

Fascist Movements as Competitors for White Hearts and Minds



Magyar Gárda
(Hungarian Guard)



Anti-Mosque
protest in Arizona

Dr. Zoltán Grossman

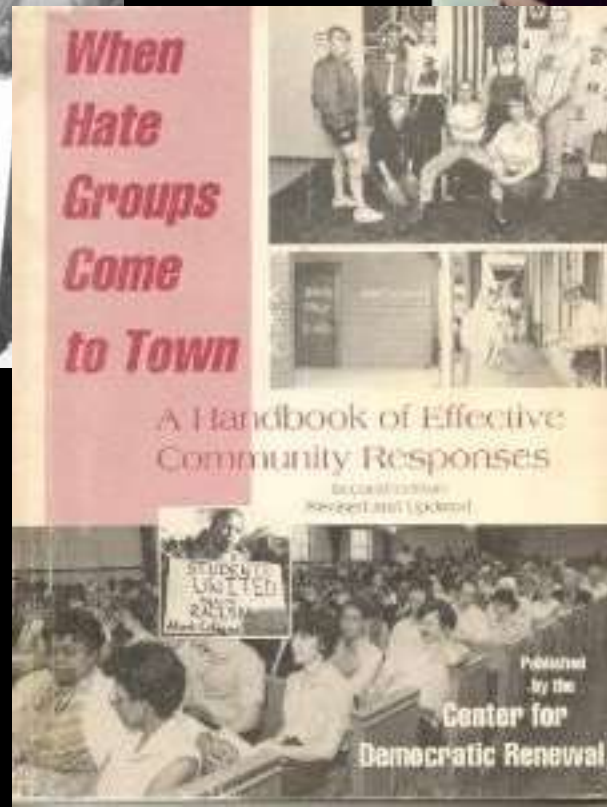
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<http://academic.evergreen.edu/g/grossmaz>

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.”

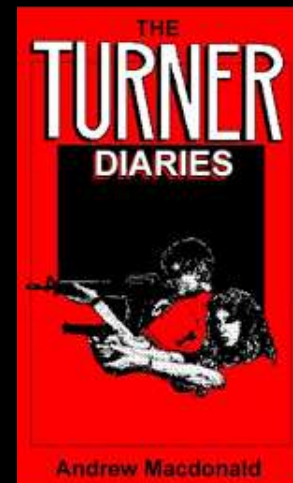
- Cosmopolitan or separated from land
- African Diaspora depicted as rootless

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



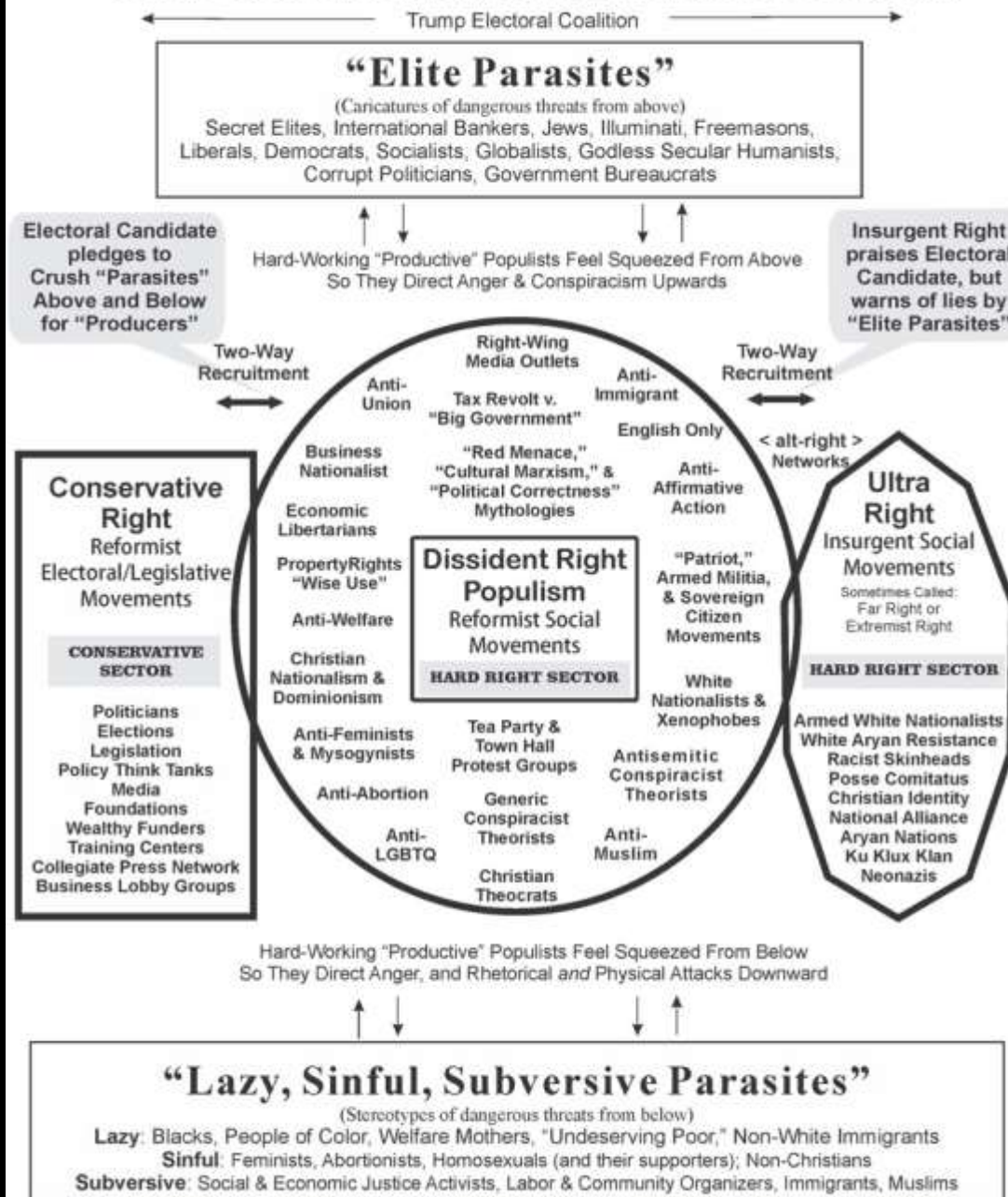
Jobbik/Magyar Gárda march through
Hungarian Roma community



