed with the cultural left – are also anti-capitalist. There are, indeed, many pro-capitalist individuals who agree with leftist cultural values. It does, however, seem interesting that the anti-capitalist left (usually the younger generations; [as Mark Thornton has pointed out](#), the socialist label is becoming increasingly acceptable) often appear to view their economic ideas as part-and-

parcel of their cultural views. This quite clearly conforms to the idea of cultural Marxism attributed to E.P. Thompson's class analysis.

Of further interest is the observation that the *violent* protests – being the clear indication of the people Mises refers to when he speaks of the “insolent provocation” of “mere dissent” – come from people who can be classified according to E.P. Thompson's Marxism, and, given Marx's own idea of class struggle (which he never denied would be violent), it should hardly be controversial to describe these people as “cultural Marxists.” Whether or not, then, the accurately applied label of “cultural Marxist” should be viewed as a pejorative, I believe, depends on whether or not one believes *violent intolerance* to anybody of another “consciousness” is ethically permissible.

- [1.](#) E J. Hobsbawm, *Workers: Worlds of Labor*, American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 15-32; Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: a Critical Reader in History and Theory*, second ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 52.
- [2.](#) Ibid.
- [3.](#) E P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964, 1963), 9-10.
- [4.](#) Ludwig Von Mises, *Theory and History: an Interpretation of Social and Economic Evolution* (Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2007), 52.
- [5.](#) Ibid., 64.
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MISES INSTITUTE

Cultural Marxism Is Real

By Allen Mendenhall 01/09/2019

Samuel Moyn, a Yale law professor, recently [asked](#), “What is ‘cultural Marxism?’” His answer: “Nothing of the kind actually exists.” Moyn attributes the term *cultural Marxism* to the “runaway alt-right imagination,” claiming that it implicates zany conspiracy theories and has been “percolating for years through global sewers of hatred.”

Alexander Zubatov, an attorney writing in *Tablet*, [countered](#) that the “somewhat unclear and contested” term *cultural Marxism* “has been in circulation for over forty years.” It has, moreover, “perfectly respectable uses outside the dark, dank silos of the far right.” He concluded that cultural Marxism is neither a “conspiracy” nor a “mere right-wing ‘phantasmagoria,’” but a “coherent intellectual program, a constellation of dangerous ideas.”

In this debate, I side with Zubatov. Here’s why.

Despite the bewildering range of controversies and meanings attributed to it, cultural Marxism (the term and the movement) has a deep, complex history in Theory. The word “Theory” (with a capital T) is the general heading for research within the interpretative branches of the humanities known as cultural and critical studies, literary criticism, and literary theory — each of which includes a variety of approaches from the phenomenological to the psychoanalytic. In the United States, Theory is commonly taught and applied in English departments, although its influence is discernable throughout the humanities.

A brief genealogy of different schools of Theory — which originated outside English departments, among philosophers and sociologists for example, but became part of English departments’ core curricula — shows not only that cultural Marxism is a nameable, describable phenomenon, but also that it proliferates beyond the academy.

Scholars versed in Theory are reasonably suspicious of crude, tendentious portrayals of their field. Nevertheless, these fields retain elements of Marxism that, in my view, require heightened and sustained scrutiny. Given estimates that communism killed [over 100 million people](#), we must openly and honestly discuss those currents of Marxism that run through different modes of interpretation and schools of thought. To avoid complicity, moreover, we must ask whether and why Marxist ideas, however attenuated, still motivate leading scholars and spread into the broader culture.

English departments sprang up in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th century, ushering in increasingly professionalized studies of literature and other forms of aesthetic expression. As English became a distinct university discipline with its own curriculum, it moved away from the study of British literature and canonical works of the Western tradition in translation, and toward the philosophies that guide textual interpretation.

Although a short, sweeping survey of what followed may not satisfy those in the field, it provides others with the relevant background.

The New Criticism

The first major school to establish itself in English departments was the New Criticism. Its counterpart was Russian formalism, characterized by figures like Victor Shklovsky and Roman Jakobson, who attempted to distinguish literary texts from other texts, examining what qualities made written representations poetic, compelling, original, or moving rather than merely practical or utilitarian.

One such quality was defamiliarization. Literature, in other words, defamiliarizes language by using sound, syntax, metaphor, alliteration, assonance, and other rhetorical devices.

The New Criticism, which was chiefly pedagogical, emphasized close reading, maintaining that readers searching for meaning must isolate the text under consideration from externalities like authorial intent, biography, or historical context. This method is similar to legal textualism whereby judges look strictly at the language of a statute, not to legislative history or intent, to interpret the import or meaning of that statute. The New Critics coined the term “intentional fallacy” to refer to the search for the meaning of a text anywhere but in the text itself. The New Criticism is associated with John Crowe Ransom, Cleanth Brooks, I. A. Richards, and T.S. Eliot. In a way, all subsequent schools of Theory are responses or reactions to the New Criticism.

Structuralism and Post-Structuralism

Structuralism permeated French intellectual circles in the 1960s. Through structuralism, thinkers like Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, Julia Kristeva, and Louis Althusser imported leftist politics into the study of literary texts. Structuralism is rooted in the linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure, a Swiss linguist who observed how linguistic signs become differentiated within a system of language. When we say or write something, we do it according to rules and conventions in which our anticipated audience also operates. The implied order we use and communicate in is the “structure” referred to in structuralism.

The French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss extended Saussure’s ideas about the linguistic sign to culture, arguing that the beliefs, values, and characteristic features of a social group function according to a set of tacitly known rules. These structures are “discourse,” a term that encompasses cultural norms and not just language practices.

Out of structuralism and post-structuralism emerged Structural Marxism, a school of thought linked to Althusser that analyzes the role of the state in perpetuating the dominance of the ruling class, the capitalists.

Marxism and Neo-Marxism

In the 1930s and 1940s, the Frankfurt School popularized the type of work usually labeled as “cultural Marxism.” Figures involved or associated with this school include Erich Fromm, Theodore Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, and Walter Benjamin. These men revised, repurposed, and extended classical Marxism by emphasizing culture and ideology, incorporating insights from emerging fields such as psychoanalysis, and researching the rise of mass media and mass culture.

Dissatisfied with economic determinism and the illusory coherence of historical materialism—and jaded by the failures of socialist and communist governments—these thinkers retooled Marxist tactics and premises in their own ways without entirely repudiating Marxist designs or ambitions.

Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars like Terry Eagleton and Fredric Jameson were explicit in embracing Marxism. They rejected the New Critical approaches that divorced literature from culture, stressing that literature reflected class and economic interest, social and political structures, and power. Accordingly, they considered how literary texts reproduced (or undermined) cultural or economic structures and conditions.

Slavoj Žižek arguably has done more than any member of the Frankfurt School to integrate psychoanalysis into Marxist variants. “Žižek’s scholarship holds a particularly high place within cultural criticism that seeks to account for the intersections between psychoanalysis and Marxism,” wrote the scholar Erin Labbie.¹ She added, “Žižek’s prolific writings about ideology, revealing the relationships between psychoanalysis and Marxism, have altered the way in which literary and cultural criticism is approached and accomplished to the extent that most scholars can no longer hold tightly to the former notion that the two fields are at odds.”² Žižek is just one among many continental philosophers whose Marxist and Marxist-inflected prognostications command the attention of American academics.

Deconstruction

Jacques Derrida is recognized as the founder of deconstruction. He borrowed from Saussure’s theory that the meaning of a linguistic sign depends on its relation to its opposite, or to things from which it differs. For instance, the meaning of male depends on the meaning of female; the meaning of happy depends on the meaning of sad; and so forth. Thus, the theoretical difference between two opposing terms, or binaries, unites them in our consciousness. And one binary is privileged while the other is devalued. For example, “beautiful” is privileged over “ugly,” and “good” over “bad.”

The result is a hierarchy of binaries that are contextually or arbitrarily dependent, according to Derrida, and cannot be fixed or definite across time and space. That is because meaning exists in a state of flux, never becoming part of an object or idea.

Derrida himself, having re-read *The Communist Manifesto*, recognized the “spectral” furtherance of a “spirit” of Marx and Marxism.³ Although Derrida’s so-called “hauntology” precludes the messianic meta-narratives of unfulfilled Marxism, commentators have salvaged from Derrida a modified Marxism for the climate of today’s “late capitalism.”

Derrida used the term *différance* to describe the elusive process humans use to attach meaning to arbitrary signs, even if signs—the codes and grammatical structures of communication — cannot adequately represent an actual object or idea in reality. Derrida’s theories had a broad impact that enabled him and his followers to consider linguistic signs and the concepts created by those signs, many of which were central to the Western tradition and Western culture. For example, Derrida’s critique of logocentrism contests nearly all philosophical foundations deriving from Athens and Jerusalem.

New Historicism

New Historicism, a multifaceted enterprise, is associated with Shakespearean scholar Stephen Greenblatt. It looks at historical forces and conditions with a structuralist and post-structuralist eye, treating literary texts as both products of and contributors to discourse and discursive communities. It is founded on the idea that literature and art circulate through discourse and inform and destabilize cultural norms and institutions.

New historicists explore how literary representations reinforce power structures or work against entrenched privilege, extrapolating from Foucault’s paradox that power grows when it is subverted because it is able to reassert itself over the subversive person or act in a show of power. Marxism and materialism often surface when new historicists seek to highlight texts and authors (or literary scenes and characters) in terms of their effects on culture, class, and power. New historicists focus on low-class or marginalized figures, supplying them with a voice or agency and giving them overdue attention. This political reclamation, while purporting to provide context, nevertheless risks projecting contemporary concerns onto works that are situated in a particular culture and historical moment.

In the words of literary critic Paul Cantor, “There is a difference between *political* approaches to literature and *politicized* approaches, that is, between those that rightly take into account the centrality of political concerns in many literary classics and those that willfully seek to reinterpret and virtually recreate classic works in light of contemporary political agendas.”⁴

Cultural Marxism Is Real

Much of the outcry about cultural Marxism is outrageous, uninformed, and conspiratorial. Some of it simplifies, ignores, or downplays the fissures and tensions among leftist groups and ideas.

Cultural Marxism cannot be reduced, for instance, to “political correctness” or “identity politics.” (I recommend Andrew Lynn’s short piece “Cultural Marxism” in the Fall 2018 issue of *The Hedgehog Review* for a concise critique of sloppy and paranoid treatments of cultural Marxism.)

Nevertheless, Marxism pervades Theory, despite the competition among the several ideas under that broad label. Sometimes this Marxism is self-evident; at other times, it’s residual and implied. At any rate, it has attained a distinct but evolving character as literary scholars have reworked classical Marxism to account for the relation of literature and culture to class, power, and discourse.

Feminism, gender studies, critical race theory, post-colonialism, disability studies — these and other disciplines routinely get pulled through one or more of the theoretical paradigms I’ve outlined. The fact that they’re guided by Marxism or adopt Marxist terms and concepts, however, does not make them off-limits or unworthy of attention.

