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## HATEWATCH

# THE MULTIPOLAR SPIN: HOW FASCISTS OPERATIONALIZE LEFT-WING RESENTMENT

March 09, 2018

by Alexander Reid Ross

During his [recent tour](#) of Europe, [disgraced](#) former Trump strategist Steve Bannon declared “Italy is in the lead.”

Amid the historic [resurgence](#) of the Italian far right that returned right-wing populist Silvio Berlusconi to prominence, Bannon fantasized about “the ultimate dream” of unifying the anti-establishment [Five Star Movement](#) with the far-right League (formerly the Northern League) through a populist movement. Bannon’s international vision of nationalist populist movements is locked into the Kremlin’s geopolitical ideology of a “multipolar world.”

The League is tied through a cooperation pact to Putin’s Russia, and its deputy in charge of relations with foreign parties, Claudio D’Amico, explicitly called for a “[multipolar world](#)” in Katehon, a think tank created by fascist ideologue [Aleksandr Dugin](#). Following the ideological line Dugin put forward in his text, *Foundations of Geopolitics*, Katehon calls for uniting a “Eurasian” bloc in constant struggle against “Atlanticist” countries. For Dugin, the “21st century gamble” is to create a

“multipolar” confederation of “[Traditionalist](#)” regional empires united under Russian sovereignty that will overthrow the “unipolar” empire of “postmodern” democracies.

Shortly after Putin’s election in 2000, the Kremlin released a set of [foreign policy guidelines](#) calling for a “multipolar world order” against the “strengthening tendency towards the formation of a unipolar world under financial and military domination by the United States.” Escalating with the Ukrainian Orange Revolution in 2004, the Kremlin’s production of [soft-power networks](#) throughout [Europe](#) and the [United States](#) involves- [think tanks](#), [loans](#), [forums](#), [propaganda outlets](#) and cooperation agreements with far-right parties like the [Austrian Freedom Party](#) and the [League](#). From Russia to Iran to Western Europe and the U.S., this international movement uses conspiracy theories and “gray material” to warp the political spectrum into a populist referendum along “geopolitical” terms set by fascist *engagées*.

## Red and brown polarities

As a recent [major report](#) on syncretic networks exposed, the modern fascist movement’s obsession with geopolitics emerged in force amid the post-Cold War antiglobalization movement. In 2002, a [front group](#) formed out of the U.S.-based [Workers’ World Party](#) known as the International Action Center [joined forces](#) with the Assisi-based “Campo Antimperialista.” As Duginists [infiltrated the Campo](#), opening a journal called *Eurasia* that garnered the influential involvement of Campo participant Costanza Preve, the International Action Center [continued](#) their cooperation.

