

Fascist Movements as Competitors for White Hearts and Minds



Magyar Gárda
(Hungarian Guard)

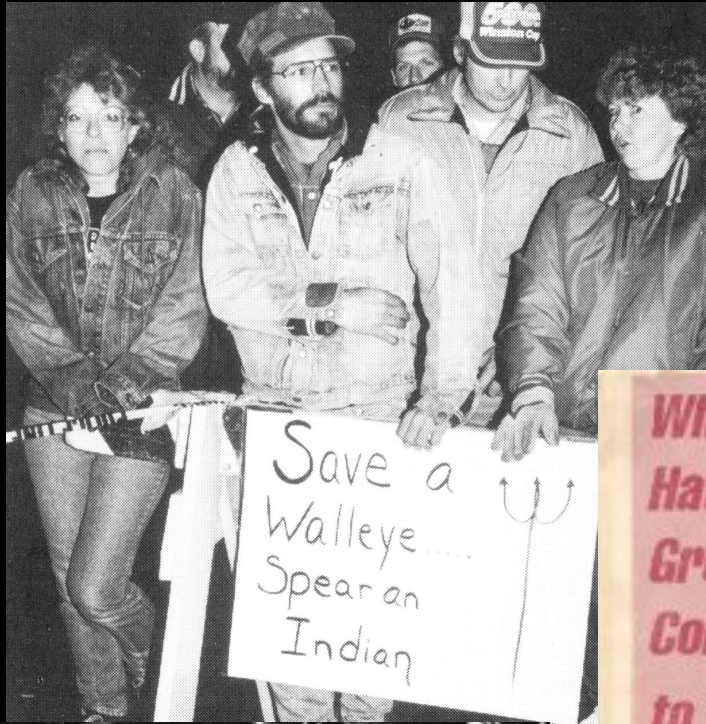


Anti-Mosque
protest in Arizona

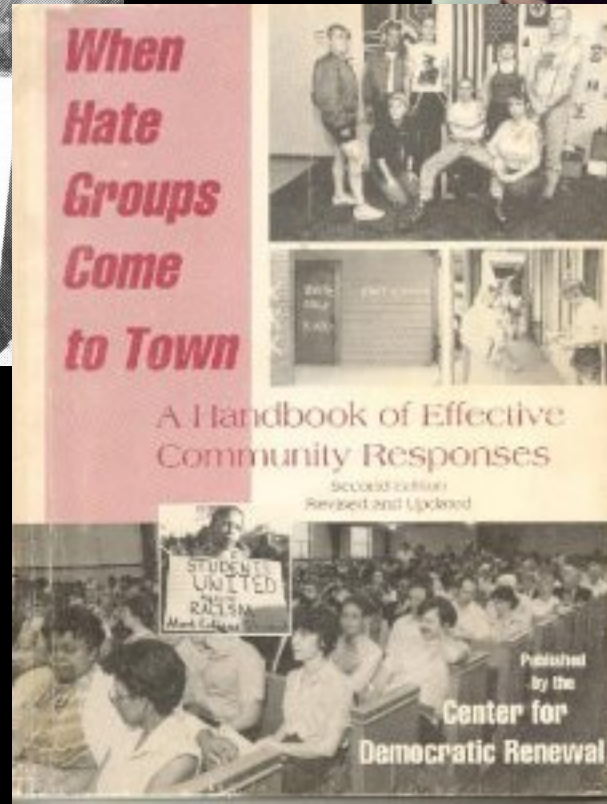
Dr. Zoltán Grossman
Member of the Faculty
(Geography/Native American Studies)
The Evergreen State College
Olympia, Washington

<http://academic.evergreen.edu/a/grossmaz>

Anti-Indian treaty groups, Wisconsin



Nazis/Klan in Marquette Park, Chicago



What fascists are not

Not upholding economic *status quo*

Not simply “meanies”/authoritarian conservatives

Not simply fundamentalist Christians

Not simply angry working-class “rednecks”



What fascists are

Right-wing revolutionaries against *status quo*
(largely *middle class* populist opponents of liberals/conservatives)

Extreme nationalism and/or racism

Law & Order = Absolute rule of core ethnic/racial group

See similar problems as Left, but not using a class analysis:
explain world through nation/race, conspiracy theories



Magyar
Gárda
(Hungarian
Guard)

Jobbik
party for
“radical
change”



Blood and Soil

Each race/ethnic nation has its place

- Need to stay in ancestral homeland (separatism)
- Racial mixing as violating nature (*Turner Diaries*)



Jews, Gypsies, Blacks historically depicted as “rootless.”

