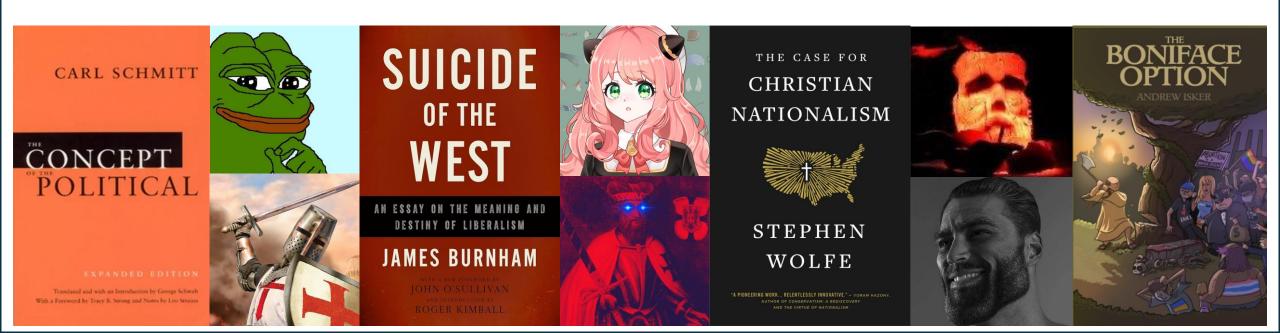
# Understanding and Critiquing the Woke Right

Dr. Neil Shenvi

Nov. 24, 2024

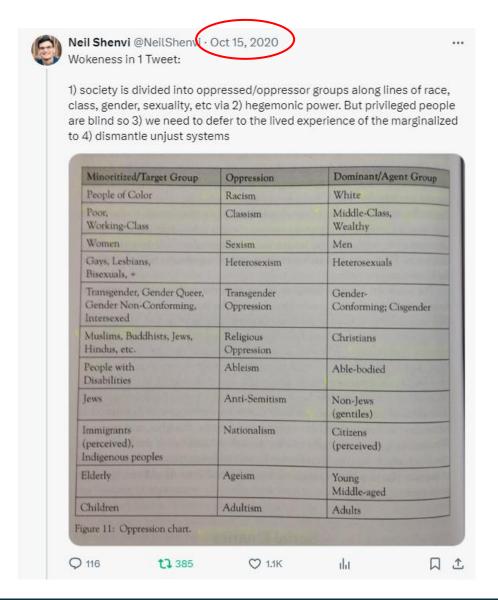


### Outline

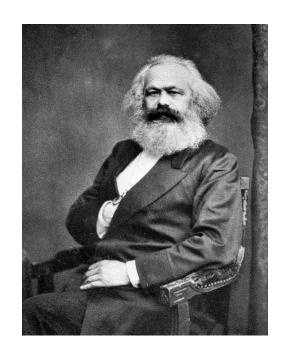
- What is wokeness?
- What is the "woke right"?
- Examples of the woke right
- Legitimate considerations
- Serious problems
- Conclusions

#### Wokeness In One Tweet

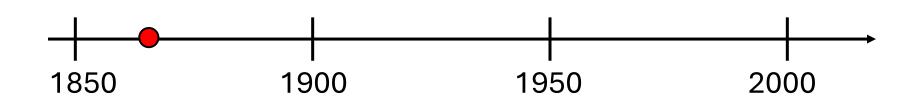
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## Critical theory and Karl Marx



"Alone among these thinkers [i.e., Horkheimer, Bourdieu, Foucault, etc.], Karl Marx invites consensus as a 'true' critical theorist. Indeed, for many, he alone inaugurates the critical tradition" (Levinson et al, Beyond Critique, p. 25-26)



#### Gramsci and Neo-Marxism

74 Critical Dilemma

#### Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937)

While the Frankfurt School applied Marx's critique not just to the base (economics) but also to the superstructure (culture), Italian neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci had a far greater impact in terms of turning Marx "upside down." Like many early twentieth-century Marxists, Gramsci wrestled with the problem of why decades had passed since Marx's writings and yet so few communist revolutions had taken place. He concluded that the key obstacle to communist revolution was the hegemony of the ruling class.<sup>29</sup> Gramsci used *hegemony* to refer to the way that the ruling class's values, norms, and ideologies had suffused culture and were then used to justify the economic, political, and social dominance of the bourgeois.

In other words, "By 'hegemony,' Gramsci meant the unquestioned dominance of conformist ideas that reproduce the given society." Many members of the working class consented to their own oppression because they had absorbed the ruling class's ideology. They saw their situation not as one of exploitation and injustice, but as a profoundly natural and perhaps even God-ordained social arrangement that they dare not overturn. Capitalist hegemony sanctified ideas like family, private property, and social hierarchy, preventing the working classes from imagining different ways of arranging society. Consequently, communists would have to dismantle the ideas propping up the capitalist regime before revolution could occur. This endeavor could best be facilitated by "organic intellectuals," individuals from the working class who were able to grasp the reality of their condition and then awaken others to their oppression.