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)



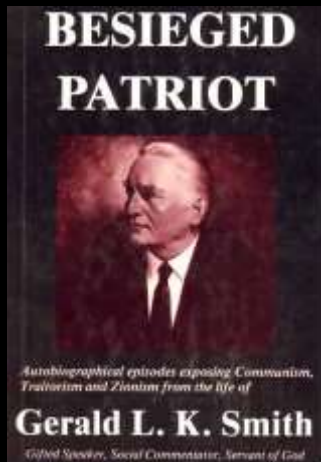
Father Charles Coughlin
addresses rally, radio



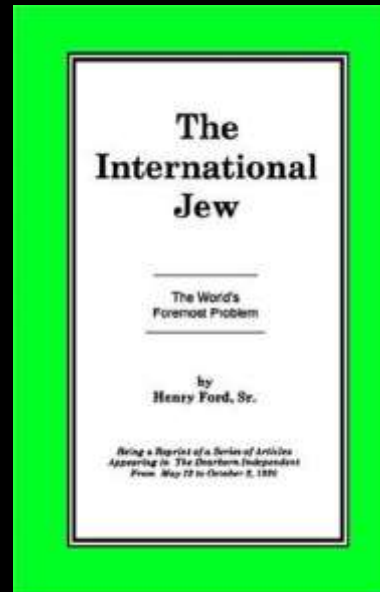
Charles Lindbergh
with Hermann Göring



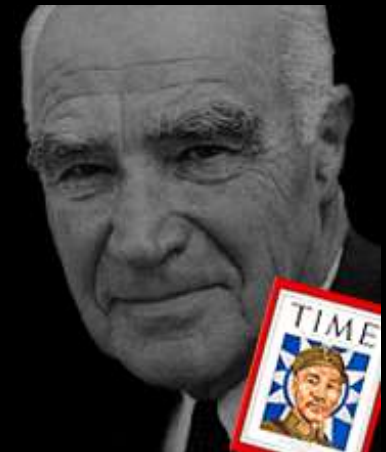
William D. Pelley of
Silver Shirts



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	First Klan (N. B. Forrest ex-Confederates)		Reconstruction	
1880			Strikes	
1890			Anti-Asian Agitation	Southern/ Eastern European emigration
1900			Industrialism	
1910			S./E. European Immigration	Growth of socialism
1920		Second Klan (anti-immigrant)	Anti-Catholic agitation	
1930	Huey Long L.A. (G.L.K. Smith)	Fascists (Bund, Luce, Ford, Lindbergh, Fr. Coughlin)	African-American migration north	World War I
1940			Depression	Soviet revolutions
1950			Populism	Growth of fascism
1960	Third Klan (Segregationist)	Nazi groups (Rockwell)	Entry into WWII; African-American migration north	World War II
1970		Posse Comitatus, Aryan Nations	McCarthyism; Korea	Retention of many ex-fascists
1980	David Duke L.A.		Civil rights	Cold war
1990			Vietnam War	Student rebellion
2000			Women's movement	African/Asian immigration
			LGBT movement	
	Fourth Klan (Greensboro)		Latin/Asian immigration	Anti-immigrant Fascist parties in W. Europe
	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)
			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