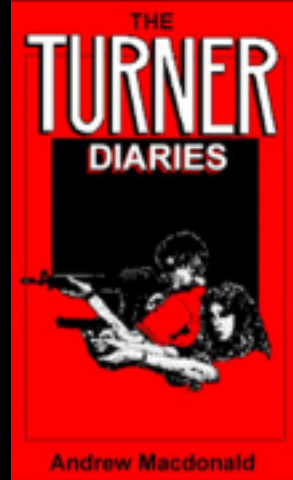
- Cosmopolitan or separated from land
- African Diaspora depicted as rootless

Jews (or others) direct “global conspiracy”

- Codes for “smart/crafty,” manipulating lesser others
- Yet some Islamophobic fascists admire Israel



Ataka (Bulgaria):
“I don’t want to live in
a Gypsy country,” 2011



Blueprint for US
revolution by
National Alliance
leader Wm. Pierce

Ethnic/Racial Consciousness over Class Consciousness

Fascists as economic populists; depicted as champions of majority ethnic group's working class (Mussolini ex-socialist, NSDAP)

Reality quite different: suppress strikes, advocate labor and capital as partners to build the nation (Fasces as symbol)

Corporate backing for Fascists/Nazis (Militarism as superprofitable: Expansion benefits both German farmer settlers (*lebensraum*) and rich industrialists.

Law & Order, War is good for business.



Fasces: Roman symbol of strength through unity



Hitler greets Krupp von Bohlen

Scapegoating as Social Control of Majority

Fascism flourishes in economic crisis:
Scapegoating so-called “minorities” as source
of problems, not majority elite.

Fascists need to identify enemies
both *below and above* the white majority.

Win over “Middle” by diverting animosity
toward poor, also by emphasizing threat
from above, to detract attention from ruling
institutions. (Donald Warren, *The Radical Center*)

Majority citizens portrayed as underdogs,
or victims of elite-underclass conspiracy
Hungary: Jews & EU above, Roma (Gypsies) below;
U.S.: Coastal elites above, “bad hombres” below



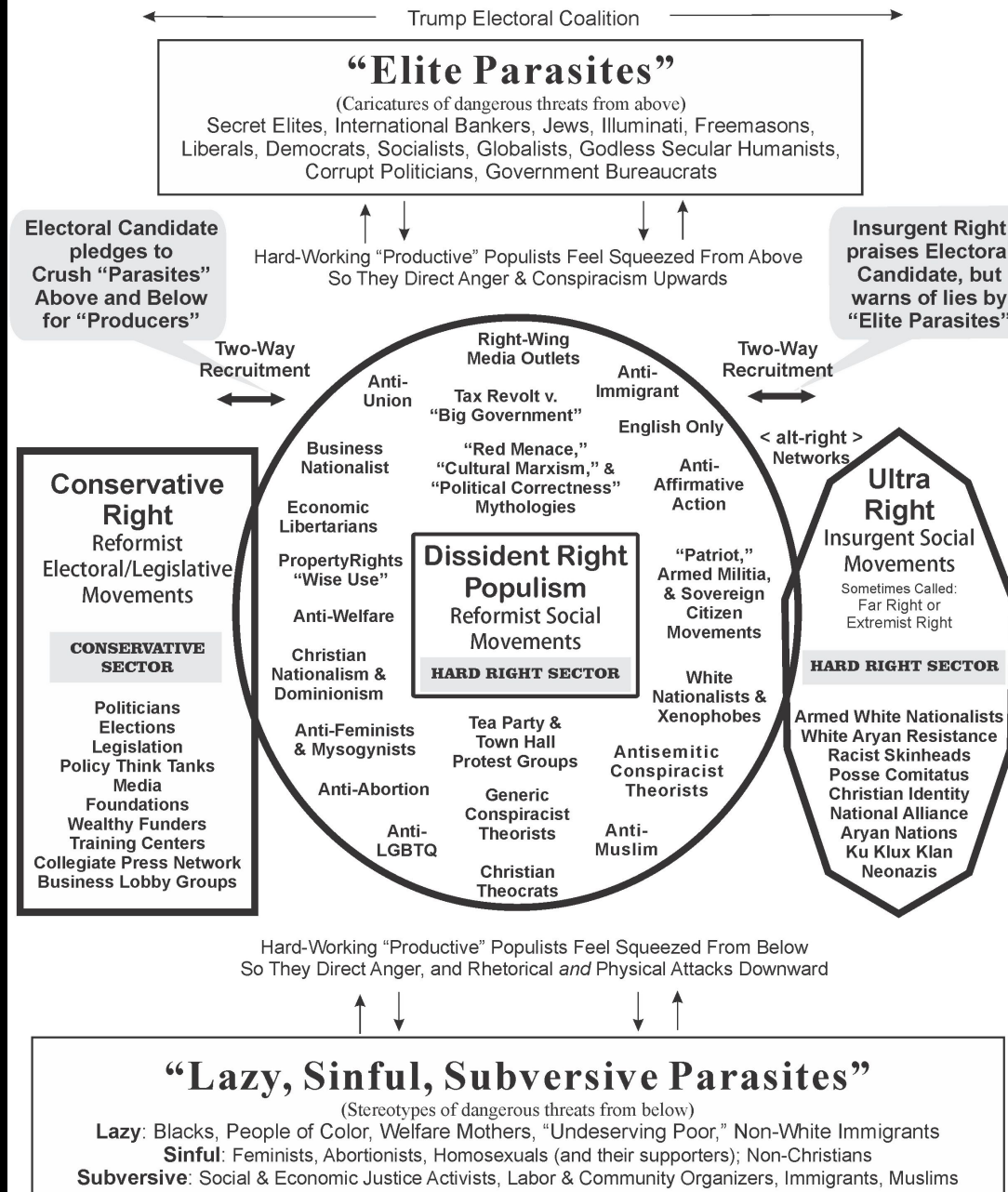
Jobbik/Magyar Gárda march through
Hungarian Roma community



