Globalization, Theocracy & the New Fascism

Taking the Right-Wing Christian Rise to Power Seriously

Over one million Christian men ‘Promise Keepers’ March in DC
Some Conclusions Upfront: Why the Right is Growing

- Impact of Globalization: Economic contraction and restructuring, and fundamentalist reaction to changed identity in the pluralist ‘Global Village.’

- Race resentment and bigotry over challenges to white privilege.

- Backlash to antiwar protests and social stress from rapid cultural change.

- Old Wealth sees systemic threat: Creates well-funded infrastructure of new right-wing organizations and media.

- Religious backlash and resurgence focused on challenged patriarchal, gender and reproductive issues.
Division & Shifts in the Ruling Class over 40 years: From Corporate Liberalism to the New Conservative Right

- **Liberal hegemony in 1960**: Democrats are the majority party, the GOP is the minority, and the new conservative right is a minority within a minority.

- **Today the GOP is the majority party**: with the conservative right in control. Democrats are a minority, with it’s liberal component on the defensive.

JFK with labor rally in Detroit, 1960

Senate leader Frist with Bush & Speaker Hastert
Critical Factor: Impact of the 1960s Revolt
Both Liberals and the Old Right Were Set Back

- Black gains in the South defeated conservative segregationists, but also split the Democratic Party in the South.

- The antiwar revolt, along with corporate liberalism’s defense of war, fractured the Democrats in Chicago in 1968.

- Women’s gains, especially reproductive rights, undermines male supremacy and expands democracy. But traditional families are stressed and change as women enter the workforce.
1968: A New Politics of Backlash & Resentment

- Southern whites switch to the GOP, making Republicans the new majority.

- Nixon’s ‘silent majority’ wins White House with ‘Southern Strategy’ and ‘law and order’ campaign against mass protest.

- Conservatives launch anti-feminist ‘right to life’ fight against both liberals & moderates in both parties, launching ‘the new right.’

1968: ‘Blue Collar’ Wallace with rightwing Gen LeMay
The Post Sixties Dialectic: Movement & Counter-Movement

- Civil Rights
- Antiwar
- Women’s Rights
- Gay Rights
- Ecology

- No Affirmative Action
- Pro Military
- Antifeminist / Anti-abortion
- Antigay / ‘Defense of Marriage’
- ‘Wise Use’ / anti- ’Green Wackos’
The New Right of the 1970s: What is To Be Done?

Step One: Fund & Organize the Elites

Today’s Right was launched in the 1970s. Many forces were involved, but two men played a special role. They had the vision and skills to organize a core of think tanks, policy groups and coalition efforts, organization builder Paul Weyrich and computer-direct mail expert, Richard Viguerie.

They set up new think tanks to unite the core groups and used the ‘right to life’ movement to build a mass base in conservative churches.

The first political aim was to build up a right wing of the GOP and elect Ronald Reagan to the White House in 1980. But these were only the first steps.
Theory: The Right’s Strategy for Growth

- Identify the target: liberals and the left
- Build counter-theory in think tanks
- Build mass communications in talk radio, religious media and direct mail
- Built base communities in churches and grassroots political caucuses
- Build wider anti-liberal alliances, the counter-hegemonic bloc
- Take power by combining mass action, taking over and purging the GOP, and winning elections by any means necessary

"Antonio Gramsci theorized that it would take a 'long march through the institutions' before socialism and relativism would be victorious...Gramsci theorized that by capturing these key institutions and using their power, cultural values would be changed, traditional morals would be broken down, and the stage would be set for the political and economic power of the West to fall...Gramsci succeeded in defining a strategy for waging cultural warfare...Why don't we simply get in the game and start competing for control of these key cultural institutions? In other words, why not fight back?"

--Rush Limbaugh
Where Did Their Money Come From?

- Scaife Foundations
- Coors / Castle Rock Foundations
- Bradley Foundation
- Smith Richardson Foundation
- Olin Foundation

Five of the right wing’s largest funders, with assets totaling nearly $2 billion
Where Did Their Money Go?

A Case in Point: Olin Foundation

Founded in 1953 by Illinois industrialist John Merrill Olin, the Olin Foundation funds projects that "strengthen the economic, political and cultural institutions upon which the American heritage of constitutional government and private enterprise is based."

Here are some of its grantees over the last 20 years.

Notice that Olin funds a range of rightist views; Libertarian, Christian Nationalist, Christian Theocrat, NeoCon and PaleoCon, but the key groups that started the new right, Weyrich’s Free Congress Foundation and the Heritage Foundation, are supported.

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The Lay of the Land 2002: Americans Self-Defined by Faith

US Population by Religion

- Evangelical: 25%
- Mainline: 16%
- Catholic: 17%
- Latino Catholic: 5%
- Latino Protestants: 3%
- Black Protestants: 10%
- Other Christian: 3%
- Unaffiliated Believers: 5%
- Secular: 8%
- Atheist & Agnostic: 3%
- Other Faiths: 3%
- Jewish: 2%
The Lay of the Land 2002:
Relative Strength of the Religious Right
Today’s Result: The Right’s Three Sectors

- **The Secular Conservatives.** These include multinational businesses, neoconservatives and libertarians favoring separation of church and state.

- **The Religious Conservatives.** Here there are two main groupings, Christian Nationalists and Christian Theocrats.

- **The Anti-Conservative Racialists.** This is the extreme right: ‘Christian’ Identity, Aryan Nations, Neo Nazi, Militia and KKK groupings.