Which brings me to a warning: Condemning these ideas as forbidden, as dangers that corrupt young minds, might have unintended consequences. Marxist spinoffs *must* be studied to be comprehensively understood. Don’t remove them from the curriculum: contextualize them, challenge them, and question them. Don’t reify their power by ignoring or neglecting them.

Popular iterations of cultural Marxism reveal themselves in the casual use of terms like “privilege,” “alienation,” “commodification,” “fetishism,” “materialism,” “hegemony,” or “superstructure.” As Zubatov wrote for *Tablet*, “It is a short step from Gramsci’s ‘hegemony’ to the now-ubiquitous toxic memes of ‘patriarchy,’ ‘heteronormativity,’ ‘white supremacy,’ ‘white privilege,’ ‘white fragility,’ ‘and whiteness.’” He adds, “It is a short step from the Marxist and cultural Marxist premise that ideas are, at their core, expressions of power to rampant, divisive identity politics and the routine judging of people and their cultural contributions based on their race, gender, sexuality and religion.”

My brief summary is merely the simplified, approximate version of a much larger and more complex story, but it orients curious readers who wish to learn more about cultural Marxism in literary studies. Today, English departments suffer from the lack of a clearly defined mission, purpose, and identity. Having lost rigor in favor of leftist politics as their chief end of study, English departments at many universities are jeopardized by the renewed emphasis on practical skills and jobs training. Just as English departments replaced religion and classics departments as the principal places to study culture, so too could future departments or schools replace English departments.

And those places may not tolerate political agitations posturing as pedagogical technique.

The point, however, is that cultural Marxism exists. It has a history, followers, adherents, and left a perceptible mark on academic subjects and lines of inquiry. Moyn may wish it out of existence, or dismiss it as a bogeyman, but it is real. We must know its effects on society, and in what forms it materializes in our culture. Moyn’s intemperate polemic demonstrates, in fact, the urgency and

importance of examining cultural Marxism, rather than closing our eyes to its meaning, properties, and significance.

Editor's Note: Allen Mendenhall's [recent video interview with the Martin Center](#) touches on themes from this article.

This article was [originally published by the Martin Center](#).

- [1.](#) Erin F. Labbie, "Žižek Avec Lacan: Splitting the Dialectics of Desire," *Slovene Studies*, Vol. 25 (2003), p. 23.
- [2.](#) Ibid.
- [3.](#) Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx* (Peggy Kamuf, trans.) (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), p. 3-4.
- [4.](#) Paul Cantor, "Shakespeare—'For all time'?" *The Public Interest*, Issue 110 (1993), p. 35.

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AMERICAN THINKER

Political Correctness /s Cultural Marxism

By [W.A. Beatty](#) July 6, 2013

The excellent AT article "[Conservatives Pushing Back](#)" by Bruce Walker explored what we conservative thinkers (We are, after all, American Thinkers) have known for quite some time: **political correctness (PC) is to culture what Marxism is to economics.** To recognize that fact arms us with what we need in order to push back. As Walker says (emphasis added), "[t]hese *marketplace ballots* are the key not only to the survival of a non-totalitarian America, but also to the final defeat of those whose minds and wills are chained with hard, cold manacles of leftism."

Walker's article is (pardon the pun) right on the money. So, in an effort to further understand PC, exploration of its similarities to Marxism is in order.

Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883) was a German socialist. Marx's social, economic, and political theories proclaimed that societies progress through class struggle. His focus was upon economics, so Marx concentrated on the conflict between an ownership class that controlled production and a proletariat that provided the labor for production. He referred to capitalism as the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." The proletariat, the oppressed workers, were supposed to be the beneficiaries of a social revolution that would place them on top of the power structure.

Marx's key concept was "class struggle." That's where PC comes in. PC seeks to impose a uniformity of thought and behavior, just like Marxism, on all Americans and is, therefore, quite totalitarian in nature. PC is, in concept, similar to Marxism, but its focus is upon culture, rather than economics, as the class struggle environment.

PC, just like Marxism, forces people to live a lie by denying reality. PC takes a political philosophy and says that on the basis of the chosen philosophy, certain things must be true, and reality that contradicts its "truth" must be forbidden -- eradicated since it disputes PC, exposes as untrue what PC says is true. People are reluctant to live a lie, so they use their eyes and ears to [see reality](#), to say, "Wait a minute. This isn't

true. I can see it isn't true; the power of the state [PC] must be put behind the demand to live a lie." Marxism, by denying economic reality, did exactly the same thing.

PC, just like Marxism, has a method of analysis that always provides the answer it wants. For PC, the "answer" is found through deconstruction, which takes any situation, removes all meaning from it, and replaces it with PC's desired meaning. Walker references this point when he says, "[T]hat her [Paula Deen's] devout Christian faith is more the real target than past use of an unhappy word which did not keep Robert Byrd from remaining, by election of his fellow Senate Democrats, the most powerful Democrat politician in America."

PC, just like Marxism, depends upon defining what it considers good and bad groups. It defines good groups as "victims" of bad groups. The victims can never be anything but good, regardless of what their actions may be. Witness what the Black Panthers [did](#) in Philadelphia, PA in 2008 and 2012. Any group identified as good by PC (homosexuals, blacks, Hispanics, illegal immigrants, feminist women, mentally and/or physically challenged people, the poor, environmentalists, the list goes on and on) must be shown deference, both physically and linguistically. They must not be offended, must not be insulted.

Any group identified as bad by PC, such as white males or any Christian group, can be offended. This offense, PC practitioners say, "makes up" for past offenses certain to have been committed in the past by bad groups. And what's worse is that the PC practitioners get to define the offenses committed by the bad groups. This situation, by definition, is a "self-fulfilling prophesy."

Rush Limbaugh, in 2010, [said](#), "Our politically correct society is acting like some giant insult has taken place by calling a bunch of people who are retards, retards." The PC crowd labeled Limbaugh's statement offensive and insulting. Imagine that. Limbaugh was just "calling a spade a spade." Like it or not, PC cannot prevent mental retardation, cannot alter reality. But that doesn't stop them from trying.

PC, just like Marxism, depends upon expropriation. PC is literally taking over our language, and woe be unto him/her that dares speak the truth. When Marxists took over Russia, they expropriated the bourgeoisie by confiscating their property. Similarly, when PC takes over our culture, quotas are set. The so-called bourgeoisie are told whom they can and can't hire, and in what quantities they can hire. As an example, see what the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

is [currently up to](#). And let's not forget affirmative action, a system of expropriation if there ever was one, another PC favorite. When a black or Hispanic student (or some other "victim"), who isn't as well-qualified as a white student, gains university admittance through affirmative action, the white student's admittance is expropriated.

PC, just like Marxism, has a single factor explanation of all of history. PC says that all history is determined by power, by which groups have power over which other groups. Nothing else matters. Period. PC is all about gaining power for the good groups that it defines. To further that goal, PC literally [rewrites](#) history. And PC says that the Bible is actually about race and gender. Nothing is beyond the PC crowd.

As an example of what PC has done and is currently doing, examine the George Zimmerman/Trayvon Martin case/trial. First, always PC, Dear Leader Barack Hussein Obama [said](#), "You know, if I had a son, he'd look like Trayvon." Then, ever PC NBC doctored the 911 recording; thus, "[NBC created](#) this false and defamatory misimpression using the oldest form of yellow journalism: manipulating Zimmerman's own words, splicing together disparate parts of the recording to create the illusion of statements that Zimmerman never actually made." Here is what PC tried to do before the trial. "[Many viewed](#) the early lack of charges against Zimmerman as unequal justice for a black victim. More than 2 million people signed an online Change.org petition demanding 'Justice for Trayvon Martin.'" Now, the prosecution is trying to [say](#) that Zimmerman is a liar, that his injuries were not life-threatening. I'm quite certain that AT readers can cite numerous other examples.

The U.S. has become an ideological state, a country with an official state ideology and history that has been defined by PC. People convicted of "hate crimes" as defined by PC are currently serving jail sentences for political thoughts contrary to PC. And it's only getting worse -- PC continues to spread.

Marx believed his ideology, his economic system to be true. But, reality contradicted his system. His ideology did not adjust to reality. Hopefully the PC ideology will soon suffer a similar fate. It is, as Walker points out, a corrupt ideology. The only problem is that we will have no country, will have an economic disaster once people are confronted with reality, when enough people say, "Wait a minute. This isn't true." Meanwhile, the Democrats/Progressives/Liberals who will not adjust to reality continue the PC ideology. And they have convinced the MSM and enough low-information voters to continue to empower them as all three groups continue to ignore reality.

Charlton Heston once said, "Political correctness is tyranny with manners." Tyranny, yes, but practitioners seem to have forgotten the manners part.

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THE BEREAN WATCH

Cultural Marxism — Part 1 — Overview

Political correctness has its origins in the Frankfurt School (FS) of Marxism, beginning in the 1920's, whereby communist intellectuals re-cast Marxist communism from economic into cultural terms: the result is known as Cultural Marxism (CM). These individuals set out to undertake what they termed the "long march" through the various pillars of Western culture, with the ultimate goal of a classless society, and a central government controlling all aspects of life. Their vision is fairly accurately rendered in the lyrics to John Lennon's song, "[Imagine](#)".

In order to accomplish these goals, the FS people knew they had first to destroy the hold of Judeo-Christianity on the West, then create a revolutionary, post-Christian, morally relativistic culture that could easily be molded at will by the CM elitists directing the transformation. The classical Marxist model of oppressor/oppressed whereby the workers of the world united against the factory owners was modified to apply to a number of presumed oppressor/oppressed groups such as White/Black, Male/Female, Straight/Gay, Christian/Islamic, etc. Additionally – to help break down Christianity – there was the introduction of as much sexual activity as possible; thus we were given "make love, not war", early sex indoctrination, and as Herbert Marcuse encouraged: "polymorphous perversity" such as LGBTQ behavior. Also, Critical Theory and language deconstruction became important components and further, the CM's wanted the patriarchal family replaced with one that was matriarchal.

The CM elites needed to ensure that these oppressed classes remained permanently oppressed, in order to provide continuity in the long march through the culture. Further, the oppressor class could never cease being an oppressor: they must retain their oppressor status indefinitely. In other words, the CM morality concept is dualistic: the oppressors are completely evil and their victims totally innocent, both in perpetuity. Thus, only whites can be racist, there is such a thing as homophobia but not heterophobia; there is Islamophobia but not Christianophobia, etc. The FS labeled this "repressive tolerance": you must be tolerant of the permanently oppressed, but can never be tolerant of the permanent oppressor. So the CM elites have no problem with an "art" object of a crucifix upside down in a jar of urine, but one never speaks a negative word of Islam or Muslims.

One of the architects of CM — Italian communist Antonio Gramsci — stated that the West was dominated by a Judeo-Christian worldview: morality and ethics which he termed traditional hegemonic thinking. In the CM ideology, this was to be replaced that with revolutionary hegemonic thinking, and he understood that the transition would take time but in the end take over the West culturally, with the people ultimately desiring the socialist utopia; not a shot being fired nor a need for any gulags.