Minutemen on Arizona border

Right-Wing Populism in the United States of America

How the “Producerist” Narrative Fuels Demonization & Scapegoating



Manipulating paganism, youth counterculture

Early Nazis used pre-Christian pagan warrior ethos
Later tried to secure loyalty of Christian churches

Celebrate rural homeland as symbol of organic purity;
City as degraded, cosmopolitan, distant from nature

Hiking societies, chorale groups, youth health groups
Hitler was a vegetarian and loved dogs

German Left held rallies and speeches, failed to articulate vision



Wandervogel
(Wandering Birds)
proto-hippies later
joined Hitler Youth,
SA Brownshirts

U.S. Fascist Sympathizers, 1920s-30s

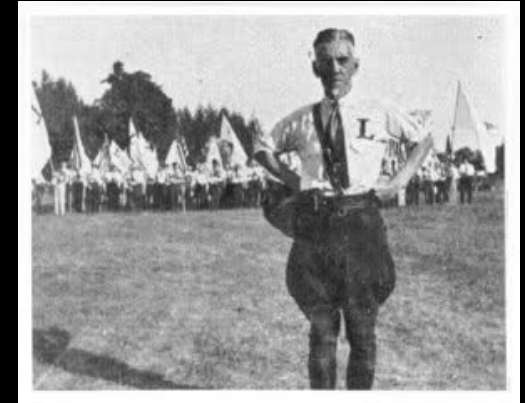
Many Western conservatives saw communism as the main enemy (e.g., in Spain)



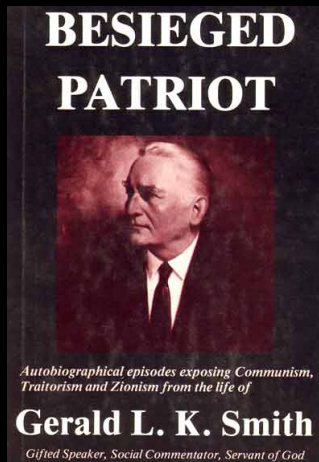
Father Charles Coughlin
addresses rally, radio



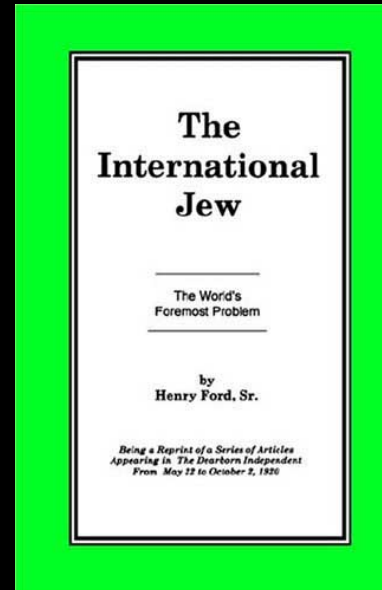
Charles Lindbergh
with Hermann Göring



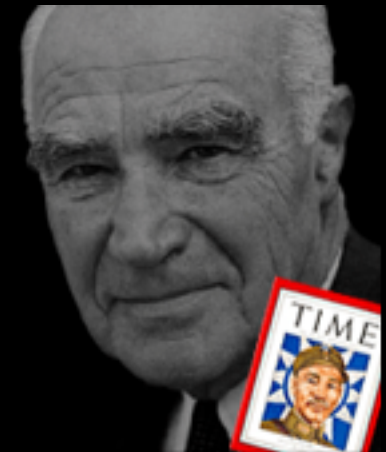
William D. Pelley of
Silver Shirts



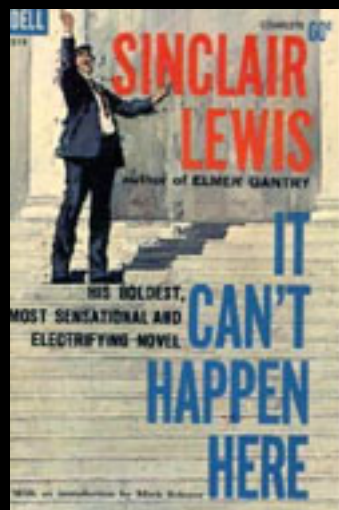
Louisiana Gov. Huey Long's
deputy Gerald L.K. Smith



