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; Islã.

“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.

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 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’”.

4 Similarly, Green, Devil’s…, p. 242: “he was, as the infamous Time cover put it, ‘The Great Manipulator’”; Grynaubam, 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 manie 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”.

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

Emerging from the typical American working class of the fifties (born 1953), he discovered, initially, a position in the U.S.
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 work\(^{10}\).

III - In political terms, Steve Bannon is, originally, an expected, although distant, Democrat, later on, a far more enthusiastic Republican, inspired by Reagan’s policies\(^{11}\), and lastly, in the 21st century, a decided conservative - maybe, a paleo-conservative\(^{12}\) - simultaneously, populist, nationalist\(^{13}\), 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

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

is, essentially, a self-taught\(^{15}\), not an academic\(^{16}\).

II – And, regarding history, he believes in a - so-called - generational, cyclical, history\(^{17}\).

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 thinking\(^{18}\).

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 generations\(^{19}\).

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 traditionalism\(^{20}\).

The second turning saw the emergence, on a new generation, of a rebellion against this whole social model\(^{21}\).

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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”.

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”.

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 last 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, individualism. And, eventually, violent conflict.

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.

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 II.

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 sixties, followed by an “unraveling”, the contradictory or absent values, and flowing to the “crisis”, the present fourth turning.

Historical constructions from Strauss and Howe that Bannon, as well, fully subscribes.

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 insists 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, increasing, 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 polities 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-
It is between deconstructing the administrative State, and to have more State intervention. 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 Republicans.

VII - On Bannon’s view, despite all his general statements about the anti-elite and anti-permanent political class, this right-wing populism is, essentially, about economics. On one hand, arguing that American top companies are too big, that the power is concentrated just in a few and, further, that this power is completely away from the People’s real interests.

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 general, and, in particular, to the millennials. As matter of fact, a kind of a new - this time right-wing and Republican - New Deal.

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 opposite, because it is not, either, authoritarian, and, even less, surely, totalitarian, or, absurdly, - just considering the idea of a circum-scribed State - fascist.

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

4 – NACIONALISM

I - Bannon’s populist conception is about right-wing populism.

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’”.

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 Saunders against Hillary Clinton in 2016”.

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”.

Bannon, The rise..., p. 12: “today, populism is based around economics”.

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”.

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.”

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”.

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

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

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

IV - It means, too, a significant reduction of military interventions all over the world, even when - or, perhaps, especially when - the cause is a progressive democratization. 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 themselves.

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

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 culture.

VI - As matter of fact, nationalism is, primarily, about the Nation itself, about the People. A country, Bannon thinks, is not only an economic, but, no less, is about nationalism.

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

II - Bannon nationalism assumes, in every possible angle, the form of anti-globalism. 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 identity.

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

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 pallets 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”.

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economy but, quite differently, a culture that has an economy. A national culture, he emphasizes, a culture despite the differences on political opinion. And, a national culture regardless the race or the color, a truly inclusive national culture.

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*.

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

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

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 system. In addition, this seems to be, clearly, the opinion of the Jews who personally known him.

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

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, controversial.

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

Indeed, he happens to think that strong Nations make great neighbors, not the reverse. 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 departure.

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

5 – CAPITALISM

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

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”.

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 nationalistic 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 globalization”; 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 allegations 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 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 capitalism81.

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 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 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.

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’ political thought, America supposes the Judeo-Cristian values existence92.

Judeo-Christianism is part, an indispensible 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

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 native 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”.

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 socialism 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 bailouts 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”.

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down 96, which, necessarily, is weakening it 97.

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 Islam 98.

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 origins, and that those values must always prevail.

In order not allow any minorities to claim for a differentiated or preferential treatment 100.

And, furthermore, to ensure that the Muslims in America don’t pose a terrorist threat 101.

7 – ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT

I - In Bannon’s political thought, the establishment refusal occupies a definitive position 102 - 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 parties 104.

And that he believes responsible for the American - and World - 2008 economic crisis 105.

Responsible through both political parties, Democrat and Republican, quite indistinguishably, reason why he call them, both, the permanent party, or the permanent political class 106.

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 capitalism 107, the enlightened capitalism, 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, egalitarianism 108.

Economically, they focused on socialist policies and minority rights, which encouraged the dependency on government, increased the tax burden, and weakening the capitalism 109.

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 America 110 - and, perhaps, he believes, from all over the world 111.

8 – CHINA

I - Bannon states that the relationship with China must be the central axis of American contemporary foreign policy 112.

Even establishing a historical parallelism between present China and the 20s and 30s previous century Germany 113.

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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 prevent 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”.


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 war\textsuperscript{114} and, increasingly, not just as trade war\textsuperscript{115}.

And, perhaps, the most difficult of all wars, not only considering it involves a totalitarian State\textsuperscript{116} - or even much worse\textsuperscript{117} - because, in fact, the former Soviet Russia was also a totalitarian State - but regarding, now, it absolutely odd scale, and its global ambition\textsuperscript{118}.

Beyond everything, he clearly fears that the United States of America is losing that war\textsuperscript{119}.

The main reasons, in his own view, lies on the deindustrialization, on the factories displacement\textsuperscript{120}, in the absence of innovation\textsuperscript{121}, and in the forced technology transfer\textsuperscript{122}.

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 China\textsuperscript{123}.

