

THE UNIVERSITY IS THE TARGET: EUGENIC PSEUDOSCIENCE, TECHNOFASCISM, AND THE FAR RIGHT WAR ON DEMOCRACY IN THE YARVIN-COFNAS LINKAGE

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The Center for Culture-Centred Approach to Research and Evaluation (CARE) at Massey University, Aotearoa New Zealand, is a global hub for communication research that uses participatory and culture-centred methodologies to develop community-driven communication solutions to health and wellbeing. Through experiments in methods of radical democracy anchored in community ownership and community voice, the Centre collaborates with communities, community organisers, community researchers, advocates and activists to imagine and develop sustainable practices for prevention, health care organising, food and agriculture, worker organising, migrant and refugee rights, indigenous rights, rights of the poor and economic transformation.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This white paper maps the linkage between Curtis Yarvin, the neoreactionary theorist described as an intellectual architect of the authoritarian turn in the United States, and Nathan Cofnas, the self-described race realist philosopher whose Substack post launched the campaign that ended the Cambridge career of Professor Jason Arday. The paper names the formation to which both men belong as the far right, and it defends that naming on definitional grounds rather than rhetorical ones: the formation asserts natural racial hierarchy, works to dismantle liberal democracy, and organises material infrastructure toward both ends. These are the criteria by which the scholarly literature identifies the far right, and the formation meets all of them in its own words.

The analysis is organised around four interlocking pillars, and around the claim that the interplay among them, rather than any one of them alone, constitutes the threat. The first pillar is eugenic pseudoscience: the assertion, contradicted by the population genetics literature and repudiated by the American Society of Human Genetics, that racial groups differ innately in cognitive capacity. This claim is the formation's substrate. Yarvin builds his case against democracy on it, and Cofnas builds his case against the university on it. The second pillar is technofascism: the capital, platforms, and state-embedded technology firms, centred on Peter Thiel's network, through which the formation moves from text to power. The third pillar is the attack on democracy: Yarvin's explicit programme for replacing the democratic order with a chief executive sovereign, a programme cited nearly verbatim by the sitting Vice President of the United States. The fourth pillar is the attack on the university: the sustained campaign, running from Yarvin's Cathedral thesis through Cofnas's hereditarian revolution to the destruction of Jason Arday, to break the university's authority as the institution that certifies knowledge and refuses pseudoscience.

The paper substantiates the linkage through eighteen critical anchors, each a dated, publicly verifiable piece of evidence, laid out in Table 1 and mapped in Figure 1. The anchors document direct mutual engagement between the two men on Yarvin's own platform and in Cofnas's own essays; a shared eugenic substrate traced through the same human biodiversity lineage; and co-presence in adjacent infrastructures, race-science publishing on one side and technofascist capital on the other, that converge on the university as their common target. Figure 2 models the interplay: pseudoscience supplies the warrant, the attack on the university removes the referee, the attack on democracy removes accountability, and technofascism supplies the carrier and collects the returns, funding the pseudoscience anew.

The paper is equally explicit about what the evidence does not show. There is no co-authorship, no documented shared funder, no organisational coordination between Yarvin and Cofnas, and their strategic quarrel, ideas first against power first, is genuine. The finding is that the quarrel is confined entirely to tactics while the substrate, the enemy, and the target are shared, and that this structure, a division of communicative labour performed as pluralism, is precisely how a far right formation dismantles a taboo and captures an institution. The paper closes with the implications stated at their full weight and with a ten-point organising programme for academics and their unions, because the analysis carries one practical conclusion above all others: the machinery documented here is defeated collectively or it is not defeated.

THE STAKES IN BRIEF

A professor is dead, and the campaign that preceded his death was launched from a race-realist platform and amplified by a litigation-funded pressure group.

A eugenic claim refuted for a century is back in the pages of the New York Times.

The theorist who wants a king is quoted, nearly verbatim, by the Vice President of the United States.

The complaint machinery is now law in Aotearoa New Zealand, and both wings of the formation are already in the country.

The university is the last referee standing between the claim and the regime it licenses. The formation knows it. The question is whether the university does.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the fortnight before this paper was completed, the formation it maps produced a death. On 5 August 2026, Jason Arday resigned his professorship at the University of Cambridge after weeks of allegations that began with a Substack post by Nathan Cofnas [1]. On 14 August 2026, Arday was found dead, on the same day the Free Speech Union published a further attack on him with a membership solicitation beneath it [2]. Five days before the resignation, on 9 August, Curtis Yarvin had used a Cofnas post about race science in the New York Times to declare that the American republic is founded on a lie and that the respectability Cofnas patiently awaits for race science, in Yarvin's closing words, "that time will not come on its own" [3].

These events are treated in public discussion as separate stories: an academic misconduct case, a fired philosopher's rehabilitation, a blogger's provocation. The culture-centered approach reads them as moments in a single communicative formation, and this paper reconstructs that formation with the rigour the claim requires. It asks what work each node performs, what resources move between nodes, whose voices are erased in the formation's operation, and what material consequences follow for racialised communities and for the university as an institution. The two named figures matter because they occupy the formation's two poles. Yarvin is the theorist of the regime: the writer whose two decades of work argue that democracy must be replaced by a sovereign chief executive, whose ideas the Vice President of the United States has cited as direct advice for purging the state, and who sits inside the network of Peter Thiel [4]. Cofnas is the bearer of the alibi: the credentialed philosopher who carries the eugenic claim into universities, journals, and newspapers in a form scrubbed of the associations that would otherwise discredit it on arrival [5]. The linkage between them is the linkage between the alibi and the regime, and it is documented, dated, and material.