Henry Ford's *The International Jew*:
The World's Foremost Problem



Henry Luce,
Time publisher



Novel warns of
American
homegrown
fascism, 1935

	SOUTH	NORTH	U.S. HISTORY	EUROPE
1860			Civil War	
1870			Reconstruction	
	First Klan (N. B. Forrest ex-Confederates)		Strikes	
1880			Anti-Asian Agitation	Southern/ Eastern European emigration
1890			Industrialism	
1900			S./E. European Immigration	
1910			Anti-Catholic agitation	Growth of socialism
1920		Second Klan (anti- immigrant)	African-American migration north	World War I
1930			Depression	Soviet revolutions
	Huey Long LA. (G.L.K. Smith)	Fascists (Bund, Luce, Ford, Lindbergh, Fr. Coughlin)	Populism	Growth of fascism
1940			Entry into WWII; African-American migration north	World War II
1950			McCarthyism; Korea	Retention of many ex-fascists
1960	Third Klan (Segregationist)	Nazi groups (Rockwell)	Civil rights	Cold war
1970		Posse Comitatus, Aryan Nations	Vietnam War	Student rebellion
	David Duke LA.		Women's movement	African/Asian immigration
			LGBT movement	
1980		Fourth Klan (Greensboro)	Latin/Asian immigration	Anti-immigrant Fascist parties in W. Europe
1990		Populist Party; Pat Buchanan	Waco, Ruby Ridge	
		Militia movement (Oklahoma City)	Globalization (WTO, NAFTA, Internet, etc)	Soviet collapse (Fascist groups in E. Europe and ex-USSR)
2000			9/11, Iraq War	



German-
American Bund

WHITE SUPREMACIST IDEOLOGY

(from neo-fascist point of view)

GOOD

Common people

Closeness to the soil / land

Blood / nation / tribe

Cultural heritage

Soul/spirit

Discipline/awareness

Take care of domestic

Women fulfill motherhood

Hard work/pioneers

Local (county) control

People of color controlled by
whites or exterminated

Togetherness/harmony (fascies)

Cultural distinctiveness

Natural competition

Ancient rituals /
original Christians

The strongest survive

BAD

Bankers/financiers

"Rootless" peoples
(Jews, Gypsies, African Americans)

Political systems

Consumerism/decadence

Sensuality/materialism

Sloth, drugs, promiscuity

Intervention abroad

Women's liberation

Poor moochers/stealing bankers

Federal control/conspiracy

People of color passive pawns
of federal or Jewish forces

Class conflict (union vs. mgt.)

Cultural mixing/loss of place

Artificial cooperation/altruism

Organized churches

The weak lose everything



Militia followers
bomb Oklahoma
City, 1995



White Power
band leader
massacres Wl
Sikhs, 2012

Exploiting anti-elite/anti-government sentiment

Fascists can oppose:

Corporate globalization,
Outsourcing of jobs overseas,
Environmental pollution,
Demise of family farms,
Consumerist culture,
Iraq, Afghan, Syrian wars,
CIA drug running,
Foreign arms sales,
Free trade (EU, NAFTA, WTO),
but for opposite reasons than the left.

They exploit and manipulate legitimate issues for their own nefarious ends. In competition with the left for followers. (Define what you're for, not just what you're against.)



LaRouche cult against VP Cheney



Public face of French National Front

Modern Fascism

Jean-Marie & Marine Le Pen (France), elections 2002, 2017

Jörg Haider (Austria), party in government, 2000-04

Geert Wilders (Netherlands) anti-Muslim immigrant party, 2010s

Gábor Vona (Hungary), Jobbik party won 20% of vote, 2014

Nikolaos Michaloliakos (Greece), Golden Dawn 3rd largest party

David Duke, Posse Comitatus, LaRouche, Militias, etc. (U.S.)



Klan/Nazi David Duke won majority of white vote in losing Louisiana governors' race, 1991