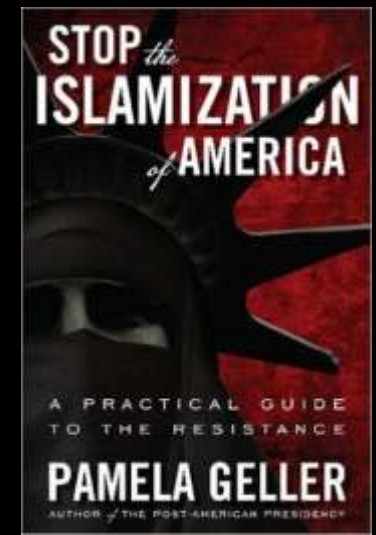
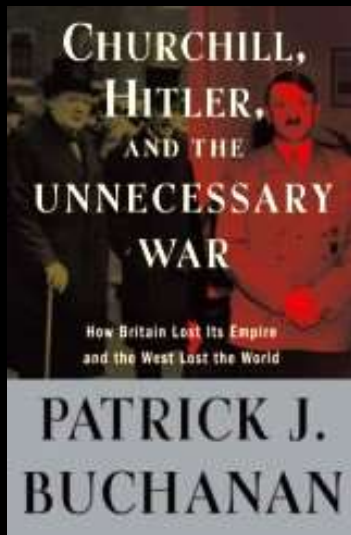
Conservative-Fascist Nexus

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, Glenn Beck,
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/5GUwhhtvN"

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



CNN

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.

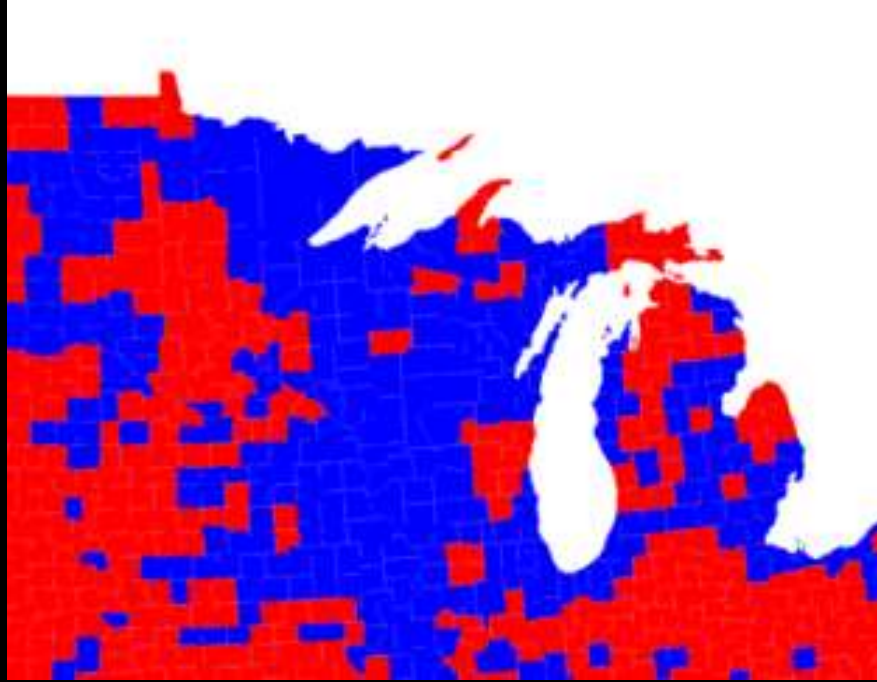
“Two Americas”



TRUMP



CLINTON



2008

Wisconsin and Iowa were both states with many rural counties that voted twice for Obama, but went this time for Trump. Rural Wisconsin Democrats begged their party leaders in Madison for yard signs, but were told the funds had to be put into TV ads. The urban-based Party's arrogant and elitist decisions created a "sea" of Republican yard signs, that swayed undecided voters with an illusion of their neighbors' consensus, in counties that actually voted only narrowly for Trump.



2016



But it is in small- and medium-sized cities where the battle for the heart and soul of America is taking place—in cities such as LaCrosse, Wis., Flint, Mich., or Akron, OH. There is room for the movement to grow in these “in-between” places, for people to begin to express their views and find limited safety in numbers. But there’s not enough support for groups doing the slow, unglamorous work of education and organizing in these smaller cities, where every small rally or leaflet actually counts.

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.