2. NAMING THE FORMATION: WHY THE FAR RIGHT

The paper uses the term far right as a descriptive category with definitional content, and the definition matters because the formation's central communicative strategy is to contest its own naming. In the scholarly literature, the far right comprises two families: the radical right, which accepts electoral politics while rejecting core elements of liberal democracy such as minority rights and the rule of law, and the extreme right, which rejects democracy as such [6]. Both families are organised around the assertion of natural hierarchy, most consistently racial hierarchy, as the ground of political order [6].

The formation mapped here meets the definition at its most demanding threshold. Yarvin rejects democracy as such, in his own words and across two decades: he has called American democracy a failed experiment, proposed its replacement by monarchy on the corporate model, urged Americans to overcome what he called

their dictator phobia, and designed a programme, Retire All Government Employees, for liquidating the civil service [7]. That is the extreme right by definition, whatever the register of irony in which it is delivered. The eugenic substrate examined in Section 4 supplies the hierarchy criterion: the formation's texts assert innate racial inequality as fact and build their politics on it. The fascism scholarship sharpens the naming further. Fuchs identifies four necessary features of fascist politics: the leadership principle, integral nationalism, the friend and enemy scheme, and militant patriarchy [8]. The prior CARE analysis of the military artificial intelligence corpus found all four measurably present in the discourse of the Thiel-adjacent formation, organised around a securitisation hub, a sacralised nation, and a chief executive sovereign [9]. The naming in this paper is therefore neither epithet nor inference. It is a classification the formation earns in its own texts.

Two clarifications guard the naming's precision. First, Cofnas himself contests the label, positions himself against the antisemitic mainstream of the race-realist milieu, and directs sustained criticism at the movement Yarvin theorises for [10]. The paper takes that self-positioning seriously as data and analyses, in Section 8, the function it performs. Second, far right names the formation, its shared substrate, its infrastructure, and its convergent targets, rather than asserting that every node holds identical views. That is what makes the term analytically useful: it describes a division of labour, and divisions of labour are precisely what formations are.

3. FRAMEWORK: THE CULTURE-CENTERED APPROACH

The culture-centered approach (CCA) attends to the interplay of structure, culture, and agency in the organisation of communication, and to the ways communicative resources are distributed and denied at the margins [11]. Three CCA concepts organise this analysis.

The first is communicative inversion, the deployment of communication to construct meanings that invert material reality [12]. The formation examined here runs on a nested sequence of inversions. Eugenic pseudoscience is inverted into suppressed truth. The university's scientific judgment against it is inverted into censorship. The campaign against a Black professor is inverted into a defence of academic integrity. The destruction of democratic institutions is inverted into their rescue from an unaccountable elite. Each inversion prepares the next, and the sequence terminates in the formation's master claim: that the far right is not the far right.

The second is whiteness as infrastructure: the organisation of material and communicative resources, funding streams, platforms, credentials, litigation vehicles, and legal instruments, that sustains the circulation of white supremacist meaning while laundering its origins [13]. The analysis treats Yarvin and Cofnas as nodes in such an infrastructure and specifies, for each documented link, what resource moves along it.

The third is erasure as evidence. The CCA method developed across this series reads what a corpus cannot say as data about what it is for [9]. The Yarvin corpus can say monarchy, Cathedral, and biodiesel; it cannot say the names of the communities whose dispossession its hierarchy claim historically organised. The Cofnas corpus can say taboo, evidence, and revolution; it cannot say what the restoration of hereditarian respectability would do to a Black student sitting in a lecture hall governed by it. The university that both corpora attack is, among other things, the institution in which those erased voices hold standing to answer.

4. PILLAR ONE: THE EUGENIC SUBSTRATE

4.1 *The claim and its lineage*

The substrate of the formation is a single empirical claim: that racial groups differ innately in cognitive capacity, and that social hierarchy therefore reflects nature. The claim is not new, and its lineage is documented. It runs from Francis Galton's founding of eugenics through the Pioneer Fund's twentieth-century financing of race science, through Steve Sailer's popularisation of the term human biodiversity in the 1990s as a vehicle for scientific racism, to the present publishing infrastructure of Emil Kirkegaard's Human Diversity Foundation and

its magazine *Aporia* [14]. The Cambridge node of this lineage is documented in the prior CARE paper on the Free Speech Union: Galton's Cambridge formation, R. A. Fisher's founding of the Cambridge University Eugenics Society, the London Conference on Intelligence convened secretly at UCL between 2014 and 2017 with Toby Young in attendance in 2017, and Young's own published advocacy of what he called progressive eugenics [15].

Both principals of this paper stand inside that lineage by their own declaration. Yarvin has described himself as a follower of Sailer and coined the phrase human neurological uniformity to name, and mock, the belief in innate human equality [16]. Cofnas asserts the hereditarian account of racial gaps as established science, wrote that under strict meritocracy the number of Black professors at Harvard "would approach zero percent," and has published a programme, the hereditarian revolution, for converting elite opinion to the claim [17].

4.2 The scientific record

The claim is pseudoscience, and the designation is technical rather than polemical. The American Society of Human Genetics has stated in successive declarations, in 2018, 2020, and 2022, that genetics demonstrates no support for the concept of discrete biological races ranked by capacity, and has repudiated the misappropriation of the field in service of racial hierarchy [18]. Bird's 2021 analysis in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* found no support for the hereditarian hypothesis of the Black and white achievement gap using polygenic scores [19]. Roseman and Bird demonstrated in 2023 that the hereditarian literature lacks the connection between evolutionary theory and data that would make its claims scientific statements at all [20]. Turkheimer, among the field's most cited behavioural geneticists, has answered Cofnas directly, writing that hereditarians twist basic data about polygenic heritability into false intuitions of inevitability and perpetuate a science-washed racism that has persisted, unsuccessful, since Galton [21]. Panofsky and colleagues have documented how the race-science revival operates as counterscience, mimicking scientific form while inverting scientific norms [22].