II - With the emergence of the coronavirus crisis, Bannon resurfaces, on international political and economic fronts, as the first\textsuperscript{124}, and the most tenacious, critics of China\textsuperscript{125}.

Thus, not only does he designate it as the Communist Party virus\textsuperscript{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 world\textsuperscript{127}.

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 done\textsuperscript{128}.

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 China\textsuperscript{129}.

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 that the same Iran\textsuperscript{130}.

9 – ISLAM

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

Above all, coming from Syria to Europe, but, as well, crossing to United States itself.

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

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

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.”

Which suggests, either, that more than radical Islam, the enemy can be Islam in general.

Regardless, the Western’s answer to all these political challenges, differently from the Soviet Russia, and, finally, the same year of the Afghanistan invasion by the Islamic radical Revolution, the year, too, of the same year of the Mecca Grand Mosque occupation.

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 Relations.

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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 human 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 looks like you landed on the moon. It was like the 5 th 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”;
148 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”.
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 document.
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 State. 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 Hispanic.

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

A direct consequence of its internal border absence, for sure, allowing the free circulation of all types of Muslims, and, among these, terrorists.

But, mostly, a visible effect of its current, and stimulated, lack of national identity. Nonetheless, Bannon believes that, in Europe, a relevant part of People, and a significant part of the political class, want a different solution, that they want a return to nationalism.

A nationalism’s return implying, necessarily, the destruction of that European Union.

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

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

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

II - 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 results.

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.

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Additionally, is well known the Bannon’s connection with Russian philosopher Alexander Dugin\(^{168}\).

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 moment\(^{169}\).

13 – MEDIA

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

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

That is the reason of Bannon acid criticism, saying the media were the opposition party\(^{170}\).

Saying, also, that the media did not, at all, understood America\(^{171}\), and, certainly less, did it noticed the reasons for the reborn, right there, of the populism and of the nationalism\(^{172}\).

II - And, most important, inducing, thereby, a new type of communication, a direct communication, without traditional liberal media, through the modern social networks\(^{175}\).

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 roots\(^ {177}\).

And, more, did it for benefit of new public policies aimed to a wide range of minorities\(^{178}\).

Saying, yet, that the media should be embarrassed and humiliated by its last coverage\(^ {173}\).

Saying, in conclusion, “media has zero integrity, zero intelligence, and no hard work”\(^ {174}\).

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 establishment\(^ {179}\).

Not, really, as a conservative one\(^ {180}\), and, less, as a worker’s party, as it had been before\(^ {181}\).

And, later, said the Republican establishment was trying to nullify the 2016 election\(^ {182}\).

IV - That way, Bannon affirms, regarding the Republican Party, his priority is to change it into a real blue collar worker’s party\(^ {183}\).

Occupying, then, the Democratic Party former political space, and winning elections\(^ {184}\).

\(^{168}\) 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 Grynum, 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 Grynum, 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 Grynum, 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 Grynum, 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 Grynum, 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 Grynum, loc. cit.; Similarly, Von Drehle, loc. cit.: “Trump leveraged this growing power to bypass the traditional gatekeepers of power, the media”.

\(^{175}\) Bannon, cit. in Rucker; Costa, loc. cit.;

\(^{176}\) 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 Wolf, 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”.

\(^{177}\) 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 religion; 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”.

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\(^{179}\) 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 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 50s. Concerning the last political decades, Ronald Reagan is, definitely, their best inspiration.

Indeed, this is, similarly, about populism, about nationalism, and anti-establishment. VI - The *Tea Party* sponsored multiple protests within the framework of the economic crisis, particularly, after the 2009 presidential election, and supported several candidates.

Foci 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 example.

So, Bannon decided to make a movie about it, a movie starry, exclusively, by women - 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 patriotism.

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

15 – TRUMP

I - In Bannon’s quite particular view, Trump is the ideal populist, “Trump is the tribune of the People”.

... 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”.

190 *Fire from the Heartland: The Awakening of the Conservative Woman* (2010); Bannon, *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”. “The voice of the working man and woman in 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 People. Someone who knows their specific problems, and someone who speaks, directly, clearly, viscerally, those People’ - most frequently politically incorrect - own language.

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 use 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. , as well to all the establishment media .

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

III - Regarding the international domain, Bannon says, Trump’s nationalism implies United States only expose, namely militar-

ve Bannon, not, intentionally, in Donald Trump.

Regarding the international domain, Bannon says, Trump’s nationalism implies United States only expose, namely militar-

And, Bannon defend, Trump’s nationalism means, equally, respect for other cultures . Respect - necessary to add - with the obvious and stark exceptions of China and Islam .

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 unconventional, 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 elected , 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, unrepeatable .

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

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 .

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

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 idea .

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

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 matters .

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

IV - Bannon’s intervention on Trump main political acts as a President of the United States is, undoubtedly, even more notori-
Right away, concerning the Inaugural Day, Trump’s speech is, clearly, a Bannon one. 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 globalization, whom he calls the forgotten men and women - 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.

First, and probably, the most emblematic one: Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States, January 27, 2017, the so-called Muslin Ban, suspending the entry of immigrants from seven Muslim-majority countries - Syria, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Yemen and Somalia - for 90 days, and stopping all refugees from entering the country for 120 days. Syrian refugees are banned indefinitely.

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 competitive 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.

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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 telepromptered 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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