Fascist Movements as Competitors for White Hearts and Minds

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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”
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

Blut und Boden

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.
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
Right-Wing Populism in the United States of America
How the "Producerist" Narrative Fuels Demonization & Scapegoating

"Elite Parasites"
(Caricatures of dangerous threats from above)

Electoral Candidate pledges to Crush "Parasites" Above and Below for "Producers"

Hard-Working "Productive" Populists Feel Squeezed From Above So They Direct Anger & Conspiracism Upwards

Two-Way Recruitment

Anti-Immigrant
Anti-Affirmative Action
All-Right Networks

Ultra Right
Insurgent Social Movements
Sometimes Called: Far Right or Extremist Right

Hard Right
Dissident Right Populism
Reformist Social Movements
HARD RIGHT SECTOR

Dissident Right Populism
Reformist Social Movements
Conservative Right
Reformist Electoral/Legislative Movements

Conservative Sector

Property/Right "Wise Use"
Anti-Union
Anti-Welfare
Christian Nationalism & Dominionism

Business Nationalists
Economic Libertarians

Hard-Working "Productive" Populists Feel Squeezed From Below So They Direct Anger, and Rhetorical and Physical Attacks Downward

"Lazy, Sinful, Subversive Parasites"
(Stereotypes of dangerous threats from below)
Lazy: Blacks, People of Color, Welfare Mothers, "Undeserving Poor," Non-White Immigrants
Sinful: Feminists, Abortionists, Homosexuals (and their supporters); Non-Christians
Subversive: Social & Economic Justice Activists, Labor & Community Organizers, Immigrants, Muslims

Copyright 1999 - 2019 by Chip Berlet & Matthew N. Lyons. Adapted from their book, Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort. Updates and additional material online at www.rightwingpopulism.us
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
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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>SOUTH</th>
<th>NORTH</th>
<th>U.S. HISTORY</th>
<th>EUROPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Civil War</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>First Klan (N. B. Forrest ex-Confederates)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reconstruction</td>
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<td>1880</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strikes</td>
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<td>1890</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anti-Asian Agitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
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<td>Industrialism</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S/E. European Immigration</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Second Klan (anti-immigrant)</td>
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<td>Anti-Catholic agitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>African-American migration north</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Depression</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Populism</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Third Klan (Segregationist)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Entry into WWII; African-American migration north</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>McCarthyism; Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Civil rights</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vietnam War</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Women's movement</td>
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<td>Posse Comitatus, Aryan Nations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>LGBT movement</td>
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<td>David Duke L.A.</td>
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<td>Latin/Asian immigration</td>
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<td>Anti-immigrant Fascist parties in W. Europe</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Populist Party; Pat Buchanan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Waco, Ruby Ridge</td>
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<td>Globalization (WTO, (NAFTA, Internet, etc)</td>
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<td>9/11, Iraq War</td>
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Novel warns of American homegrown fascism, 1935

German-American Bund
## WHITE SUPREMacist IDEOLOGY
(from neo-fascist point of view)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOOD</th>
<th>BAD</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common people</td>
<td>Bankers/financiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness to the soil / land</td>
<td>“Rootless” peoples (Jews, Gypsies, African Americans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood / nation / tribe</td>
<td>Political systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural heritage</td>
<td>Consumerism/decadence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soul/spirit</td>
<td>Sensuality/materialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline/awareness</td>
<td>Sloth, drugs, promiscuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take care of domestic</td>
<td>Intervention abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women fulfill motherhood</td>
<td>Women’s liberation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard work/pioneers</td>
<td>Poor moochers/stealing bankers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local (county) control</td>
<td>Federal control/conspiracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of color controlled by whites or exterminated</td>
<td>People of color passive pawns of federal or Jewish forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togetherness/harmony (fasces)</td>
<td>Class conflict (union vs. mgt.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural distinctiveness</td>
<td>Cultural mixing/loss of place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural competition</td>
<td>Artificial cooperation/altruism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient rituals / original Christians</td>
<td>Organized churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The strongest survive</td>
<td>The weak lose everything</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Militia followers bomb Oklahoma City, 1995

White Power band leader massacres WI 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.)
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
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
Identitarians (pan-European nationalists inspired by French New Right)


"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
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.”
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

@realDonaldTrump
@realDonaldTrump
3:05 PM - 22 Nov 2015
4,132 Retweets 5,384 Likes

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

@realDonaldTrump
@realDonaldTrump
7:51 AM - 22 Jan 2016
4,322 Retweets 9,082 Likes

"@WhiteGenocideTM: @realDonaldTrump Poor Jeb. I could've sworn I saw him outside Trump Tower the other day! pic.twitter.com/e5uLRubqla"
SEATTLE NEEDS A GOOD CLEANSING
NO DEGENFRACY, NO TOLERANCE

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FIND US AT IRONMARCH.ORG

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YOU HAVE BEEN VISITED BY

THE ATOMWAFFEN DIVISION
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FIND US AT IRONMARCH.ORG
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.’”
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.**

**The Election**

*Most effective way to fight right-populism is with left-populism, not by identifying with established institutions.*
EXCLUSIVE: Controversial Trump Aide Sebastian Gorka Backed Violent Anti-Semitic Militia

By Lili Bayer
April 3, 2017 | BUDAPEST Getty Images

As 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.
Milo Yiannopoulos

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

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

They canceled my book.
“Two Americas”
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.
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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Net Favorable</th>
<th>Net Unfavorable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>37%</td>
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<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>41%</td>
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<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>28%</td>
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Source: REASON-RUPE AUG 2014
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.
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 oil pipeline

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

- U.S. reservations
- Project or proposal
  - Mining
  - Logging
  - Dams
  - Transmission line
  - Bombing range
  - Low-level flights
  - Coal or oil ports
  - Oil pipeline

Map by Zobin 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)
“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)
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