The way for the widespread adoption of CM was paved by the significant pro-Soviet infiltration of the US government and entertainment media during the Roosevelt years, including massive deception, for example Roosevelt's constant reference to one of the world's most infamous murderers as "Uncle Joe". After WWII and Stalin's death, when some of the Soviet atrocities became widely known, the formerly pro-Soviets found CM a home, forming the New Left and becoming anti-anti-communists.

Note that today, CM is synonymous with the political Left, and in the US they completely control the Democrat party, most of the media and entertainment industry, and nearly all of academia. As well the Christian church has been greatly weakened by its multicultural ideology and political correctness. As a society today we seem powerless to resist either the incursion of Islamism – becoming Dhimmis – or the socialist utopian movements such as the U.N. Agenda 21, which is taking place throughout the West, including locally in the US.

Cultural Marxism – Part 2 – Goals and Objectives

In the past 20-30 years, the suffix "phobic" has been added to a certain words to create new classes of antipathy. In the "old days", words like "claustrophobic" and "acrophobic" were used to denote negative states of mind relative to certain external stimuli. These kinds of words originated from the medical community, psychological branch. The new words include "homophobic" and "Islamophobic", but they did not originate from medicine but rather from the political community, ideology branch.

And which ideology might you ask? Well, we sometimes refer to these words as part of political correctness, but the ideology at the root of political correctness is Cultural Marxism (CM). In a [previous posting](#) I've briefly outlined some of the origins of CM, but there remains to be considered the "why" and the "how" of this ideology. At the "why" level we have the true goals of CM, and the objectives to meet those goals. At the "how" level is how CM is sold: the propaganda level. It is important to always keep in mind the true goals and objectives of CM, because the propaganda will contain half-truths and feel-good sentiment, and will often seem quite unrelated to the actual goals and objectives.

Goals and Objectives

In order to understand the objectives of CM, one must keep in mind the overall goal, which is the establishment of a socialist/communist utopia. The achievement of this goal will require the abandonment of the existing political, cultural and governmental order. And there is a specific target: the West, whose origins were essentially based on Judeo-Christianity. Thus the major overall objective is to change the hold that Judeo-Christian thinking has on the West.

Consider the following quote from "[Political Correctness: A Short History of an Ideology](#)":

“Political Correctness seeks to impose a uniformity of thought and behavior on all Americans and is therefore totalitarian in nature. Its roots lie in a version of Marxism which seeks a radical inversion of the traditional culture in order to create a social revolution.”

It should be noted that Cultural Marxism is the child of the classical Marxism of the 19th and early 20th century. According to Marxist theory, a world-wide war would be the catalyst for the workers of the world to overthrow their factory owners and create a communist society as Karl Marx envisioned. However, World War I came, but communism took hold in only one country – Tsarist Russia. And even there, it wasn’t so much a common-man movement, but a coup d’etat led by a relatively small band of ruthless elites. Thus in the early 1920’s, Marxist thinkers began to analyze what went wrong, and the search was on to find substitutes for the oppressor/oppressed factory owner/factory worker model, and the thinking morphed into focusing on culture.

Gramsci and Lukacs

Perhaps the two most important intellectuals who initiated the translation of Marxism from economic to cultural terms are the Italian Antonio Gramsci and the Hungarian Georg Lukacs. Here’s some description of Gramsci from [“Gramsci’s Grand Plan”](#):

“What Gramsci proposed, in short, was a renovation of Communist methodology and a streamlining and updating of Marx’s antiquated strategies. Let there be no doubt that Gramsci’s vision of the future was entirely Marxist and that he accepted the validity of Marxism’s overall worldview. Where he differed was in the process for achieving the victory of that worldview. Gramsci wrote that “there can and must be a ‘political hegemony’ even before assuming government power, and in order to exercise political leadership or hegemony one must not count solely on the power and material force that are given by government.” What he meant is that it is incumbent upon Marxists to win the hearts and minds of the people, and not to rest hopes for the future solely on force or power.

“Furthermore, Communists were enjoined to put aside some of their class prejudice in the struggle for power, seeking to win even elements within the bourgeois classes, a process which Gramsci described as “the absorption of the elites of the enemy classes.” Not only would this strengthen Marxism with new blood, but it would deprive the enemy of this lost talent. Winning the bright young sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie to the red banner, wrote Gramsci, “results in [the anti-Marxist forces’] decapitation and renders them impotent.” In short, violence and force will not by themselves genuinely transform the world. Rather it is through winning hegemony over the minds of the people and in robbing enemy classes of their most gifted men that Marxism will triumph over all.”

Fast forward to today: it is uncanny how closely Gramsci’s vision has been realized in the West in general and the US specifically. Beginning with the Roosevelt administration, the Left (which is ideologically synonymous with CM) has increasingly infiltrated much of our society: the media and Hollywood, for example are largely sold out to the Left, academia more so. And this has been

done without the use of force, but rather indeed through absorbing elites, has it not? Look at academia, from university to pre-K: essentially only one worldview allowed: Marxism.

Gramsci had moved to Russia in 1922, but when Lenin was replaced by Stalin, it became too risky for creative intellectuals to express their own opinions, thus Gramsci returned to Italy to work with the Italian Communist party. However with Mussolini in power, Gramsci was soon imprisoned. Yet even in prison he was able to write, and during his years of imprisonment he composed what is referred to as the [Prison Notebooks](#), arguably the most influential writings defining CM.

Concerning the Hungarian communist Georg Lukacs, consider the following from "[The New Left, Cultural Marxism and Psychopolitics Disguised as Multiculturalism](#)" by Linda Kimball:

"In 1919, Georg Lukacs became Deputy Commissar for Culture in the short-lived Bolshevik Bela Kun regime in Hungary. He immediately set plans in motion to de-Christianize Hungary. Reasoning that if Christian sexual ethics could be undermined among children, then both the hated patriarchal family and the Church would be dealt a crippling blow, Lukacs—towards this end—launched a radical sex education program in the schools. Sex lectures were organized and literature handed out which graphically instructed youth in free love (promiscuity) and sexual intercourse while simultaneously encouraging them to deride and reject Christian moral ethics, monogamy, and parental and church authority. All of this was accompanied by a reign of cultural terror perpetrated against parents, priests, and dissenters."

Isn't the use of sex education – at an earlier and earlier age – widespread in our country? Lukacs's program has been referred to as "cultural terrorism"; is that not essentially what similar programs are today? The question can be asked, why is sex education within families not deemed to be sufficient? Answer? The CM's want to accomplish something that they understand most families would never think of doing: corrupting their children. (To see where things stood on sex education in the US back in 2012 with Common Core, consider [this video](#).)

Lukacs in 1923 published "[History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics](#)", considered one of the foundational books in the development of CM.

The Frankfurt School

In addition to these two pioneers, a group of Marxist intellectuals in the early 1920's in Germany founded a think tank ultimately referred to as the "Frankfurt School" from which emerged important facets of the CM ideology. Consider the following also from [Kimball's article](#):

"In 1923, the Frankfurt School—a Marxist think-tank—was founded in Weimar Germany. Among its founders were Georg Lukacs, Herbert Marcuse, and Theodor Adorno. The school was a multidisciplinary effort which included sociologists, sexologists, and psychologists."

***“The primary goal of the Frankfurt School was to translate Marxism from economic terms into cultural terms. Toward this end, Marcuse—who favored polymorphous perversion—expanded the ranks of Gramsci’s new proletariat by including homosexuals, lesbians, and transsexuals. Into this was spliced Lukacs radical sex education and cultural terrorism tactics. Gramsci’s ‘long march’ was added to the mix, and then all of this was wedded to Freudian psychoanalysis and psychological conditioning techniques. The end product was Cultural Marxism, known in the West as multiculturalism.*”**

“In 1950, the Frankfurt School augmented Cultural Marxism with Theodor Adorno’s idea of the ‘authoritarian personality.’ This concept is premised on the notion that Christianity, capitalism, and the traditional family create a character prone to racism and fascism. Thus, anyone who upholds America’s traditional moral values and institutions is both racist and fascist. Children raised by traditional values parents, we are told to believe, will almost certainly become racists and fascists. By extension, if fascism and racism are endemic to America’s traditional culture, then everyone raised in the traditions of God, family, patriotism, gun ownership, or free markets is in need of psychological help.”

Note that in the early 1930’s the Frankfurt School fled Hitler’s Germany to the United States and settled in Columbia University in New York.

Among important concepts/techniques developed by the Frankfurt School included the following:

Critical Theory – Refers to destructive criticism of all aspects of traditional, Judeo-Christian-based culture, including family, sexual mores, religion, capitalism, patriotism, authority, morality, tradition, and similar. Critical Theory doesn’t propose remedial measures; its intention is to destroy.

Repressive Tolerance – Tolerance or intolerance, based on conformity to the CM oppressor/oppressed narrative. Hence for example, since Christianity is posited as oppressive, it deserves intolerance; whereas, Islam is posited as oppressed, so it is given tolerance.

Polymorphous Perversity — A psychoanalytic concept proposing the human ability to gain sexual gratification outside socially normative sexual behaviors. Herbert Marcuse was a supporter of this concept, and his thoughts in this area became well-known among youth during the 1960’s

In fact, if there is to be one member of the Frankfurt School that could be considered most influential in the development and implementation of CM, it would be Marcuse. At some point, the chant among Leftists became: “Marx, Mao, and Marcuse”. Marcuse was the leading “intellectual” promoting the cultural revolution of the 1960’s, and his book “[Eros and Civilization](#)” gave a seemingly intellectual basis for the upheaval. His slogan “make love and not war” was taken very literally by American youth.

What can be seen from these examples of the initial formulation of CM was the need to invert the cultural consensus of the West from Judeo-Christian ideology to a Marxist utopian worldview, with the initial focus being in the academic world. Books were published, disciples created, and the ideology began to be implemented in the various sub-categories of the “dispossessed” whose lives had supposedly been ruined by the traditional white, male, Christian, Capitalist, traditional family-oriented society that characterized the West. **However, it was understood that the process of overturning the traditional world view would take time, hence the characterization of the “long march through the culture”, implying several generations.**

Note that in addition to the major objective to remove the influence of Judeo-Christian thinking, there are several subsidiary objectives that have been pursued. One is to do whatever it takes to maintain their constituencies; **an “ends justify the means” approach, with objective truth a victim.** Frankfurt School operative and **German philosopher Max Horkheimer wrote, “logic is not independent of content.”; in other words, something is “true” if it helps the CM cause, and “false” if it does not.** I call it “[Hork-logic](#).” So little and big lies are no problem, as long as the results are what is desired. (See “Hands up, don’t shoot.”)

A second subsidiary objective has been to ruthlessly attack the opposition in the information battle space. In the old days of classic Marxism, opposition was dealt with by gulags and firing squads, **but in CM the equally effective techniques include character assassination, demonization and marginalization.** As a case in point, consider Black conservatives, and see how the Left – news media, entertainment, and political – treats them. They pay a big cost. **Words as weapons.**

It must be stressed that the SELLING of the revolutionary Marxist ideology must be done in a stealth manner: the true goals and objectives must be hidden from the masses, and the propagation of the ideology must take place at a different level: namely the propaganda realm, with the most important tools being “political correctness”, and its companion, “multiculturalism”.