The scientific record does more than refute the substrate. It explains why the formation needs the rest of its machinery. A claim that cannot win in the institutions of science must either capture those institutions or destroy their authority. The two remaining attacks, on the university and on democracy, are the two available routes, and the two principals of this paper divide them between themselves.

4.3 Eugenics in each corpus

The eugenic character of each corpus should be stated in its own terms. Yarvin's writing has proposed the reduction of populations he deems unproductive to raw material, including the notorious passage suggesting their conversion into biodiesel or their virtualisation into permanent solitary confinement, and has written favourably of apartheid-era governance and linked approvingly to white nationalist writing [23]. Cofnas's writing performs the classical eugenic operation in contemporary dress: the ranking of racial groups by imputed cognitive worth, the derivation of social policy from the ranking, and the presentation of the whole as courageous science. His stated programme is to make that operation respectable among elites [17]. The difference in register, Yarvin's transgressive maximalism against Cofnas's patient empiricism, is exactly the division of communicative labour this paper documents. The substrate is one substrate.

5. PILLAR TWO: TECHNOFASCISM

The formation's material carrier is the network of capital and technology centred on Peter Thiel, and the linkage of both principals to it is documented. Thiel declared in a 2009 essay that he no longer believed freedom and democracy to be compatible, the founding sentence of the technofascist position [24]. In 2013 his Founders Fund invested in Tlon, the company Yarvin co-founded to build his Urbit platform, and Chafkin's biography of Thiel describes Yarvin as the Thiel network's "house political philosopher" [25]. The network's state-embedded firm, Palantir, contracts with military, intelligence, and immigration enforcement agencies across

multiple jurisdictions, including, as documented below, the New Zealand Defence Force and both New Zealand intelligence agencies [26].

The prior CARE analyses of this network's discourse supply the measured evidence for the technofascism designation. The culture-centered cluster analysis of the Palantir chief executive's book and of the wider military artificial intelligence corpus found a discourse organised around a securitisation hub bound to lethality and the state, a sacralised national project, and a technocratic elite claiming rule; found Fuchs's four features of fascist politics mapped onto measurable structures in the text; and found the academy to be a statistical isolate across 88,767 words, holding zero significant positive ties to any other frame, entering the corpus only as obstacle or talent pipeline and never as interlocutor [9]. That last finding anchors this paper's argument at its most important joint: the technofascist corpus has already written the university out of the future it narrates. Yarvin's Cathedral thesis is the same erasure stated as programme, and Cofnas's hereditarian revolution is the same erasure stated as reform.

The Vance anchor closes the circuit between text and state. In a 2021 podcast interview, the future Vice President said, "There's this guy Curtis Yarvin who's written about some of these things," and then delivered Yarvin's programme as his own advice to Trump: fire every mid-level bureaucrat and every civil servant in the administrative state, replace them with our people, and defy the courts that intervene [27]. Yarvin's name for that programme is Retire All Government Employees [28]. The passage is the clearest documented instance in contemporary politics of a far right theorist's text moving unmediated into the mouth of an executive officeholder, and it establishes that the Yarvin node is a node of state power, which is what raises the stakes of everything Cofnas's node feeds into it.

6. PILLAR THREE: THE ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY

Yarvin's anti-democratic programme requires no interpretive work, because he states it. Democracy is a failed experiment; the remedy is an accountable monarchy on the corporate model; Americans must overcome their dictator phobia; the civil service must be liquidated; the Cathedral's organs, the press and the university, must be dissolved into the sovereign's order [7]. The programme has moved from blog to administration through the Vance channel documented above, and Yarvin attended the 2025 inaugural gala as an informally honoured guest. [29]

Cofnas's relation to democracy is different in form and convergent in effect, and the paper states it carefully because it is where the analysis must be most precise. Cofnas does not advocate monarchy, and he criticises the authoritarian movement in sustained detail [10]. But his corpus contains no defence of democracy either. Its political theory is elite theory throughout: the question that organises every strategic essay is which ideology the cognitive elite will hold, on the stated premise that elites, and never publics, determine what a society believes and does [30]. His objection to Yarvin's king is that the other side may seize the throne, an objection from risk rather than from principle [31]. And the substantive programme, the restoration of eugenic race science to elite respectability, is a programme for re-founding the political order on natural hierarchy, which is the far right's definitional project whatever the constitutional furniture around it. Democracy premised on innate racial hierarchy is the democracy of the settler franchise and the literacy test. The formation does not need Cofnas to attack democracy's procedures, because his substrate attacks its premise.

7. PILLAR FOUR: THE ATTACK ON THE UNIVERSITY

The university is where the four pillars meet, and the campaign against it proceeds on four documented fronts.

The first front is epistemic. Yarvin's Cathedral thesis names the university as the seminary of a false church whose authority must be broken [7]. Cofnas's hereditarian revolution names the university as the site where the taboo on race science is enforced and must be shattered [17]. The two theses assign the university the same role, referee of the eugenic claim, and demand the same outcome, the referee's removal.

The second front is personnel, and the Arday sequence is its demonstration case. Cofnas's July 2026 Substack post supplied plagiarism allegations against Cambridge's youngest Black professor in credentialed, documented form [1]. The Free Speech Union apparatus amplified the allegations serially through August, with membership solicitations attached, while simultaneously sponsoring Cofnas's own litigation against Emmanuel College [32]. Cambridge first defended Arday, describing a vile campaign against his credibility, then opened an investigation on 6 August; Arday resigned on 5 August and was found dead on 14 August, the day the FSU published its further attack [1] [2]. Christopher Rufo, the movement's power-first strategist, converted the outcome into a verdict on diversity as such [33]. Whatever the eventual findings on the underlying allegations, the communicative structure is the finding here: a race-realist philosopher's platform, a litigation-sponsoring pressure group, and a movement strategist processed the destruction of the most visible Black scholar at Cambridge as a victory for free inquiry, and did not pause at his death.