Charleston terrorist
Dylann Roof, 2015



Kansas militia plot to massacre Somali immigrants, 2016



Bundy Militia Standoffs, Nevada 2014 & Oregon 2016

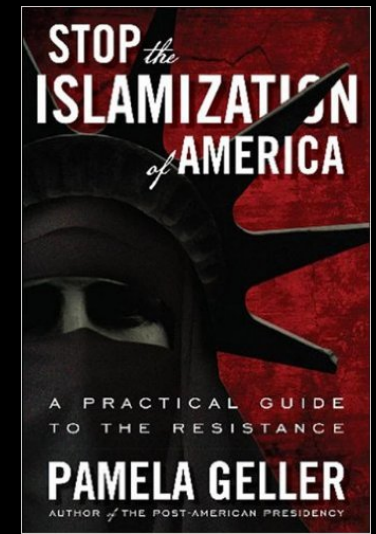
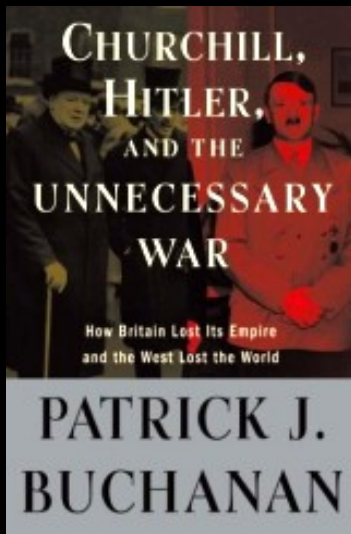


Conservative-Fascist Nexus

Fascists popularize racist policies (*e.g.*, anti-immigrant) that are then taken up by conservative politicians to win votes.

Certain movements contain both fascist and traditional conservative elements: Anti-immigrant, Anti-Muslim, Tea Party, Open Carry, etc.

Certain “mainstream” figures bridge conservative-fascist gap:
Pat Buchanan, Michelle Bachmann, Pamela Geller, Donald Trump



Alternative Right (AltRight)

Identitarians (pan-European nationalists inspired by French New Right)

“White Nationalist” opposition to Muslim refugees, Black Lives Matter, “Globalism,” “moral degeneracy,” “White Genocide”

"The success of the Trump campaign just proves that our views resonate with millions. They may not be ready for the Ku Klux Klan yet, but as anti-white hatred escalates, they will."

--Rachel Pendergraft,
Knights Party national
organizer



National Policy Institute

Richard Spencer, National Policy Institute / *Radix Journal*—
major Trump backer, making racism look hip/cool

"Race is real, race matters, and race is the foundation of identity."

"Immigration is a kind of proxy war—and maybe a last stand—for White Americans, who are undergoing a painful recognition that, unless dramatic action is taken, their grandchildren will live in a country that is alien and hostile."



"Martin Luther King Jr., a fraud and degenerate in his life, has become the symbol and cynosure of White

Dispossession and the deconstruction of Occidental civilization. We must overcome!"

Pat Buchanan (left) with Richard Spencer (right)

Traditionalist Workers Party

Matthew Heimbach, Traditionalist Youth Network

“Our mission is defending Faith, Family, and Folk against the politicians and oligarchs who are running America into the ground. We intend to ...lead Americans toward ...future free from economic exploitation, federal tyranny, and anti-Christian degeneracy.”

White Student Union / “Safe Space for Whites” on campus

Instigated violence against African Americans at Trump rallies.



“No longer will the homosexual, Muslim, and black supremacist groups be allowed to hijack our campus. ... Youth for Western Civilization is preparing to take our campus back, all we need is the help of people like you to make it happen.”

“Those who promote miscegenation, usury, or any other forms of racial suicide should be sent to re-education centers, not tolerated.”

Symbolic (and not so symbolic) Memes



Identity Europa

Nathan Damigo, Identity Europa
National Youth Front of American Freedom Party

‘Dysgenic trends, massive immigration from third world nations of people incapable of integration or maintaining our civilization, combined with overpopulation and the subsequent destruction of the biosphere, cannot be addressed within the current parameters the Constitution imposes on the executive branch.’



USA CRIME STATISTICS ~ 2015



BLACKS KILLED BY WHITES ~~ 2%
BLACKS KILLED BY POLICE ~~ 1%
WHITES KILLED BY POLICE ~~ 3%
WHITES KILLED BY WHITES ~~ 16%
WHITES KILLED BY BLACKS ~~ 81%
BLACKS KILLED BY BLACKS ~~ 97%

SOURCE: Crime Statistics Bureau - San Francisco



Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump

Follow

"@SeanSean252: @WayneDupreeShow @Rockprincess818
@CheriJacobus pic.twitter.com/5GUwhhtvyN"

3:05 PM - 22 Nov 2015

↩️ ↻️ 4,132 ❤️ 5,384



Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump



Following

Crooked Hillary - - Makes History!



RETWEETS 1,859
LIKES 3,314



9:37 AM - 2 Jul 2016

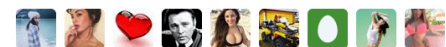


Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump

Follow

"@WhiteGenocideTM: @realDonaldTrump Poor Jeb. I could've sworn I saw him outside Trump Tower the other day! pic.twitter.com/e5uLRubqla"

RETWEETS 4,322
LIKES 9,082



7:51 AM - 22 Jan 2016

SEATTLE NEEDS A GOOD CLEANSING
NO DEGENERACY, NO TOLERANCE



THE ATOMWAFFEN
DIVISION



JOIN YOUR LOCAL NAZIS!