In the [next article](#), this propaganda level of Cultural Marxism will be addressed.

Conclusion

In order to understand political correctness, a prior understanding of its origins is essential. Once the true goals and objectives of CM are understood and internalized, then at any point when political correctness appears on the landscape, one can simply reflect on how it is supporting the true, hidden goals and objectives of Cultural Marxism.

Note that in all of the above, there is scripture which establishes the exact context for CM and its child, political correctness:

“For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.” (Ephesians 6:12)

If you suspect that I am equating CM with the demonic – that is, “spiritual wickedness in high places” – you would be correct. If its primary objective is to destroy Christianity, how can it be otherwise?

Resources

To learn more about the formulation of Cultural Marxism and the implementation of political correctness and its equally deceptive companion multiculturalism within the West, consider the following two videos:

[Bill Whittle: The Narrative \(13:08\)](#)

A brief introduction is provided to the Frankfurt School and cultural Marxism by conservative journalist and PJTV participant Bill Whittle.

[William Lind: Cultural Marxism \(22:27\)](#)

An elaboration on the Frankfurt School and cultural Marxism is provided by a variety of voices including conservatives William Lind and David Horowitz, and Leftist Berkeley historian Martin Jay.

Concerning Utopian movements such as Marxism, consider the following excellent book:

[Mark Levin: Ameritopia – The Unmaking of America](#)

Mark Levin, at the beginning of his Epilogue, states: MY PREMISE, IN THE first sentence of the first chapter of this book, is this: “Tyranny, broadly defined, is the use of power to dehumanize the individual and delegitimize his nature. Political utopianism is tyranny disguised as a desirable, workable, and even paradisiacal governing ideology.”

Also consider the [Politically Incorrect Articles](#) and the [Politically Incorrect Videos](#) pages in this blog for more links.

[Cultural Marxism – Part 3 – Political Correctness](#)

In the [previous posting](#) dealing with Cultural Marxism (CM), it was shown that one must view political correctness issues at two levels: (1) the goals and objectives – what CM is intending to do, even if hidden, and (2) the propaganda level – how it accomplishes its goals and objectives.

As described in the previous article, the overall goal of CM is the establishment of a socialist/communist utopia. The achievement of this goal will require the abandonment of the existing political, cultural and governmental order which is based on Judeo-Christian thought, and replacing it with order based on Marxism. Further, in the attack on Christian-based thought, the CM constituencies of what they call oppressed groups must be maintained at all costs: the ends justify the means, and truth is often the biggest victim. And part of that maintenance includes the demonization and marginalization of all opposition, with no concern about the ethics of the means to accomplish their overall goals.

It was also pointed out that the SELLING of the revolutionary Marxist ideology is done in a stealth manner: the true goals and objectives are hidden from the masses, and the propagation of the ideology takes place at a different level: the propaganda realm, with the most important tool being “political correctness”.

Political Correctness

Political Correctness serves as both the enforcement arm of CM as well as the “justifier” of the revolutionary ideology. However it must be kept in mind that the rhetoric that is used to justify a particular facet of CM may have little relation to objective truth or morality. And that’s because [Hork-logic](#) is in effect (i.e., something is “true” if it helps CM, and “false” if it does not, courtesy of Max Horkheimer, CM pioneer). **And further, political correctness never allows the true goals or objectives of cultural Marxism to be articulated.**

Given below are some examples of narratives that political correctness rigorously promotes, providing supposed high moral ground to recruit supporters, and simultaneously labeling opposition as immoral and evil, to silence and render them impotent. Keep in mind that we’re dealing with ideology and not objective truth. And it is all done with state-of-the-art marketing skills, such that many well-meaning people – both intelligent and otherwise — are blinded to the true goals and objectives.

Abortion

How is it sold? “A woman’s right to choose”. “A woman should be able to control her own body.” To oppose abortion-on-demand is to be “anti-woman”.

But what are the actual hidden CM objectives of abortion? In part, it is to foster as much sexual promiscuity as possible, as an attack on the family and Christianity, the weakening of which are fundamental objectives of CM. In addition however, there is a Eugenics component: in order for the Socialist utopia to succeed, there will need to be less people on the earth, and ESPECIALLY less undesirable people such as (according to CM predecessors such as [Margaret Sanger](#)) Blacks and Hispanics. How else to account for the high percentage of abortion clinics AND actual [abortions in Black and Hispanic](#) communities? The answer is clear: the CM’s are deadly racists – they want to limit the number of Black and Hispanic babies.

But while minority babies appear to be the highest priority targets, overall population control and even reduction is the [long-term goal](#). Consider for example [U.N. Agenda 21](#) with its “sustainability” concept requiring population control; the target optimal world population among elites seems to be about [500 million](#). Note that Agenda 21 appears to be very much like the socialist utopia which is the primary goal of CM. Thus the preservation and even expansion of abortion throughout the world would seem to be a fundamental component of population control, as well as of CM.

Finally, why is it that we never hear about the [negative fallout from abortion](#), not only on the life that has been terminated, but also the effect on the mother, the father, siblings, community, culture? It is because the news media is largely controlled by CM, and [Hork-logic](#) concludes that such negative effects are not newsworthy, and in fact need to be hidden.

Homosexuality

How is it sold? “Human rights.” To say ANYTHING negative about Gays is considered “hate speech;” to oppose Gay marriage is to be labeled “homophobic.”

But what is the goal? As with abortion, the primary goal is the destruction of the family and Judeo-Christianity. After all, both the Old and New Testaments [could hardly be clearer](#) on defining homosexual behavior as a sin, with serious consequences. (Clearly that fact should not be used in a hateful manner against people who follow and/or struggle with that lifestyle; no, compassion is the proper response.) But the sad truth is that much of the male homosexual lifestyle entails [mega-promiscuity](#). See for example [HIV/AIDS statistics](#). And attendance at a “Gay Pride” parade is to witness much that is [obscene and offensive](#). Do not bring your kids!

It should be clear then that the CM promotion of everything “Gay” is in complete consistency with the hidden objectives of weakening the family and Christianity; same-sex marriage, entitlement to adopt and raise vulnerable and innocent children in a manifestly indecent atmosphere. How can any rational study claim that children don’t need valid male and female role models? Thanks to CM and [Hork-logic](#), this insanity moves forward, and helps support their hidden agenda. Yet children with same-sex parents in fact ARE disadvantaged, as demonstrated in the thorough 2012 analyses of [Regnerus and Marks](#).

And what about the spreading of HIV/AIDS around the world, by [Gay activists demanding](#) that developing countries eliminate their prohibition to MSM (Men having Sex with Men) behavior, otherwise we won’t give them foreign aid for food and water for their people, all in the name of “human rights”. What kind of morality labels increasing HIV/AIDS infections as a human right? It’s CM “morality”, which is actually immorality. Credit to [Hork-logic](#).

As an aside, let the truth be told that the Bible has a lot more to say about adultery and fornication than about homosexuality. Yet there as well, CM is not known to promote heterosexual marriage fidelity, with polymorphous perversity and general promiscuity considered “harmless” and even helpful.

Islam

Islam is protected by political correctness, affixing the labels of “hate speech” and “Islamophobe” on any criticism of Islam or Muslims. It should be noted that while CM protects Islam, it does not do the same for other religions such as Christianity. So clearly CM is NOT in the business of protecting a person’s religious beliefs, but selects only Islam of all world religions to protect.

And once again, the answer is obvious: CM wants to destroy Christianity, and wants to use Islam and Muslims in that endeavor. And in the process, CM moves our culture into a Shariah-compliant Dhimmi status, rendering us increasingly powerless to resist the supremacist goals of the Jihadists. Consider the [accelerating conversion of Europe](#) into “Eurabia” as a cautionary tale.

An odd aspect of the inclusion of Islam as an oppressed class which is protected by political correctness is that both Islam and CM are supremacist ideologies with world domination the ultimate goal. Yet they are fundamentally incompatible with each other – for example, look at the Shariah view of homosexuals and women; it is greatly at odds with the CM view. So it would seem that Islam is protected by CM in the sense of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” relationship. Only [Hork-logic](#) makes this possible. Incidentally an excellent expose of this strange collaboration is found in Andrew C. McCarthy’s, “[The Grand Jihad: How Islam and the Left Sabotage America](#)”.

Political Correctness as Propaganda

One of the great tools of political correctness is to assume faux-moral superiority as it applies its sledge-hammer power. But it’s just that: FAKE. The real objectives are by definition sinister and evil, no matter the clever wrapping. This is not to suggest that all Leftists are themselves “bad” people; most fall into “going along to get along”, and are not aware of the underlying goals and objectives. Some very gifted and charismatic people – politicians, media, clergy, as well as ordinary blue state people – have no understanding AT ALL of the sinister endeavor they are unwittingly supporting.

That is because the propaganda level for political correctness is [heavily funded](#) and very skillfully crafted, using state-of-the-art marketing techniques coupled with the street-smart wisdom of people such as political correctness master tactician Saul Alinsky. His book “[Rules for Radicals](#)” continues to be a fundamental textbook for implementing political correctness. If you have been deceived by the Left’s propaganda, so have most of the rest of the population who support Leftist, CM politics; only an elite few really understand the true CM goals and objectives.

Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Brandeis

In the spring of 2014, former Muslim Ayaan Hirsi Ali (AHA) was removed as a recipient of an honorary degree at Brandeis University, apparently because a sizable number of faculty members raised strong objections. Yet AHA – a woman of color — has been a strong spokesperson for the rights of Muslim women, while at the same time being very critical of Islam. But according to

CM, it's more important to protect the reputation of Islam and the feelings of Muslims than it is to support protection of Muslim women who are maltreated by Shariah-practicing Muslim men. Note incidentally even though AHA considers herself to be an atheist, she urges [Christians to awaken](#) to the threat of supremacist Islam and take protective action within the culture; in other words, she is pro-Christian. No wonder the CM faculty members at Brandeis did not want her honored.

Also, there is something else that can be learned from the Brandeis incident: there clearly is a hierarchy in CM among the victim groups; it appears that Islam is at the top, with women lower, and race lower still. However this is not because of morality; rather it is pragmatic: the Left needs to pretend that they believe in the enforcement of Shariah-based blasphemy restrictions because otherwise they could lose needed support from the Islamists. Conversely the CM's are more confident that they can retain support from 50% of women and nearly 100% of racial minorities. Thus the Marxist faculty along with CAIR and MSA (both children of the Muslim Brotherhood) chose to dishonor AHA, who is anti-Islamist, even though she supports women's rights and is a person of color. [Hork-logic](#).

Conclusions

In these three posts on Cultural Marxism, hopefully the following is now understood:

The overall goal of CM is the formation of a socialist utopia, which includes the state controlling all aspects of life, including thought. This goal is intentionally hidden from most in our culture.