"By "hegemony," Gramsci meant the unquestioned dominance of conformist ideas that reproduce the given society...' Capitalist hegemony sanctified ideas like family, private property, and social hierarchy, preventing the working classes from imagining different ways of arranging society. Consequently, communists would have to dismantle the ideas propping up the capitalist regime before revolution could occur...While Gramsci's goal was to unmask the capitalist hegemony that stood in the way of communist revolution, later scholars took the same approach to unmasking various racist, sexist, and heterosexist hegemonies that stood in the way of cultural revolution." – Shenvi and Sawyer, Critical *Dilemma*, p. 74-75

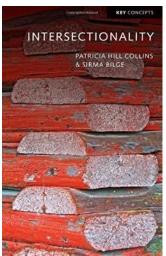
# The Central Ideas of Contemporary Critical Theory?

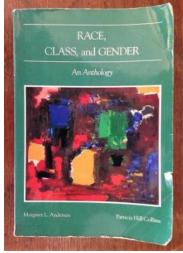
Idea 1: Social binary

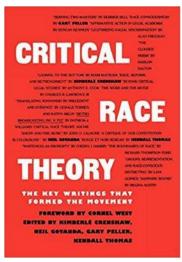
Idea 2: Oppression through ideology

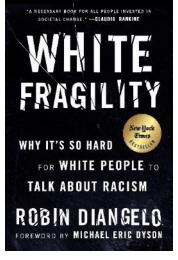
Idea 3: Lived experience

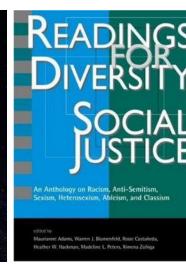
Idea 4: Social justice











# Idea #1: Society is divided into oppressed and oppressor groups

"For every social group, there is an opposite group...
the primary groups that we name here are: race, class,
gender, sexuality, ability status/exceptionality, religion,
and nationality"

"Oppression describes a set of policies, practices, traditions, norms, definitions, and explanations (discourses), which function to systematically exploit one social group to the benefit of another social group. The group that benefits from this exploitation is termed the dominant (or agent) group, and the group that is exploited is termed the minoritized (or target) group.... Sexism, racism, classism, ableism, and heterosexism are specific forms of oppression" – Sensoy and DiAngelo, Is Everyone Really Equal? p. 44, 61





# Idea #1: Society is divided into oppressed and oppressor groups

i <mark>gure 5.1. Group Identities Across I</mark>	Relations of Power	Is Everyone Really Equa
Minoritized/Target Group	Oppression	Dominant/ Agent Group
Peoples of Color	Racism	White
Poor		mele, wheren's browning
Working Class	Classism	Owning Class
Middle Class	2415	STAIN BOW ONE STRONG
Women; Transgender; Genderqueer	Sexism	(cis)Men
Gays; Lesbians; Bisexuals; Two Spirit	Heterosexism	Heterosexuals
Muslims; Buddhists; Jews;	Religious	Christians
Hindus; and other non-Chris-	Oppression	
tian groups	Anti-Semitism	
People with Disabilities	Ableism	Able-bodied
Immigrants (perceived)	Nationalism	Citizens (perceived)
Indigenous Peoples	Colonialism	White Settlers

Sensoy and DiAngelo, Is Everyone Really Equal, p. 64

## Idea #2: Oppression occurs through hegemonic power

"oppression also traditionally carries a strong connotation of conquest and colonial domination... New left social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, however, shifted the meaning of the concept of oppression. In its new usage, oppression designates the disadvantage and injustice some people suffer not because a tyrannical power coerces them, but because of the everyday practices of a wellintentioned liberal society... Oppression in this sense is structural, rather than the result of a few people's choices or policies. Its causes are embedded in unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols." - Iris Young, "Five Faces of Oppression," Readings for Diversity and Social Justice, p. 36



# Idea #2: Oppression occurs through hegemonic power

"Hegemony refers to the control of the ideology of society. The dominant group maintains power by imposing their ideology on everyone."

"From a critical social justice perspective, privilege is defined as systemically conferred dominance and the institutional processes by which the beliefs and values of the dominant group are 'made normal' and universal." – Sensoy and DiAngelo, *Is Everyone Really Equal?* p. 73, 80





## Idea #3: 'Lived experience' gives oppressed groups privileged access to truth

#### **Oppression and epistemology:**



Privilege



Internalized oppression



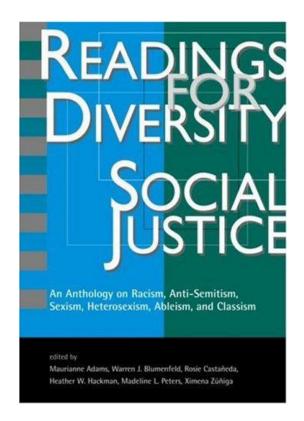


Liberatory consciousness

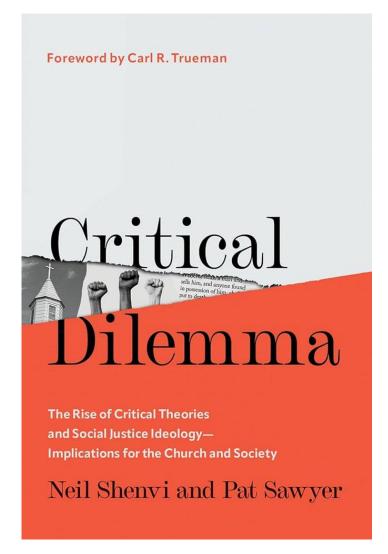
# Idea #4: Social justice demands the liberation of oppressed groups