The third front is legal and legislative. The Free Speech Union's model, statutory free speech duties enforceable by complaint against universities, has been legislated in the United Kingdom and replicated in Aotearoa New Zealand through the Education and Training Amendment Act 2025, whose complaint machinery Universities New Zealand itself warned would invite vexatious use [34]. The prior CARE analyses of the Act and of the FSU corpus document how the machinery operationalises the inversion: it converts the university's scholarly judgment against pseudoscience into a justiciable harm against pseudoscience's bearer [35].

The fourth front is the safety of racialised scholars and the degradation of the conditions of scholarly life. The record of the past thirty months includes the campaign that preceded Arday's death; the documented experience of Black students and staff at Cambridge during the Cofnas controversy; and the escalation of the conflict environment around these disputes on all sides, including the assault on Cofnas himself at Ghent, which this paper records accurately as part of the spiral the formation's strategy of provocation produces and then harvests [36]. A formation that profits communicatively from every escalation has no incentive to de-escalate, and universities that respond only case by case will be metabolised case by case.

8. THE DOCUMENTED EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE PRINCIPALS

The direct linkage between Yarvin and Cofnas is established by five dated exchanges, anchors A1 through A5 in Table 1.

On 28 December 2024, Yarvin's Gray Mirror published a long guest essay on the origins of wokeness, introduced by Yarvin as the work of his former live-in intern [37]. The essay certifies Cofnas's standing in the neoreactionary readership, describing him as a sharp Cambridge postdoc making a name in online right-wing politics, recommending his essays, reproducing his causal diagram, and proposing that the online right could do worse than adopting his theory as its standard model. It racialises him even as it praises him, introducing him through his Jewishness. And it then refutes him on signalling grounds, in the essay's own phrase "standing Cofnas on his head": people profess equality to signal virtue, so no information campaign about heredity can dissolve the profession [37]. Cofnas replied publicly the same week, calling the piece very interesting and defending his causal claim [38]. The exchange is courteous, substantive, and mutually legitimating: Yarvin's platform treated Cofnas's theory as the thesis worth refuting, and Cofnas treated Yarvin's platform as a venue worth answering.

On 4 April 2025, Cofnas named Yarvin directly in his essay on the movement's economics, grouping him with Rufo as advocates of a power-first strategy, noting that Yarvin's proposed king is JD Vance, and objecting: "What happens when the other side's king takes power?" [31]. On 9 October 2025, his essay against the power-first camp answered Rufo's mockery with the formulation "Ideas first, tanks second," in a text that documents how thoroughly the strategic argument, with Yarvin as its fully elaborated pole, had become the formation's organising debate; the essay also records that the writer known as Bronze Age Pervert had named Cofnas among the targets of his own intervention on race [39]. And on 9 August 2026, Yarvin quote-posted Cofnas's response to the New York Times: the republic is founded on a lie, Cofnas merely looks forward to a time,

Whig history will never die, and that time will not come on its own [3]. Four sentences that distil the entire relationship: unqualified endorsement of the premise, contempt for the patience, and a call to act against the order itself.

9. THE QUARREL AND THE DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIVE LABOUR

The quarrel between the two men is genuine, and the paper does not launder it into stagecraft. Cofnas has written that the movement is a low-intelligence cult of personality with a destructive economic programme and incompetent counter-elites [10]. Yarvin treats Cofnas’s faith in persuasion as an Enlightenment museum piece [3]. Hanania, the third party, has publicly ridiculed Yarvin’s indifference to empirical detail [40]. These are real disagreements, sincerely held.

The structure of the quarrel is nonetheless the central finding. Every disputed term is tactical: whether elites can be persuaded, whether power precedes belief, whether the movement can staff a regime. No disputed term is substantive: whether racial hierarchy is real, whether the egalitarian premise of the democratic order is false, whether the university’s refusal of race science discredits the university. On those questions the two corpora do not argue, because they agree, and the August 2026 exchange displays the agreement in a single frame [3].

The CCA reading is that the quarrel performs pluralism for the formation, and that the performance is functional. A taboo is dismantled in stages: the proposition moves from unspeakable to debatable to presupposed. The spectacle of credentialed men disagreeing vigorously about everything except the proposition is the mechanism of the middle stage, because it installs the proposition as the shared ground of an apparently open debate [41]. Within that mechanism, the division of labour is precise. Cofnas supplies the alibi: race science in peer-reviewed form, borne by a Jewish philosopher publicly at war with the antisemitism of his own milieu, packaged for carriage into liberal institutions [5] [42]. Yarvin supplies the regime: the theory in which the alibi finds its political use, and the network of capital and office through which the theory travels [7] [25] [27]. Neither requires the other’s agreement. Each requires the other’s product. The Arday sequence, allegation from the alibi’s platform, amplification from the litigation apparatus, harvest by the regime’s strategists, shows the machine running end to end without a single act of coordination between the principals [1] [32] [33]. The division of labour is the coordination.