FIND US AT IRONMARCH.ORG

UNIVERSITY of
WASHINGTON

YOU HAVE BEEN VISITED BY



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Breitbart News

New haven of AltRight white nationalists

Breitbart News director Stephen Bannon
named Trump campaign CEO,
Administration's chief strategist

#WhiteGenocide: 65% follow Trump

#BanIslam: 85% follow Trump



“A former Breitbart staffer said Bannon used to rage against [Paul] Ryan all the time. Bannon views Ryan as a leader of an elite globalist cabal determined to sell out America by opening its borders on immigration and trade. ‘Bannon has Alex Jones-level paranoia about Paul Ryan,’ the source said, referring to the right-wing radio host and conspiracy theorist who runs the pro-Trump website Infowars. ‘He goes on these amazing rants,’ the source added of Bannon. ‘He thinks Paul Ryan is part of a conspiracy with George Soros and Paul Singer, in which elitists want to bring one-world government.’”



The Election

Most effective way to fight right-populism is with left-populism, not by identifying with established institutions.

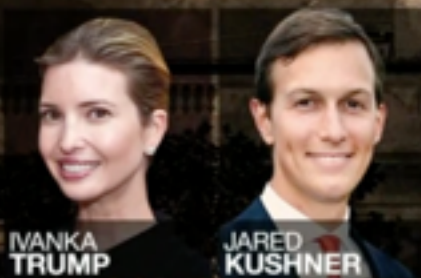
Hillary Clinton provided the perfect elitist target for a resurgent right-populist, fascist movement.

As Bernie would've done, take away their legitimate populist and antiwar appeals and leave them bare—with nothing but their racism & misogyny.

TEAM TRUMP

TEAM BANNON

TEAM PRIEBUS



LEFT WHITE HOUSE



8:49 PM PT

CNN TONIGHT

News » National

EXCLUSIVE: Controversial Trump Aide Sebastian Gorka Backed Violent Anti-Semitic Militia

By Lili Bayer

April 3, 2017 | BUDAPEST | Getty Images



A

s a Hungarian political leader in 2007, Sebastian Gorka, President Trump's chief counter-terrorism adviser, publicly supported a violent racist and anti-Semitic paramilitary militia that was later banned as a threat to minorities by multiple court rulings.



Email



Facebook



Google+

Milo Yiannopoulos



"I do not agree with ethnic cleansing, but I will defend to the death your right to recruit and organize it."




Milo Yiannopoulos 
@Nero

 Follow

There is no such thing as rape culture in the west. Get a hold of yourself.



Milo Yiannopoulos 
@Nero



 Follow

Ghostbusters is doing so badly they've deployed [@Lesdoggg](#) to play the victim on Twitter. Very sad!

RETWEETS

434

LIKES

1,388



Milo Yiannopoulos 
about an hour ago

They canceled my book.

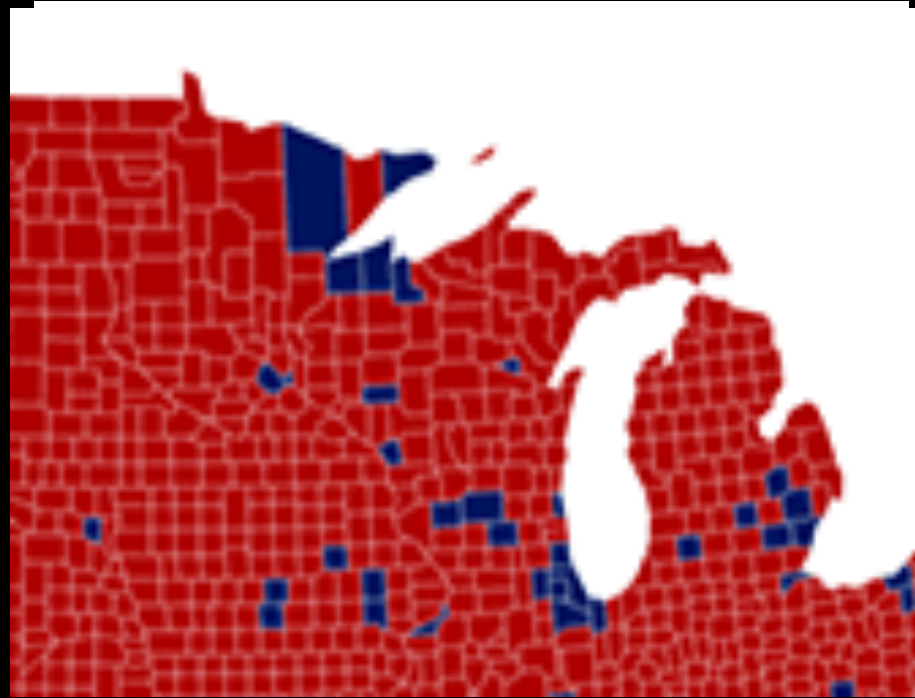
“Two Americas”



TRUMP

CLINTON

2008





High School Counterrecruitment

WHITE SUPREMACISTS TARGET HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN RENEWED RECRUITMENT DRIVE

BY JASON LE MIERE ON 3/21/17 AT 11:09 AM

In addition to the more than 100 incidents at college campuses across the United States, white supremacists have targeted at least four high schools in recruitment drives so far in 2017, according to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). The report is the latest to raise concern about a surge in incidents of hate, which have included multiple waves of bomb threats targeting Jewish Community Centers as well as threats and arson attacks against mosques.