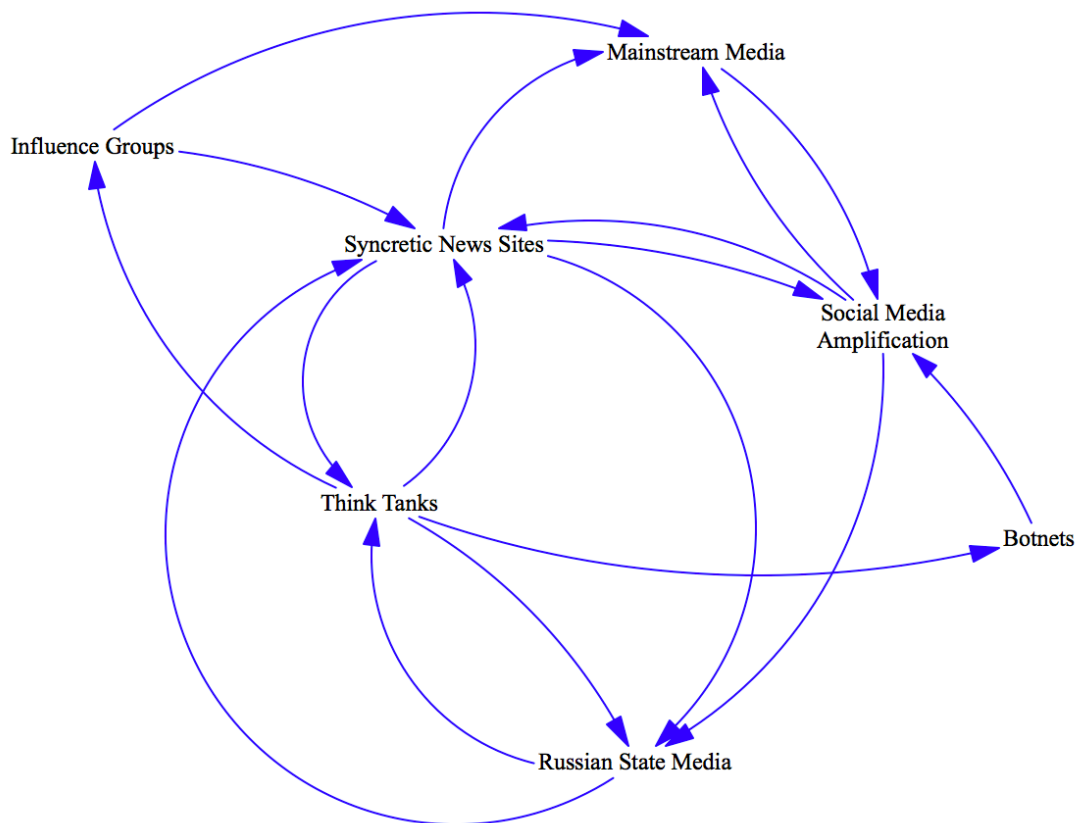
[Soon](#), a similar Russian group called the Anti-Globalist Resistance began to repost the Campo’s dispatches. Sharing [support for Milosevic](#) with the [Campo](#) and the [International Action Center](#), the Anti-Globalist Resistance emerged simultaneously with the same tendency to fight globalization by linking far-right to hard-left. In [2008](#), they brought the Campo to Moscow for the third “All-Russia Anti-Globalist Forum,” introduced by long-time U.S. fascist [Lyndon LaRouche](#). The [next year’s conference](#) included Duginist leaders like Leonid Savin and retired General [Leonid Ivashov](#), along with LaRouche and [Holocaust denier](#) Israel Shamir.

As their work continued, the Campo and Anti-Globalist Resistance drew more anti-globalization activists into their syncretic orbit. In 2012, a group came together at a Campo Antimperialista event in Assisi and developed what would become the [Syria Solidarity Movement](#). The movement’s steering committee came to include top figures from groups from the U.S. hard left, including the Workers World Party, its affiliate, ANSWER and a spinoff of the latter group called the Party of Socialism and

Liberation.

After changing their name to the Anti-Globalization Movement of Russia, the group drew people from the Syria Solidarity Movement's network to a conference called the "[Right of Peoples to Self-Determination and Building a Multipolar World](#)" in 2014. A delegate from the International Action Center attended, along with delegates from another Workers World Party front group called United Anti-War Coalition, including an editor with the *Black Agenda Report* named Margaret Kimberly. Among the conference's other attendees were [Michael Hill](#) of the neo-Confederate [League of the South](#) and the [Texas Nationalist Movement](#), as well as the far-right Republika of Srpska and National Bolshevik Italian Communitarian Party.

The following year, the Anti-Globalization Movement of Russia met with a [purported](#) Cherokee Nation elder named "Mashu White Feather" and a representative of the [Uhuru Movement](#), also connected to the *Black Agenda Report*. They then organized a [state-funded](#) conference that drew members of the fascist Italian group [Millenium](#), Mutti's associate Antonio Grego, and a leading member of the far-right [Rodina](#) party, as well as representatives of separatist groups like the Texas Nationalist Movement and the Catalan Solidarity for Independence party. The now-notorious troll factory, the [Internet Research Agency](#), would later invite the Texas Nationalist Movement to join an armed, Islamophobic protest launched by the fake "[Heart of Texas](#)," while also inciting counter-protestors.