Photos: George Schultz (top), Pat Robertson, William Pierce
Viewed Politically: The Divide in Congress

Christian Coalition Scorecards, 2004
U.S. Senate

Right vs Liberal House Ratings

Right Theocrat’s View of Senate

Right vs Liberal Senate Ratings
Viewed Religiously: Diagram of Today's Right by its Values-Belief Sectors

The U.S. Political Right

- Anti-Conservative Racialists & ‘Christian’ Identity
  - Aryan Nations
  - Neo-Nazi Groups
  - Militias
  - Ku Klux Klan

- Religious Conservatives
  - Christian Theocrats
  - Christian Nationalists
  - Paleo-Cons & Neo-Confederates
  - Catholic Right

- Secular Conservatives
  - Neocons
  - Right Libertarians
  - Multinationalists
Viewed Economically: Diagram of Today’s Right by Business Sectors

- **US Unilateral Hegemonists**
  - National-based Capital with global reach, i.e. Multinational Markets
  - Theocrats with Global Ministries
  - Conservative Multinationalists
  - Secular NGO NeoCons & Libertarians

- **Anti-Global Nationalists**
  - National State-Funded Capital with state clients, domestic and foreign, mainly military suppliers.
  - National Security Militarists
  - Pentagon NeoCons

- **National-Based Capital, i.e., domestic market**
  - Regressive Populists & Paleocons
  - Secular Business Nationalists
  - Christian Nationalists & Theocrats
Their Problem, Our Danger: The Conservative Right’s Unstable Alliances

- The old wealthy core mainly want an anti-liberal but pragmatic stability on new terms.
- The US hegemonists create instability with wars & ‘free’ markets.
- The Christian theocrats and their base seek total revolutionary change.
- Forces have been unleashed that take on their own life.

Karl Rove & Jerry Falwell: Nationalist & Theocrat

Pat Buchanan: Anti-Global PaleoCon Populist

Insurgent Christian Theocrats at Grassroots
Conflicts in the GOP Today

- Multinational ‘free trader’ vs. populist protectionists
- Pro-war vs. antiwar
- Christian nationalists vs. Christian theocrats
- Zionist vs. Anti-Semite
- ‘Colorblind’ vs. White supremacist
- Pro-life vs. pro-choice
- Authoritarian vs. libertarian
- Theocratic Fascists vs. Secular Moderates

Old Right Speaker Hastert with Christian theocrats, William Frist & Tom Delay
The Growing Danger: Christian Reconstructionism
as One of the Gateways to Theocratic Fascism

Politics, law and culture must be ‘reconstructed’ to conform with the Bible

Senate Leader Frist and House Leader DeLay are close allies

Death penalty for abortionists, gays and disobedient women under theocracy

Liberal democracy is a product of anti-Christian Enlightenment and French Revolution

Jews, Muslims, and other religions are tools of Satan

Public schools must be abandoned for home schools

‘Biblical’ slavery is justified for non-Christian prisoners, captives in war, and, in some cases, disobedient women

The Bible is the test of scientific truth

Theocratic election poster: ‘Patriot Axe’ means the Hammer of God’s rule breaking up secular government
Are the Christian Theocrats Really Fascists?

- ‘Tutto nello Stato, niente al di fuori dello Stato, nulla contro lo Stato.’ (‘Everything in the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State.) - Mussolini, 1925

- 'Everything in Christ, nothing outside of Christ, nothing against Christ' and 'Absolute Sovereignty of God' in all spheres, God remains supreme’ and "Of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things." - Calvinist Theocracy

- ‘Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, most imperialist element of finance capital. –Georgi Dimitrov, 1935

- In treating fascism as ‘passive revolutionary’ restoration, he illuminates its novel and dynamic character. It is a mass movement shattering the political power of the liberals and the left, by organizing from the right the middle class and sub-altern masses – The Gramsci Reader
Christian Theocracy Speaks for Itself

- It is dominion we are after. Not just a voice.
- It is dominion we are after. Not just influence.
- It is dominion we are after. Not just equal time.
- It is dominion we are after.
- World conquest. That’s what Christ has commissioned us to accomplish. We must win the world with the power of the Gospel. And we must never settle for anything less...
- Thus, Christian politics has as its primary intent the conquest of the land -- of men, families, institutions, bureaucracies, courts, and governments for the Kingdom of Christ.

--George Grant, Changing of the Guard
The Courts: Top Target of Theocracy

- HR 1070 & S. 520: The ‘Constitution Restoration Act’

- ‘In interpreting and applying the Constitution of the United States, a court of the United States may not rely upon any constitution, law, administrative rule, Executive order, directive, policy, judicial decision, or any other action of any foreign state or international organization or agency, other than English constitutional and common law up to the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.’

- CRA affirms the right of government officials to “acknowledge God as the source of law, liberty and government.” It prohibits federal judges from using foreign laws and judgments as the basis for rulings.

- Essentially an enabling act to do away with the separation of church and state, while serving as a launching pad for theocratic lawmaking.
What Can Be Done?
A Broad Nonpartisan Alliance for Democracy and Diversity

- Unite secular and religious progressives
- Unite antiwar, anti-discrimination and anti-theocrats inside and outside of all parties
- Unite youth around multicultural free expression for a hopeful future
- Combine mass action, education and electoral action
- Defend the Bill of Rights and the separation or church and state
- Defend living standard of all, here and abroad, in the face of globalization

Black Church: Stronghold of Democracy

2004: Nearly One Million Women March vs Right in DC
Conclusion: Gramsci & Dimitrov Revisited

- Fascism’s source is a section of big capital
- Fascism promotes war, chauvinism and intolerance and attacks liberal democracy
- Fascism uses social movements among the masses of all classes
- Fascism can come to power both with gradual reforms and revolutionary seizures
- Defeating fascism requires a broad multi-class, counter-hegemonic front that brings mass participation in political leadership, organization and democratic life