10. CRITICAL ANCHORS

Table 1 lays out the 18 critical anchors on which the paper’s claims rest. Each anchor is dated and publicly verifiable, and each is keyed to the linkage map in Figure 1. Anchors A1 through A5 establish direct engagement between the principals. Anchors A6 and A7 establish the shared eugenic substrate in each man’s own words. Anchors A8 through A10 establish the technofascist carrier and its reach into state power. Anchors A11 through A13 establish the race-science and litigation infrastructure around the Cofnas node. Anchors A14 and A15 establish the connective ecology. Anchors A16 through A18 establish the scientific repudiation of the substrate, the historical lineage, and the arrival of the formation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Table 1: Critical anchors substantiating the Yarvin–Cofnas linkage and the far right assault on the university

ANCHOR	DATE	EVIDENCE	WHAT IT SUBSTANTIATES	SOURCE (ENDNOTE)
A1	28 Dec 2024	Gray Mirror publishes guest essay engaging Cofnas at length, introduced by Yarvin; treats his theory as the movement’s candidate standard model and refutes it	Direct engagement on Yarvin’s platform	graymirror.substack.com [37]
A2	28 Dec 2024	Cofnas replies publicly on X, praising the essay and defending his causal claim	Direct engagement, reciprocated	x.com/nathancofnas [38]

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ANCHOR	DATE	EVIDENCE	WHAT IT SUBSTANTIATES	SOURCE (ENDNOTE)
A3	4 Apr 2025	Cofnas names Yarvin and the Vance-as-king proposal; objects on effectiveness grounds only	Direct engagement; shared project, tactical dispute	ncofnas.com [31]
A4	9 Oct 2025	Cofnas answers the power-first camp: "Ideas first, tanks second"; documents the formation's organising debate	Direct engagement; the quarrel is tactical	ncofnas.com [39]
A5	9 Aug 2026	Yarvin quote-posts Cofnas: republic founded on a lie; the awaited time "will not come on its own"	Direct engagement; premise endorsed, method dismissed	x.com/curtis_yarvin [3]
A6	2009; 2025	Yarvin coins "human neurological uniformity", self-describes as a Sailerist; Cathedral thesis names the university as target	Eugenic substrate and anti-university programme, Yarvin node	Unqualified Reservations; Byline Times [16] [7]
A7	Jan 2024	Cofnas publishes the hereditarian revolution programme; "would approach zero percent" statement	Eugenic substrate and anti-university programme, Cofnas node	ncofnas.com; reporting [17]
A8	2013	Thiel's Founders Fund invests in Tlon, Yarvin's company; Yarvin described as the Thiel network's house political philosopher	Technofascist carrier, Yarvin node	Chafkin 2021; SED 2017 [25]
A9	2009	Thiel: freedom and democracy no longer compatible	Technofascist carrier's founding position	Cato Unbound [24]
A10	Sep 2021	Vance cites Yarvin by name; advises firing every civil servant and defying courts; Yarvin's RAGE programme	Text-to-state channel; attack on democracy	Jack Murphy Live; Vanity Fair; TNR [27] [28]
A11	May 2024 – 2026	Free Speech Union defends Cofnas and sponsors his litigation against Emmanuel College	Litigation infrastructure, Cofnas node	FSU archive; CARE Mothership [32]
A12	Jul–Aug 2026	Cofnas Substack post launches Arday allegations; FSU serial amplification; resignation 5 Aug; death 14 Aug; FSU attack same day	Operational attack on university personnel	Retraction Watch; Al Jazeera; CARE [1] [2]
A13	2023–2026	Cofnas's repeated appearances on Aporia, owned by Kirkegaard's Human Diversity Foundation, including after its exposure	Race-science publishing infrastructure, Cofnas node	HDF reporting; Aporia [14] [21]
A14	Feb 2024; 2025	Hanania debates Yarvin (Los Angeles) and podcasts with Cofnas; circulating three-man photograph (provenance unverified)	Connective ecology	Gray Mirror; Hanania Substack [40] [45]
A15	Mar–May 2026	Ghent hires Cofnas; 300-signatory protest; university defends appointment; assault after campus talk	Institutional traction of the alibi; escalation spiral	VRT; THE; CAF [5] [36] [43]
A16	2018–2026	ASHG statements; Bird 2021; Roseman & Bird 2023; Turkheimer replies: hereditarian claim scientifically unsupported	The substrate is pseudoscience	AJHG; AJPA; Turkheimer [18] [19] [20] [21]
A17	1883–2018	Galton to Fisher to the London Conference on Intelligence; Toby Young's progressive eugenics advocacy and attendance	Historical eugenics lineage through Cambridge and the FSU founder	CARE Mothership v3; THE [15]
A18	2011–2025	Thiel NZ citizenship after twelve days; Palantir contracts with NZDF, SIS, GCSB; FSU NZ franchise with Atlas funding; ETAA 2025 complaint machinery	Arrival of both wings in Aotearoa	CARE Mothership; Newsroom; NZ statute [26] [34] [44]

Bracketed numbers key each anchor to the endnotes. All anchors are dated and publicly verifiable.

Figure 1 maps the anchors as a network. The two principals sit at the top of the map, joined by the documented-exchange edge that anchors A1 through A5 substantiate. The left wing is the technofascist carrier: Thiel and Founders Fund, Palantir, and the Vance channel into the United States executive. The right wing is the race-science and litigation infrastructure: the Human Diversity Foundation and Aporia, the Free Speech Union in the United Kingdom and its New Zealand franchise, and the Cambridge eugenics lineage. Every edge converges on the university, drawn at the base of the map as the formation's common target, with the Arday campaign and the Education and Training Amendment Act 2025 as the two operational spearheads.

