

Beat: Politics

## THE WORRIED ASCENSION OF THE EXTREME-RIGHT IN BRAZIL AND IN THE WORLD

Situation-Report by Humberto Carvalho

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**Wisuschil - Media & Law** - Allow me to speak with you about the disturbing rise of the extreme right in Brazil and in the World.

The Federal Chamber of Deputies, in Brazil, is composed of 513 seats. In the 2014 elections, the Brazilian right wing presented significant electoral advances, regaining strength and reversing the steady decline in the number of representatives in the federal legislature that was observed until recently. In 2010, conservative parties won 36.3% of seats; in 2014, reached 43.5%.

Now, in the 2018 elections, the right wing, as a whole, won 301 seats from the 513 seats of the Chamber of Deputies, a substantial growth, considering that in 2010 it had 190 deputies and in 2014, 238.

The left, or rather the democratic camp, in 2010 had 166 deputies, now has 137 seats among federal deputies.

The so-called center was the great defeated in this year's parliamentary elections. By 2014, the center had 137 seats and, in these elections, passed to only 75 federal deputies.

But this phenomenon, the growth of the extreme right, does not occur only in Brazil. In Europe, the far right also has a staggering growth, including in the electoral field.

More disturbing, however, is the growth of the far right, as evidenced by the cases of Greece (Gold Dawn), Germany (NPD), United Kingdom (Ukip) and Hungary (Jobbik), for example.

Gold Dawn is a neo-Nazi party in Greece that in the 2015 elections won 17 seats in the Greek parliament, while the Greek Communist Party (KKE), with a tradition of fighting and resistance to Nazi-fascism and the Greek dictatorships, obtained 15 chairs.

NPD - National Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands) is a neo-Nazi racist, xenophobic nationalist party that, for the first time since its founding in 1964, in the elections to the European Parliament, obtained a chair. He is the successor of the National Socialist Party of Hitler and his henchmen. UKIP - UK Independence Party. It has more than 48,000 members. In May 2014, the UKIP won the largest number of votes by the United Kingdom in the 2014 European elections giving them 24 of the 73 seats that the British are entitled to in the European Parliament.

In the British parliamentary elections, it became the third largest party in the United Kingdom, trailing only the traditional Conservative (Tory) and Labor (Labor) parties.

To consider that in the UK there is still the British National Front -BNF- (British National Front) a fascist party with intense relationships with the Stormfront which is a neo-Nazi

Internet forum created in 1995 by former leader of the Ku Klux Klan Don Black. JOBBIK- Movement for a Better Hungary is the main far-right party in Hungary. It received 1,020,476 votes in the Hungarian parliamentary elections of 2014, winning 20.54% of seats.

The far-right European parties - the most well-known being the National Front of France and the Northern League of Italy - renew the discourse that has already worked during the period of Nazi-fascism.

FN - Front National has its historical origins in the Action Française which was a counterrevolutionary and monarchist trend, but was founded in 1972 and is currently led by Marine Le Pen. It is a racist, xenophobic and fascist party. Although not victorious in the 2015 elections, its electoral growth is worrying:

28.48% of voters, equivalent to 6.54 million votes, which means that only 48% of registered voters voted in the first round and 46% in the second round (Voting is not compulsory in France). Lega Nord was founded in 1991 and consists of several regional parties such as the Lombarda League, the Veneta League and the Piedmont League, which continue to exist as regional sections of the party. After the general elections of 1994, the Lega Nord joined the National Alliance, Christian Democrats and Forza Italia to form the government headed by Silvio Berlusconi. In the 2013 elections for the Italian parliament made 18 deputies and 18 senators. It also made 5 Members to the European Parliament. Dispute with the decadent Forza Italia of Berlusconi the hegemony of the right.

In the presidential elections of March 2015 in Poland, the young Andrzej Sebastian Duda was elected by the Law and Justice Party, with a Christian-Democratic and conservative tendency. As a parliamentary republic, the leadership of the Polish government is exercised by Prime Minister Beata Szydło, also of the Law and Justice Party.

And it is in Poland that NATO has established a military base and has 3,000 US troops, a tank regiment, a group of fighter planes and where a missile system is being built. All staring at Russia.

In Hungary, also a parliamentary republic, at the head of the government is, since 2010, Viktor Orbán who became famous when proposing control by the army and closing the Hungarian borders to refugees in the Middle East. In 2013, the Orban government proposed criminalizing homeless people (homeless).

Viktor Orbán is the founder of the Fidesz - Hungarian Civic Union, for which he was elected. This party is characterized by a xenophobic and conservative nationalist ideology and has a large majority in parliament.