#### **Definition of social justice:**

"Prior to celebrating diversity, we must first eliminate intolerance. No matter what form it takes or who does it, we must all take action to stop intolerance when it happens. Working towards a celebration of diversity implies working for social justice - the elimination of all forms of social oppression... Social injustice takes many forms. It can be injustice based on a person's gender, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, physical or mental ability, or economic class." -Mary McClintock, "How to Interrupt Oppressive Behavior," Readings for Diversity and Social Justice, p. 483



## For more on critical theory, see Critical Dilemma



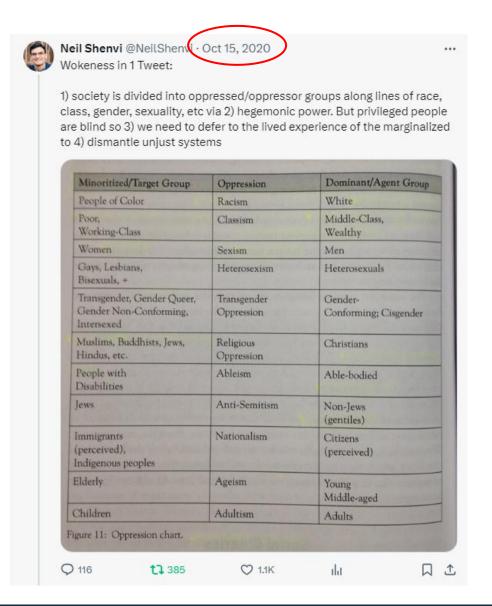




- World magazine 2023 Book of the Year
- 500+ pages
- 770+ footnotes
- 440+ Scripture references
- 200+ primary sources on critical theory
- Thousands of words of quotes from primary sources

#### Wokeness In One Tweet

"1) society is divided into oppressed/oppressor groups along lines of race, class, gender, sexuality, etc via 2) hegemonic power. But privileged people are blind so 3) we need to defer to the lived experience of the marginalized to 4) dismantle unjust systems"



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## Kevin DeYoung's Review of Wolfe's Case for Christian Nationalism

Besides trafficking in sweeping and unsubstantiated claims about the totalizing control of the Globalist American Empire and the gynocracy, Wolfe's apocalyptic vision—for all of its vitriol toward the secular elites—borrows liberally from the playbook of the left. He not only redefines the nature of oppression as psychological oppression (making it easier to justify extreme measures and harder to argue things aren't as bad as they seem), he also rallies the troops (figuratively, but perhaps also literally?) by reminding them they're victims. "The world is out to get you, and people out there hate you" is not a message that will ultimately help white men or any other group that considers themselves oppressed.

When Wolfe sarcastically thanks those who "woke many from their dogmatic slumber" and rejoices that "more are awakening each day," one might be forgiven for seeing his version of Christian Nationalism as a form of right-wing wokeism. What does it mean to be woke if not that we're awakened to the "reality" that oppression is everywhere, extreme measures are necessary, and the regime must be overthrown?

If critical race theory teaches that America has failed, that the existing order is irredeemable, that Western liberalism was a mistake from the beginning, that the current system is rigged against our tribe, and that we ought to make ethnic consciousness more important—it seems to me that Wolfe's project is the right-wing version of these same impulses." – Kevin DeYoung, "The Rise of Right-Wing Wokeism"



## Doug Wilson's interview with Sean DeMars

Demars: Do you believe in the "woke right"?

Rigney: Like basically the equivalent of the woke left but the Dissident Right guys...

Wilson: This is something I'm actually quite concerned about [-] identity politics on the right...these are people who've been taunted their entire adult lives for being White. And finally they say "I might as well be proud of it...I'm going to be White and proud and start hating Jews." That is a big concern of mine... On the anti-Semitism which is starting to manifest itself on the Right: I've been fighting that tooth and nail. And a lot of people on the Right have responded with 'Ok Boomer'



## Neil Shenvi's Summary of the Dissident Right

"1) society is divided into straight
White men and their enemies via 2)
hegemonic norms (the Longhouse,
postwar consensus, "JudeoChristianity") but normies are blind so
3) we need to redpill them to 4) retake
the West"

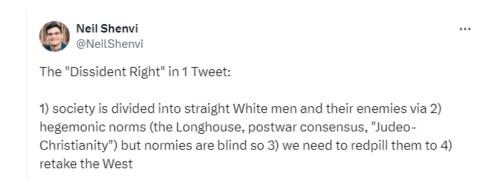


## Comparison to the woke left

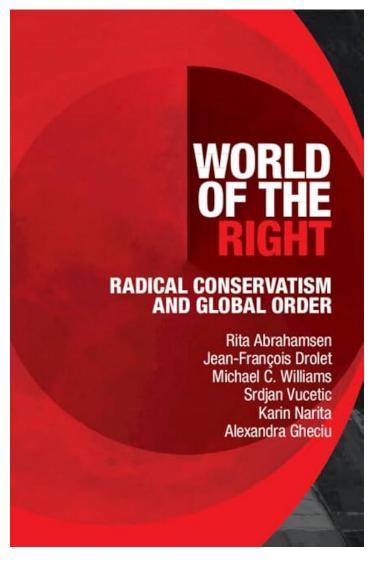
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- Wokeness in 1 Tweet:

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## Abrahamsen et al.'s World of the Right



The Gramscian Right, or Turning Gramsci on His Head

Few figures seem less amenable to appropriation by the Right than Antonio Gramsci. An icon of the Left and a key inspiration for 'critical' sociological and political thought and IR theory, Gramsci's ideas about hegemony and political transformation have long been taken as the enemy of conservatism in all its forms. This chapter, by contrast, argues that Gramsci provides a powerful way to understand the globalisation of the Right in part because many of his core ideas, particularly those concerning cultural hegemony, historic blocs, and counter-hegemonic movements, have been self-consciously and strategically appropriated by the Right. The near worldwide rise of the Right is in many ways the product of this 'Gramscianism of the Right'. Just as Marx famously quipped that the goal of his historical materialism was to turn Hegelian Idealism 'on its head', so the Right has inverted Gramsci.

This chapter examines the evolution of this project. To be clear, we are not writing from a Gramscian position.

"To fight liberalism, [the Radical Right] has turned the left-wing hero [Neomarxist] Antonio Gramsci on his head and engaged in a carefully crafted counter-hegemonic struggle." - World of the Right, p.3

"In Marxian terms, the radical Right strategy is to try to bring its existing and potential supporters to self-consciousness, turning them from analytically identifiable but political inchoate classes... to politically aware and active classes for themselves." - World of the Right, p.3

A DIVERSE AND GLOBAL RIGHT

geographically confined and that is radical in both methods and tactics. To fight liberalism, it has turned the left-wing hero Antonio Gramsci on his head and engaged in a carefully crafted counterhegemonic struggle. This is no mere posturing or the ephemeral operation of a thin ideology; it reflects a relatively novel and revolutionary intellectual orientation. This 'radical Right', as we call it, has developed an international political sociology with the power both to identify a common enemy – the New Class of international 'managerial elites' – and to mobilise 'the people' against it. These movements are not just national; in fact, the global is a small length of the people' against it.

ple channels and techniques of communication, at many different venues. Nationalist and populist in character, this strategy is also international because its populism seeks to unify socially and geographically disparate groups through specific understandings of their marginalisation by liberalism and globalisation. In Marxian terms, the radical Right strategy is to try to bring its existing and potential supporters to self-consciousness, turning them from analytically identifiable but political inchoate classes (or in the case of the Right, diverse social groups) *in* themselves to politically aware and active classes *for* themselves. A key to understanding the novelty and relevance of the radical Right is thus to appreciate both its transnational revolutionary impulse and its foundational precepts concerning the so-called liberal international order (LIO).

Grounded in the study of politics and International Relations, this book also draws on insights from other fields, including sociology and political and intellectual history. This multi-faceted approach pro-

"New Right ideologues have borrowed freely from Lenin and Schmitt on the power of enmity, as well as from [Neo-Marxist Antonio] Gramsci and the Frankfurt school on counter-hegemonic strategies."

- World of the Right, p.21

"Gramsci's strategic analysis of political transformation [has] been effectively appropriated and in many ways actualized by the Right... Evidence of this appropriation is not difficult to find... Its historical origins can be traced to the French Nouvelle Droite [New Right]... Their aim was nothing less than the development of a Gramscianism of the Right,' as Venner put it." – World of the Right, p. 40

and strategies.

Key right-wing thinkers – especially those associated with the so-called New Right – have, over several decades, theorised and strategically mobilised global economic dislocation and cultural resentment, developing a coherent sociological critique of globalisation. Drawing on the oft-neglected tradition of elite managerialism, New Right ideologues have borrowed freely from Lenin and Schmitt on the power of enmity, as well as from Gramsci and the Frankfurt school on counter-hegemonic strategies. Against the temptation to dismiss right-wing ideas as merely populist and by implication as lacking in ideological and theoretical foundations, we are thus faced with the more challenging task of engaging a position that has already developed its own international political sociology and incorporated it into its political strategies.

THE CHALLENGES OF STUDYING THE RIGHT

Evidence of this appropriation is not difficult to find and dates back nearly half a century. Its historical origins can be traced to the French Nouvelle Droite, established during the late 1960s by Alain de Benoist, Guillaume Faye, Dominique Venner, and other militant right-wing intellectuals associated with the Groupement de recherché et d'etudes pour la civilization européenne (GRECE). Their aim was nothing less than the development of a 'Gramscianism of the Right', as Venner put it. The Nouvelle Droite began as a group of young activists who broke from the older far Right and reinvented themselves as intellectuals and ideological entrepreneurs. Their agenda took shape as

"In Gramscian terms, the New Class [of global, managerial elites] is the present-day historic bloc, whose hegemonic order must be carefully deconstructed and critiqued in preparation for a successful counter-hegemonic movement to emerge." - World of the Right, p.69