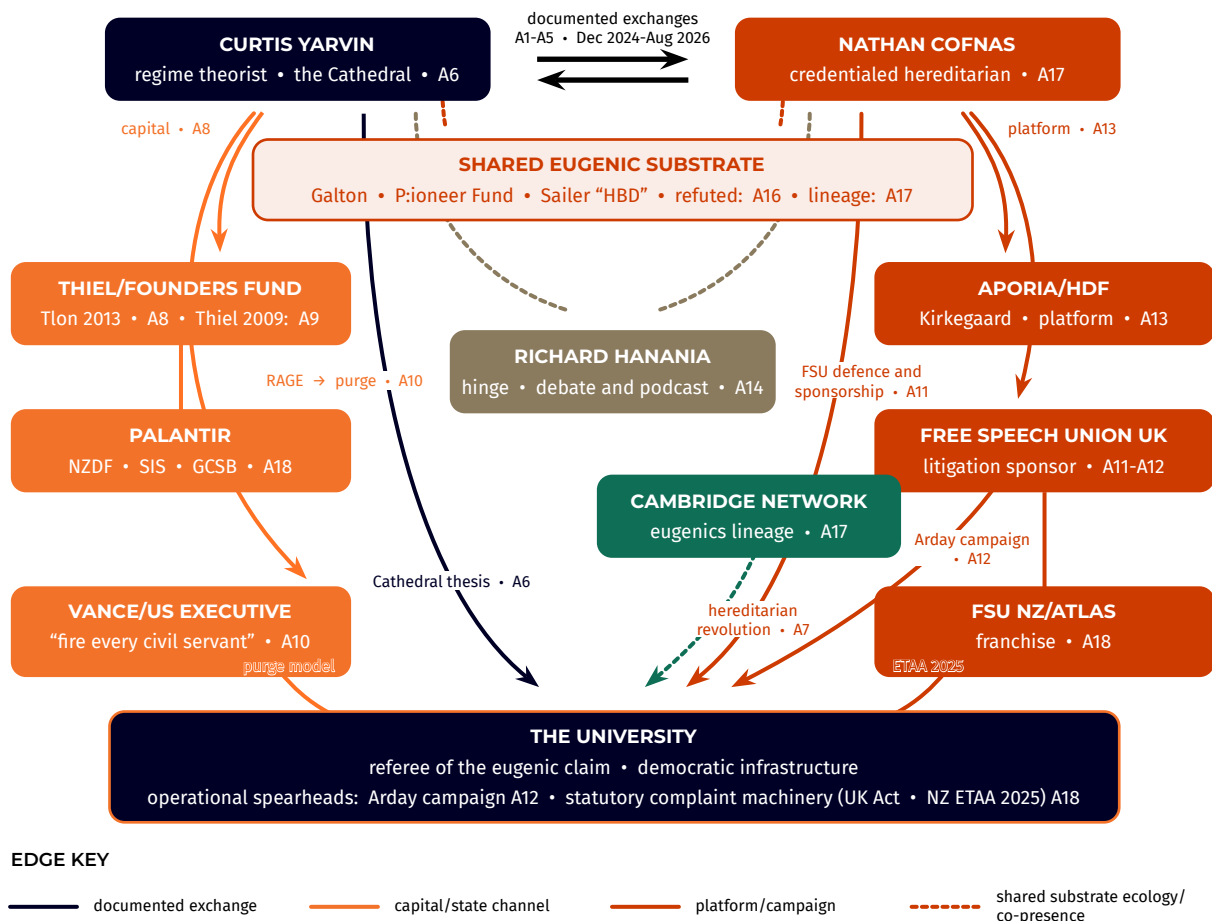


Figure 1: The Yarvin-Cofnas linkage: principals, infrastructures, and the common target. Edges keyed to the critical anchors in Table 1.

Figure 2 models the interplay of the four pillars as a cycle. Eugenic pseudoscience supplies the warrant: if hierarchy is nature, egalitarian institutions rest on error. The attack on the university removes the referee: the institution that certifies the claim as pseudoscience must lose its authority for the claim to circulate as science. The attack on democracy removes accountability: the order that answers to the governed must give way to the sovereign who answers to no one. Technofascism supplies the carrier and collects the returns: capital and state-embedded technology move the formation from text to power, and the resulting regime funds and platforms the pseudoscience anew. Communicative inversion sits at the centre of the cycle, converting each attack into its opposite at every stage. The cycle has no natural terminus. It is interrupted only where an institution refuses its assigned role, which is why the university, the referee the cycle must remove first, is the site where the interruption is possible.

