Contents

Acknowledgments

Main Contributions 9

Introduction: A Fascist Movement in America?

The Crisis of Fascism in a Time of Denial 5

Defining Authoritarianism and Fascism 11
White Supremacy and Ultra-Nationalism 13
Militarism and Empire 15
Mass Hysteria and the Cult of the Patriarchal Personality 15
Eliminationism and One-Party Rule 16
Corporatism, Anti-Communism, and the Political Dictatorship of the State 17
Social Darwinism 18
Paramilitarism and the Mobilization of Mass Violence 18
Nonfascistic Movement Politics in Contemporary America 19
Is it Fascism? 24
Chapter Outlines 29
Chapter 1: The Enablers - "Liberal" Democratic Institutions and
Neofascistic Politics 29
Chapter 2: The Trojan Horse – "Conservative" Media and the
Mainstreaming of Neofascistic Politics 30
Chapter 3: The Bridge – How Donald Trump Normalized Neofascistic Politics 30
Chapter 4: The Base – Trumpism as a Neofascistic Political Movement 31
Chapter 5: The Resistance – Anti-Fascism in U.S. Social Movements 32
Conclusion 32
Notes 32
The Enablers – "Liberal" Democratic Institutions and
Neofascistic Politics 42
Normalizing a Neofascistic Political Movement: The Role of Scholars 43
Denialism in Public-Facing Scholarly Discourse 44

xiii

1

Responding to Academic Denialism 45

Trump and Stupid Fascism? 48

Trump and Corporatism 49

Trump Was Not a Dictator 50

Neofascist Politics in Academia as a Tool of Repression 51

Consequences of Fascism Denial 53

The Real "F" Word: Fascism in American Media Discourse 54

Downplaying Trump's Extremism 57

It Did Happen Here: Media Diversion and Rising Neofascistic Politics 63

Enabling Neofascistic Politics: The Democratic Party's Neoliberalism 67

Enabling Neofascistic Politics: Democratic Complicity 73

Conclusion 76

Notes 76

2 The Trojan Horse – "Conservative" Media and the Mainstreaming of Neofascistic Politics

Mainstreaming Extremism and Hate 88

Alex Jones and Infowars: Mainstreaming QAnon Extremism and White Supremacy 90

Breitbart News and the "Alt-Lite" 93

White Supremacy 2.0 97

Hyper-Militarism and Blind Obedience in Times of War 102

Social Darwinism, Anti-Intellectualism, Conspiracies, and the Cult of Personality 103

Eliminationism, Paramilitarism, and One-Party Rule 106

Orwellian Propaganda, Gaslighting Critics 110

Blurring the Lines Between Conservatism and Neofascism 114

Conclusion 116

Notes 117

3 The Bridge - How Donald Trump Normalized Neofascistic Politics 130

Primordial Neofascistic Politics: Setting the Stage before Trump 131

Neofascistic Politics in Trump's America: More Early Warning Signs 135

Reporters, "The Enemy of the People" 137

Neofascistic Politics under Trump: Anti-Immigration Policy 139

Black Lives Matter, the Police State, and Suppression of Dissent 141

White Supremacist and Neofascist Virtue Signaling 142

Trump's Empire and the Façade of Anti-Militarism 144

Anti-Intellectualism, Social Darwinism, and Pandemo-Fascism 146

Trump's Neofascistic Rhetoric: Channeling the Third Reich 151

87

239

Eliminationism, the Big Lie, and the Cult of Personality 155 The Rolling Coup Attempt 160 The January 6 Insurrection 162 Enabling the Neofascistic Turn: Congressional Republicans Defend Trump 165 Conclusion 166 Appendix 166 Trump and the Language of Fascist-Eliminationism 166 Obama and Extreme Language 167 Bush and Extreme Language 167 Notes 168 The Base - Trumpism as a Neofascistic Political Movement 185 Fascism Denial and Fascism Support in American History 187 Newfascist Foot Soldiers: The Politics of White Supremacy 187 Charlettesville: The Neofascists' Coming Out Party 189 QAnon Rising 191 The "Reopen" Movement as Neoliberal Fascism 193 The January 6 Insurrection 196 Newfascist Politics Rising: Threats Past, Present, and Future 197 Newfascistic Politics and the Radicalization of Trump's Base 199 Transpism and the Myth of the Insecure White Working Class 199 Emmic Insecurity in Neofascist Movements? 206 What Really Drives Trumpism? 207 White Supremacist-White Nationalism 207 Newfascism and Trumpism 209 Militarism and Empire 210 Anti-Intellectualism, the Cult of Personality, and Conspiratorialism 211 Asthoritarianism, Eliminationism, One-Party Rule, and Paramilitarism 214 Social Darwinism and Pandemo-Fascism 215 Newfascist and Neofascistic Law Enforcement in America 216 Patting It All Together: A Comprehensive Profile of Neofascism on the American Right 218 Conclusion 221 Notes 222 The Resistance - Antifascism in U.S. Social Movements

Anti-Trump Protests 241 # MaToo and Anti-Sexism 245 BLM and Anti-Racism 247 The 2020 Electoral Referendum 250 Antifa's Militant Antifascism 252 Conclusion 262 Notes 262

Conclusion: "It (Still) Can't Happen Here" – How Trump Won, and What Can Be Done

Post-Script 283
Index 290

270