- The primary objectives to meet that goal include the neutralizing of the hold that Judeo-Christian thought has within our culture, replacing it with Marxist, revolutionary thought. And a primary sub-objective is the destruction of the traditional family within the culture, and the infiltration of all aspects of the culture, including academia, government, news media, entertainment media, and the Christian church.
- Political correctness is the enforcement tool of CM, and is used both to control thought and to deal with opposition through character assassination, demonization and marginalization. Political correctness employs a perverted form of logic which I have labeled [Hork-logic](#), whereby something is true if it supports CM goals and objectives, and false if it does not. Political correctness is especially dominant in dealing with various CM-victim groups, such as Gay's, Feminists, Islam, and some racial/ethnic minorities,

It is clear that CM has been EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL in the West, especially in Europe, Canada and increasingly in the US, although there are occasional pockets of push-back that can be found such as the Tea Party in the US and [Geert Wilder's PVV party](#) in the Netherlands.

A bizarre observation is that hardly anyone on the political right seems to understand the true nature of their CM opponents; they're always complaining about aspects of political correctness, but seem to never connect the dots to the origins, which came from Gramsci, Lukacs and the Frankfurt School.

Whenever political correctness appears in your life, ask the question: what is the real objective, and how are they selling it? In truth it is ALWAYS about achieving the socialist utopia via the destruction of Judeo-Christian worldview, and the selling is always a smoke screen providing fictitious (although very effective) justification, while hiding the true objectives. Once this concept is understood, all politically correct utterances are seen in bold font for what they really are. However just as Gramsci and the Frankfurt School faced a daunting task 90 years ago to replace the Judeo-Christian ideology of the West with a revolutionary, Marxist paradigm, so now – for the West to survive – the Marxist hegemony must be dismantled and replaced with the original, Judeo-Christian based, rational, objective morality infused, spiritually revived cultural mindset. And [Hork-logic](#) must be exposed and done away with.

Note that almost everything stated in this post is politically incorrect; that is, it goes against the CM narrative, and in fact is attempting to expose the underlying assumptions and ideology.

Finally, note that as with the previous posting on CM, there is scripture which establishes the exact context for CM and its child, political correctness:

“For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.” (Ephesians 6:12)

Certainly an entity that consistently seeks the destruction of Christianity would by definition be part of the principalities, powers, rulers of darkness and spiritual wickedness in high places.

Resources

To learn more about the formulation of Cultural Marxism and the implementation of political correctness and its equally deceptive companion multiculturalism within the West, consider the resource pages elsewhere in this blog which contain links to helpful videos, articles and books:

[Politically Incorrect videos](#)

[Politically Incorrect articles](#)

[Anti-Jihad videos](#)

[Anti-Jihad articles](#)

[Same Sex Attraction videos](#)

[Same Sex Attraction articles](#)

FEE STORIES

Antonio Gramsci: the Godfather of Cultural Marxism

Gramsci viewed churches, charities, the media, and schools as organizations that needed to be invaded by socialist thinkers.

[Bradley Thomas](#) March 31, 2019

There's little debate that modern-day American universities, public education, mainstream media, Hollywood, and political advocacy groups are dominated by leftists. This is no accident, but part of a deliberate strategy to pave the way for communist revolution developed more than eight decades ago by an Italian political theorist named Antonio Gramsci.

Described as one of the world's most important and influential Marxist theorists since Marx himself, if you are not familiar with Gramsci, you should be.

Gramsci wrote in the 1930s of a "war of position" for socialists and communists to subvert Western culture from the inside.

The Italian communist (1891 – 1937) is credited with the blueprint that has served as the foundation for the Cultural Marxist movement in modern America.

Later dubbed by 1960s German student activist [Rudi Dutschke](#) as "the long march through the institutions," Gramsci wrote in the 1930s of a "war of position" for socialists and communists to subvert Western culture from the inside in an attempt to compel it to redefine itself.

Gramsci used war metaphors to distinguish between a political "war of position"—which he compared to trench warfare—and the "war of movement (or maneuver)," which would be a sudden full-frontal assault resulting in complete social upheaval.

A Shift in Strategy

In the 1998 book [The Antonio Gramsci Reader](#), edited by David Forgacs, Gramsci's development of a new form of strategy for ushering in the socialist revolution is made clear.

Gramsci argued that the Bolshevik Russian revolution of 1917 worked because the conditions were ripe for such a sudden upheaval. He described the Russian revolution as an example of a "war of movement" due to its sudden and complete overthrow of the existing governing structure of society. Gramsci reasoned that in Russia in 1917, "the state was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous."

As such, a direct attack on the current rulers could be effective because there existed no other significant structure or institutions of political influence that needed to be overcome.

In Western societies, by contrast, Gramsci observed that the state is “only an outer ditch” behind which lies a robust and sturdy civil society.

Gramsci believed that the conditions in Russia in 1917 that made revolution possible would not materialize in more advanced capitalist countries in the West. The strategy must be different and must include a mass democratic movement, an ideological struggle.

His advocacy of a war of position instead of a war of movement was not a rebuke of revolution itself, just a differing tactic—a tactic that required the infiltration of influential organizations that make up civil society. Gramsci likened these organizations to the “trenches” in which the war of position would need to be fought.

The massive structures of the modern democracies, both as state organizations, and as complexes of associations in civil society, constitute for the art of politics as it were the “trenches” and the permanent fortifications of the front in the war of position: they render merely “partial” the element of maneuver which before used the “the whole” of war, etc.

Gramsci argued that a “frontal attack” on established institutions like governments in Western societies may face significant resistance and thus need greater preparation—with the main groundwork being the development of a collective will among the people and a takeover of leadership among civil society and key political positions.

War of Position vs. War of Movement

It is important to bear in mind that Gramsci’s ultimate goal is still [socialism](#) and overthrow of the capitalist order. His contribution was to outline a different strategy for this to occur.

As described by Forgas, “War of movement is a frontal assault on the state whereas war of position is conducted mainly on the terrain of civil society.”

Gramsci likened political “warfare” to military warfare, with his war of movement akin to the frontal assault of a rapid military attack upon the opening of a breach in the enemy’s defenses to attain a rapid and definitive victory.

In contrast, Gramsci likened war of position to trench warfare, settling in for a long-term struggle with strategic smaller victories to gain more territory bit by bit. The war of position is also characterized by an abundance of supplies to replenish the troops and “a great mass of men under arms.”

Gramsci believed that the support for a capitalistic economic structure would shield the current ruling class from any organized opposition.

Gramsci argued that a war of position is necessary for advanced capitalist societies where civil society has become a “very complex structure” that is resistant to “incursions,” such as economic depressions, that would otherwise weaken the current power structure in terms of ideological support. In other words, civil society provided a support system for the current political structure and those in power who could help it withstand otherwise negative shocks like economic recessions.

Gramsci believed that in advanced capitalistic Western societies, the prevailing ideological support system for a capitalistic economic structure and bourgeois values would shield the current ruling class from any organized opposition.

As a result, he believed it essential to study in depth “which elements of civil society correspond to the defensive systems in a war of position.”

Gramsci’s Analysis of “Civil Society” and Hegemony

Gramsci defined civil society as the “ensemble of organisms commonly called ‘private.’”

More directly, he described civil society as that sphere of social activities and institutions not directly part of the government. Primary examples included political parties, trade unions, church organizations, and other popular voluntary associations.

Gramsci noted that dominant social groups in civil society organized consent and hegemony— they assumed a leadership position by the consent of members. Their leadership role includes fostering an ideological consensus among their members. Gramsci envisioned that these groups would organize their opposition to the existing social order.

Gramsci viewed churches, charities, the media, and schools as organizations that needed to be invaded by socialist thinkers.

Gramsci, however, viewed civil society in Western societies to be a strong defensive system for the current State, which in turn existed to protect the interest of the capitalist class.

“In the West, there was a proper relation between state and civil society, and when the state trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed. The state was only an outer ditch, behind which there stood a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks,” he wrote. In short, in times when the state itself may have shown weakness to overthrow from opposing ideological forces, the institutions of civil society provided political reinforcement for the existing order.

In his view, a new collective will is required to advance this war of position for the revolution. To him, it is vital to evaluate what can stand in the way of this will, i.e. certain influential social groups with the prevailing capitalist ideologies that could impede this progress.

Gramsci spoke of organizations including churches, charities, the media, schools, universities and “economic corporate” power as organizations that needed to be invaded by socialist thinkers.

The new dictatorship of the proletariat in the West, according to Gramsci, could only arise out of an active consensus of the working masses—led by those critical civil society organizations generating an ideological hegemony.

As Gramsci described it, hegemony means “cultural, moral and ideological” leadership over allied and subordinate groups.

As Gramsci described it, hegemony means “cultural, moral and ideological” leadership over allied and subordinate groups. The intellectuals, once ensconced, should attain leadership roles over these groups’ members by consent. They would achieve direction over the movement by persuasion rather than domination or coercion.

The goal of the war of position is to shape a new collective will of the masses in order to weaken the defenses that civil society provides to the current capitalist state.

Gramsci further emphasized the role of a political party to assume leadership and philosophical direction of all these civil society alliances. Additionally, and critically, one of the main goals of the party would be to place foot soldiers in the revolutionary war of position in actual state institutions, as well, such as legal institutions, police, councils, and influential bureaucracies. There needs to be established a foundation of socialists upon which to run the apparatus of the state once its overthrow was complete, Gramsci argued.

Priming Conditions for the Frontal Attack

As Gramsci described it, a war of position involves a “passive revolution” of sorts; transitioning from the dominant bourgeois order to one of socialism without any violent social upheaval.

For social transition to occur, the “necessary conditions” in society must have “already been incubated,” according to Gramsci. Here he is referring to a new collective will among the masses that coincides with having the right people in strategic positions among civil society and state bureaucracies.

Gramsci pointed to the example of the Italian fascism of his time as an example of passive revolution. As he noted, economic fascism “consists in the fact that the economic structure is transformed in a 'reformist' way from an individualistic to a planned economy (command economy).” This “intermediate economy” could serve as the starting point for the next transition to total state control of the means of production, a transition that could occur “without radical and destructive cataclysms of an exterminating kind.”

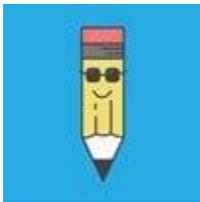
This full-frontal war of movement to overthrow the existing state and social order will be assured to not only be successful but also permanent.

Economic fascism takes a step toward collectivization of the means of production without seizing them from the capitalists, Gramsci argued. Fascism serves to “accentuate the ‘plan of production’ element” of the economic structure, making it easier to transition to complete collectivization. This shift helped to facilitate widespread acceptance of the notion of greater centralized control over production without actually wresting control over the means of production from the capitalists or eliminating profit. Yet.

Once all these conditions are in place—i.e. a new collective will, ideological control over institutions of civil society, revolutionaries in strategic positions in the state—the time would be right for the final and conclusive “war of movement.”

This full-frontal war of movement to overthrow the existing state and social order will be assured to not only be successful but also permanent. For according to Gramsci, “in politics, the ‘war of position’, once won, is decisive definitively.”