"In *The Managerial Revolution*, [James] Burnham argued that... a New Class of technically skilled managers, administrators, engineers and bureaucrats of all sorts were engaged in a 'drive for social dominance, for power and privilege, for the position of the ruling class." – World of the Right, p. 72-73

dominate, and benefit from the system. Thus, when thinkers and political actors on the radical Right refer to 'global elites' or 'globalists', it is not simply a loose application of the standard populist opposition between the 'elite' and 'the people' with the prefix 'global' added. It marks a specific political sociology that identifies actors to be blamed, institutions to be opposed and targeted, thus focusing discontent and resentment. It also helps identify groups or constituencies to be mobilised, alliances to be constructed, rhetorical and discursive tropes to be employed, and strategies to be pursued. In Gramscian terms, the New Class is the present-day historic bloc, whose hegemonic order must be carefully deconstructed and critiqued in preparation for a successful counter-hegemonic movement to emerge.

#### THE NEW LIBERALISM

The radical Right's critique of globalisation rests on an interpreta

managerialist themes on the Right.<sup>8</sup> In *The Managerial Revolution*, published in 1941, Burnham analysed the new mass societies and ever-increasing concentration of industrial and financial power that he saw emerging around the world. Identifying similarities between the political-economic formations of Stalinist Russia, Nazi Germany, and the United States under Roosevelt's New Deal liberalism, he argued that since 1914, a trend of economic organisation had been developing in industrialised countries in which a New Class of technically skilled managers, administrators, engineers,

THE NEW LIBERALISM 73

and bureaucrats of all sorts were engaged in a 'drive for social dominance, for power and privilege, for the position of ruling class'. 

This New Class was usurping the power of the traditional bour-

"Burnham held that... elites in liberal democratic societies tend to rely on the manipulation of cultural symbols, desires, and material incentives rather than on direct coercion... Formal pluralism disguises the fact that these structures are dominated by a liberal elite that controls both the parameters of acceptable discourse and the key decision-making organisations, exercising subtle yet pervasive forms of power and domination." - World of the Right, p.73

and the rewards – for their technical skills were steadily increased.

Burnham held that in contrast to the authoritarian strands of managerialism prevailing in communist and fascist regimes, elites in liberal democratic societies tended to rely on the manipulation of cultural symbols, desires, and material incentives rather than on direct coercion. These experimental technologies of government

decide on the content of these rights. Formal pluralism disguises the fact that these structures are dominated by a liberal elite that controls both the parameters of acceptable discourse and the key decision-making organisations, exercising subtle yet pervasive forms of power and domination. In this view, for example, the supposed legislative

"'The authority of the administrative state does not rest on raw power along; like any political regime, it needs moral and intellectual legitimacy. This moral-intellectual legitimacy is rooted in a system of principles, values, mores, norms, and cultural habits that together constitute what Antonio Gramsci called ideological hegemony'" – Heritage Senior Fellow John Fonte writing in the Claremont Institute's American Mind magazine, quoted in World of the Right, p.78

by thinkers associated with the Claremont Institute. <sup>16</sup> Writing in the Institute's magazine *The American Mind*, John Fonte, Senior Fellow at the Heritage Foundation, brings these themes together revealingly:

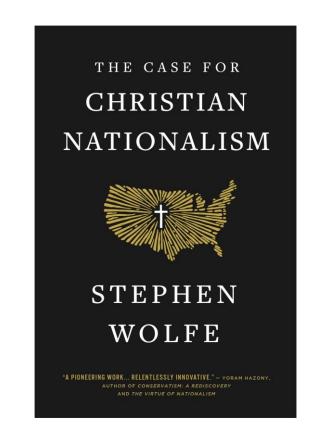
The authority of the administrative state does not rest on raw power alone; like any political regime, it needs moral and intellectual legitimacy. This moral-intellectual legitimacy is rooted in a system of principles, values, mores, norms, and cultural habits that together constitute what Antonio Gramsci called ideological hegemony. What could be described as the "cultural leviathan" provides moral-intellectual legitimacy to the administrative state.

### Outline

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## Stephen Wolfe's Case for Christian Nationalism

- "Every step of progress is overcoming you. Ask yourself, 'What sort
  of villain does each event of progress have in common?' The
  straight white male. That is the chief out-group of New America, the
  embodiment of regression and oppression." (p. 436)
- "We live under a gynocracy—a rule by women. This may not be apparent on the surface, since men still run many things. But the governing virtues of America are feminine vices, associated with certain feminine virtues, such as empathy, fairness, and equality." (p. 448)
- "If you are a white, heterosexual, cis-gendered male, then the world will not offer you any favors. Indeed, your career advancement depends on sacrificing your self-respect by praising and pandering to your inferiors who rule over you." (p. 464)