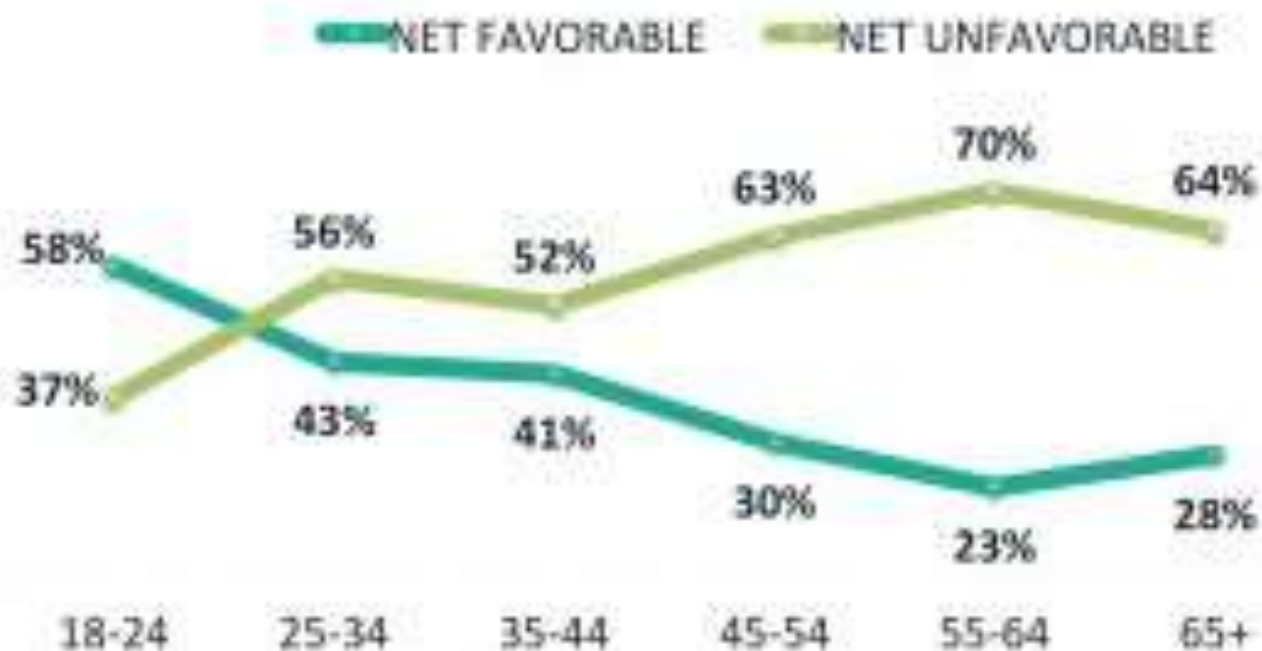
Two of the incidents of white supremacist fliers being handed out at high schools occurred in California. At Pioneer High School in San Jose last month, over a dozen fliers from multiple white supremacist groups were reportedly posted around the campus.



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

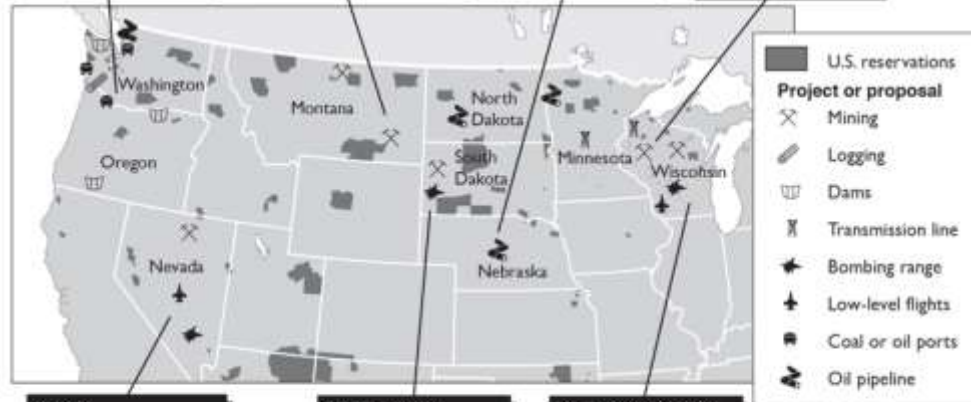
Northern Cheyenne, ranchers vs. coal; Tribes, farmers vs. gold

NEBRASKA/S. DAKOTA

Tribes & ranchers vs. Keystone XL oil pipeline

NORTHERN WISCONSIN

Ojibwe, Menominee, and sport fishers vs. metallic mining



©Map by Zoltan Grossman



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



Other rural alliances



North Carolina



Oregon



Montana



RESOURCES

Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights

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

Thanks to Chuck Tanner for resources



Political Research Associates

www.politicalresearch.org

Southern Poverty Law Center

www.splcenter.org



Searchlight UK

www.searchlightmagazine.com

Showing Up for Racial Justice

www.showingupforracialjustice.org