The Left’s “long march through the institutions” is a deliberate attempt to create conditions right for the final overthrow of our private property society. Their success would spell disaster.



[Bradley Thomas](#)

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FEE STORIES

Cultural Marxism Is the Main Source of Modern Confusion— and It's Spreading

While Marxism has largely disappeared from the workers' movement, Marxist theory flourishes today in cultural institutions, in the academic world, and in the mass media.

Antony Mueller October 18, 2018

Another name for the neo-Marxism of increasing popularity in the United States is "[cultural Marxism](#)." This theory says the driving force behind the socialist revolution is not the proletariat—but the intellectuals. While Marxism has largely disappeared from the *workers'* movement, Marxist theory flourishes today in cultural institutions, in the academic world, and in the mass media.

This “cultural Marxism” goes back to [Antonio Gramsci](#) (1891-1937) and the [Frankfurt School](#). The theorists of Marxism recognized that the proletariat would not play the expected historical role as a “revolutionary subject.” Therefore, for the revolution to happen, the movement had to depend on the cultural leaders to destroy the existing, mainly Christian, culture and morality and then drive the disoriented masses to Communism as their new creed. The goal of this movement is to establish a world government in which the Marxist intellectuals have the final say. In this sense, the cultural Marxists are the continuation of what started with the Russian revolution.

Lenin and the Soviets

Led by [Lenin](#), the perpetrators of the revolution regarded their victory in Russia only as the first step to the world revolution. The [Russian Revolution](#) was neither Russian nor proletarian. In 1917, the industrial workers in Russia represented only a small part of the workforce, which mainly consisted of the peasantry. The Russian Revolution was not the result of a labor movement but of a group of [professional revolutionaries](#). A closer look at the composition of the Bolshevik party and of the first governments of the Soviet state and its repressive apparatus reveals the true character of the Soviet revolution as a project that did not aim at freeing the Russian people from the Tsarist yoke, but rather, was to serve as the launchpad for the world revolution.

Before socialism could succeed, the existing culture had to change. Control of the culture must precede political control.

The experience of World War I and its aftermath showed that the Marxist concept of the "proletariat" as a revolutionary force was an illusion. At the example of the Soviet Union, one could also see that socialism could not function without a dictatorship. These considerations brought the leading Marxist thinkers to the conclusion that a different strategy would be required to establish socialism. Communist authors spread the insight that the socialist dictatorship must come in disguise. Before socialism could succeed, the existing culture had to change. Control of the culture must precede political control.

Cultural Control Rises in Tandem with Political Control

Over the past decades, at the same time so-called political correctness has been on the rise, the American government has obtained a vast arsenal of repressive instruments.

Helping the neo-Marxists was the fact that many of their efforts in taking control of culture happened parallel to the encroachment of the state on individual liberties. Over the past decades, at the same time, so-called political correctness has been on the rise, the American government has obtained a vast arsenal of repressive instruments.

Few Americans seem to know that the U.S. is still under [the emergency law](#) that has been in force since George W. Bush used executive privilege to declare a state of national emergency in 2001. In the same year, 9/11 opened also the path to push through the Patriot Act. From a score of around 95 points, the [Freedom House](#) "Aggregate Index of Freedom" of the United States has fallen to [86 points](#) in 2018.

Moral Corruption

The way toward the rule of the cultural Marxists is the moral corruption of the people. To accomplish this, the mass media and public education must not enlighten but confuse and mislead. The media and the educational establishment work to pit one part of the society against the other part. While group identities get more specific, the catalog of victimization and history of oppression becomes more detailed. Turning into a recognized victim of suppression is the way to gain social status and obtain the right to special assistance, of respect and social inclusion.

Neo-Marxists accuse "capitalism" of all evils when, in fact, it is the regulatory state that provokes the systemic failures and when it is the excess of public debt that causes the financial fragility.

The demand for social justice creates an endless stream of expenditures deemed essential—for health, education, old age, and for all those people who are "needy," "persecuted," and "oppressed," be it real or imaginary. The flood of never-ending spending in these areas corrupts the state's finances and produces fiscal crises. This helps the Neo-Marxists accuse "capitalism" of all evils when, in fact, it is the regulatory state that provokes the systemic failures and when it is the excess of public debt that causes the financial fragility.

Politics, the media, and the judiciary never pause at waging the new endless wars: the war on drugs or against high blood pressure, or the campaigns that assert the endless struggle against fat and obesity. The list of the enemies grows every day, whether racism, xenophobia, or anti-Islamism. The epitome of this movement is political correctness, the war against having one's own opinion. While the public tolerates disgusting expositions of behavior, particularly under the cult of the arts, the list of prohibited words and opinions grows daily. Public opinion must not go beyond the few accepted positions. Yet while the public debate is impoverished, the diversity of radical opinion flourishes behind closed doors.

The cultural Marxists drive society morally into an identity crisis by the means of the false standards of hypocritical ethics. The aim is no longer the "dictatorship of the proletariat"—because this project has failed—but the "dictatorship of political correctness," whose supreme authority lies in the hands of the cultural Marxists. As a new class of priests, the guardians of the new orthodoxy rule the institutions whose power they try to extend over all parts of society. The moral destruction of the individual is a necessary step to accomplish the final victory.

Opium of the Intellectuals

The believers of neo-Marxism are mainly intellectuals. Workers, after all, are a part of the economic reality of the production process and know that socialist promises are rubbish. Nowhere was socialism established as the result of a labor movement. The workers have never been the perpetrators of socialism but are always its victims. The leaders of the revolution have been intellectual party politicians and military men. It was up to the writers and artists to conceal the brutality of the socialist regimes through articles, books, films, music, and paintings and to give socialism a scientific-intellectual, aesthetic, and moral appearance. In socialist propaganda, the new system appears to be both fair and productive.

Many of the victims of the guillotine were prominent intellectuals who had earlier supported the revolution—Robespierre among them.

The cultural Marxists believe that someday they will be the sole holders of power and be able to dictate to the masses how to live and what to think. Yet the neo-Marxist intellectuals are in for a surprise. When socialism should come, indeed, the "dictatorship of the intellectuals" will be anything but benign—and not much different from what happened after the Soviets took power. The intellectuals will be among the victims. This was, after all, the way it happened in the [French Revolution](#), which was the first attempt at a revolution by intellectuals. Many of the victims of the guillotine were prominent intellectuals who had earlier supported the revolution—Robespierre among them.

In his play, [Danton's Death](#), the dramatist Georg Büchner famously had a character say: "*Like Saturn, the revolution devours its own children.*" Yet more appropriately, one should say the revolution eats its spiritual fathers. The very same intellectuals who nowadays promote cultural Marxism will be the first in line if their project of conquest should succeed.

Conclusion

Contrary to what Marx believed, history is not predetermined. The march through the institutions has gone far, but there has not yet been a full take-over. There is still time to change course. To counteract the movement, one must note the inherent weakness of cultural Marxism. To the extent that the neo-Marxists altered classical Marxism and eliminated its basic tenets (deepening proletarianization, historical determinism, total collapse of capitalism), the movement has become even more utopian than previous socialism ever was.

Because of the character of this movement as a promoter of group conflict, neo-Marxism is ineffectual to serve as an instrument of gaining coherent political power as it were necessary for a dictatorship.

As the successors of the New Left, "democratic socialists" propagate a hodgepodge of contradictory positions. Because of the character of this movement as a promoter of group conflict, neo-Marxism is ineffectual to serve as an instrument of gaining coherent political power as it were necessary for a dictatorship. Yet this does not mean that the neo-Marxist movement has no impact. On the contrary: because of its inherent contradictions, the ideology of cultural Marxism is the main source of the profound confusion that has grabbed almost every segment of modern Western societies—and which is about to swell into even more dangerous proportions.

[This article was reprinted from the Mises Institute.](#)



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Cultural Marxism's Origins:

How the Disciples of an Obscure Italian Linguist Subverted America

You may have heard the terms [“Cultural Marxism,”](#) [“Critical Theory”](#) or [“Frankfurt School”](#) bandied about. And while you might have an intuitive approximation of what these terms mean for [America](#) in the 21st century, there’s a good chance that you don’t know much about the deep theory, where the ideology comes from, and what it has planned for America – [and the world](#).

The underlying theory here is a variant of Marxism, pioneered by early-20th-century Italian Marxist politician and linguist [Antonio Gramsci](#). Gramscian Marxism is a radical departure from Classical Marxism. One does not need to endorse the Classical Marxism of Marx, Engels and others to appreciate the significant differences between the two. He is easily the most influential thinker that you have never heard of.

Marx's original idea was that Communism was a historical inevitability, an evolutionary transition that would lead to a bottom-up eruption of revolutionary violence sparked by the Proletariat's frustration and fury over having been used and abused by the Bourgeoisie for long enough that “the revolutionary subject” (Marx’s term for the broad working class) would overthrow capitalism and usher in socialism.

Gramsci, on the other hand, held that such a revolution was unlikely – particularly in the West, where [general prosperity and the lassitude of relative contentment](#) would tend to dull the working class’ passion for a bloody, bothersome overthrow. In successful Western nations, a Marxist state was far more likely to develop through a slow, patient process of incrementalist takeover of the cultural institutions – the arts, entertainment, and news media, and most especially the schools and universities. As such, the weapon to be used for revolution was not the economic might of an organized working class, but a “long march through the institutions” (a phrase actually coined by [German Marxist Rudi Dutschke](#)), whereby every institution in the West would be subverted through penetration and infiltration.

For Gramsci, culture was more important than either economics or politics.

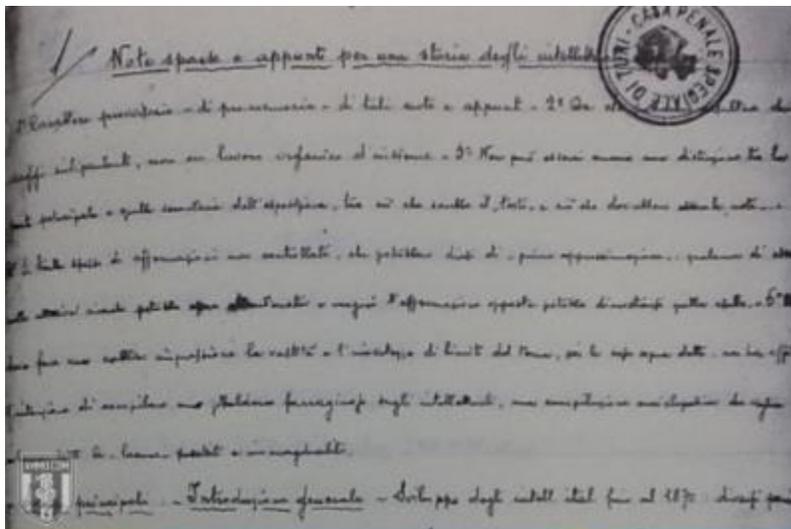
Gramsci’s divergence from Classical Marxism was nothing short of brilliant; certainly, the results speak for themselves when one considers the social unrest that is gripping America and the West today. In a sense, we are living through the endgame of a Gramscian revolution.