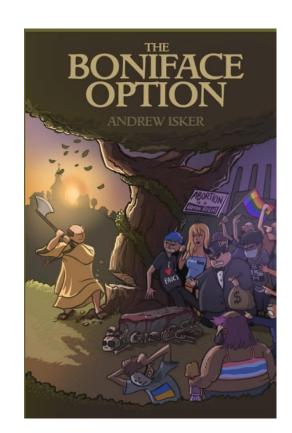
## Stephen Wolfe on Twitter

- "Anti-woke Christians, in their rejection of 'power hierarchies' and 'privilege,' have rendered themselves incapable of seeing the absurd but real privileges and power hierarchy at work in our world. This is why I will not reject a 'critical' approach to social phenomena. There are subtle hierarchies of power, some natural and proper, and others artificial and absurd."
- "I fully admit that if being a 'conservative' requires one to reject a 'critical' approach to social phenomena, then I'm not a conservative. We live in liberal hegemony, and [Twitter user @Wokal\_Distance] reflects precisely its commitments and power structures."
- "Our social world runs on subtle power relations. The problem with the left is they call them all arbitrary and unjust, based on an egalitarian principle (which the anti-woke largely share)"



## Andrew Isker's Boniface Option

- "You live in a dystopia. Every part of historical human existence in our world has been turned on its head...The insane, dystopian and totalitarian world we fear the elites might create is one we already live in...I use the term Trashworld to describe the dystopian society. And the point of The Boniface Option is to make you see it for what it is and to begin the hard work of escaping and overcoming it" (p. ix-xi).
- "the globohomo cinematic universe that the modern bugman lives in must be chopped down. All of it is a seamless garment. Trannies, open borders, acceptance and promotion of sodomy and other sexual perversions, feminism, abortion and antinatalism, anti-white race hate (so-called Critical Race Theory), pornography and the entire consumerist lifestyle... must be sent through a woodchipper" (p. 18).
- "We believe because **modern**, **liberal**, **egalitarian society** abolished the formal institutions of slavery that slavery qua slavery has been eradicated. But it very clearly has not. Instead, it is wrapped in a thin veneer of consent. If you were a wicked, evil social engineer and were going to design a massive slave state, **the very best conditions would be where the masses believed they were totally free and that their own bondage was their choice" (p. 74).**



## C.J. Engel, co-host of Contra Mundum

"Once [the] ethos [of Heritage America] was liquidated [after WWII], America was subverted and taken over... Heritage America, of course, is most consistent with anglo Protestantism. But that does not mean that all groups outside of that core are equally dangerous to it. There is a spectrum at play wherein some peoples are less threatening to its ethos than others. There is a high correlation between that spectrum and the broadening circles extending out from Western Europe. Such that peoples like Indians, or South East Asians or Ecuadorians or immigrated Africans are the least capable of fitting in and should be sent home immediately. Whereas groups, like Irish or Italians or Catholics may not fit the original core, but were closer on the spectrum, being Europeans. All politics is contextual and situational."



## C.J. Engel, co-host of Contra Mundum

- "the Right Wing is being called the 'woke right' because its detractors cannot think outside the hegemonic presumptions of liberalism, which is grounded in individualism."
- "There is indeed a war on Whites."
- "since the old cultural hegemony of Heritage America was centered around straight White men, it is clear that any revolution against that way of life would need to be directed against the hegemonic cultural base made up of these types of people. It is not woke to recognize this."
- "The mythos of liberalism... made the political leadership in this country blind to the actual Leftist revolution in our midst. Liberalism is absolutely a hegemonic norm—what else would be America's hegemonic norm?"
- "The Right can see this very clearly and understands that power is needed to confront new this Leftist hegemony."
  - "On the realization that the Right isn't liberal," American Reformer



## No Woke Right?

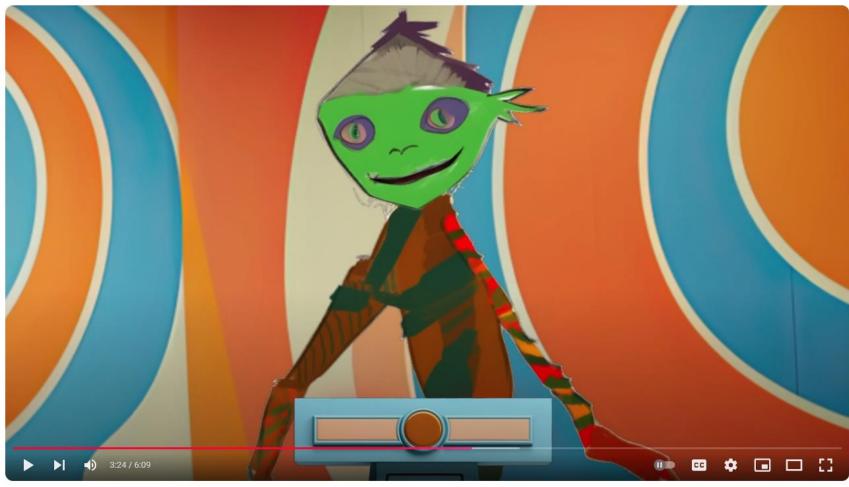




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### Anti-White sentiment



Is This Christian Nationalism?











