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Stephen K. Bannon: an american prayer

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Abstract:

The present study attempts to understand the main vectors of Stephen K. Bannon's political thought, a thought that decisively influenced the last American Administration practice.

Keywords:

Populism; Nationalism; China; Islam.

Resumo:

O presente estudo visa conhecer os principais vetores do pensamento político de Stephen K. Bannon, pensamento que influenciou decisivamente a prática da última Administração americana.

Palavras-chave:

Populismo; Nacionalismo; China; Islão.

“Modern political speech was designed not to talk about the issues. It was about a series of evasions that were meant to keep voters pacified while the political class looked after its own interests.”

(Bannon)

NOTE

Stephen K. Bannon is, often, demonized and accused to be a right-wing extremist, maybe a fascist, a xenophobic, a racist and white supremacist, an anti-Semitic, and a sexist, too.

We do not share such an opinion. Indeed, the scientific research produced, over the past few months, allows us to conclude, on all these issues, in the precisely opposite direction.

For us, Stephen K. Bannon is just a hard conservative, a traditionalist, in a modern and now globalized world, praying, in the name of the past, present and future, for America.

manipulator⁴, propagandist⁵, determined⁶, intelligent and charismatic⁷, systemic⁸, Anglo-Saxon, but, above all, and viscerally, North American.

II - His professional and political careers are rather heteroclitic, or, at the least, unusual.

Emerging from the typical American working class of the fifties (born 1953)⁹, he discovered, initially, a position in the U.S.

some matches”; Shane, *loc. cit.*: “rarely has there been so incendiary a figure at the side of a president-elect”; Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 39: “a professional agitator”; and, Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: “the historian Ronald Radosh contributed to this image with his (later contested) recollection that, years ago, Mr. Bannon (...) described himself as a ‘Leninist’, who wanted to ‘bring everything crashing down, and destroy all of today’s establishment’”.

1 – PROFILE

I - Stephen K. Bannon, or, most commonly, Steve Bannon, is an American contemporary political ideologue, and, as well, political operative¹. Incorrect², incendiary³,

4 Similarly, Green, *Devil’s...*, p. 242: “he was, as the infamous *Time* cover put it, ‘The Great Manipulator’”; Grynbaum, *loc. cit.*: “Bannon is (...) a savvy manipulator of the press”; and, Shane, *loc. cit.*: “Shapiro, a former *Breitbart News* editor, who has been sharply critical of Mr. Bannon, called him ‘a manipulator’ who had ‘mainstreamed’ far-right extremists for cynical political purposes”.

5 Similarly, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: “Bannon is a master propagandist”; McBain, *loc. cit.*: “a propagandist film-maker”; Egan, *loc. cit.*: “from his films on Sarah Palin to his time running *Breitbart*, he learned how to be a very good propagandist. It’s a role that has served him well in the White House”; and, Blake, *loc. cit.*: “Andrew Breitbart, who founded the far-right website *Breitbart News* in 2007, once admiringly called Mr. Bannon ‘the Leni Riefenstahl of the *Tea Party* movement’”.

6 Similarly, Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 45: “a determinate man, he was suddenly at an ever higher level of focus and determination; and, McSweeney, *cit. in* Shane, *loc. cit.*: “nobody says he is nice (...). His overriding concern is always getting the mission accomplished”.

7 Similarly, Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 48: “smart and even charismatic”; and, Green, *Devil’s...*, p. X: “he was clearly intelligent, and had a manic charisma”.

8 Similarly, Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: “he does have a real gift for thinking systematically”; and, Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 139: “an hyper-rationalist approach”.

9 Closely, Green, *Devil’s...*, p. 47: “Bannon was born into a blue-collar, Irish-Catholic, family”.

1 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 3: “unlike most intellectuals (...), Bannon’s ideas have actually translated into real politics”; Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: “an intellectual in politics excited by grand theories - a combination that has produced unpredictable results before”; and, Green, *loc. cit.*: “this man is the most dangerous political operative in America”.

2 Closely, McSweeney, a former chairman of Virginia’s Republican Party, *cit. in* Shane, *loc. cit.*: “the least politically correct person I know”; Shane, *loc. cit.*: “his ideology is that of the outsider and the insurgent”; Green, *Devil’s...*, p. 21: “a brilliant ideologue from the outer fringe of American politics”; Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: “it did show a relish for the role of ideological bad boy”; Paxton, Columbia University, *cit. in* McBain, *loc. cit.*: “he is an adventurer, a private freebooter, and a pirate”; and, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 2: “a rebel by nature, but always a rebel with a cause. That cause today is America, American culture, and the survival and prosperity of the American working and middle class”.

3 Similarly, Boyle, a former *Breitbart News* writer, *cit. in* Green, *This man...*: “if there’s an explosion or a fire somewhere, Steve is probably nearby with

Navy, which ended at the rank of Lieutenant, moved, after, to *Goldman Sachs*, left on the post of Vice-President, and, finally, goes to Hollywood, making politically engaged movies, as well, in *Breitbart News* - or, occasionally, *Huntington Post* and *Fox News* - right wing activist and journalistic work¹⁰.

III - In political terms, Steve Bannon is, originally, an expected, although distant, Democrat¹¹, later on, a far more enthusiastic Republican, inspired by Reagan's policies¹², and lastly, in the 21st century, a decided conservative - maybe, a paleo-conservative¹³ - simultaneously, populist, nationalist¹⁴, capitalist, Judeo-Christian and anti-establishment.

2 - FOURTH TURNING

I - Despite his education, at Georgetown University Scholl of Foreign Service, first, at Harvard Business School, later, Bannon

10 Identically, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 118: "in late middle age, he was transformed into a full-time conservative activist"; Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon's life became a crusade against political, financial and cultural elites of all stripes"; and, Wolff, *loc. cit.*: "the other-world of the vast right-wing conspiracy and conservative media".

11 Similarly, Green, *Devil's...*, p. 47: "Bannon was born into a (...) family of Democrats".

12 Bannon, *cit. in* Green, *Devil's...*, pp. 58, 59: "I was not that political. But then you see, with a guy like Carter, how fucked the things can get. My political views were formed by seeing how a weak leader like that could get America into a Middle East debacle (...). It pushed me into a different party (...). I came back to the U.S. and saw how Reagan inspired this country. I was just a huge Reagan admirer. Still am".

13 Closely, Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: "while he is certainly a hardline conservative of some kind, the evidence that he is an extremist of a more troubling sort has generally been either massaged, misread or hyped up; and, Raimondo, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon's political and economic views have been described by others as nationalist, right-wing populist, and even, paleo-conservative".

14 Bannon, *cit. in* Green, *This man...*: "what turned me against the whole establishment was coming back from running companies in Asia, in 2008, and seeing that Bush had fucked up as badly as Carter. The whole country was a disaster"; and, Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: "Democrat by heritage and Republican by choice, Bannon has come to see both parties as deeply corrupt".

“In political terms, Steve Bannon is, originally, an expected, although distant, Democrat, later on, a far more enthusiastic Republican, inspired by Reagan’s policies, and lastly, in the 21st century, a decided conservative – maybe, a paleo-conservative – simultaneously, populist, nationalist, capitalist, Judeo-Christian and anti-establishment”.

is, essentially, a self-taught¹⁵, not an academic¹⁶.

II – And, regarding history, he believes in a - so-called - generational, cyclical, history¹⁷.

15 In the same direction, Green, *Devil's...*, p. 204: "he is a voracious autodidact".

16 Differently, Crowley, *loc. cit.*: "he is a history-obsessed global thinker"; and, Sifry, *loc. cit.*: "he has a hellishly bleak vision of our past, present, and future, driven by a magical belief in historical determinism".

17 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 68: "Bannon, as a believer in the Catholic doctrine of free will, does not believe in historical inevitabilities, even if he does believe in general historical cycles".

So, when two - quite obscure - American historians, William Strauss and Neil Howe, published *The Fourth Turning - An American Prophecy - What the Cycles of History Tell Us About America's Next Rendez-vous with Destiny*, New York City, Broadway Books, 1997, an extensive essay supporting the existence of these circles and, more, characterizing each one in detail, Bannon, not surprisingly, incorporated that theory in his own thinking¹⁸.

III – Strauss and Howe suggests, indeed, that the history always develops in periods of time of eighty to hundred years, designated, by them, as *saeculum*.

That the *saeculum* is targeted in four turnings, lasting from twenty to twenty five years.

That each turning has different characteristics, defined by the successive generations¹⁹.

And that these turnings can be seen as a "high", a "awakening", an "unraveling", and, finally, a "crisis".

So, the first turning - after a latter crisis - characterizes by prosperity, stability and traditionalism²⁰.

The second turning saw the emergence, on a new generation, of a rebellion against this whole social model²¹.

18 Similarly, Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: "sometime in the early 2000s, Bannon was captivated by a book called *The Fourth Turning*, by generational theorists William Strauss and Neil Howe; and, Koffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 59: "had long been convinced that history moves in cycles, after read the 1997 book *The Fourth Turning* (...) which had accurately predicted an economic crisis, he incorporated their insights into his vision of what had happened".

19 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 59: "according to Strauss and Howe, history revolves in cycles lasting approximately eighty to a hundred years, what the authors term a *saeculum*. Each *saeculum* is divided into four turnings, lasting about twenty to twenty five years. Each turning has specific characteristics driven by the personalities of four different type of generations and the age of the generations during each turning".

20 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 59: "first turning is a time of relative prosperity and stability in which adults subscribe to traditional values, conformity is emphasized, and children are protected and indulged by parents who have just survived of a great crisis that attends each *saeculum*".

21 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 60: "second turning is the

The third turning is the period in which the traditional structure is replaced by the challenging one, and the social cohesion gives way to major fragmentation and, usually, individualism²².

And, the fourth turning is the moment of a global crisis that can only be overcome with the radical - and, eventually, violent - replacement of this ruling class by a new one^{23 24}.

IV - The United States of America's history is brief, just two hundred and fifty years. Nevertheless, history was marked, always, by exceptionally significant political events. Thus, applying their concept to America, Strauss and Howe highlight three major events.

Firstly, the American Revolution, secondly, the Civil War, thirdly, the World War II²⁵. Referring the American contemporary history, to Howe and Strauss the cycle went from the "high", the post-War economic development and welfare, to the "awakening", the individualist, selfish, pleasure-first, activism of the sixties²⁶, followed by an "unraveling", the contradictory or absent values, and flowing to the "crisis", the present fourth turning²⁷. Historical constructions from Strauss and Howe that Bannon, as well, fully sub-

scribes²⁸.