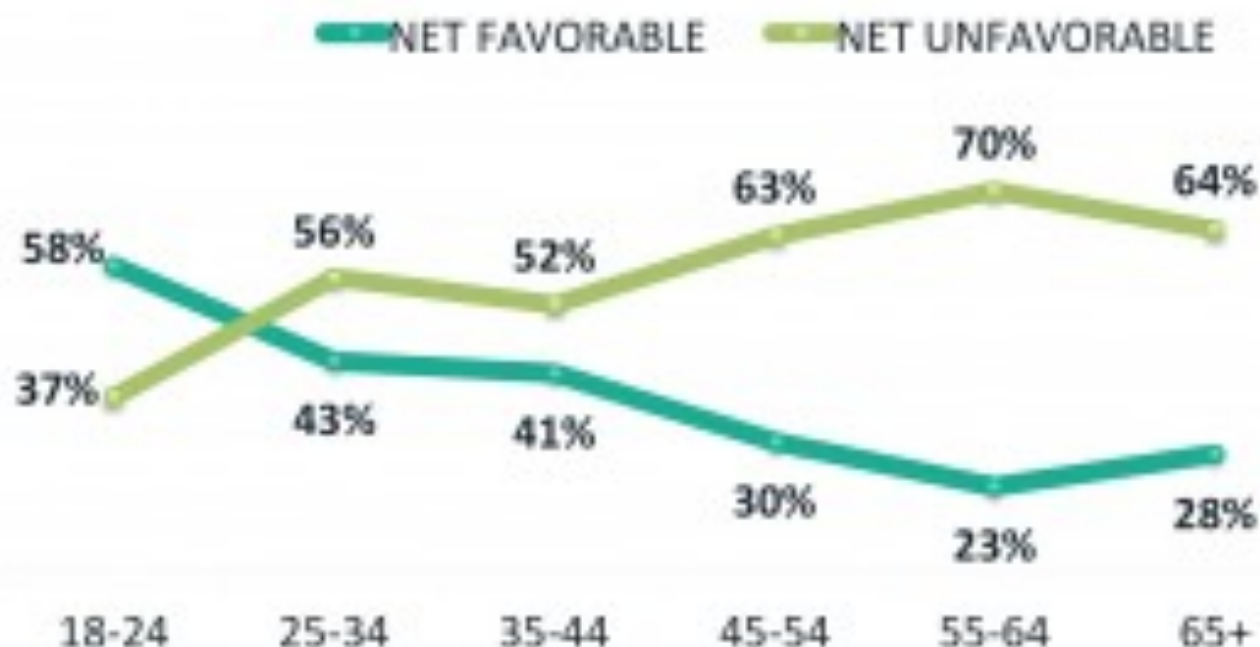
Two of the incidents of white supremacist fliers being handed out at high schools occurred in California. At Pioneer High School in San Jose last month, over a dozen fliers from multiple white supremacist groups were reportedly posted around the campus.



College-Aged Millennials Only Group Favorable to Socialism

Would you say your opinion of Socialism is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

% Favorable or Unfavorable Toward Socialism



Source: REASON-RUPE AUG 2014

ZOLTÁN GROSSMAN

FOREWORD BY WINONA LADUKE

UNLIKELY ALLIANCES

NATIVE NATIONS AND
WHITE COMMUNITIES JOIN TO
DEFEND RURAL LANDS



Alliances of Solidarity

White farmers, ranchers, fishers
joining with Native nations to
defend rural lands & waters

- Cowboy Indian Alliance vs. KXL
- PNW fishers vs, oil, coal, dams
- Anti-mining alliances in MT, SD, WI

Draw rural whites away from populist
right, toward fighting corporate power
in partnership with the tribes.