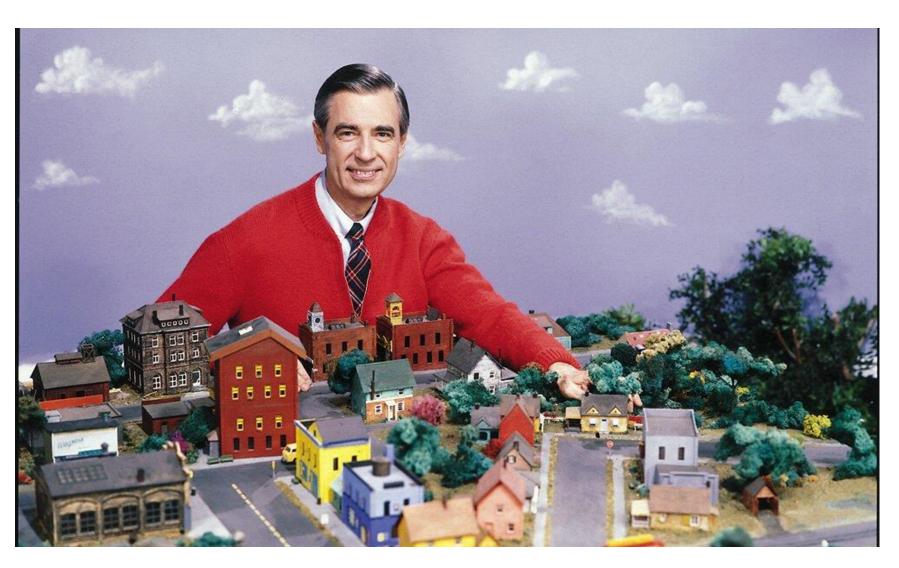




## Questioning liberalism

- Why is tolerance good?
- Why is democracy good?
- Why think people are equal?
- Why think theocracy is bad?
- Why should we support free speech?

## Rejecting "niceness"

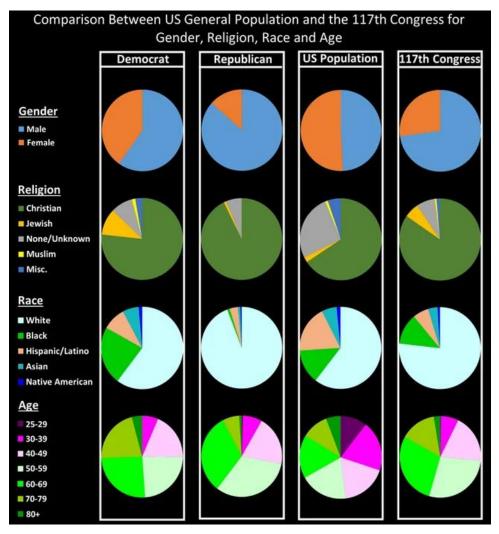


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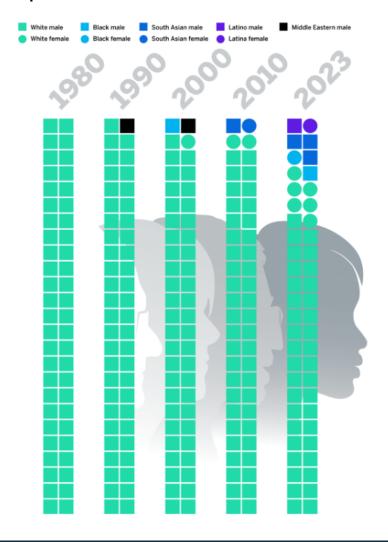
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### Hegemonic Power Is Contextual