□ This network map shows the flow of movement building from parties to front groups to participation in and creation of syncretic coalitions.

## The Syria connection

The Syria Solidarity Movement lists on its steering committee a host of syncretic figures like [Duginist](#), [Navid Nasr](#) and an Australian representative of the fascist-modeled Syrian Social Nationalist Party [affiliate](#), [Mussalaha](#). Before a [report](#) revealed her associations with [Global Research](#), [Ron Paul](#) and the right-wing [British Constitution Party](#), conspiracy theorist Vanessa Beeley held a position on the steering committee as well.

As an editor at the [alt-right-associated](#) conspiracy theory site, 21stCenturyWire, [Beeley's repeated conspiracy articles](#) attempting to link the White Helmets to [al Qaeda](#) and [George Soros](#) earned her a [visit](#) with [Assad](#) in Damascus and [senior Russian officials](#) in Moscow; however, they [have been thoroughly debunked](#). A defender of right-wing Hungarian president [Viktor Orban](#), Beeley [promotes antisemites](#) like [Gilad Atzmon](#) and [Dieudonné](#), even [speaking at a conference](#) hosted by the latter in partnership with notorious Holocaust denier [Laurent Louis](#). Regardless, the Syrian Solidarity Movement and the associated Hands Off Syria Coalition recommend Beeley's work.

Along with members of the Syria Solidarity Movement, delegates who attended the Anti-Globalization Movement of Russia's "Multipolar World" conference sit on the Hands off Syria Coalition's steering committee. Showing its commitments and affinities, in January 2016, the Hands Off Syria Coalition published a "[Multipolar World Against War](#)" statement signed by the leader of the Anti-Globalization Movement of Russia, Alexander Ionov.

Similarly, the Hands Off Syria Coalition website publicizes self-described Marxist, Tim Anderson, who has an interesting record of attending far-right conferences. In 2015, Anderson attended the far-right [Brandherd Syrian Congress](#), and the next year he was at Defend Our Heritage's [Leura Forum](#), chaired by a leader of far-right party [Alternative for Germany](#). Following that, Anderson's pet project, [Center of Counter Hegemonic Studies](#), convened a conference that brought in Paul Antonopoulos, an [editor](#) for the Duginist website Fort Russ.

The Hands Off Syria Coalition advertises Anderson's book, [The Dirty War on Syria](#), which is published by [syncretic conspiracist](#) site Global Research. Multiple "Research Associates" of Global Research sit on the "[scientific committee](#)" of the Campo-linked Duginist journal [Geopolitica](#), and the site lists as its "[partner media group](#)" the Voltaire Network. Publishing LaRouchite and Duginist articles, the Voltaire Network boasts the Syrian Social Nationalist Party's Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs as its Vice President. One of the Voltaire Network's leading [contributors](#) is [Mikhail Leontyev](#), an [associate of Dugin](#) who has moved from [prominent media personality](#) to the role of [spokesman](#) for Russian state oil company, Rosneft. The [Syria Solidarity Movement](#) [publishes](#) Voltaire Network articles by founder Thierry Meyssan, a contributor to Campo-linked journal *Eurasia* who associates with [Holocaust deniers](#) and open [fascists](#), among others.

Hands Off Syria Coalition steering committee member Issa Chaer joined Meyssan on a panel at the Second New Horizons conference in Iran in 2012. [Conference speakers that year](#) included World Workers Party member Caleb Maupin, Alt Right journalist Tim Pool,

Holocaust denier Kevin Barrett, and Duginists like Voltaire Network associate [Mateusz Piskorski](#), German editor [Manuel Ochsenreiter](#), Leonid Savin, and Claudio Mutti the leading fascist infiltrator of the Campo Antimperialista. The [banner image](#) for last year's New Horizon features Aleksandr Dugin.