University of Washington Press, May 2017

EXAMPLES OF NATIVE/NON-NATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL ALLIANCES

WASHINGTON/OREGON

Tribes, commercial & sport fishers vs. dams, logging, oil & coal terminals

MONTANA

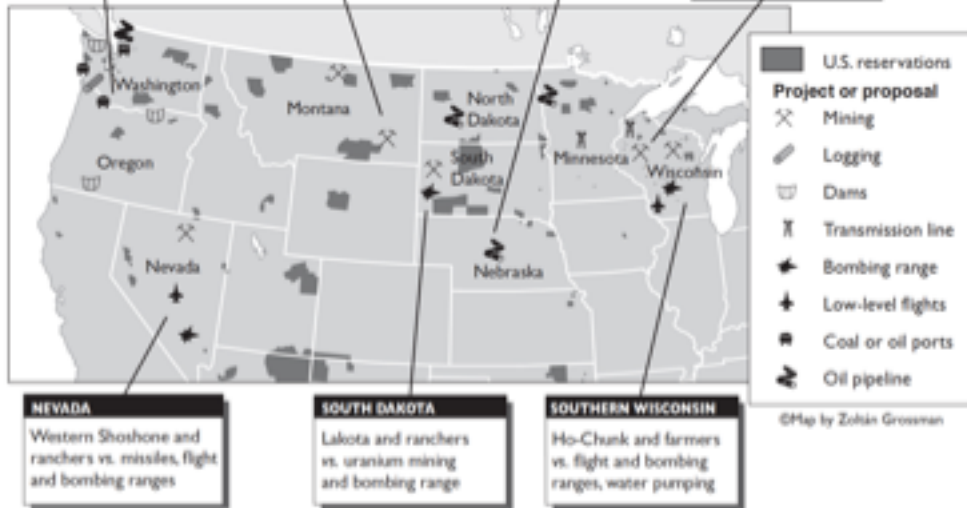
Northern Cheyenne, ranchers vs. coal; Tribes, farmers vs. gold

NEBRASKA/S. DAKOTA

Tribes & ranchers vs. Keystone XL oil pipeline

NORTHERN WISCONSIN

Ojibwe, Menominee, and sport fishers vs. metallic mining



NEVADA

Western Shoshone and ranchers vs. missiles, flight and bombing ranges

SOUTH DAKOTA

Lakota and ranchers vs. uranium mining and bombing range

SOUTHERN WISCONSIN

Ho-Chunk and farmers vs. flight and bombing ranges, water pumping



Cowboy Indian Alliance



“We come from two cultures that clashed over land, so this is a healing for the generations.” —Faith Spotted Eagle (Ihanktonwan Nakota)

Faith Spotted Eagle



“The model of capitalism is trying to suffocate us, because with capitalism you need an underclass. Capitalism cannot survive without poor farmers, without poor Indians, without poor people in the cities who are selling their souls.” (2014)

“We stood united in this struggle, Democrat, Republican, Native, Cowboy, Rancher, landowners, urban warriors, grandmas and grandpas, children, and through this fight against KXL we have come to see each other in a new better, stronger way.” (2015)

How Faith Spotted Eagle became the first Native American to win an electoral vote for president



**"A Time for Gathering":
The 2nd Annual
INDIGENOUS CLIMATE
JUSTICE SYMPOSIUM
MAY 4-5, 2017**

**Longhouse Education and Cultural Center,
The Evergreen State College, Olympia WA**

THURSDAY, MAY 4

10:00-12:30 Opening/Student Presentations
1:30-3:00 Northwest Fossil Fuels Resistance
3:00-4:30 Legacies of Standing Rock
7:00-9:30pm **Faith Spotted Eagle**
(Ihanktonwan Dakota/Nakota), a key leader in the fights
to stop the Keystone XL & Dakota Access Pipelines,
and recipient of one electoral vote for President.



Faith Spotted Eagle

FRIDAY, MAY 5

10:00-12:30 Tribal Climate Change Resilience
1:30-4:30 Workshops on resilience, allyship,
education, global perspectives.
7:00-9:30pm **Rueben George**
(Tsilil-Waututh First Nation), a key leader in
the fight to stop the KinderMorgan Pipeline in B.C.,
with his son Cedar George-Parker.



**Rueben
George**

SUNDAY, MAY 7

Indigenous Youth Day at
Nisqually Youth Center.
Tribal youth interested in
fossil fuel & climate justice
invited. See website for details.

Climate Change & Pacific Rim Indigenous Nations Project
<https://sites.evergreen.edu/indigenousclimate>

Thanks to Nisqually Charitable Fund, Nisqually Environmental Team, Evergreen's Clean Energy Committee,
President's Equity Fund, Native Programs, and Native Student Alliance, and South Puget Sound Community College

Other rural alliances



LOVE
~~HATE~~

A COMMUNITY GATHERING
AGAINST RACISM AND OPPRESSION

JANUARY 7, 2017
10:30am-12:30pm
DEPOT PARK, WHITEFISH



RESOURCES



Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights

<http://www.irehr.org/> Thanks to Chuck Tanner for resources

Searchlight (UK) on European fascism

<http://www.searchlightmagazine.com>



Center for New Community

<http://www.buildinodemocracy.org>



Turn it Down: Campaign Against White Power Music

<http://turnitdown.newcomm.org>

Political Research Associates

<http://www.publiceye.org>

Hatewatch

<http://www.spicenter.org/intel/hatewatch>



Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ)

<http://www.showingupforracialjustice.org/>