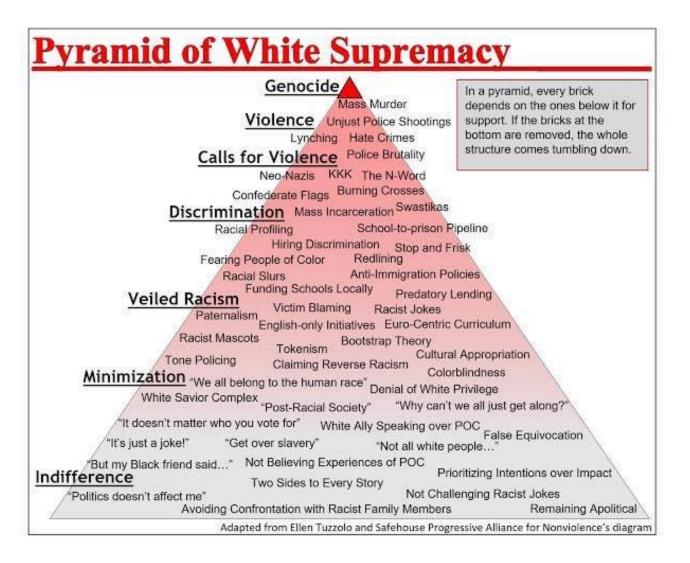
#### Congress

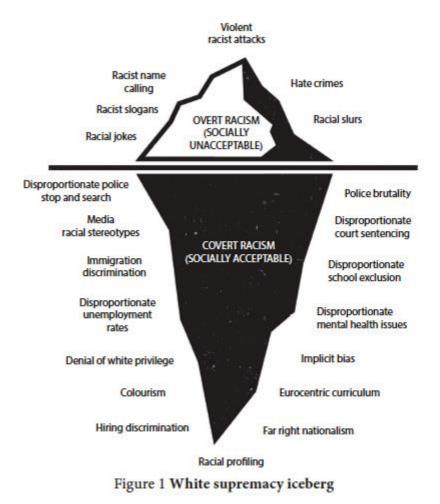


#### Top Fortune 500 CEOs



## Oppression Isn't Ideological



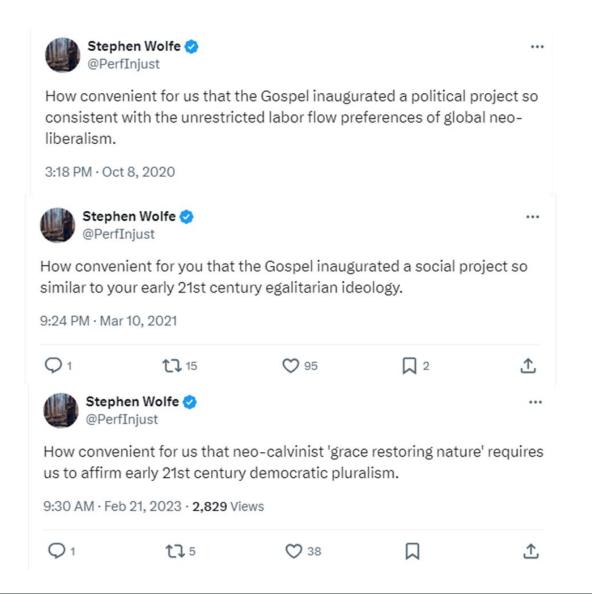


### Internalized Identities



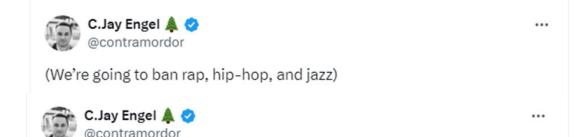


### Critical Consciousness and Bulverism





### Ethnocentrism



Rap is incredibly retarded, culturally subversive, aesthetically debased, and musically degenerate.

Jail time.



The anti-Western genres of hip hop and rap, born in the ghettos of urban America, now terrorize and occupy the bourgeois suburbs. This is the true crisis in our midst.

10:31 PM · Aug 16, 2023 · 2,501 Views



Monthly reminder that Rap and Hip-Hop are subversive of Western Culture and are to be banned and its propagators jailed.

3:08 PM · Apr 4, 2023 · 475 Views



Looking at old elementary age class photos of my grandparents generation. It's difficult to articulate the state of our decline, the extent of our cultural loss.

One is impressed by the stock of the children, the overall health of skin and facial structure, the physiognomy, the lack of dysgenic phenomena, the standard of dress, the pride of living, the joy of childhood.

Whosoever declares our own day as one of Progress is absurd, to be scoffed at as one ought to do with street clowns.

5:59 PM · Nov 17, 2024 · 55.3K Views

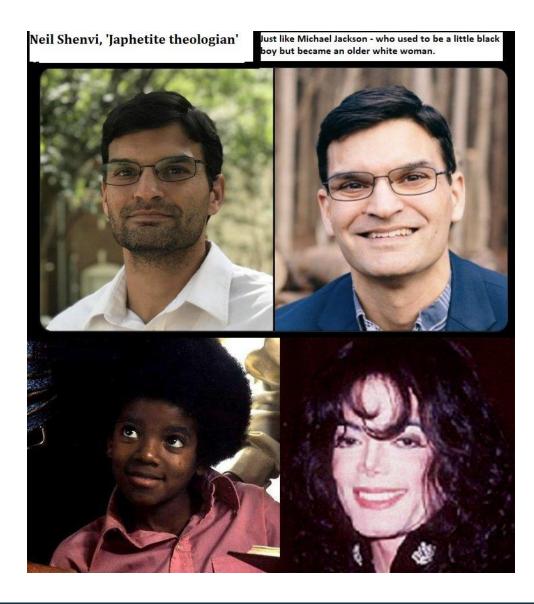


### Godless behavior



It's a judeo-Bolshevik lie invented by Atheist s0d0mite james lindsays+pro censorship shabb0s goy rufos.

The old mentors=either wrong or actively undermining the Gospel by inventing new "sins" falsely accusing billions of Christians pre-1945!



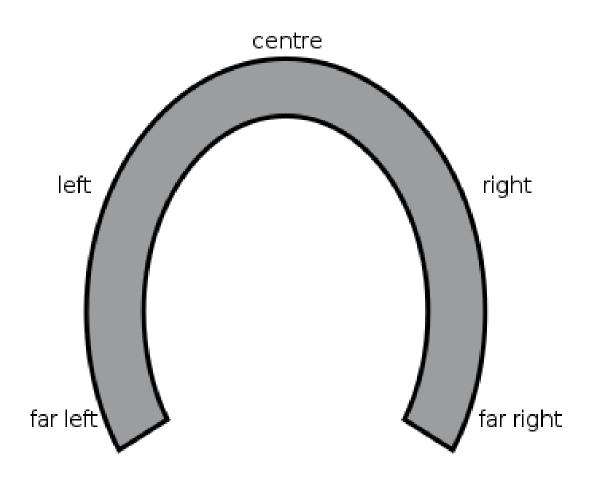
### Outline

- What is wokeness?
- What is the "woke right"?
- Examples of the woke right
- Legitimate considerations
- Serious problems
- Conclusions

## The Woke Left is a far greater institutional threat than the Woke Right



## Critical theory is bad no matter who embraces it



## Acknowledgements

Dr. Christina Shenvi



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