Throughout this article, we will use the term “Cultural Marxism” as a catchall to refer to this phenomenon, because it is the most all-encompassing and does not limit us to discussing any one specific variation (Gramsci, the Frankfurt School or what have you). Finally, we should briefly echo the words of [Dr. Jordan Peterson](#) on “the bloody postmodern Neo-Marxists,” because he has [helped raise awareness of the phenomenon](#):

“It’s not obvious by any stretch of the imagination why postmodernism and Neo-Marxism or Marxism proper would be aligned because postmodernism is an anti-grand narrative philosophical movement and Marxism is a grand narrative. The fact that these two things seem to coexist in the same space needs some explanation, because it’s a very tricky thing to get to the bottom of.”

Because Cultural Marxism is ideologically distinct from postmodernism and deconstruction, we will not touch on either in this article, though they certainly have been influential on the international left.

The Origins of Cultural Marxism



There is a tiny kernel of Cultural Marxism within Classical Marxism. Namely, that Marx himself was obsessed with the kinds of detailed critiques that later came to characterize Cultural Marxism – for example, [The Critique of the Gotha Program](#), [Anti-Dühring](#) (which is actually by Engels), [Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right](#), and [A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy](#). This is perhaps best exemplified by the famous remark in [Theses on Feuerbach](#) that “philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it.”

Antonio Gramsci, however, seems to be the best place to locate the genesis of Cultural Marxism proper. Gramsci was the son of an Albano-Sardinian low-ranking government official. Without engaging in too much psychoanalyzing, it is probably not a coincidence that the son of a low-ranking civil servant was able to see the power that low-ranking bureaucrats would have if all of them were guided by the proper ideology.

Gramsci attended the [University of Turin](#) where he studied linguistics – not philosophy or economics. Health and financial problems led him to leave his studies prematurely, shortly after he joined the Italian Socialist Party. In this period, as well as the period immediately following the [Russian Revolution](#), Gramsci was a fairly standard Communist, though he did occasionally have disagreements with the party line, none of which are relevant to the development of Cultural Marxism. Beginning in 1924, he was the head of the Italian Communist Party. For this, he was arrested by the Fascist government in 1926, and sentenced to 20 years in [prison](#) under newly enacted emergency laws. He died in prison on April 27, 1937, at the age of 46, due to a number of untreated health problems.

It was in prison that Gramsci began formulating the core of his theory, which would later form the core of leftist thought throughout the West. In the [Prison Notebooks](#), he broke from Classical Marxism, formulating a new and largely distinct ideology:

- Cultural hegemony is a more important factor in maintaining capitalism than economic or political hegemony.
- Cultural and social education of workers must be performed to create a class of worker-intellectuals capable of combating capitalism.
- Civil society is distinct from political society. The latter rules through domination and coercion, whereas the former rules through normalization and consent.
- A rejection of materialism (the primacy of the material world) in favor of a semi-mystical view of history, as well as a greater degree of cultural relativism.
- Further critiques of economic determinism (the notion that economics is the primary driver of human history and civilization) and philosophical materialism (the philosophical claim that the material world is either the only reality or the most important one).

Later theorists, including the famous Frankfurt School, which introduced elements of Freudian psychoanalysis, antipositivism (the notion that human society cannot be studied using the scientific method) and existentialism, a philosophical movement that posits that “being determines consciousness” and sees humanity as necessarily hemmed in by a variety of forces beyond their control.

There has been an attempt to smear the identification of the Frankfurt School and similar currents as Cultural Marxism as an expression of anti-Semitism and (of course) a [“conspiracy theory.”](#) While there are certainly anti-Semites who talk about Cultural Marxism, they often do so from the perspective of an obsession with the alleged “Jewish” nature of the intellectual tendency. We reject both the characterization of Cultural Marxism as somehow “Jewish” as well as the notion that its existence is a “conspiracy theory.” Nor do we propose that there is some centralized ideological cabal directing the contemporary left from a Cultural Marxist perspective. It is simply that these ideas have become fashionable among the left over the last 50 or so years.

Whatever one seeks to label the modern ideological underpinnings of the left, it is clear that it has its foundation in the ideas articulated by Gramsci, the Frankfurt School and their intellectual descendents such as Rudi Dutschke and others.

Gramsci's Children: The Frankfurt School

People often refer to the Frankfurt School as some kind of nebulous ideological current. In fact, it was a discrete group of scholars working together at a specific period of time. While they shared many assumptions and conclusions, they were not entirely homogeneous, mostly in terms of their focus of study.

The Frankfurt School was, in fact, the Institute for Social Research, an adjunct facility of the Goethe University Frankfurt. It was the first fully Marxist research institution at a German university and it was funded through the generosity of well-to-do scion of an Argentine grain merchant, [Felix Weil](#). The Frankfurt School is marked by an interdisciplinary approach. Rather than studying art, culture, politics and philosophy, they studied the interplay between them all from a Marxist perspective.

During the interwar period, the Institute was moved first to Vienna and then to New York City, where they joined Columbia University, to avoid the rise of fascism in Europe.

György Lukács and Reification

The first important figure for our purposes to come out of the Frankfurt School is [György Lukács](#), the son of a wealthy Hungarian investment banker. He is frequently published under the name Georg Lukács. Lukács was no armchair theorist: He was a leading light in the Hungarian Revolution of 1917, as well as one of the leading theoreticians of the Hungarian Red Terror during the Hungarian Soviet Republic. After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, he had a falling out with the international leadership of [Communism](#). He later went to the Soviet Union, where he was detained and internally exiled. He returned to Hungary in 1945. His relationship with Stalinism is ambiguous and a hotly debated topic among historians, but he was the primary instrument by which the Hungarian Writers' Union was purged.

His primary contribution to Cultural Marxism is reification, the notion that everything becomes an object under capitalism and that people under capitalism are more like things than human beings. He also said that Marxism would still be valid if it were proved to be false, because it is a methodology of social transformation above all else.

Herbert Marcuse and Repressive Tolerance

Another important figure in the development of Cultural Marxism is [Herbert Marcuse](#). He is often referred to as "the Father of the New Left." It is potentially worth noting that he worked for the [Office of Strategic Services](#), which was the forerunner of the [Central Intelligence Agency](#).

Like Lukács, Marcuse had direct experience in revolutionary movements in postwar Europe. He was a participant in the [Spartacist Uprising in Germany](#), which was an abortive attempt at forming a Soviet-style government in that country. Curiously, some of his work in the late 1920s and early

1930s was a collaboration with [Martin Heidegger](#), who later became the sort of unofficial philosopher of the Nazi regime in Germany. A number of radicals have cited Marcuse as a major influence, including [Angela Davis](#), [Abbie Hoffman](#) and Rudi Dutschke.

Marcuse's most important contribution as far as we are concerned is the notion of "repressive tolerance." In his [A Critique of Pure Tolerance](#), Marcuse argues for something that will be familiar to readers of this website: *Tolerance should only be applied to left-wing groups and ideas, while right-wing groups and ideas should be mercilessly suppressed.* Specifically, he advocated for "withdrawal of toleration of speech and assembly from groups and movements that promote aggressive policies, armament, chauvinism, discrimination on the grounds of race and religion, or that oppose the extension of public services, social security, medical care, etc."

Marcuse is perhaps the most influential of the Frankfurt School thinkers in the United States. Anytime you hear a leftist explain why tolerance actually means intolerance, they're channeling Marcuse.

Max Horkheimer and Critical Theory

Finally, there is [Max Horkheimer](#). The son of a wealthy Orthodox Jewish family, Horkheimer's father owned a series of successful textile mills in Stuttgart. He was drafted at the beginning of the First World War, but was rejected on medical grounds and then enrolled in Munich University. By 1926, he was in Frankfurt, and by 1930, he was a professor of philosophy at Frankfurt University. When the Institute for Social Research directorship became vacant, Horkheimer was elected to this position thanks to a mysterious endowment made by an anonymous wealthy businessman.

It was under Horkheimer's watch that the Frankfurt School's *raison d'être* became fusing the ideas of Karl Marx with those of Sigmund Freud. He was the father of Critical Theory, which is less a "theory" than it is a rhetorical technique of viewing everything – except, of course, Critical Theory – through a critical lens and an eye toward discrediting social institutions. Horkheimer curiously (though perhaps not surprisingly) arrived at Critical Theory while appraising his own role as the scion of a bourgeois family who was ostensibly a proponent of proletarian revolution.

Perhaps the most didactically "Critical Theory" work of Horkheimer is [Dialectic of Enlightenment](#). Among other things, it argues that popular, mass culture is a sort of mechanized and industrialized means by which authoritarian control is maintained over the broad mass of Westerners.

There are other figures in the Frankfurt School, however to catalog each and every one would make for a much longer text. We present the above three as exemplars of the intellectual tendency and a solid basis for understanding it.

The Long March Through the Institutions



While it is often attributed to Gramsci – and in a sense, he is the godfather of the notion – the “long march through the institutions” was, as stated above, a phrase coined by Rudi Dutschke, a German Communist activist. The phrase itself is a nod to the [“Long March” of the Chinese Communists](#).

The long march represents another significant shift in thought away from Classical Marxism. In Classical Marxist thought, the state is seen as an instrument of class oppression, which can be conquered and used by the proletariat as a weapon against the bourgeoisie. Classical Marxists did not seek to occupy the existing state and leverage it for their own purposes. Rather, the Classical Marxists believed it was necessary to destroy the instruments of the bourgeois state and construct a proletarian state in its place.

Some key concepts underlying this theory: First, the state is an instrument of *class domination* and, as such, is fundamentally based on economics or what Marx called the infrastructure. Everything else – culture, religion, art, politics – was superstructure or something built on top of the class-based, economic structure.

What’s more, “class” is not defined in relative terms, such as how much income one makes or even how much one owns, but rather on the relationship to production. A poor farmer was probably worse off than an urban worker, but was not a proletarian because he owned the means of production, even if these means were meager.

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was, in every meaningful sense, a Marxist revolution. A parallel state based on participatory workers’ organizations was led by a self-consciously revolutionary party to topple the existing state and erect a new one in its place. Indeed, Lenin acted on clear definitions from Marx about what constituted “the state”: “armed bodies of men,” that is to say, police, courts, prisons and the military. The Bolsheviks did not simply take the existing “armed bodies of men” and use them for their own purposes. Nor did the Communists of Eastern Europe. They destroyed existing institutions and replaced them with their own.

The bottom line of the difference between Classical Marxism and Cultural Marxism is that the latter sees the state as effectively neutral – something that can be taken over and used for its own purposes – while the former does not. Cultural Marxism is interested not in revolution in the classical 19th-century sense of throwing up barricades, toppling the monarchy and setting up guillotines. Its interests lie in cultural transformations, after which other transformations (political and economic) can take place.

The long march through the institutions is in many ways exactly what it sounded like. Proponents of Cultural Marxism were expected to go out there and ingratiate themselves into every aspect of society. Once there, whether this was in bowling leagues or board rooms, they would push their ideology and attempt to transform society. It wasn't as dramatic or sudden as the revolution espoused by Classical Marxists and their Marxist-Leninist children, but it was considered both more effective and, more to the point, *necessary* for fundamental transformation of society. Once the cultural institutions had been changed, political and economic transformation could be enacted.