V - This Bannon's attachment is not, probably, innocent, because the most important turning, the fourth, means indubitably crisis, revolution, even terror, and usually war²⁹. In fact, he also underlines, all the former great three crisis meant real war, warm war³⁰.

Suggesting, too, that America is heading, inevitably, toward a violent and bloody conflict.

Nevertheless, amazingly, he did not seem, in no way, fazed by that warlike prospect³¹. On the contrary, he appears to search for a major enemy, for an existence-level enemy³².

Actually, that enemy is double: on the one hand, China, and, on the other hand, Islam.

3 - POPULISM

I - In general, populism simply attempts to improve, and not destroy or replace, the democratic representation model.

Particularly, through a change on their representative's personal profile, despite the frequent focuses of, more or less intense, and, usually, wide-ranging, antiparlamentarism.

And, eventually, with recourse to the possible semi-direct instruments - legislative initiative, *referendum*, or, even, recall.

II - The phenomenon is not new in America, the main contribution being the populist and progressive movements and parties, in the XXI century ending, and in the beginning of the 20th.

Initially, emerges the populists (1880), reviving conceptions coming from the particular United States of America political independence, and praising, above all, in Thomas Jefferson.

The first Populist Party National Convention (1892) supports the return of political power to the People, and, simultaneously, aims to fight against the representative corruption.

III - Ten years after (1890), the progressives surfaced, inspired by Jefferson, also, but, as well, by the New England *Town Meetings*, and, further, by Rousseau, himself.

Not conversely, the progressives insist on the great economic interest control, specially, of railway companies, which hold politicians, of both parties, captive.

An example of a highlighted member was President Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909), at the time, a Republican, but, increasingly, in the last years, he became a progressive.

The Roosevelt's Progressive Party is, as matter of fact, a Republican Party's fragmented (1912).

And this new party was taking advanced positions on progressive and populist reforms.

Their Platform's main theme was reversing the domination of politics by business interests, which, allegedly, controlled the Republican and the Democratic parties, alike. So, to dissolve the unholy alliance between the corrupt business and the corrupt politics, to destroy this invisible Government, was the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

Their deepest political reforms were women's suffrage, senator's direct election on primary elections, easier amending of the United States Constitution, lobbyist reg-

'prophet generation', the rebels against that civilization".

22 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.* p. 64: "third turning is when the new values (...) begin to supplant the old civic order: one result is a fragmented culture. Individualism and eventually alienation displace community"

23 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.* p. 163: "fourth turning, when the country enters a crisis period (...), and the establishment gets marginalized so that the fresh blood can come in and solve the problem"

24 Conversely, Caldwell, *loc. cit.* "a theory of historical cycles that can be considered elegantly simple or dangerously simplistic"

25 "Past *Fourth Turnings* featured the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, the Great Depression, and World War II, each of which were about eighty to a hundred years apart"; like this, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

26 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 60: "the *baby boomers* are the most spoiled, the most self-centered, and the most narcissistic generation the country's ever produced" (...). The pleasure principle has been elevated over the puritan ethic of work"

27 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 64: "history is seasonal, and winter is coming, Strauss and Howe warned in 1997".

28 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 20: "I do think we're in the great fourth turning of American history. We had the Revolution, we had the Civil War, and we had the Great Depression and World War II"

29 Bannon, *Generation Zero*, in Sifry, *loc. cit.*: "when you get into a crisis era, literally anything can happen. The restraints come down. These are the eras of revolution. These are the eras of reigns of terror (...). The question of what the new order will be is up to us"

30 Similarly, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon pointed out that each of the three preceding crisis had involved a Great War"

31 Identically, Sifry, *loc. cit.*, quoting historian David Kaiser: "he expected a new and even bigger war as part of the current crisis, and he did not seem at all fazed by the prospect"

32 Identically, Sifry, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon doesn't just believe that we are in an existential conflict with Islam or with China. It seems he wants to exacerbate those conflicts into a new World war. As a believer in Strauss and Howe's theory of history, Bannon fantasizes that he can use that cataclysm to forge a completely new order"; and, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "does the 'Party of Davos' alone qualify? Who else could this war be fought against?"

istration, and limitation on political campaign contributions.

Regarding direct democracy, that Platform included, also, the political recall (citizens may remove an elected official before the end of his term), the *referendum* (citizens may decide on a law by popular vote), the legislative initiative (citizens may propose a law by petition and enact it by popular vote), and even the judicial recall (when a court declares a law unconstitutional, the citizens may override that ruling by popular vote).

Nevertheless, after the Roosevelt's defeat in the 1912 presidential election, the Progressive Party went to decline, disappearing by 1920.

IV - The People's Party (1971) and the Populist Party (1984), were not related to the formers.

V - Since its origins (1890), historians have, vigorously, debated the nature of populism.

The most influential was John D. Hicks (1890-1972) who emphasized their economic pragmatism over ideals, and presenting it as an interest group politics, demanding their fair share of America's wealth, which was being leached off by non-productive speculators

Thus, populism presented the control of government by the People as the only solution.

However, lately, that term populist began to apply to any anti-establishment movement.

VI - In the XXI century, as Bannon points out, the problem is quite different because the electoral choice is, in fact, between two types of populisms, the populist nationalism, and the populist socialism³³.

The option is between the left-wing populism and the conservative right-wing populism³⁴.

33 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 40: "it's not a question whether populism is on the rise and going to be the political future. The only question before us is: it is going to be populist nationalism or populist socialism?"

34 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 80: "the future obviously belongs to populism. It's only going to be defined by asking if it's left-wing populism or conservative and

It is between deconstructing the administrative State, and to have more State intervention³⁵.

He not even tries to diminish left-wing populism, quite on the contrary, because it means populism is, indeed, a rising force, and the future for both Democrats and Republicans³⁶.

VII - On Bannon's view, despite all his general statements about the anti-elite and anti-permanent political class³⁷, this right-wing populism is, essentially, about economics³⁸.

On one hand, arguing that American top companies are too big, that the power is concentrated just in a few³⁹ and, further, that this power is completely away from the People's real interests⁴⁰.

On the other hand, supporting that is vital to create, originally, or made return from the outside, mostly from Asia, all the possible jobs, and high-valued jobs, for the American people, in general⁴¹, and, in particular, to the

right-wing populism".

35 Bannon, *The rise...*, pp. 81, 10: it's all about deconstructing the administrative State and opening up the power of capitalism, or about more State intervention in your entire life"; "deconstruction of the administrative State to take apart the Leviathan this all-encompassing State that we've got in United States"; and, Rucker; Costa, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon vows a daily fight for 'deconstruction of the administrative State'".

36 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 14: "nowadays, you have a very strong 'left-wing populism'"; and, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 90: "we watch a shockingly strong challenge by Bernie Sanders against Hillary Clinton in 2016".

37 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 13: "those are the three basic planks of populism in the United States - anti-elite, anti-permanent political class, anti-consolidation of media and technology companies".

38 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 12: "today, populism is based around economics".

39 Bannon, *The rise...*, pp. 18, 20: "the companies are too big and too powerful: the tech companies, the pharmaceutical companies, the media companies. This consolidation has made them too powerful with a compliant government"; "a system where wealth and power is concentrate in so few hands".

40 Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *loc. cit.*: "companies with a \$9 billion market cap, but employing nine people. It's not the reality. They lost sight of what the world is about."

41 Bannon, *The rise...*, pp. 20, 42: populism "is about getting manufacturing jobs and high-valued jobs back to people in the United States (...). Sixty percent of our jobs are subsistence jobs".

*millennials*⁴².

As matter of fact, a kind of a new - this time right-wing and Republican - *New Deal*⁴³.

VIII - Politically, Bannon sustains that the populist concept is not, in any visible perspective, anti-democratic.

On the one side, because the populism is not against any elections, any free elections, but, precisely, the opposite⁴⁴, because it is not, either, authoritarian, and, even less, surely, totalitarian⁴⁵, or, absurdly, - just considering the idea of a circumscribed State - fascist⁴⁶.

And, one the other side, because it does not mean, neither, anarchism - order absence - libertarianism⁴⁷ - minimal State or ultra-minimal State - nor violence, nor terrorism⁴⁸.

4 - NACIONALISM

I - Bannon's populist conception is about

42 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "If you look at people's lives, and particularly *millennials*, look at people under 30 - people under 30, there's 50% really underemployment of people in the United States, which is probably the most advanced economy in the West; and, Bannon, *The rise...*, pp. 14, 58: "*millennials* are like eighteen-century Russian serfs. They are better fed, they are better clothed, they're in better shape, they're better educated, they have more information about the world, but they don't own anything. And they are not going to own anything". They "can't afford a house, there's no pension plans, there's no careers".

43 Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *loc. cit.*: "I'm the guy pushing a trillion-dollar infrastructure plan. With negative interest rates throughout the world, it's the greatest opportunity to rebuild everything. Shipyards, ironworks, get them all jacked up".

44 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 53: "we are not trying to stop elections. We are going to win elections!"

45 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 17: "populists are not authoritarian, and certainly not totalitarian".

46 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 18: "we are actually anti-fascist, because fascism worships the State and want State capitalism to merge with the overweening State"; and, Paxton, a fascist historian, *cit. in* McBain, *loc. cit.*: "while classical fascists wanted to create militaristic, regimented, highly unified Nation States, Bannon seems to be a disrupter. I don't think he has any interest in unifying the United States or any other country".

47 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 10: "we're definitely not anarchists or libertarians".

48 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 21: "we are going to fight it out politically, and not in the streets with all those groups who advocate violence and terrorism".

economics, but, no less, is about nationalism⁴⁹.

A nationalism which, as the populism - or the progressivism - is, also, a part of America.

Indeed, we can see it, naturally, on the first moments of the Nation's foundation⁵⁰.

And we can see it, again, a century after, with the Roosevelt successive policies⁵¹.

II - Bannon nationalism assumes, in every possible angle, the form of anti-globalism⁵². This anti-globalism translates, in a far more evident way, in national American control.

One, referring, simultaneously, currency and military, two, regarding the American own borders, and, three - last but, definitely, not the least - concerning its national identity⁵³.

Even if, going far beyond that, Bannon's anti-globalism includes, too, a clear criticism about the European Union⁵⁴, and by reference to the Catholic Church, and the Pope itself, in whom Bannon sees a dangerous progressive and, also, a pro-immigration globalist⁵⁵.

III - Yet, modern nationalism doesn't get confused with the latter American isolationism.

Just implies, Bannon says, a true priority to United States economic national interests⁵⁶.

Specially, when the America democracy is competing with a totalitarian State, China⁵⁷.