Caught up in the turmoil of the financial crisis, faced with huge debt and the impoverishment of hundreds of thousands of families, the Hungarian government creates a kind of laboratory for the crisis through an authoritarian state, to say the least.

In Ukraine, Svoboda (ironically "svoboda" means freedom), a typically fascist party, and Pravy Sektor were the main political forces in the Maidan square protests that toppled Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. In exchange for supplying shock troops for the coup, the Svoboda gained control of Ukraine's top ministries

I could go on to cite examples of this disturbing rise of the far right in the world. But, I

know that the Red Square / Molotov Club mates are aware of these facts and I do not want to tire them out.

But, as in the whole rule, there are exceptions, we must remember the heroic people of Donbass who did not want to follow the rule and today fight with weapons against fascism.

In Donbass, a broad spectrum of socio-political forces was formed, united by the common rejection of neo-Nazism, bureaucratization, rigorous centralism, corruption and oligarchic dictatorship. An example to the world.

However, I must say that in the face of this scenario, this year of 2018 was marked by a new arms race (including nuclear) and the proliferation of increasingly open war threats against Russia and China.

Humanity again faces the real danger of a major conflict, the consequences of which would be catastrophic.

From the above, can we conclude that this rise of the extreme right in the World and in my sad Brazil means that Nazi-fascism, defeated in World War II, has risen from the ashes and tends to dominate countries?

Fascism and Nazism of the last century have very peculiar characteristics and be as movements, either as ideologies or as regime, have influenced diverse countries like Brazil, USA, Portugal, Spain, etc.

I do not believe that fascism and Nazism can re-emerge in this century with all the characteristics that such movements had in the last century.

However, the philosopher and political scientist Masao Maruyama analyzed the social and ideological aspects of Japan and its impact on the Japanese political system. Critic of the establishment, he concluded that post-war democracy in Japan was disguised fascism. This is because, according to him, "the concrete forms of fascism change with the concrete circumstances of the revolutionary situation." Maruyama, who died in 1996, did not know the expression "neofascism" in his life.

So if one can not say that certain extreme right-wing political movements today repeat fascism and nazism as they did in the twentieth century, it is possible to speak of a new fascism, a neofascism, to use a very popular term in the present time, insofar as the "concrete forms" of that ancient fascism change according to "concrete circumstances" for today's fascismo, according to Maruyama.

One of the characteristics of fascism, especially in its Hitlerian version, was racism. This characteristic trait is nowadays in the extreme right-wing Brazilian movement. It has its historical and cultural roots in the slavery of Indians and Negroes. The slavery of the negroes remained until the end of the nineteenth century, in our country, which was, by the way, the last country in the world to abolish slavery. This Brazilian peculiarity, created more than a prejudice, generated a very poorly disguised racism.

General Hamilton Mourão, representative of this extreme right movement and candidate for Vice President in the plate of Jair Bolsonaro, publicly said:

"the Brazilian has the indolence of the Indian and the "malandragem" "the trickery - of the Negro", revealing his racism. Presidential candidate Jair Bolsonaro referred to blacks and Indians as if they were animals, using the word 'arroba' which is a measure of weight. This unacceptable manifestation is aligned with the regime of slavery, in which Indians

and blacks were treated as mere merchandise, and the idea of inequality among human beings, which is absolutely refuted by the Brazilian Constitution and by all the International Treaties and Conventions. which Brazil is a signatory, that affirm equality between human beings as a universal and protected human right.

Bolsonaro, the far right candidate, is also a misogynist, as well as a racist, who justifies the wage gap between men and women and told a congresswoman that she was too "ugly to be raped. Still, he considered it a weakness to have had a daughter, a girl instead of a boy.

That he said, publicly.

Maruyama understands that the motor of fascism is essentially counterrevolutionary (its purpose is not to subvert the established order, but to be the radical and direct opposition to the revolutionary field), regardless of whether there must be a closure of institutions of power, provided it meets the developmental interests of the counterrevolutionary organization (Maruyama, Masao, Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics, London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

The far right movement led by Bolsonaro in Brazil is, as in fascism, counterrevolutionary, promising to end the Brazilian left, especially the Communists. In fascist Italy, Mussolini created the "fasci di combattimento" groups of violent people who fought the workers and their rights as well as left-wing politicians.

In Brazil, the right and the extreme right have passed through Congress a reform of labor laws that removes workers' rights, encourages informal work, and even allows pregnant women to work with unhealthy materials and in unhealthy environments.