A final note: The change of the “revolutionary subject” is an important topic to consider. Whereas Classical Marxists were quite dogmatic about their belief that it was only the working class who could effect revolution, Cultural Marxists saw the revolutionary subject basically anywhere else, viewing the traditional Western working class as apathetic at best and actively reactionary, bordering on fascistic, at worst. This was not entirely limited to Cultural Marxists – the entire Trotskyist movement split after the [Second World War](#) over the question of whether or not the Eastern European states were revolutionary and whether or not peasant guerilla warfare was a path to revolution.

Cultural Marxists, however, saw the revolutionary subject virtually *anywhere but* the working class. Third world peasants, student radicals, the non-aligned movement, racial and ethnic minorities, homosexuals, the mentally ill and transsexuals – all of these and others have been considered the vanguard of cultural revolution around the world by the Cultural Marxists. The shift of the revolutionary subject from workers to virtually everyone else is effectively an attempt to create a political-coalition-meets-religious-cult centered around notions of victimhood.

The Weaponization of Critique

The primary weapon of the Cultural Marxists is a constant, neverending critique of Western culture and civilization. It's not a terrible oversimplification to say that the fundamental premise of the “Critical Theory” arm of Cultural Marxism is “when you think about it, isn't everything kind of problematic?”

Indeed, there is nothing “deep” about this theoretical tack, it is simply a case of “when all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail.” This rhetorical technique has informed and distorted virtually every aspect of Western culture – moving far beyond academia and infecting the mass culture. [Air conditioning is sexist](#). [Lawns are racist](#) and [so are single family homes](#). [Not](#)

[wanting to be intimate with someone who is HIV positive contributes to homophobia and the spread of AIDS](#). [Physical fitness is a fascist impulse](#) and [trying to lose weight is a hateful act](#).

All of these might sound silly and marginal, and in a sense they are. However, it is important to note how dramatically the culture in the West has shifted since the 1950s – and how dramatically it has shifted even in the last ten years, when [Barack Obama](#) still opposed gay marriage and no serious person advocated that grown men who “identify as women” should be allowed to share restrooms and locker rooms with pre-pubescent girls. The other important takeaway from this is that the proponents of Cultural Marxism can find a way to tie virtually any topic to some imagined “system of oppression,” then fill in the blanks with the appropriate argument.

In the language of the Cultural Marxists, this is known as analyzing “ruling understandings” or the dominant ideology of a culture. Of course, there is a “dominant ideology” underpinning this method – the notion that every claim or stance requires careful examination from a critical perspective. *Every belief held by Western civilization for the last 100, 200, 500, 2,000 years is subject to a critical analysis, the goal of which is to “expose” the belief as nothing more than a weapon designed to subjugate and suppress members of the coalition of victims that Cultural Marxism seeks to assemble in its war against Western civilization.*

Far from being a neutral form of analysis, Cultural Marxism starts with the assumption that every aspect of Western civilization is some kind of a conspiracy (conscious or otherwise) to keep a certain group of people in their place. This creates what Victor Davis Hansen has called a “subjective righteousness.” There is no place for individual responsibility for good or for ill. Rather, there is only the analysis of power. Those who are judged to have it, by the priests of [Wokeness](#) (effectively a Cultural Marxist framework), can do no right. Those who attack them can do no wrong.

Eternal truths, no matter how self-evident, are not truths at all, but narratives constructed by a ruling elite to perpetuate their own rule. Absolutely nothing is to be spared from the ruthless line of Cultural Marxism and Critical Theory. This leads to an inversion of traditional values, where the values that have served Western civilization for thousands of years are painted as negative features. The male desire to protect women from danger becomes “patriarchy” and “paternalism.” The drive to attain mastery over the self and the environment that almost entirely defines Western culture is repainted as “authoritarian personality.” The normal desire for marriage and children becomes “heteronormativity,” just one option among many and a bad one at that. An appreciation for the philosophical and cultural achievements of Western civilization is “white supremacy,” an arbitrary system with no goal other than to keep other races down.

There is also this process identified by a semi-famous KGB agent, Yuri Bezmenov:

- **Demoralization:** This is whereby people are made to lose faith in their own culture and their institutions. Society is made to be something that isn’t worth fighting for.

- **Destabilization:** During this phase, the culture and society itself are made unstable. A situation is created whereby “anything can happen” and people simply cannot rely upon things to be the same from one day to the next.
- **Crisis:** The manufacturing of a large crisis about which “something must be done.”
- **Normalization:** The “new normal.” The new way of doing things is normalized through constant propaganda that this is “just how the world is now.”

All of these ideas are likely familiar to you. That is because, when considered objectively, Cultural Marxism has been a resounding success in the Western world.

Is Cultural Marxism a Real Threat?



One of the common responses among the left, particularly those on the center-left, is that Cultural Marxism isn't a real thing or, at the very least, that it has failed to influence culture in any meaningful sense. It's important to point out that it isn't necessary to prove the existence of Cultural Marxist foot soldiers self-consciously infiltrating our institutions to show that Cultural Marxism has influenced American culture and Western culture more broadly. It is simply necessary to look at what their aims are and to see if those aims have been met.

The radical transformation of society over the last 60 years and the acceleration of this transformation can be attributed to a number of factors, including Cultural Marxism, neoliberalism, the destruction of civil society and the [welfare state](#). It's worth pointing out the degree to which Cultural Marxism has influenced public discourse in the country and, indeed, the broader West. In Western Europe, for example, Cultural Marxist dialogue is much more explicit and overt than it is in the United States.

To see the influence of Cultural Marxism, one need look no further than any left online publication. But it's worth identifying the importance of Cultural Marxism in Western universities. The ideas of Cultural Marxism are hardly the purview of economic, political and cultural elites. Indeed, they are pushed on just about any college student from the community college level all

the way up to the Ivy League. What's more, there is a strand of Cultural Marxism called critical pedagogy that is all about introducing these concepts to younger and younger children.

Cultural Marxism can be seen in the rise of grievance studies, those areas of "study" which are little more than political parties within the university. This includes ersatz academic disciplines such as women's studies, African-American studies, "queer studies," and even whiteness studies – the last of which, unlike the studies that precede it, is about pillorying and villainizing whites rather than a sort of narcissistic view at their own history. The degrees granted by these disciplines are, of course, totally useless, leading to a mass of young people who are woefully unprepared to enter the job market while simultaneously saddled with massive amounts of debt. Such people are naturally easy pickings for leftist movements seeking to destroy society.

The presence of Cultural Marxism in elementary education is a clear-cut example of the long march through the institutions largely being a successful enterprise. The indoctrination of college students produced generations of college graduates who went on to share these ideas with younger and younger children. Nowhere more than in public education has the long march through the institutions been more successful.

Séxual education for very young children is one particularly lurid example of Cultural Marxism. Indeed, teaching children about séx has been a significant issue for doctrinaire Cultural Marxists. But as disturbing as this drive is, it is part of a broader trend of trying to indoctrinate children in the fundamentals of Cultural Marxism and its methodology of "critiquing" Western civilization.

This process of [indoctrinating children](#) has accelerated since the beginning of the riots of summer 2020. The National Education Association, one of the most powerful teachers unions in the United States, has a handy page for teachers to get their "[education justice](#)" resources from. The NEA website approvingly links to a website that proudly declares itself globalist, "queer affirming," "trans affirming" and "committed to disrupting the Western-prescribed [nuclear family structure](#)."

Much of this starts from the supposition that everyone, white children in particular, have "unconscious biases," effectively a form of racial hypnotism whereby people are "[racist](#)" without knowing it. Indeed, even the definition of "racism" has been shifted from what is a common sense definition shared by most people to an esoteric one whereby all whites – including babies – are "racist." This is the philosophical basis of "white guilt" and "white privilege" theory.

Alongside the smearing of all whites as racist, there are attacks on the nuclear family, heterosexuality and biological séx as socially constructed for the purpose of social control and suppression. This might sound like something that will only be taught in schools in California, however, it is important to note that because of the lucrative California textbook market – to say nothing of the far-left nature of the teachers' unions in the United States – that what children in California are being taught today, children in Kansas will be taught tomorrow.

The education system is largely where the rubber meets the road in terms of Cultural Marxism moving from an esoteric academic ideology into something that influences the broader culture. It is not a mistake that [a number of educators have been found among the ranks of the rioters](#). Nor is it a mistake that the rioters are [disproportionately young and educated](#). They have been primed for this by 12 years of public education and another four at the university level – teaching them that Western civilization is an evil construct designed by white heterosexual men for the purpose of enslaving everyone else.

Further, there is Cultural Marxism in the [mass media](#). After all, when one combines Gramsci's analysis of the importance of culture and Horkheimer's claims about the controlling nature of the mass media with the long march through the institutions strategy, it makes sense that Cultural Marxists, conscious or otherwise, would seek to infect mass culture with an eye toward subverting traditional Western ideas and replacing them with Cultural Marxist dogma. Much of the conservative revulsion against the values and ideology pushed by Hollywood is in fact a bristling at Cultural Marxist propaganda. Detailing each and every example of this would take an entire book, but we're sure that you can think of some "favorite" examples of your own off the top of your head.

When this is understood, it's easy to become discouraged and defeated with regard to the future of the West. There are literally multiple generations of Westerners who have been so thoroughly indoctrinated in the basics of Cultural Marxism through the education system, that they have the same relationship to this world view as a fish within water. There are no easy answers with regard to how to begin reversing the course and, thanks to the pervasive influence of Cultural Marxism in our education system, they have largely accomplished their aims of a "long march through the institutions." Virtually every aspect of society – except for [police](#) and their unions – has become dominated by Cultural Marxists, witting or otherwise.

While we can't propose any sweeping solutions here, it is worth noting that the first step toward combating [this ideological and cultural menace](#) is being able to identify it, understand it and, above all, call it out whenever it is seen in action. Much like the long march through the institutions, this might not be a sexy "one-and-done" type of solution, but it might well be the only weapon that we have against them.

An important part of combating Cultural Marxism is simply studying social history and the history of ideas. To take an example of low-hanging fruit, America, the West and white people did not invent slavery, however they did more to eradicate it from the face of the earth than anyone else. Mental gymnastics are often required to argue against even the most basic refutations of Cultural Marxism and such mental gymnastics often expose the proponents of Cultural Marxism as uneducated, unprincipled or just plain wrong.

Finally, [reject political guilt](#). Those who push guilt do so in bad faith as a form of weaponizing the Western sense of fair play. If the West is responsible for slavery and genocide – which, in limited cases it is, but it is by no means unique in this regard – it is also responsible for vaccines, sanitation and the massive decline in child mortality rates. You are not individually responsible for either

the great moral crimes of Western history, nor its great technological successes. The correct answer is a nuanced picture that takes the good with the bad and sees Western civilization as a constant work in progress, rather than a static conspiracy designed to rob everyone but “old, rich, white men” of their due.



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