Thus, his clear disinterest - or, frequently, his true contempt - referring any kind of political or economic multilateral organizations, in favor of empowering Nation-States⁵⁸.

Thus, his joy - not to mention his decisive contribution or inspiration - on the Trans-Pacific Partnership withdrawal⁵⁹, or on the American further position regarding the Climate Paris Agreement - and a solution that, strictly speaking, only benefits China⁶⁰.

IV - It means, too, a significant reduction of military interventions all over the world⁶¹, even when - or, perhaps, especially when -

the cause is a progressive democratization⁶². In effect, Bannon is a critic of military intervention abroad, opposing, namely, proposals for the expansion of the United States involvement in Afghanistan, Syria, or Venezuela.

Furthermore, he describes the whole American allies, first of all, in Europe, but, also, on Persian Gulf, in South China Sea, and, as well, South Korea and Japan, as true United States' protectorates.

Suggesting, namely, that these protectorates should make efforts to defend themselves⁶³.

Finally, Bannon, argues that nationalism sets up a true respect for all other cultures, a respect, he adds, that the globalism, Democrat or Republican, definitely, don't know⁶⁴.

V - However, nationalism, on Bannon's political view, does not only mean American international des-intervention, but, as well, an effective American control over its borders.

A control of immigration, of all immigration, because, he continues to argue, being massive, and being continuous, it destroys the very essence of the American culture⁶⁵.

VI - As matter of fact, nationalism is, primarily, about the Nation itself, about the People.

A country, Bannon thinks, is not only an

49 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 10: "our populism is tied to economic nationalism".

50 "Alexander Hamilton, and our other founding fathers, understood that any Nation that desires remain politically independent must protect its economic independence and strive toward as much self-sufficiency as possible"; thus, quoting William J. Gill, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

51 In a first moment, during his presidency (1901-1909), with the *Square Deal*, and, after, with the *New Nationalism* visible on the Progressive Party Platform (1912).

52 Similarly, Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: "he speaks of economic nationalism, in opposition to globalization"; and, Green, *Devil's...*, p. 206: "everywhere Bannon looked in the modern world, he saw signs of collapse, and an encroaching globalist order stamping out the last vestiges of the traditional".

53 Bannon, *cit. in* Green, *Devil's...*, p. 207: "you have to control three things, borders, currency and military, and national identity".

54 Similarly, Green, *Devil's...*, p. 206: "he saw it in governmental organizations such as the European Union, and political leaders such as German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who insisted that countries forfeit their sovereignty, and, thus, their ability to maintain their national character, to distant secular bureaucrats bent on erasing national borders".

55 Bannon, *cit. in* Horowitz, *loc. cit.*: "the Pope likes to see himself as a radical and an anti-establishment

revolutionary for the little guy"; Green, *Devil's...*, p. 206: "he saw it in the Roman Catholic Church, whose elevation of Pope Francis, a 'liberal-theology Jesuit' and a 'pro-immigration globalist', to replace Pope Benedict XVI"; and, Egan, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon is close to conservative Catholics who do not like the progressive bent of Pope Francis. They favor a clash of civilizations with Islam, rather than the Pope's openhearted approach".

56 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 10: "'America first' which is not isolationism, but America first".

57 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 19: "particularly when you have a totalitarian mercantilism society like China that you are competing with".

58 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 178: "not let the power of the United States be dissipated out at these international organizations"; and, Crowley, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon's vision, as laid out in public remarks and private conversations, opposes international organizations in favor of empowering Nation-States".

59 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 177: "I was very proud of blowing up all that stuff".

60 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 177: "we were there to suppress our economy growth and to allow polluters like China to have a free reign".

61 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 12: "we don't want interventions everywhere in the world (...). We are going to play an active part when it's in the vital interest of American national security"; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 110: "rather than trying to democratize the world, we should pursue our national interests".

62 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 179: "democracy takes a while for people to be ready for. You can't force it"; and, Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 12: "if democracy is going to spread, people in those countries have to want it, and have to work for it themselves".

63 Bannon, California Republican Party Convention speech, *cit. in* *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 2017

64 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 180: "a deeper respect for other cultures than was shown by the Obama Administration and Liberals and Neocons, all of whom claim to be enlightened and educated but really think, wrongly, that the entire world wants be progressive and liberal like they are (...). Now, it's not professorial Obama that you're going to get".

65 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 101: "this massive migrations of people destroyed the basic culture"; Bannon, *cit. in* Carman, *loc. cit.*: "having too many Asian tech CEOs undermines 'civic society'". "Two-thirds or three-quarters of the CEOs in Silicon Valley are from South Asia or from Asia".

economy but, quite differently, a culture that has an economy⁶⁶.

A national culture, he emphasizes, a culture despite the differences on political opinion⁶⁷.

And, a national culture regardless the race or the color, a truly inclusive national culture⁶⁸.

VII - So, including whites, including blacks, and including Hispanic, and including all of them as parts of a single middle class and working class, American nationalism, Bannon assures, is not racism, is not white supremacy - nor, whatever it could be, *alt right*⁶⁹.

Alt right, which he, by the way, describes, both in general or referring some of its more notorious members, in a quite unflattering style⁷⁰.

66 Bannon, Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) speech, *cit. in* Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 101: "I think the center core of what we believe, that we are a Nation with an economy, not an economy just in some global market place with open borders, but we are a Nation with a culture and a reason for being. I think it is what unites us. And that's what's going to unite this movement going forward"; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 95: "he American system is about the nurturing of an economy that has manufacturing, agriculture, that can sustain the American family, and, therefore, American society".

67 Bannon, Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) speech, *cit. in* Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 115: "whether you are a populist, whether you are a limited-government conservative, whether you are a libertarian, whether you are an economic nationalist (...), "as long as you're a citizen of our country, as long as you're an American citizen, you're part of this populist economic nationalist movement".

68 Bannon, *cit. in* Bradner, *loc. cit.*: "the black working and middle class and the Hispanic working and middle class, just like whites, have been severely hurt by the policies of globalism"; Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 98: "until we have the black working class and the Hispanic working class getting high-value-added jobs, we've failed as society"; and, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "in Bannon's view, nationalism is fully inclusive, in the sense that it invites people of different backgrounds to unite under a common American sense of self".

69 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 15: "populist movement has nothing to do with white supremacy"; Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *loc. cit.*: "I'm not a white nationalist, I'm a nationalist. I'm an economic nationalist"; and, Donald Trump's *New York Times* Interview, November 23, 2016: "I've known Steve Bannon a long time. If I thought he was a racist, or alt-right, or any of the things that we can, you know, the terms we can use, I wouldn't even think about hiring him".

70 Similarly, Green, *Devil's...*, p. 146: "he rejects alle-

Regardless of his political speech on the 2018 French National Front Convention, on this specific matter, in which he said, defiantly, "let them call you racist, let them call you xenophobes, let them call you nativists (...), and wear it like a badge of honor", was, at least, controversial⁷¹.

VIII - Bannon ensures, likewise, that his contemporary American nationalism is not anti-Semitic⁷².

Even more, on his theoretical construction he places on precisely the same plan Catholicism and Judaism, permanently resorting the expression Judeo-Christian, namely, in which refers the contribution, of both, to the success of the own capitalist system⁷³.

In addition, this seems to be, clearly, the opinion of the Jews who personally know him⁷⁴.

And, cumulatively, *Breitbart News* was, itself, the most pro-Israel sites in all America⁷⁵.

gations that he is a white nationalist, calling white nationalists 'losers', a 'fringe element', and a 'collection of clowns' (...); and describing notorious white supremacist Richard Spencer as a 'self-promoting freak' and a 'goober'".

71 Bannon, *cit. in* Mcauley, *loc. cit.*: "let them call you racist, let them call you xenophobes, let them call you nativists. And wear it like a badge of honor. Because every day we get stronger and they get weaker. Because history is on our side and will bring us victory".

72 Bannon, *cit. in* Nelson, *loc. cit.*: "I'm a proud Christian Zionist".

73 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "if you look at the leaders of capitalism at that time, when capitalism was I believe at its highest flower and spreading its benefits to most of mankind, almost all of those capitalists were strong believers in the Judeo-Christian West. They were, either, active participants in the Jewish' faith, or they were active participants in the Christians' faith, and they took their beliefs, and the underpinnings of their beliefs was manifested in the work they did".

74 Thus, David Horowitz, a Jewish writer, *Jewish Press*, November 15, 2016: "I have known Steve Bannon for many years. He does not have an anti-Semitic bone in his body". "In the Trump White House, Bannon is the strongest assurance that people who love this country can have in America's future, the strongest assurance that America is in the hands of people who will give this country a chance to restore itself and defend itself against its enemies at home and abroad".

75 Similarly, Landler; Haberman, *loc. cit.*: "he has advocated giving the land in the West Bank to Jordan

IX - Bannon's nationalist thought, however, does not circumscribe to the United States⁷⁶, believing that the solution for the world' political problems is, indistinctly, nationalism.

Indeed, he happens to think that strong Nations make great neighbors, not the reverse⁷⁷. So, he has been encouraging nationalism and populism works in all European States where its development appears to be possible - mainly, after his White House departure⁷⁸.

Actually, this support was revealed to be of a great importance in the Brexit's decision⁷⁹.

5 - CAPITALISM

I - Bannon, is, obviously, a capitalism' enthusiast - and as well a true capitalist, himself⁸⁰.

and in Gaza to Egypt (...); he has described Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas as a terrorist"; and, Green, *Devil's...*, p. 213: "both Andrew Breitbart and Larry Solow (the two founders of *Breitbart News*) were Jewish".

76 Similarly, Crowley, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon's public remarks and accounts from people who have spoken with him, make clear that he believes *Brexit* and Trump's election are part of something bigger, a global political revolt that could restore what he calls the lost 'sovereignty' on the Continent".

77 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "I think strong countries and strong nationalist movements in countries make strong neighbors, and that is really the building blocks that built Western Europe and the United States, and I think it's what can see us forward".

78 Similarly, Green, *Devil's...*, p. 207: "Bannon's response to the rise of modernity was to set populist right-wing nationalism against it". Wherever he could, he aligned himself with politicians and causes committed to tearing down its globalist edifice".

79 Farage, *cit. in* Green, *Devil's...*, p. 207: "without the supportive voice of *Breitbart* London, I'm not sure we would have the *Brexit*"; and, Crowley, *loc. cit.*: "in early 2014, Bannon launched a London outpost of *Breitbart*, opening what he called a 'new front in our current cultural and political war'. And, "next day after Brexit, Bannon hosted Farage for a triumphal edition of his daily radio show. 'The European Union project has failed (...). 'It is doomed, I'm pleased to say', Farage declared. Bannon replied: 'It's a great accomplishment. Congratulations'".