## Multipolar propaganda

According to the metrics search engine BuzzSumo, most of the leading articles with the terms “[multipolar world](#)” and “[multi-polar world](#)” in the title come from an interconnected network of sites, including Global Research, The Duran and Sign of the Times. With an estimated six million unique daily views per month, the biggest and most influential in this network is the Russian state-run media site Sputnik News.

Billing itself as pointing “the way to a multipolar world that respects every country’s national interests, culture, history and traditions,” Sputnik frequently publishes [Piskorski](#), [Ochsenreiter](#), Mutti’s fellow Campo infiltrator [Tiberio Graziani](#), commentator [Andrew Korybko](#) and Fort Russ editor [Joaquin Flores](#). Furthermore, Sputnik has joined RT in [consistently using dubious sources affiliated with the Syria Solidarity Network](#) to attack the White Helmets and throw doubt on the Assad regime’s [war crimes](#), for instance its [use of chemical weapons](#).

A syncretic hub on Sputnik, anti-imperialist John Wight’s podcast, “Hard Facts,” promotes the same figures associated with the pro-Assad network in the West, including Beeley, Anderson, and Nasr. Perhaps most interestingly, Wight also hosted trans-national far-right figure, Edward Lozansky during the 2016 election and again early the next year.

With more than [30 years of involvement](#) in the U.S. and Russian far right, Lozansky is perhaps most known as the creator of the American University in Moscow. Boasting a number of Fellows involved in pro-Kremlin media outlets like The Duran, RT and Russia Insider, the American University in Moscow appears to be an ideological center in the concerted social media campaign associated with the [Internet Research Agency](#) to boost anti-Clinton, pro-Kremlin propaganda in the U.S. Lozansky also hosts conferences with [known fascist ideologues](#) and an annual “Russia Forum” featuring far-right politicians and left-wing media operators from Russia and the U.S.

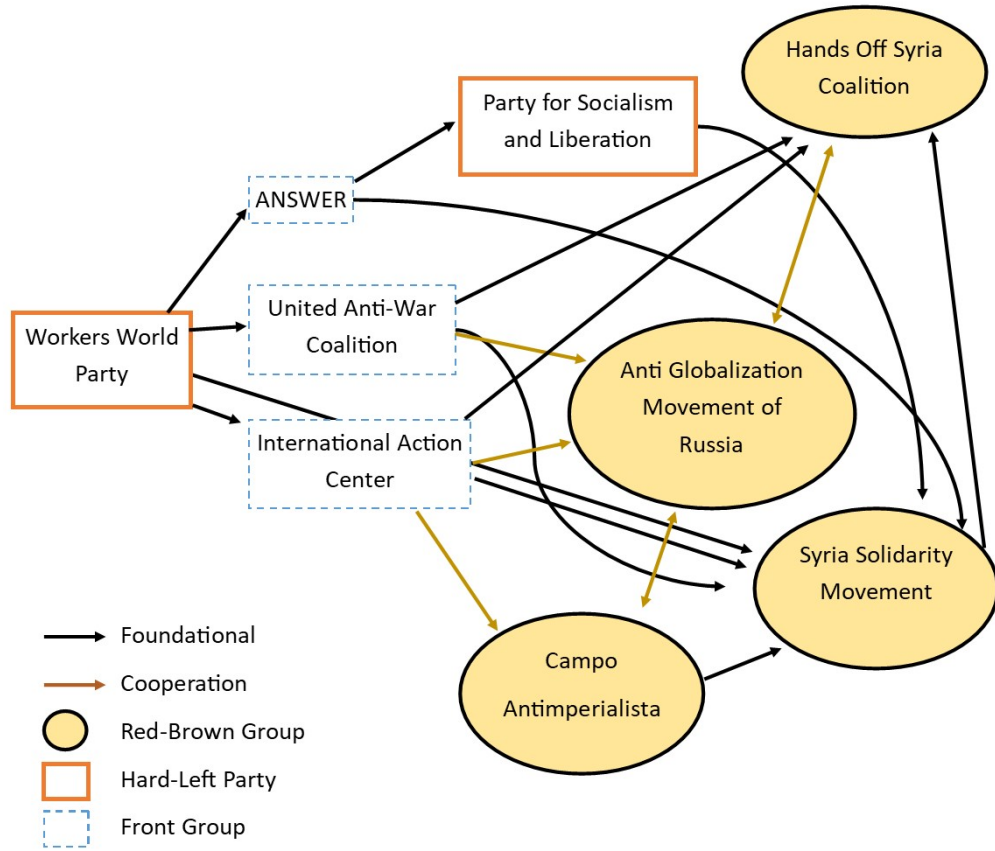
During [both](#) of his pro-Putin, pro-Trump interviews with Lozansky on “Hard Facts,” Wight advocated “a multipolar alternative to the unipolar world,” insisting, “we’re talking about a struggle for a multipolar world to replace the unipolarity that has wreaked so much havoc since the demise of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s.”