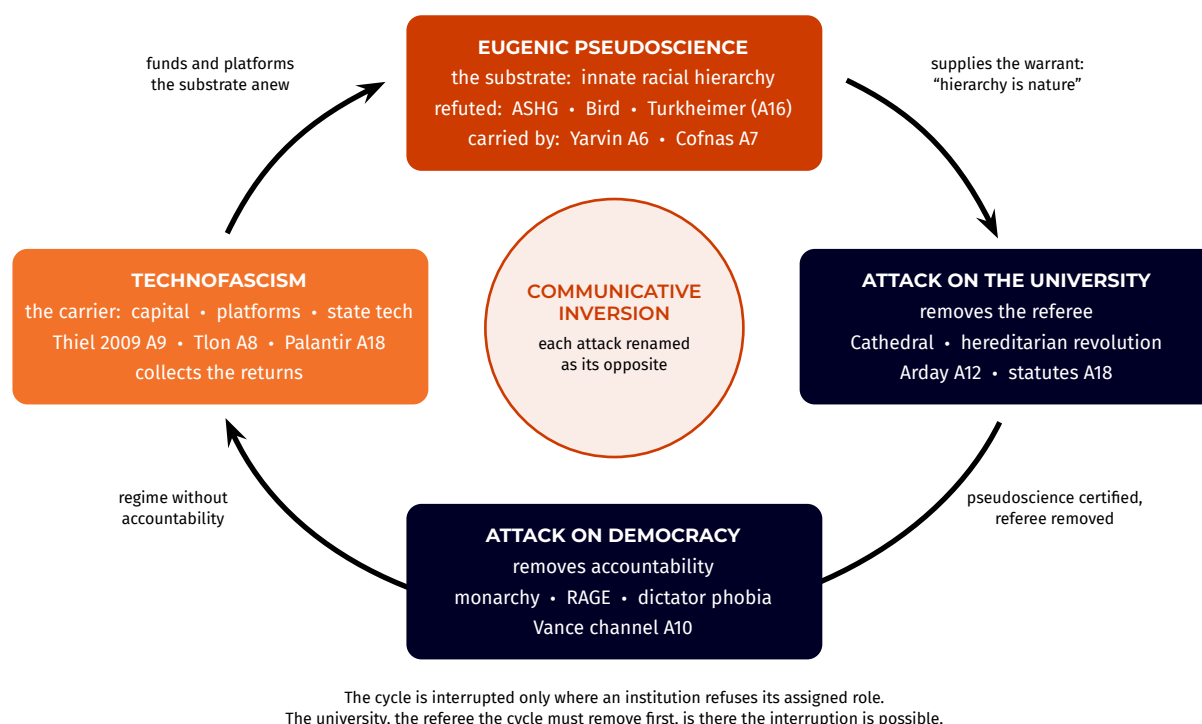


Figure 2: The interplay of the four attacks. Eugenic pseudoscience supplies the warrant, the attack on the university removes the referee, the attack on democracy removes accountability, and technofascism carries the formation and funds the substrate anew, with communicative inversion renaming each attack as its opposite.

11. THE THREAT TO THE MODERN UNIVERSITY

Read through the anchors and the figures, the threat to the university is five-fold, and each fold is empirically instantiated rather than projected.

First, the threat to epistemic authority. The formation's core demand is that the university surrender its role as the institution that distinguishes science from pseudoscience. The demand arrives dressed as open inquiry, and the Ghent case shows its traction: a university defending, on academic freedom grounds, an appointment whose bearer's central claim the university's own geneticists know to be unsupported [43]. The inversion is complete when the defence of scholarly standards is the act that requires defending.

Second, the threat to personnel, falling first on racialised scholars. The Arday sequence demonstrates the operational capability: a campaign originating on a race-realist platform, amplified by a litigation-sponsoring pressure group, ending in resignation and death, processed by the formation as victory [1] [2] [32] [33]. Every Black, Māori, Pacific, and Indigenous scholar in a jurisdiction where this machinery operates now works under its shadow, and the chilling operates whether or not the machinery is switched on in any given case.

Third, the legal threat. Statutory complaint machinery of the kind now in force in the United Kingdom and Aotearoa New Zealand converts the inversion into an enforceable instrument, giving the formation standing to litigate the university's scholarly judgments [34] [35].

Fourth, the material threat. The technofascist wing of the formation is simultaneously defunding and delegitimising the research university in the United States while building the parallel credentialing and research apparatus, from venture-funded academies to corpus-measured discourse in which the academy is already an isolate [9]. The university is being written out of the future at the same time as it is being sued in the present.

Fifth, the democratic threat, which contains the other four. The university is democratic infrastructure: the institution in which claims to natural hierarchy have been examined and refuted, in which the communities those claims target hold standing to answer, and from which the civil service, the professions, and the press are staffed. The formation attacks the university because the university stands between the eugenic claim and the regime the claim licenses. That is the interplay Figure 2 draws, and it is why the defence of the university and the defence of democracy are, in the present conjuncture, one defence.

12. THE AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND STAKES

The formation is not approaching Aotearoa. It is here, on four documented fronts. The Free Speech Union that sponsors Cofnas's litigation and ran the Arday campaign operates a licensed sister organisation in this country, with Atlas Network funding confirmed in reporting, which has toured United States culture-war figures through meetings with Ministers [44]. The Thiel network in which Yarvin sits holds New Zealand citizenship in the person of Thiel himself, granted after twelve days in the country, and Palantir contracts with the New Zealand Defence Force, the Security Intelligence Service, and the Government Communications Security Bureau [26]. The Education and Training Amendment Act 2025 has installed the complaint machinery through which the inversion can be operationalised against scholars here [34]. And the eugenic substrate itself is not an import without history: it is the claim that organised the dispossession of Māori, the poll tax on Chinese migrants, and the dawn raids on Pacific families, and its restoration to respectability would fall first on the communities whose voices the culture-centered approach centres. Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligates the university in this country to a relationship the formation's substrate denies at its root. Naming that incompatibility is not politics intruding on scholarship. It is the scholarship.

13. WHAT THE EVIDENCE DOES NOT SHOW

Rigour requires the negative findings to be stated as plainly as the positive ones. This research located no co-authored text between Yarvin and Cofnas, no shared organisational membership, no documented shared funder, no evidence that either man directed or financed any project of the other, and no verified joint appearance beyond a circulating photograph of the two men with Richard Hanania whose occasion could not be established and on which no claim is rested [45]. Cofnas's criticisms of the authoritarian movement are extensive and, on the evidence of their content, sincere; his opposition to the antisemitic current of the race-realist milieu is sustained and public [10] [42]. Yarvin's dismissal of Cofnas's strategy is equally sincere. Any account describing the two men as partners, collaborators, or members of one organisation overstates this record and should be corrected wherever it appears. The finding of this paper is narrower and therefore more durable: documented mutual engagement, a shared and jointly defended eugenic substrate, co-presence in adjacent infrastructures converging on the university, and a functional complementarity, the alibi and the regime, that operates without requiring agreement on anything except the premise. The far right does not need its components to agree. It needs them to interlock, and the 18 anchors show that they do.

14. IMPLICATIONS: WHAT THIS MEANS NOW

The implications of the mapping should be stated without cushioning, because the formation counts on cushioning.

For university leaders, the implication is that neutrality is participation. The Arday sequence establishes what the machinery does when an institution meets a coordinated far right campaign with proceduralism: it opens an investigation on the day its targeted scholar resigns, and it issues a statement after he is dead [1] [2]. The statutory duty of care to staff did not lapse because the complaints were organised; it became more binding

because they were [46]. Every vice-chancellor in a jurisdiction where this machinery operates now chooses, in advance, which precedent their institution will set when the campaign arrives, and the choice not to prepare is the choice to repeat Cambridge.