80 Bannon, Vatican, July 2004, conference: "I'm a very practical, pragmatic capitalist (...), as hard-nosed a capitalist as you get"; and, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 92: "Bannon's natural sympathies are with the worker, not the capitalist - though he's been a pretty good capitalist himself".

He argues, indeed, that was capitalism that made America, since the it's very beginning, a rich and developed country.

Yet, this enthusiasm refers to a specific type of capitalism, to an *enlightened capitalism*⁸¹.

A capitalism on which the created wealth was shared⁸², not concentrated in a few hands.

A capitalism on which the main profits were re-invested, and not only selfishly used⁸³.

A model of capitalism with values, or, in direct words, a Judeo-Christian capitalism⁸⁴.

II - In Bannon's perspective, this *enlightened capitalism*, opposes the contemporary corrupted capitalism, the crony capitalism, and quite especially, the *baby boomers* one. On what the businesses class made its profits no more as a result of open market, competition, risk, effort, innovation, but, instead, based on trade with the political

class⁸⁵.

A speculative capitalism, a *casino* capitalism, either, in place of the investing capitalism.

Finally, an immoral capitalism, because when the crisis resulting from individualism and corruption arrives, and it arrives, in this particular situation, in a far larger scale, it's the American working, middle class, alone, who takes on the responsibility for the damages⁸⁶.

Losing their jobs, losing their heritage - and losing, in a number of cases, their dignity⁸⁷.

III - Indeed, like Bannon suggests, this last decade's model of capitalism in the United States, has been half-capitalist and half-socialist.

Socialist to the very poor, socialist to the very rich too, and capitalist to the middle class⁸⁸.

Socialist for the very poor because, despite the typical liberalism, there is a welfare State in America - "with a system of a trillion of dollars each year, on State benefits, and no taxes"⁸⁹.

And socialist for the very wealth because, they are not held responsible for any damage - particularly, due to the successive, irresponsible, and absolutely immoral, government bailouts⁹⁰.

85 Bannon, *cit. in* Sifry, *loc. cit.*: "a toxic combination of big government in bed with Wall Street"; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "Wall Street, enabled by global elites in government, spun profits out of speculation, instead of investing their wealth in domestic jobs and businesses".

86 Similarly, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "when the resulting bubble finally burst, the immoral government stuck hardworking American taxpayers with the bailout bill".

87 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.* p. 96: "we have a crisis in the Midwest and with the working-class around the country where people have lost their jobs, and now they have to get Government assistance. They lose their dignity".

88 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 67: "we have two systems in this country. We have socialism for the very poor. We have capitalism for the wealthy. And we have capitalism for the middle class".

89 Bannon, Florida, October 2011, *The Liberty Restoration Foundation Inaugural Event* conference; and, "we've built a State that is completely and totally unsupportable".

90 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "the bail-

IV - Not to mention, far beyond this crony capitalism, another - in own words - very disturbing form, the State-sponsored capitalism, the China and the Russia capitalism⁹¹.

6 - JUDEO-CHRISTIANISM

I - In Bannon's political thought, America supposes the Judeo-Christian values existence⁹².

Judeo-Christianism is part, an indispensable part, of the American and Western culture.

A common culture which, he emphasizes, "we have an obligation to those that came before us, as much as we have an obligation to the people in the future to pass that down"⁹³.

II - It happens that, Bannon states, these structural values are suffering a deeper crisis⁹⁴.

And, furthermore, a deeper crisis coming, simultaneously, from the within and without⁹⁵.

Internally, because the West is knowing a progressive, and progressively more profound secularization, either by action or by

outs were absolutely outrageous, and here's why: It bailed out a group of shareholders and executives who were specifically accountable. The shareholders were accountable for one simple reason: They allowed this to go wrong without changing management (...). "Not one criminal charge has ever been brought to any bank executive associated with 2008 crisis. And in fact, it gets worse. No bonuses and none of their equity was taken. So part of the prime drivers of the wealth that they took in the 15 years leading up to the crisis was not hit at all, and I think that's one of the fuels of this populist revolt that we're seeing".

91 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "State-sponsored capitalism. That's the capitalism you see in China and in Russia".

92 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 100: "the Judeo-Christian culture that we have. The belief in the self-determination of the individual".

93 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 100; and: "American has an underlying culture that has been passed down from Jerusalem to Athens, to Rome, to London".

94 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "the world, and particularly the Judeo-Christian West, is in a profound crisis".

95 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.* p. 2: "Western civilization today is under siege, from within and without".

81 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "this 'enlightened capitalism' was the underlying principle that allowed the United States to escape the barbarism of the 20th century", and "brought the restoration of Europe and the *Pax Americana*".

82 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "if you look at the leaders of capitalism at that time, when capitalism was I believe at its highest flower and spreading its benefits to most of mankind, almost all of those capitalists were strong believers in the Judeo-Christian West"; "this should be at the heart of every Christian that is a capitalist - "What is the purpose of whatever I'm doing with this wealth? What is the purpose of what I'm doing with the ability that God has given us, that divine providence has given us to actually be a creator of jobs and a creator of wealth?"

83 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "that capitalism really generated tremendous wealth. And that wealth was really distributed among a middle class, a rising middle class, people who come from really working-class environments and created what we really call a *Pax Americana*"; and, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "this shared morality ensures that businesses invest not just for their own benefit, but also for the good of future workers and future generations".

84 Bannon, *cit. in* Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: "capitalism ought to rest on a Judeo-Christian foundation; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad: "the entrepreneurial American spirit, and respect for one's fellow Christian man"; "capitalism alone is not enough. Unmoored from a Judeo-Christian moral framework, capitalism can be a force of harm and of injustice".

default⁹⁶, which, necessarily, is weakening it⁹⁷.

Outwardly, he continues, because the Judeo-Christianism is under attack, under an implacable, and never known before, double attack.

One the one hand from the Communist Atheist China, one the other hand from Islam⁹⁸.

III - Yet, Judeo-Christian values does not require, in Bannon's conception of society, all the citizens, in this case, all the American citizens, do believe in Judeo-Christianity.

In effect, he does not question the freedom of religion, just emphasizes that the American values have those Judeo-Christian origins⁹⁹, and that those values must always prevail.

In order not allow any minorities to claim for a differentiated or preferential treatment¹⁰⁰.

And, furthermore, to ensure that the Muslims in America don't pose a terrorist threat¹⁰¹.

7 – ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT

I - In Bannon's political thought, the estab-

lishment' refusal occupies a definitive position¹⁰² - despite his own career, in different moments, as insider on that establishment.

II - In his view, the main axis of this establishment is what he calls the "Party of Davos", "the scientific, managerial, engineering, financial, cultural, elite, who run the world"¹⁰³.

A "Party of Davos" that includes, he says, all the elites of both great American parties¹⁰⁴.

And that he believes responsible for the American - and World - 2008 economic crisis¹⁰⁵.

Responsible through both political parties, Democrat and Republican, quite indistinctly, reason why he call them, both, the permanent party, or the permanent political class¹⁰⁶.

III - The origin of the American today's permanent political class, he says, are the *baby boomers*.

Indeed, after the "prophet's phase", they became the political elite of the two main parties.

Then, Bannon claims, they destroyed the former capitalism¹⁰⁷, the enlightened capi-

talism, the Judeo-Christian capitalism, and replaced it by a new model, both economic and social.

Socially, they abandoned the former generation values, such as, nationalism, patriotism, modesty, religion, for the benefit of others, like pluralism, secularism, egalitarianism¹⁰⁸.

Economically, they focused on socialist policies and minority rights, which encouraged the dependency on government, increase the tax burden, and weakening the capitalism¹⁰⁹.

IV - Conversely, in Bannon's vision, this establishment, this "Party of Davos", this permanent political class, are, contrary to, and harmful to, the general interests of the working middle class in America¹¹⁰ - and, perhaps, he believes, from all over the world¹¹¹.

8 – CHINA

I - Bannon states that the relationship with China must be the central axis of American contemporary foreign policy¹¹².

Even establishing a historical parallelism between present China and the 20s and 30s previous century Germany¹¹³.

96 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 106: "many in the West forgotten their culture or actively chosen to despise it"; and, "Western Europe is not going to Church. All these great cathedrals and churches are being abandoned as the West loses its actual practicing part of Christianity".

97 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 106: "that immense secularization of all the West is weakening it".

98 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 2: "the West faces implacable enemies overseas, both Islamists and the Communist Chinese"; and, Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "you have an expansionist Islam and an expansionist China. They are motivated. They're arrogant. They're on the march. And they think the Judeo-Christian West is on the retreat".

99 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "the *Founding Fathers* built the Nation based on a set of values that come from the Judeo-Christian tradition".

100 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "this shared set of Judeo-Christian values prevents minorities from claiming special rights".

101 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "the only way to ensure that Muslims in America don't pose a terrorist threat is to make sure that they honor the United States Constitution, as the *rule of law*, and accept Judeo-Christian values".

102 Bannon, *cit. in* Botsford, *loc. cit.*: "we think of ourselves as virulently anti-establishment, particularly 'anti-' the permanent political class".

103 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 43; and, p. 75: "the 'Party of Davos' (...) it's no conspiracy; it's in your face!".

104 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 90: "the 'Party of Davos' which includes the elite of both parties.

105 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 90: "the 'Party of Davos' (...) bankrupted itself, both morally and literally, with the 2008 financial crisis"; and, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "the 'Party of Davos' has warped capitalism's institutions".

106 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 13: "a kind of 'uni-party' permanent political class in Washington"; Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 126: "a commercial, financial and political class that have kind of melded together in what we call the permanent political class (...); "a new aristocracy that perpetuates itself, that thinks about its own influence, its own power"; Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *loc. cit.*: "the two political parties that are so owned by the donors that they don't speak to their audience"; and, Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 17: "I think you could not get more corrupt, more avaricious, than the permanent political class in Washington, D.C.".

107 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "the 'capitalist system' was slowly undermined and destroyed by a generation of wealthy young kids who had their

material needs taken care of by hardworking parents (...), only to cast off the American values that had created that wealth in the first place".

108 Bannon, Florida, October 2011, *The Liberty Restoration Foundation Inaugural Event* conference.

109 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "emphasis on pluralism and minority rights and its financial and political support of these groups"; "rise to socialist policies that encouraged dependency on the government, and weakening capitalism".