Violence is also present in Brazil by the followers of this far-right movement with assassinations such as the capoeira master Romualdo Rosário da Costa, known as Moa do Katendê, on October 8 of this year, stabbed twelve times by the back. Still, they killed the councilwoman from Rio de Janeiro, Marielle Franco. Politically, Marielle was left-wing and, in addition, she was a woman, black and lesbian, showing that this movement is also homophobic, misogynistic, in addition to being racist. The projectiles that hit Marielle are the same ones used by the Federal Police of Brazil.

A young woman from my city, Porto Alegre, carried a sticker against Bolsonaro in her backpack. That was enough for a Bolsonaro follower group to mark, with a penknife, in the region of the girl's ribs, the swastika and ironically the police officer in charge of the investigation said that symbol could be a Buddhist symbol!

Homosexuals are beaten, with iron bars, in the middle of the street in the light of day. Finally, the characteristic of the political violence of twentieth-century fascism is also present in this current movement of the Brazilian extreme right.

"In Brazil, at the current juncture, fascism, besides presenting the characteristics listed above, also constitutes a bizarre mixture of moralism (in the realm of behavior, customs and culture), reactionary magico-religious fundamentalism (spread mainly, but not only by various evangelical denominations), ideology of meritocracy and entrepreneurship (contrary to social policies, taxes and everything public), denial of human rights and the call for violence and more extreme forms of police repression (justified by the need for security), and exaltation of individualism, competition and the market as major values of social life. It is the Brazilian fascism of the neoliberal era, with strong religious ties, openly pro-capital and that has support and important expression within the institutions of the Judiciary and the Public Prosecutor's Office -"

which has been contributing, together with the "modern neoliberal right", to legitimize the construction of a state of exception in the country, whose operational and symbolic spearhead is Operation Lava-Jet "(Luiz Filgueiras in The Political Economy of Fascism, <https://diplomatie.org.br/a-economia> Fascism politics).

Neoliberalism, which goes hand in hand with a neoconservative policy, is a fascism. The United States and Europe are countries where fascist politics reigns and dominates the neoconservative parties and ultra-liberal politicians who have ruined peoples subject to the natural consequences of fascism. There is no mystery to this hecatomb of mass unemployment, pauperization of masses of peoples, this plunderously organized plunder by the predators of Global Financial Capital.

But let us see a difference, among others, between 20th century fascism and neo-fascism. The economic thinking of Brazilian neofascism is that of neoliberalism. There is a historical proof that neo-fascism is economically inspired by neoliberalism. Long before Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, in Pinochet's Chile, a neo-fascist and economically neoliberal dictatorship was implanted politically, including with the personal presence of Milton Friedman, overseeing the deployment of this neoliberalism.

Mussolini, in his book "The Doctrine of Fascism" (Ed Firenze, 1935) stated: "Everything for the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State." In other words, everyone and everything should be subordinated to the State.

Differently, in neofascism, everyone and everything must be subordinated to the "god" MARKET and it is the responsibility of the state to guarantee, even through violence, this subordination.

Fascism of the twentieth century was established in the face of serious economic and social crisis. In Italy, before the crisis of 1929, warmed by the consequences of the First World War. In Germany, also by the consequences of the first world war and aggravated by the crisis of 1929.

In Brazil, this extreme right movement appears in an economic climate of recession, unemployment, reaching more than 13 million workers; finally, a great economic and social crisis.

In Italy, the aftermath of the War evolved into what Gramsci called the "organic crisis," that is, the rupture between social classes and their traditional representations. It is characteristic of this type of crisis the total or partial bankruptcy of the party-political system. Gramsci said: "When these crises occur, the immediate situation becomes delicate and dangerous, because the field is open to the solutions of strength, to the activity of shadowy powers represented by providential or charismatic men." Fascism, from this perspective, erupts in the last century, as in the present, as a conservative alternative for the solution of the organic crisis that puts in check the bourgeois hegemony of capital."

This view is corroborated by another Marxist author, the Peruvian J. C. Mariátegui. Mariátegui, in turn, says: "The reaction, coming to power, does not conform to conserve; ... you have to try to redo the past. Past that is condensed in these norms: principle of authority, government of a hierarchy, religion of State, etc. That is, the norms that the bourgeois and liberal revolution tore and destroyed because they hindered the development of the capitalist economy. "

In Brazil there is an "organic crisis" characterized by economic recession, unemployment, underemployment, informal work, racism, homophobia, misogyny,

corruption in all public and private areas. So the majority of the Brazilian people, as Gramsci said, discredit the political system and lean toward a "messiah", a "savior of the homeland", as a solution to the problems that afflict him. And this is a neofascist exit that, in the end, is not a solution, but, yes, the creation of a big problem. For these reasons, this extreme right-wing Brazilian movement can be classified as a neo-fascist movement.