For racialised scholars, the implication is that the shadow is the point. The machinery does not need to run against every Black, Māori, Pacific, or Indigenous scholar to discipline all of them. It needs one Arday per jurisdiction, processed as a victory for free inquiry, and the chilling does the rest. That is why individualised responses, however courageous, cannot answer it: the target of the campaign is never only the person named in it.

For democracies, the implication is that the university is not a bystander institution that happens to be under attack. It is the specific institution the cycle in Figure 2 must remove first, because it is the referee that keeps the eugenic claim classified as pseudoscience, the venue where the claim's targets hold standing to answer, and the staffing base of every other institution the formation intends to capture. The defence of the university and the defence of democracy are one defence, and whoever separates them has already conceded the formation's framing.

For Aotearoa, the implication is that the window is now. Both wings of the formation are documented in this country, the complaint machinery is in force, and the first organised test of it will set the pattern [26] [34] [44]. Te Tiriti o Waitangi gives the university here an obligation, and therefore a ground of resistance, that the formation's substrate cannot metabolise: a founding covenant premised on relationship is the exact opposite of an order premised on hierarchy. That is an asset no other jurisdiction holds, and it should be organised as one.

15. ORGANISING THE DEFENCE: A PROGRAMME FOR ACADEMICS AND UNIONS

The analysis yields a programme, and the programme's premise comes directly from the evidence: the machinery documented in this paper is collective, funded, transnational, and patient, and it has never once been defeated by an individual scholar defending themselves alone. What follows are ten organising points for academic staff, their unions, and their associations, written for Te Hautū Kahurangi and its counterparts internationally [47].

First, name the formation before it arrives. Union branches and scholarly associations should adopt standing positions that name organised far right campaigns as an industrial hazard and a threat to academic freedom, so that when a campaign begins, the naming is already done and the first week is not lost to definitional argument. The formation wins the cases it is allowed to frame as debates.

Second, build the rapid-response protocol now. Every branch needs an agreed procedure that activates within 24 hours of a member being targeted: a designated support team, a single communication channel, legal triage, workload relief, and a public solidarity statement. The organising principle is absolute and should be stated in every collective agreement negotiation: no colleague faces a coordinated campaign alone. Arday faced the final fortnight of his campaign, on the record assembled here, without that infrastructure [1] [2].

Third, enforce the duty of care as an industrial matter. Health and safety law in Aotearoa and the United Kingdom places an enforceable duty on employers to protect workers from foreseeable harm, including psychosocial harm, and a coordinated media campaign against a staff member is a foreseeable workplace hazard by any legal test [46]. Unions should grieve failures of that duty, log them for litigation, and bargain explicit campaign-response obligations, communications support, security assessment, paid leave without prejudice, into collective agreements.

Fourth, demand complaint provenance transparency. Under statutory complaint machinery of the ETAA type, universities should be required, by bargaining and by policy submission, to record, aggregate, and disclose patterns of organised and serial complaints, so that the machinery's use as a campaign instrument becomes visible and reportable rather than laundered through case-by-case confidentiality [34].

Fifth, bargain the definition of academic freedom. The formation's central move is the inversion of academic freedom into a protection for pseudoscience and harassment. Collective agreements should carry a definition that ties academic freedom to the norms of inquiry, peer review, evidence, and the equal standing of colleagues, so that the invocation of the concept against those norms has a contractual answer, and unions rather than pressure groups hold the interpretive ground.

Sixth, refuse the referee trap. Scholarly associations and learned academies should publish standing, citable statements on the scientific status of hereditarian race claims, as the American Society of Human Genetics has done, so that no individual scholar, hiring committee, or disciplinary panel is ever manoeuvred into relitigating settled science under campaign conditions [18]. The science is adjudicated; the standing statement is how the adjudication travels.

Seventh, mirror the adversary's international infrastructure. The Free Speech Union operates as an international alliance; the response cannot be jurisdictional [44]. TEU, UCU, NTEU, and their counterparts should maintain a shared monitoring and alert capacity, exchanging documentation of touring campaigns, litigation vehicles, and funding streams, so that a formation arriving in Wellington is met with what was learned in Cambridge.

Eighth, build the material defence fund. The formation sponsors litigation; the defence must be resourced to match. Unions and associations should establish or expand legal defence funds specifically scoped for members targeted by organised campaigns, including proactive defamation and harassment counter-capacity, because the asymmetry of resources is itself a mechanism of the machinery [32].

Ninth, fund the mapping. The analysis in this paper is reproducible: networks, funding streams, and campaign sequences are documentable from public records, and documentation is protection. Unions should resource research partnerships that maintain the map, because every organising point above depends on knowing the formation's structure before it activates, and the far right's greatest asset to date has been that nobody was watching systematically.

Tenth, anchor the defence in community. The university's case cannot be argued as institutional self-preservation, because the formation will win that argument. It must be argued as the defence of the communities the eugenic claim targets, organised with Māori, Pacific, migrant, and disabled communities and their organisations, in the tradition of Te Tiriti-based alliance. The communities whose voices the culture-centered approach centres are the university's deepest constituency, and the formation's substrate makes the alliance natural: they are the people the claim has always been for hurting. The defence of the university is their defence, made together, or it is nothing.

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About CARE

The Center for Culture-Centered Approach to Research and Evaluation works with communities at the margins to build voice infrastructures, developing communication theory and practice anchored in the everyday struggles of the poorest and most disenfranchised. CARE is based at Massey University, Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa, in Palmerston North, Aotearoa New Zealand.