110 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "the 'Party of Davos' deprived middle classes everywhere of the wealth they deserve"; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 97: "the politicians serve the interests of the elite, not the American middle class and working class".

111 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 91: "the working man and women of the world are just tired of being dictated to by what we call the 'Party of Davos'".

112 Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 14: "China's everything. Nothing else matters. We don't get China right, we don't get anything right. This whole thing is very simple".

113 Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 14: "China is where Germany is in 1929, to 1930. The Chinese, like the Germans, are the most rational people in the world

Not surprisingly, he sees those relations as war¹¹⁴ and, increasingly, not just as trade war¹¹⁵.

And, perhaps, the most difficult of all wars, not only considering it involves a totalitarian State¹¹⁶ - or even much worse¹¹⁷ - because, in fact, the former Soviet Russia was also a totalitarian State - but regarding, now, it absolutely odd scale, and its global ambition¹¹⁸.

Beyond everything, he clearly fears that the United States of America is losing that war¹¹⁹.

The main reasons, in his own view, lies on the deindustrialization, on the factories

displacement¹²⁰, in the absence of innovation¹²¹, and in the forced technology transfer¹²².

Bannon goes so far as to declare that the United States of America, today, due to decades of wrong and globalist Democrat and Republican policies, is a mere colony of China¹²³.

II - With the emergence of the *coronavirus* crisis, Bannon resurfaces, on international political and economic fronts, as the first¹²⁴, and the most tenacious, critics of China¹²⁵. Thus, not only does he designate it as the *Communist Party virus*¹²⁶, but he holds China, simultaneously, reprehensible and responsible, in every possible way, for that crisis.

On one side, he explains, China revealed an absolute lack of transparency, first, not reporting the problem, second, miscounting

its number of cases and number of deaths, and, third, trying to protect itself but truly despising the rest of the world¹²⁷.

On the other side, he demands, since the beginning, a full Chinese accountability, whether political, or - in typical American fashion - economic, for all the damage done¹²⁸.

To conclude, Bannon launches a new attack on globalization, referring that the pandemic crisis, and the inherent economic crisis, are even worse because the United States, these days, have no industry, have no manufacturing, because everything is, now, in China¹²⁹.

III - Regardless of, Bannon's political international criticism is not exhausted by China.

Indeed, he believes that Iran, Turkey and China, are forming a new and dangerous axis to challenge the West, sustaining that Turkey is even more dangerous than the same Iran¹³⁰.

9 - ISLAM

I - "To be brutally frank, I mean the Christianity is dying in Europe, and the Islam is on

until they're not".

114 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "the unpleasant fact is that there is a major war brewing, a war that's already global. It's going global in scale, and today's technology, today's *media*, today's access to weapons of mass destruction, it's going to lead to a global conflict that I believe has to be confronted today. Every day that we refuse to look at this as what it is, and the scale of it, and really the viciousness of it, will be a day where you will rue that we didn't act".

115 Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 210: "to Bannon (...) the history of the next generation (...) it was about a war with China. Commercial war, trade war, cultural war, diplomatic war - it would be an all-encompassing war that few in the United States now understood needed to be fought, and almost nobody is prepared to fight".

116 Bannon, *cit. in* Goldman, *loc. cit.*: "it is outrageous in the 21st century, in starting the third decade of the 21st century, that the Chinese people, of all people on Earth, do not have free unfettered access to the *Internet*, do not have land reform, do not have personal property rights, do not have freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion".

117 Bannon, *cit. in* Goldman, *loc. cit.*: "I think that the government of China is a group of gangsters. I think the Chinese Communist Party is completely illegitimate. I think what they've done to the Chinese people is horrific. I think what they've done as far as taking away the Chinese people's freedom and what they've done with the Uighurs, the Tibetan Buddhists, the underground House Church Christians, the underground Catholic Church, the Falun Gong and the democracy movement is outrageous".

118 Bannon, *Yahoo News*, May 14, 2019: "Xi Jinping's Communist regime in Beijing presents the greatest existential danger ever to the United States because we have never faced an opponent with the scale and ambitions of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party".

119 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.* p. 185: "of the most powerful countries in the world, one country in the next 25 or 30 or 40 years will become a global hegemon (...). And we are losing badly".

120 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 92: "we have deindustrialized this country and sent all the good jobs to China, India and Brazil".

121 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 95 "it's one of the reasons we don't innovate as much, all the factories has gone".

122 Bannon, *South China Morning Post*, September 12, 2017: "our trade relationship is basically that we ship raw material to China and they send back high-value manufacturing goods to our market. That happens because they appropriate our technology".

123 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 96: "we are a colony of China".

124 Similarly, Teitelbaum, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon's early attention to the *virus* (a welcome alternative to initial dismissal of the pandemic on Fox News and other conservative *media*) derived from his focus on China"; and, Teitelbaum, *loc. cit.*: "he has been hosting a daily radio program devoted to the topic since January 25".

125 Not ignoring that, today, Bannon "is being paid richly by fugitive Chinese billionaire Guo Wengui to undermine the Communist Party of China on all fronts"; Teitelbaum, *loc. cit.*; or, "the 2019 resurrection of the Committee on the Present Danger - China (CPD-C), where Bannon is among the leaders of the ultra-hawkish advocacy group. It indicates a renewed desire to contain and pressurize China, to foment regime change via the delegitimization of the Communist Party (...). CPD-C's target is the Chinese Communist Party's rule, which, it claims, is oppressing the Chinese people, threatening the liberal norms of the international order, and the security of the West"; Parmar, *loc. cit.*

126 Similarly, Teitelbaum, *loc. cit.*: "he has not been shy to place blame for the outbreak on the Chinese Communist Party, calling it not the 'Chinese *virus*', as Trump has done, but the 'Communist Party *virus*'".

127 Bannon, *cit. in* *CNBC's Squawk*, April 30, 2020: "a more transparent response from the Chinese government could have saved lives and prevented economic damage"; "intelligence officials reportedly believe China is deliberately miscounting the number of deaths and cases in the country"; "they tried to protect it going around the rest of China, but they didn't care about it going around the rest of the world"

128 Bannon, *CNBC's Squawk*, April 30, 2020: "China must be held accountable for *coronavirus* spread"; "the Chinese Communist Party is going to have to pay"; "they owe trillions, if not tens of trillions, of dollars"; "I think the world's going to hold them in judgement, and that judgement is not going to be pretty"

129 Bannon, *cit. in* Teitelbaum, *loc. cit.*: "one, you have a massive pandemic. Two, you have an economic crisis (...), but then deeper you have a systemic issue, one is the supply chain, we don't make any of the medicines here, we don't make any of the gloves. We don't make anything. And deeper than that is the globalization project, that we have essentially shipped everything to China, the manufacturing. So we have this system that can collapse quite quickly. And now we've triggered something that might be far bigger than the first two: we're in a financial crisis".

130 Bannon, *cit. in* Kais, *loc. cit.*: "Turkey is, definitely, not as dangerous as its neighbor Iran, it is far more dangerous".

the rise”, Bannon notes¹³¹.

And, to him, this contemporary rise begins, not today, not even yesterday, but in 1979¹³². 1979 was, indeed, the year of the Ayatollah Khomeini Islam radical Revolution, the year, too, of the Afghanistan invasion by the Soviet Russia, and, finally, the same year of the Mecca Grand Mosque occupation¹³³.

Yet, no less important, 1979 was the hostage crisis year, a brutal violation of International Law, namely, of the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and on Consular Relations¹³⁴. Regardless, the Western’s answer to all these political challenges, differently from a long past, has been, and still is - or rather, progressively is - truly weak and quite inefficient¹³⁵.

II - More recently, Bannon saw as an evidence of this Western collapse, compared to Islam, the entry, the free and disorderly entry, of Muslims, both immigrants and refugees¹³⁶.

Above all, coming from Syria to Europe¹³⁷, but, as well, crossing to United States itself¹³⁸.

The problem is, Bannon says, elliptically posing the problem, these persons are not *Jeffersonian* democrats, and they do not share America - or Western - common values¹³⁹.

So, his main conclusion is, that they should not be welcome in America or Western soil¹⁴⁰.

III - Bannon make it quite clear, in a global perspective, that Islam is not a religion of peace, Islam is a religion of submission, because Islam means, as matter of fact, submit.

And, he continues his reflections, “is very evident, when you look at Islam, it has not had its meeting with the *Enlightenment*, that Islam has not had the transition to Modernity”¹⁴¹.

Which suggests, either, that more than radical Islam, the enemy can be Islam in general. Reasons why he is irreducible when states that it is, not only impossible¹⁴², but absolutely irresponsible, or even more, childish¹⁴³, any kind of tolerance, of understanding, or, eventually, of rapprochement¹⁴⁴, since, about

everything, the radical Islam is at the stake.

IV - He goes much further, sustaining that, between West and what he calls the jihadist Islamic fascism, is there already a war¹⁴⁵, a political, religious, social, and cultural war¹⁴⁶.

Even if a war on the beginning stages of which will be, probably, a brutal, a bloody war¹⁴⁷.

10 – IMMIGRATION

I - Yet, Muslim refugees are not, regarding foreigner citizens, the only Bannon’ target. The other is the immigration, illegal immigration, and, particularly, the Mexican one¹⁴⁸.

II - Concerning the illegal immigration, all the elite’s permanent party is interested on it.

In fact, he suggests, the Democrats sees it as cheap votes, as easy Democratic future votes, and the Republicans, the entrepreneurs, sees them, immediately, as cheaper labors¹⁴⁹.

131 Bannon, *cit. in* Waldman, *loc. cit.*.

132 Similarly, Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 105: “Bannon pinpointed 1979 as a key year in the latest round of conflict between the West and the Muslim world”.

133 Similarly, Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

134 “The hostage crisis, Bannon came to believe, was just the first hint of a hostility that could grow into something that would one day threaten the West, something that, he would finally conclude, thirty-five years later, urgently necessitated ‘a global war against Islamic fascism’”; Green, *Devil’s...*, p. 58.

135 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: “if you look back at the long history of the Judeo-Christian West struggle against Islam, I believe that our forefathers kept their stance, and I think they did the right thing, I think they kept it out of the world, whether it was at Vienna, or Tours, or other places. It bequeathed to us the great institution that is the Church of the West”.

136 Bannon, *cit. in* Green, *Devil’s...*, p. 207: “the ‘civilizational *jihad*’ personified by this migrant crisis”.

137 “Bannon expressed his frustration to a German official, during a trip to Europe. ‘What’s most disturbing is that you’ve let in anywhere from a million to a million-five Syrians. These refugees don’t have reliable documents. It’s impossible for the Europeans to tell who they are (...). Europe is unmistakably importing some criminals and terrorists’”; Koffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 174.