This phenomenon that is occurring in Brazil, Latin America and in the World is marked, on the other hand, by the inertia of the democratic political field that did not understand the historical moment and has difficulties in presenting alternatives to society.

In the first round of the Brazilian presidential elections, held on October 7, Jair Bolsonaro won the first place. The final decision will be made on October 28, when the second round of these elections will be held.

Who is Jair Bolsonaro the possible new President of the Republic in Brazil? Personally, Bolsonaro is a mediocre man who exposes no idea apart from a hate speech and confesses that he does not understand the minimum of economy. Born of a middle class that looked for jobs that did not require, at the time at least, great intellectual capacities, it chose the race of the arms, the army, and he was retired as captain. This means that he was unsuccessful in his career. He has been a federal deputy for more than twenty and has only passed two bills in that long time.

Bolsonaro is not only a danger to the internal plane, but also to the external plane, that of international relations. On one occasion he said he would withdraw Brazil from the UN. He is the preferred candidate of the Israeli government. Its economic plan is neoliberal, with emphasis on indiscriminate and accelerated privatizations, brutal fiscal shock, and frontal attack on workers' rights, beginning with a social security reform. Its strategy is to reposition Brazil in the world market alongside the US against China and Russia. Account for this with US investments in Brazil to get out of stagnation.

Stripped to its core, the Brazilian presidential elections represented a direct clash between democracy and a neo-fascism of the early 21st century, between civilization and barbarism.“

According to Pepe Escobar, there is the interference of American imperialism in these elections in Brazil. He says: "The global geopolitical and economic repercussions will be enormous. The Brazilian dilemma illuminates all the contradictions surrounding the right-wing populist offensive of the West, juxtaposing itself with the inexorable collapse of the left. The risks can not be greater.

It is no secret that Steve Bannon is a counselor for the Bolsonaro campaign in Brazil. One of Bolsonaro's sons, Eduardo, met with Bannon in New York two months after the Bolsonaro camp decided to take advantage of Bannon's supposedly unequalled vision of social engineering. (...)

A specter haunts Europe. His name is Steve Bannon. This specter has moved to the tropics (...) "(in" The future of Western democracy is at stake in Brazil [https://resistir.info/brasil/escobar\\_09out18\\_p.html](https://resistir.info/brasil/escobar_09out18_p.html)).

Subestimar Bolsonaro, ou a capacidade de sua corrente se articular no terreno internacional seria um grave erro. Existe uma Internacional de extrema direita, ainda em forma embrionária, sendo construída no mundo, com financiamento robusto de

alguns grandes grupos econômicos, que respondem ao projeto de uma fração do capitalismo norte-americano de oferecer resistência à ascensão da China e da Rússia como potências mundiais.

If Bolsonaro wins the elections, Brazil will cease to be a power in the world, allied with the BRICS and the burgeoning emerging multilateralism. In its possible government, Brazil will only become a subordinate agent of the United States, a second-rate police officer to watch over Latin America and the Caribbean.

Argentine political scientist Andrés Malamud, a professor at the University of Lisbon, speaks of the "Brazilian paradox: electing a real fascist, thinking it is a lie, out of fear of a communism of lies that they believe to be true." I believe that this sentence sums up the tragedy we are experiencing today in Brazil.

Sorry for this long text. But I must say, or rather ask my dear friends and comrades of this Club: if Bolsonaro wins, we ask our eminent comrades that in their own countries create a movement of support and solidarity for Brazilians who struggle against neofascism and if that is the case, welcome these militants of democracy and peace in your countries if we must to be exiled.

Faced with this neo-fascist climate of disrespect for human dignity and freedom, let me end by recalling the immortal verses of Paul Éluard's poem "Liberté" written in 1942, when France was under the domination of the Nazis.

Sur mes cahiers d'écolier  
Sur mon pupitre et les arbres  
Sur le sable de neige  
J'écris ton nom  
Sur les pages lues  
Sur toutes les pages blanches

Author: Humberto Carvalho, Comminis from Brazil

"The rise of fascism to power is not a simple exchange of one bourgeois government for another, but the replacement of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie, bourgeois democracy, on the other: the declared terrorist dictatorship. To ignore this difference would be a serious error which would prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the broadest layers of the workers of the city and the countryside to fight against the threat of the taking of power by the fascists and to take advantage of the contradictions existing in the field of the bourgeoisie. Not less serious and dangerous, however, is the error of not sufficiently appreciating the significance of the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie which are now intensifying in the countries of the bourgeoisie, which restrain the democratic freedoms of the workers, restrict and falsify the rights of the parliament and aggravate the measures of repression against the revolutionary movement " (G. Dimitrov, in "The Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class against Fascism.")

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