The most important anti-imperialist hub on Sputnik, however, is hosted by Brian Becker, whose fellow party member and brother sits on the steering committee for the Syria Solidarity Movement. The leader of the Party for Socialism and Liberation, Becker regularly hosts Fellows of the American University in Moscow on his Sputnik podcast, “Loud & Clear.”

“Loud & Clear”’s Lozansky-affiliated guests include far-right PR man [Jim Jatras](#),

Mark Sleboda of the Dugin-founded [Center for Conservative Studies](#), the Ron Paul Institute's [Daniel McAdams](#) and Alexander Mercouris of the [syncretic conspiracist site](#), The Duran. The program also provides a platform to a variety of explicitly far-right guests, including Oath Keepers founder [Stewart Rhodes](#), antisemite [Alberto Garcia Watson](#), alt-right figure [Cassandra Fairbanks](#) and militia movement leader [Larry Pratt](#).

Aside from marginal guests, Loud & Clear can bring on some heavy hitters. During his two appearances on "[Loud & Clear](#)" in late 2017, bestselling author Max Blumenthal called the red-brown radio show "the finest public affairs programming" and declared, "I am increasingly turning to RT America for sanity." No stranger to Sputnik, Blumenthal also went on "[Hard Facts](#)" that August, claiming that notorious ISIS militant Mohammed Emwazi was ushered into the Syria conflict by the CIA via a "rat line" from Saudi Arabia.



□ This Venn diagram suggests that certain syncretic groups exist as containers for the intersection of right and left wing groups, ideologies.

## Highway to the Grayzone

Around the same time he went on “Loud & Clear,” Blumenthal appeared on [Tucker Carlson’s FOX News show](#) to defend RT — his [second](#) time on the [far-right](#) show that year. Blumenthal’s RT appearances have been [praised](#) by white nationalists like



[Frazier Glenn Miller, Jr.](#), who murdered three people outside of a Jewish Community Center in 2014, so his courting of the right on FOX drew [considerable backlash](#).

Two months later, Blumenthal offered up a staunch defense of “Russia’s position in the world” to author Robert Wright in an interview on [bloggingheads](#). Admitting that Putin’s Russia remains far from left-wing, Blumenthal justified support for the country’s authoritarian conservative government as “part of the multipolar world.”

“If you believe in a multipolar world,” Blumenthal told Wright, “you believe in détente, you believe in diplomacy.” He specifically mentioned Becker’s Party for Socialism and Liberation and groups like it, arguing that they “tend to get all the major issues right regardless of their ideology or agenda.”