138 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 16: “the migrant crisis is a hu-

man tragedy of biblical proportions, but the solution is not going to be migrants coming up with cartel the drug cartels, or now in human trafficking, and bringing the people to American border”.

139 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: “‘they are not *Jeffersonian* democrats’ referring to immigrants heading from Muslim majority countries to Europe”.

140 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: “people who do not sign off on this set of shared values should not be welcome in the United States; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 107: “a tougher medicine is needed, including slashing the number of Muslim refugees permitted to enter the West”.

141 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 54; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Green, *Devil’s...*, p. 59, even if, about Iran: “the only way I can describe Iran is that it looked like the moon, You’re literally months away from home, steaming across the ocean, these vast expenses, you get to this place and it like you’d landed on the moon. It was like the 5th century - completely primeval”.

142 Bannon, *cit. in* Bruck, *loc. cit.*: “the *Sharia law* and the freedoms of the United States are mutually exclusive terms”.

143 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 107: “the calls for tolerance that come after every Islamist outrage are the infantile responses of a shallow secularized people, who do not understand the full dimensions of the threat”.

144 Bannon, *cit. in* Bruck, *loc. cit.*: “the Left is starting to drumbeat an idea that we should have the rapprochement with radical Islam. Well, that’s unacceptable”.

145 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: “we are in an outright war against *jihadist* Islamic fascism. And this war is, I think, metastasizing far quicker than governments can handle it”.

146 Closely, Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: “he holds that, since this movement, political, is generated within the sphere of Islam, the growth of Islam, the religion, is itself a problem with which American authorities should occupy themselves”.

147 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: “we are at the very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict, of which if the people in this room, the people in the church, do not bind together and really form what I feel is an aspect of the church militant, to really be able to not just stand with our beliefs, but to fight for our beliefs against this new barbarity that’s starting, that will completely eradicate everything that we’ve been bequeathed over the last 2,000, 2,500 years”; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Haas, *loc. cit.*: “we’re going to war in the South China Sea in five to 10 years. There’s no doubt about that”. “We’re in a war. We’re clearly going into, I think, a major shooting war in the Middle East again”.

148 Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 52: “every state in the United States is now dominated by Mexican immigration. This was the daily reality of the American workingman”.

149 “The right sees this as cheap labor, the left as cheap votes”, one interviewee declares in *Border War, The Battle over Illegal Immigration*, a Bannon’s documen-

The problem is, that, in contrast, the entire economic and social burden of this illegal immigration falls on the American middle class, is paid by the taxpayers, specially, through the Social State¹⁵⁰.

Adding that the unemployment generated by this messy and extensive illegal immigration affects, about everything, the most fragile American workers, particularly, the black and the Hispanic¹⁵¹.

II – EUROPE

I - Regarding Europe, Bannon establishes an almost perfect parallel with its own America.

Ticking the same kind of political agents, identifying the similar policies, and, obviously, noting the close results¹⁵².

To him, the European Union is just one part more of the globalization, the secularization, the establishment and the administrative State - even if it is just an international organization.

II - However, it's main criticism is about European policies on immigrants and refugees.

A direct consequence of its internal bor-

itary"; Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*

150 Bannon, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "they leave it to middle-class natives to educate, feed, and care, for these foreigners".

151 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 98: "the people most affected by illegal alien labor is the black working class and the Hispanic working class"; Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 51: "laxly enforced immigration laws reached to the center of the new liberal philosophy, and for Bannon exposed his hypocrisy. In the liberal worldview, diversity was an absolute good, whereas Bannon believed any reasonable person (...) could see that waves of immigrants came with a load of problems (...). And these were problems borne not by cosseted liberals, but by the most exposed citizens"; and, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 160: "a Kellyanne Conway' report, by 2016, shows that '75 percent want more enforcement of current immigration laws, including 63 percent of Hispanics, and over 50 percent of the Democrats".

152 Bannon, 2016 South Carolina Tea Party Convention speech, *cit. in* Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: "the guys from the European Union, are the same guys who have allowed the complete collapse of the Judeo-Christian West in Europe"; and, furthermore: "Europe, mired in a near-zero growth, and a financial chaos, epitomizes the catastrophic fate of the globalist system".

ders absence, for sure, allowing the free circulation of all types of Muslims, and, among these, terrorists¹⁵³.

But, mostly, a visible effect of its current, and stimulated, lack of national identity¹⁵⁴. Nonetheless, Bannon believes that, in Europe, a relevant part of People¹⁵⁵, and a significant part of the political class¹⁵⁶, want a different solution, that they want a return to nationalism¹⁵⁷.

A nationalism's return implying, necessarily, the destruction of that European Union¹⁵⁸.

III - Thus, Bannon tries, on one hand, to boost the creation of a true political populist movement in Europe¹⁵⁹, integrating, despite their differences¹⁶⁰, the main nationalist groups¹⁶¹.

153 Bannon, *cit. in* Crowley, *loc. cit.*: the European Union "is a body (...) whose border policies allow Islam to invade the West, one refugee at a time".

154 Bannon, *cit. in* Crowley, *loc. cit.*: the European Union "dilutes the national identity".

155 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "I think that People, particularly in certain countries, want to see sovereignty for their country, they want to see nationalism for their country, rather than a 'pan-European Union"; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 52: "People want their countries back. A simple thing".

156 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 57: "they want their citizens to be empowered, and not to report to transnational entities that have no accountability, the European Central Bank, and the European Union".

157 Similarly, McBain, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon considers Europe at the forefront of the global 'populist-nationalist revolt'".

158 Similarly, Shapiro, a former *Breitbart* writer, *cit. in* Crowley, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon hates the European Union. He figures it is mainly an instrument for globalism, as opposed to an instrument for the bettering of Western civilization".

159 "Bannon created a foundation around 2018 for nationalist parties called *The Movement*. An 'Illiberal International', an embryonic alliance of populist, anti-immigration parties". "A network that aimed to create a far-right 'super-group', by providing campaign support and acting for populist parties across Europe"; McBain, *loc. cit.*

160 "The attempt to form and constitute a transnational far right has failed many times before. Beyond a shared anti-globalization and anti-immigration stance, the European right has very diverse concerns"; Ruth Wodak, Lancaster University, *cit. in* McBain, *loc. cit.*

161 Bannon, *cit. in* Horowitz, *loc. cit.*: "all I'm trying to be is the infrastructure, globally, for the global populist movement".

And intends, on the other hand, to guide and assist them in which concern *media* action¹⁶².

However, he emphasized, not just for contest and win elections in the European countries.

But, either, aiming to prepare, which he assumes, will be, in the next future, the *Four Turning's* war between today's weakened Western, and its main cultural enemy, Islam¹⁶³.

A war that, he adds, the European establishment cannot, and, also, do not want, afford¹⁶⁴.

12 – RUSSIA

I - Bannon's conception about Russia is not particularly flattering or, even, diplomatic. Indeed, he qualifies it, not only as a *kleptocracy*, but, still, as imperialist and expansionist¹⁶⁵.

II - However, he seems to believe in Russia's traditionalism and nationalism as an ally¹⁶⁶.

Not so much related to China, but, furthermore, in face of the growing Islamic threat¹⁶⁷.

162 Similarly, Horowitz, *loc. cit.*: "he wants to train an army of populist foot soldiers, in the language and tools of social media. He said that the common message he had received from populists throughout Europe was a desire to establish a *media* outlet for their views".

163 Bannon, *cit. in* Crowley, *loc. cit.*: "the reason it was so important to get in place populist nationalist Governments was to prepare for a coming great-powers clash with an axis of ancient Turkish, Persian and Chinese civilizations". "Losing the Christian faith, has weakened Europe, it's neither willing nor able to confront Islam's rising power".

164 Bannon, *cit. in* Horowitz, *loc. cit.*: "elites can't fight that fight. People have to buy into it".

165 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "I'm not justifying Vladimir Putin and the *kleptocracy* that he represents, because he eventually is the State capitalist of *kleptocracy*"; "I think that Putin and his cronies are really a *kleptocracy*, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand".

166 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: "I believe that at least Putin is standing up for traditional institutions, and he's trying to do it in a form of nationalism"; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 114: "the Judeo-Christian West might learn something from the Russian leader's respect for traditionalism and his nationalism".

167 Similarly, unsigned article. *The Economist*, February

Additionally, is well known the Bannon's connection with Russian philosopher Alexander Dugin¹⁶⁸.

In fact, regardless all the differences, they both are traditionalists - or, anti-modernists - inspiring and influencing the political power, in the respective States, on the same historical moment¹⁶⁹.

13 – MEDIA

I - In the United States of America, the *media* is, in general terms, liberal, admittedly liberal.

Nevertheless, in this political life last period, it took this tendency to its ultimate limits.

That is the reason of Bannon acid criticism, saying the *media* were the opposition party¹⁷⁰.

Saying, also, that the *media* did not, at all, understand America¹⁷¹, and, certainly less, did it noticed the reasons for the reborn, right there, of the populism and of the nationalism¹⁷².

Saying, yet, that the *media* should be embarrassed and humiliated by its last coverage¹⁷³.

Saying, in conclusion, “*media* has zero integrity, zero intelligence, and no hard work”¹⁷⁴.

II - And, most important, inducing, thereby, a new type of communication, a direct communication, without traditional liberal *media*, through the modern social networks¹⁷⁵.

14 – POLITICAL PARTIES

I - As a conservative, Bannon's essential criticism is, not surprisingly, about the Democratic Party.

The liberal vision, he says, succeeded in infiltrating the institutional power highest levels.

So, he adds, to change that situation, “every day - every day - it is going to be a fight”¹⁷⁶.

II - However, more than that, Bannon elaborates, the Democrats abandoned, over time, the American middle and working class itself, abandoned their own historical roots¹⁷⁷.

And, more, did it for benefit of new public policies aimed to a wide range of minori-

ties¹⁷⁸.

Which, by the way, increase economic dependence, and, as well, the administrative State.

III - Yet, Bannon's sympathy for the Republican Party is lower that it could be expected.

Indeed he envision it just as a part of the permanent political class, of the establishment¹⁷⁹.

Not, really, as a conservative one¹⁸⁰, and, less, as a worker's party, as it had been before¹⁸¹.

And, later, said the Republican establishment was trying to nullify the 2016 election¹⁸².

IV - That way, Bannon affirms, regarding the Republican Party, his priority is to change it into a real blue collar worker's party¹⁸³.

Occupying, then, the Democratic Party former political space, and winning elections¹⁸⁴.

23, 2017: “he is reputed to believe that Putin's Russia and Trump's America are Christian allies against the Islamic State and ‘radical Islamic terrorism’”; and, Steinmetz-Jenkins; Noble, *loc. cit.*: “the rhetoric of a looming civilizational war has proved persistent. Recent years have seen religious leaders from both the American Christian community and the Russian Orthodox community coming together to bemoan the decline of traditional values”.

168 Similarly, Teitelbaum, *loc. cit.*: “Dugin and Bannon have been attempting to collaborate, and met in secrecy in Rome in November 2018”.

169 Similarly, Teitelbaum, *loc. cit.*: “Dugin and Bannon may represent opposing interests at the level of national politics, but they also recognized a deeper bond as two traditionalists who emerged into power, independently of each other, at roughly the same historical moment”.

170 Bannon, *cit. in* Grynbaum, *loc. cit.*: “I want you to quote this: the *media* here is the opposition party; and, Lewis, *loc. cit.*: “the Democrats don't matter. The real opposition is the *media*”.

171 Bannon, *cit. in* Grynbaum, *loc. cit.*: “the *media* don't understand this country”; “the elite *media* got it dead wrong, 100 percent dead wrong”; and Wolff, *loc. cit.*: “the *media* bubble is the ultimate symbol of what's wrong with this country (...). It's just a circle of people talking to themselves, who have no fucking idea what's going on”.

172 Bannon, *cit. in* Grynbaum, *loc. cit.*: “the *media* still do not understand why Donald Trump is the President of the United States; Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.* p. 146: “they stand diametrically opposed on

Donald Trump's populist message and against his nationalist messages”; Bannon, *cit. in* Grynbaum, *loc. cit.*: “what the *media* misses is the amount of anger that's out there. Trump didn't create that”; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Bradner, *loc. cit.*: “they were ready to coronate Hillary Clinton. That didn't happen, and I'm one of the reasons”.

173 Bannon, *cit. in* Grynbaum, *loc. cit.*: “to *media*, the 2016 election was a humiliating defeat that they will never wash away, that will always be there”. “The *media* should be embarrassed and humiliated and keep its mouth shut and just listen for a while”.

174 Bannon, *cit. in* Grynbaum, *loc. cit.*.

175 Similarly, Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: “Trump leveraged this growing power to bypass the traditional gatekeepers of power, the *media*”.

176 Bannon, *cit. in* Rucker; Costa, *loc. cit.*.

177 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 159: “they had abandoned the sort of white, blue-collar workers who had once been the party's backbone (...). That proved to be a fatal mistake”; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *loc. cit.*: “the Democratic Party betrayed its workingman roots, just as Hillary Clinton betrayed the longtime Clinton connection - Bill Clinton's connection - to the workingman”.

178 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 159: “the Democrats played identity politics by pandering, in an ever more divisive way to Americans, on the basis of race and sex and sexual orientation, and even irreligion; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Mindock, *loc. cit.*: the minorities, “they're a victim of race. They're a victim of their sexual preference. They're a victim of gender. All about victimhood and the United States is the great oppressor, not the great liberator”

179 Bannon, Vatican, July 2014, conference: “the Republican establishment, which is really a collection of crony capitalists that feel that they have a different set of rules of how they're going to comport themselves”; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 137: “we're never going to beat the Democrats until we beat the real enemy, which is the establishment Republicans”.

180 Bannon, *cit. in* Friedersdorf, *loc. cit.*: “we don't believe there is a functional conservative party in this country, and we certainly don't think the Republican Party is that”.

181 Bannon, *cit. in* Wolff, *loc. cit.*: “the Republican Party would come to betray its workingman constituency forged under Reagan”.

182 Bannon, *cit. in* Nelson, *loc. cit.*: “it's as obvious as night follow day”.

183 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 151: “the reorganization of the Republican Party into a worker's party that's what I focus on every day”; and, Bannon, *cit. in* Green, *Devil's...*, p. 191: “five, ten years from now, a different party. You're going to have a worker's party”.

184 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 92: “Bannon believes

V - Quite differently, *Tea Party* is a populist movement, born in 2009, within the Republican Party itself.

Despite not a being, in the classic sense, a party, it is not difficult to observe that the *Tea Party Caucus*' members vote in the Congress, frequently, as an independent third party.

The movement's name alludes to the original *Boston Tea Party*, December 16, 1773, an event in the launch of the American Revolution, accomplished against the taxation, by the former British colonial government, without any American political representation.

Even though, Bannon elaborates, the Tea Party was the dominant culture until the 50s¹⁸⁵.

Concerning the last political decades, Ronald Reagan is, definitely, their best inspiration.

Indeed, this is, similarly, about populism¹⁸⁶, about nationalism, and antiestablishment¹⁸⁷.

VI - The *Tea Party* sponsored multiple protests within the framework of the economic crisis, particularly, after the 2009 presidential election, and supported several candidates.

Focuses on tax cuts, the reduction of the national debt of the United States and federal budget deficit, through decreased government spending, namely, on the Administration.

VII - Ironically, the *Tea Party*, despite its hard conservatism, is, above everything, a women's party, Sarah Palin emerging, in those early years, as its best and most iconic example¹⁸⁸.

that (...) Republicans can win minority voters by regaining blue-collar jobs that have been exported overseas".

185 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 118: "the *Tea Party*, in fact, was the dominant American culture of 1776 throughout the 1950s".

186 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 162: "a similar populist wave had launched the *Reagan Revolution*".

187 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 156: "the Primary Republican Party election in 1976 was President Reagan *versus* the establishment"; "Reagan's success shocked the press, the liberals, and even the Republican establishment".

188 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 126, 127: "this is a very smart, tough, focused woman. She had the

So, Bannon decided to make a movie about it, a movie starry, exclusively, by women¹⁸⁹, a true feminist movie¹⁹⁰ - curious choice, indeed, from a man often accused of sexism.

VIII - In fact, Bannon sees the *Tea Party* as an almost perfect model of the American values, particularly, the due respect for the American history, tradition, and patriotism¹⁹¹.

And, too, the perfect political weapon against both the Democrats and the Republicans¹⁹².

15 - TRUMP

I - In Bannon's quite particular view, Trump is the ideal populist, "Trump is the tribune of the People"¹⁹³.

courage and conservative convictions to fight the Washington establishment". "Palin was someone who could galvanize people to action against established interests by both inspiring them and explaining in terms they could understand complex policies they had to embrace to wage the fight (...). Palin was genuine, without artifice, and would appeal to the middle class voters".

189 *Fire from the Heartland: The Awakening of the Conservative Woman* (2010); Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "the Left (...), their heads are imploding because it's exactly against the narrative that they lay out about the feminist movement (...), a strong-willed independent woman at the vanguard of a populist, conservative, rebellion against the political class and against the financial class".

190 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 120: "actually a feminist movie, spoken entirely by women, focused on female empowerment, and highlighting the leading role of women in the *Tea Party* movement".

191 Similarly, Koffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 119: "Bannon saw *Tea Party* as a resurgence of such old-fashioned values of self-reliance, personal responsibility, fiscal prudence, freedom under the law, respect for American history and tradition, and patriotism". "It's the voice of the working man and woman in this country". "Is the salvation of this country".

192 Similarly, Friedersdorf, *loc. cit.*: an insurgent, center-right populist movement, that is virulently anti-establishment (...), both for the progressive left and the institutional Republican Party"; Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 117: "the *Tea Party* was a populist vehicle for electing real conservatives who would oppose the otherwise relentless growth of government under Democrats and mainstream Republicans alike"; and Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 120: "the entire Bannon' dream had been realized. The *Tea Party* movement, with Trump as its remarkable face and voice had come to power - something like total power".

193 Bannon, *The rise...*, p. 82; and, Bannon, *cit. in*

And, he says, this populism results, above all, from the fact that, despite his considerable personal wealth, he remains, himself, in several relevant aspects, a man of the People¹⁹⁴.

Someone who knows their specific problems¹⁹⁵, and someone who speaks, directly, clearly, viscerally, those People' - most frequently politically incorrect - own language¹⁹⁶.

Green, *Devil's...*, pp. 236, 208: "Trump is the leader of a populist uprising. What Trump represents is a restoration - a restoration of the true American capitalism and a revolution against State-sponsored socialism". "He's taken this nationalist movement and moved it up twenty years. If France, Germany, England, or any of these places had the equivalent of a Donald Trump, they would be in power. They don't"; and, Trump, *Inauguration Day* speech: "today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another (...). We are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the American People (...). January 20th 2017 will be remembered as the day the People became the rulers of this Nation again".

194 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 149: "despite his vast wealth, Donald Trump was a man of the People"; and, Trump, himself, *cit. in* Green, *Devil's...*, p. 190: "my views are what everybody else's views are".

195 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 6: "he spoke to their concerns (...); he spoke about issues that he felt really mattered to working people (...); he spoke for all those millions of people who were not prospering, who saw their jobs being exported overseas, who saw their neighborhoods being surrounded to crime and illegal immigration, and, most important of all, who saw their America, it's culture, history and traditions, held in contempt by the political and media elite"; Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: "in the vast red sea of Middle America where the President won the election, many people welcomed the squeals of the outraged elites. As one delighted Kansas City businessman put it, 'he's upsetting all the right people'; and, Trump, himself, *New York Times* interview, November 23, 2016: "*Rust Belt*, they call it the *Rust Belt* for a reason. If you go through it, you look back 20 years, they didn't used to call it the *Rust Belt*. You pass factory after factory after factory that's empty and rusting. Rust is the good part, because they're worse than rusting, they're falling down. No, I wouldn't sacrifice that. To me more important is taking care of the people that really have proven to be, to love Donald Trump, as opposed to the political people (...). These people are really angry. They're smart, they're workers, and they're angry. I call them the forgotten men and women. And I use that in speeches. I say they're the forgotten People, they were totally forgotten. And we're going to bring jobs back".

196 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 149: "he talked off the cuff with a disarming directness"; and, Wolff, *loc. cit.*: "he communicates with these People in a

II - Like that, for him, Trump is quite distant while compared to the traditional political class, especially, from Washington D.C.¹⁹⁷, as well to all the establishment *media*¹⁹⁸.

He sees him as a real *outsider*, as someone making his own political rules¹⁹⁹.

III - Regarding the international domain, Bannon says, Trump's nationalism implies United States only expose, namely militarily, and putting American lives at risk, when absolutely necessary²⁰⁰.

And, Bannon defend, Trump's nationalism means, equally, respect for other cultures²⁰¹.