Blumenthal was not as clear of a spokesperson for Kremlin geopolitics before he appeared at the same [RT gala](#) as disgraced former National Security advisor Michael Flynn and the Green Party’s Jill Stein in December 2015. During that occasion, he [joined a panel](#) called “Infowar: Will there be a winner” alongside Alt Right anti-Semite [Charles Bausman](#) of Russia Insider. A month later, Blumenthal’s pro-Kremlin position crystalized with the founding of the [Grayzone Project](#).

Grayzone is a collaborative project also featuring journalist Benjamin Norton, who cosigned the Hands Off Syria Coalition’s points of unity statement along with Beeley and others. After going on “[Loud & Clear](#)” with Duginist Mark Sleboda and [Infowars regular](#), [Ray McGovern](#), Norton plugged the Party for Socialism and Liberation on a podcast episode titled “[Hands off Syria](#).” With other Grayzone contributors, Norton has been criticized for [downplaying war crimes](#) and helping publicize [false theories](#) about [rebels contaminating](#) Damascus’s [water supply](#).

When reached for comment by email, Norton retorted, “I know your goal is to outlandishly smear anyone who opposes US imperialism and is to the left of the Clintons as a ‘crypto-fascist,’ while NATO supports actual fascists whom you care little about.”

Grayzone is perhaps best known for Blumenthal’s [controversial two-part article](#) attacking the White Helmets, which brought accusations of plagiarism from Beeley. Grayzone contributor [Rania Khalek](#) had, Beeley insisted, “pumped me for information on the [White Helmets] and then Max wrote the article.”

While Blumenthal may have repeated some of Beeley’s theories, Beeley cannot be seen as a credible source. Regardless, Khalek has since used a [questionable interview sourced from Beeley](#) as evidence that the White Helmets “were deeply embedded in al

Qaeda.”

Grayzone recently announced their move from independent news site AlterNet to The Real News Network, a left-wing site with a penchant for [9/11 truther inquiries](#). Neither Blumenthal nor Khalek responded to efforts to reach them for comment.

## Right uses left

Through its amplification of an interlinked, multi-centered network organized around institutions like Lozansky’s American University in Moscow and the Voltaire Network and conferences like Moscow’s “Multi-Polar World” and Tehran’s “New Horizons,” syncretic networks associated with Dugin’s Eurasianist ideology have combined distortions and ambiguities into a geopolitical narrative meant to confuse audiences and promote authoritarian populist opposition to liberalism.

The “[gray measures](#)” used to deny the Kremlin’s influence operations may seem dubious when delivered through channels like Sputnik that are, themselves, political technologies of far-right political influence. When cycled through “[narrative laundering](#)” of secondary and tertiary networks enhanced by trolls and [coordinated influence operations](#), however, propaganda is “graywashed” of its dubious sources and presented as cutting-edge journalism.

As shown with Figure 3, think tanks like Katehon and connected [Russian Institute for Strategic Studies](#) develop strategies for media spin and online promotion through influence groups and botnets. These think tanks engage in feedback loops with Russian state media channels and linked syncretic news sites, amplified through social media with the help of botnets, and eventually reaching more legitimate sources often freed of their dubious sourcing. The results are explored by a recent study from Data and Society called [Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online](#): “Online communities are increasingly turning to conspiracy-driven news sources, whose sensationalist claims are then covered by the mainstream media, which exposes more of the public to these ideas, and so on.”

### Syncretic "Anti-Imperialist" Networks



*A conceptual model made in Vensim intended to present the workings of "Graywashing."*

The problem with multipolarism, aside from assuming polarity as a useful prescription, may be that it supports not the emergence of Russia as a world power but the rise of the Kremlin’s authoritarian conservative political ideology. In this, multipolarists tend to support other authoritarian regimes and movements from Iran to Syria to Italy. Although anti-imperialists may believe that these measures land them on the right side of history, taking stock of the fascist movement suggests that the strategy of opposing a liberal order through red-brown populist collaboration makes the left a

willing accomplice.

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*The author would like to thank Professor Wayne Wakeland of Portland State University for his assistance with the development of Figure 3.*

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