Respect - necessary to add - with the obvious and stark exceptions of China and Islam²⁰².

16 - BANNON AND TRUMP

I - The present article has its focus in Steve Bannon, not, intentionally, in Donald Trump.

However, it would be, probably, absurd, to conclude the work, not to mention the latter.

very visceral way (...); he speaks in a non-political vernacular"; and, Trump, himself, *cit. in* Green, *Devil's....*, p. 169: "the big problem this country has is being politically correct (...). I've been challenged by so many people, and I don't frankly have time for total political correctness, and, to be honest, this country doesn't have time either".

197 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 150, 155: "he had authenticity (...); he does not speak like a politician" (...); he talked about issues that establishment politician didn't (...); he had the passion, the unconventionality, and the work ethic that were required".

198 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 149: "Trump was unafraid of the *media* or of saying politically incorrect things he believe to be true".

199 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 149: "Trump (...) ignoring all the poll-driven, focus-group-driven advice, fearful of offending someone".

200 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 178: "Trump always wants the most reflective option that really limits the exposure of the United States militarily unless it's absolutely necessary"; and Trump, himself, *New York Times* interview, November 23, 2016: "I don't think we should be a Nation builder".

201 Bannon, *cit. in* Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 179: "while the Left chants that Trump is a fascist and a hater, he is, in fact, pursuing a foreign policy that holds other cultures in far higher respect".

202 Trump, himself, Poland, Warsaw, speech, July 6, 2017: "I declare, today, for the world to hear, that the West will never, ever, be broken. Our values will prevail. Our people will thrive. And our civilization will triumph". "Never, since Ronald Reagan, had any President stated the American cause, and the cause of Western civilization, better"; Koffler, *op. cit.* p. 182.

II - As matter of fact, if, without Bannon, Trump would hardly have been elected²⁰³, without Trump, Bannon would likely remain confined to the right-wing site *Breitbart News*, or, even, to the *Government Accountability Institute*, and *Cambridge Analytica*.

The truth is that they intersected in a historical moment which is, maybe, unrepeatable²⁰⁴.

And that their alliance has given them a strength they would never obtain by acting apart²⁰⁵.

Nonetheless, ideologically, a large part of the Trump's rhetoric, both as a candidate and as a President, mainly in the initial moments, is, undoubtedly, authored by Bannon^{206 207}.

Even though it is not entirely accurate to say that Bannon is the true presidential brain²⁰⁸.

203 Similarly, Green, *Devil's....*, p. 22: "Trump wouldn't be President if it weren't for Bannon".

204 Identically, Green, *Devil's....*, pp. 21, 2: "Bannon happened to intersect with Trump precisely the right moment in history"; "Trump had turned to Bannon to rescue his floundering presidential campaign, at a time when nearly everyone agreed that he was headed for a landslide loss"; and, Bruck, *loc. cit.*: "when Trump announced his candidacy, Bannon saw something that others missed. Bannon sensed that he had finally found the figure who could express that anger, leading the populist rebellion of millions of Americans who felt they had been left behind".

205 Similarly, Baker; Haberman, *loc. cit.*: "a partnership of convenience that transformed American politics about the future of the nationalist-populist movement they cultivated together"; Green, *Devil's....*, p. 22: "together, their power and reach gave them strength and influence far beyond what either could have achieved on his own"; and, Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 129: "however, much he might stand on his unique, even magical-seeming, contributions to the Trump victory, Bannon's opportunity was wholly provided by Trump's peculiar talent".

206 Similarly, Wolff, *loc. cit.*: "if *Trumpism* is to represent something intellectually and historically coherent, it's Bannon's job to make it so; and, Caldwell, *loc. cit.*: "there may never be a *Trumpism* and unless one emerges, the closest we may come to understanding this Administration is as an expression of *Bannonism*".

207 Conversely, Trump, himself, *cit. in* Green, *Devil's....*, p. 242: "I like Steve, but you have to remember, he was not involved in my campaign until very late. I'm my own strategist".

208 Conversely, Crowley, *loc. cit.*: "Bannon is, by all accounts, the brains of Trump's operation".

And, by the way, the Bannon's choice as campaign manager was, as it turned out, anything but a no-brain's man decision - although, really, it was not his original idea²⁰⁹.

III - As a candidate, the campaign's key idea, *America First*, presents itself as a Trump slogan, yet, based on Bannon's economic nationalism ideological former elaboration²¹⁰.

The same way, Bannon endowed Trump with a systematic set of concepts referring to American foreign policy, which replaced the Trump's incipient ideas on those matters²¹¹.

And, when Bannon was appointed as manager of Trump's campaign, it gained, during those last remaining months, an assumed and coherent populist-nationalist direction²¹².

IV - Bannon's intervention on Trump main political acts as a President of the United States is, undoubtedly, even more notori-

209 "Rebekah Mercer (one of the main Trump campaign donors), told him: 'bring in Steve Bannon and Kellyanne Conway. I've talked them; they'll do it'. Trump agreed"; Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 18: when the Mercers presented their plan take over the campaign and install his lieutenants, Steve Bannon and Kellyanne Conway, Trump did not resist"; and, Green, *Devil's....*, p. 200; and, p. 4: "the surprise elevation of Bannon to head Trump's campaign on August 17 hit political Washington like a thunderclap - and, to most insiders, like a bad punch line. Bannon had never worked on a campaign; he was despised by democrats and republicans alike, for his eagerness to attack them both; and he had a profile that guaranteed still more terrible headlines for Trump".

210 Similarly, Green, *Devil's....*, p. 204: "while Trump's embrace of '*America First*' nationalism was chiefly due to its resonance as a campaign slogan, Bannon's attraction to it had a far deeper and more complicated lineage".

211 Similarly, Green, *Devil's....*, p. 46: "Bannon supplied Trump with a fully formed, internally coherent worldview that accommodated Trump's own feelings about trade and foreign threats".

212 Similarly, Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: "he is the one who has been most successful in focusing Trump on a winning message. While other advisers have tried to change Trump, Bannon has urged him to step on the gas"; and, Green, *Devil's....*, p. 208: "Bannon did indeed run a nationalist, divisive campaign, in which issues of race, immigration, culture, and identity were put front and center".

ous²¹³.

Right away, concerning the *Inaugural Day*, Trump's speech is, clearly, a Bannon one²¹⁴. Although, must be stressed, because it's unusual, consistent with the campaign's speech. Mainly, when refers to its own voters, to the American middle and working classes impoverished by globalization²¹⁵, whom he calls the forgotten men and women²¹⁶ - in the Hillary Clinton's unhappy (and rather expensive) campaign expression, *the deplorable*.

V - By the next few weeks, the Bannon's ideas influence over the President Trump is especially visible on all the eight initial - and swift - *Executive Orders*²¹⁷.

First, and probably, the most emblematic one²¹⁸: *Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States*, January 27, 2017, the so-called Muslim Ban, suspending the entry of immigrants from seven Muslim-majority countries - Syria, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Yemen and Somalia -

“By the next few weeks, the Bannon’s ideas influence over the President Trump is especially visible on all the eight initial – and swift – Executive Orders”.

for 90 days, and stopping all refugees from entering the country for 120 days. Syrian refugees are banned indefinitely²¹⁹.

Second: *Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the U.S.*, March 6, 2017, which revises the former, banning citizens from six Muslim-majority countries from entering the U.S. for 90 days. The countries include Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Syria and Libya. Iraq was removed from the list after the Iraqi government said it would increase information sharing with the United States.

Third: *Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements*, January 25, 2017, aiming to increase border security, by directing federal funding to the construction of a wall along the Mexico-United States border.

Fourth: *Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States*, January 25, 2017, concerning immigration policies, referring the so-called sanctuary cities.

Fifth: *Core Principles for Regulating the United States Financial System*, February 3, 2017, pretending an efficient, effective and appropriated regulation, ensuring that the United States' firms are competi-

tive with foreign companies, and, no less important, preventing future government bailouts.

Sixth: *Comprehensive Plan for Reorganizing the Executive Branch*, March 13, 2017, an *Order* that aims reorganize governmental functions and eliminate unnecessary agencies, to cut down the federal spending and improve its efficiency, effectiveness and accountability.

Seventh: *Expediting Environmental Reviews and Approvals for High-Priority Infrastructure Projects*, January 24, 2017, pretending to offer high priority on the approval of investment in infrastructure projects, such as, repairs to bridges, airports, and highways.

Eighth: *“Minimizing the Economic Burden of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act”*, January 20, 2017, aiming the progressive and partial reversion of the former president's health model, the so-called *Obamacare*^{220 221}.

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213 Similarly, Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: “Bannon is the one who keeps the doctrine pure, the true believer, who is in it not for money or position, but to change history; and, Koffler, *op. cit.*, p. 8: “the Trump Revolution has begun, and Bannon was Trump’s rebel-in-chief”.

214 Similarly, Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: “Donald Trump’s first steps had the feel of a documentary film made by his chief strategist and alter ego Stephen K. Bannon”; and, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: “Trump’s inaugural address was basically a teleprompter Bannon rant”.

215 Similarly, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: “he described a vision in which the ‘wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world’. ‘We’ve made other countries rich, while the wealth, strength and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon’”.

216 Similarly, Guilford; Sonnad, *loc. cit.*: “‘the forgotten men and women of our country’, a meme that Trump claimed, but that appears previously in *Generation Zero*” (a 2010 Bannon’ politically engaged movie).

217 Source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov>

218 Similarly, Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 54: “bypassing lawyers, regulators, and the agencies and personal responsible for enforcing it. President Trump - with Bannon’s low, intense voice behind him, offering a rush of complex information - signed what was put behind him (...). The result was an emotional outpouring of horror and indignation from liberal media, terror in immigrant communities, tumultuous protests on the major airports (...). But Steve Bannon was satisfied (...). That was the way to crush the liberals. Making them crazy and drag them to the left”.

219 “The Administration was barely a week old when, on the evening of January 27, when (...) Trump shut down America’s refugee program for 120 days (indefinitely in the case of Syrian refugees), while barring travelers from seven majority-Muslim countries. Almost immediately, U.S. customs and border agents began collaring airline passengers covered by the order”; Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*

220 Similarly, Becker; Buse; Höges; Müller; Repinski, Von Rohr; Schulz, *loc. cit.*: “since taking office, Trump has struck global politics like a tornado, much like Bannon must have imagined”; and, Von Drehle, *loc. cit.*: “Bannon’s fingerprints were suddenly everywhere”.

221 Bannon, himself, *cit. in* Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 213: “I am the leader of the national-populist movement”.

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