

The “Deep Right”  
and  
The Political Crisis in the USA  
New Perspectives

# Modernity's Challenge to US Liberalism

To progress from “Herrschaft” to “Gesellschaft” to “Gemeinschaft” (overcoming Liberalism's contradictions)

1776- 1954: Herrschaft of WASP élites , conditional respect for human rights

1954 - 1980 Drive for Gesellschaft - Human Rights are Civil Rights

1980 - 2008 Drive to “Gemeinschaft” fails: civil rights do not become social rights. Rawls is rejected, Hayek, Chicago school and Washington Consensus drive for neoliberal “ordo” state:  
Law over politics

Post 2008 - Massive financial fail on ordo., US is trapped between creating a citizenship based Gemeinschaft or **ditching modernity** to return to 1950s Herrschaft-

("Modernity" as rule of reason and expansion of freedom)

# Central Problem: Law-Making. Two Different Approaches

## John Rawls: Theory of Justice (1971)

- A “free-standing” political theory.
- A “bracketed” process all can embrace as fair
- Essentially, Bentham’s Utilitarianism + Rousseau

## Jurgen Habermas - Between Facts and Norms (1996)

- PT Cannot be free standing: must connect to all national cultures and ethical systems - not just majority
- must balance economic rights with civil and social rights.
- Effectively, Montesquieu, updated for the 21st c.

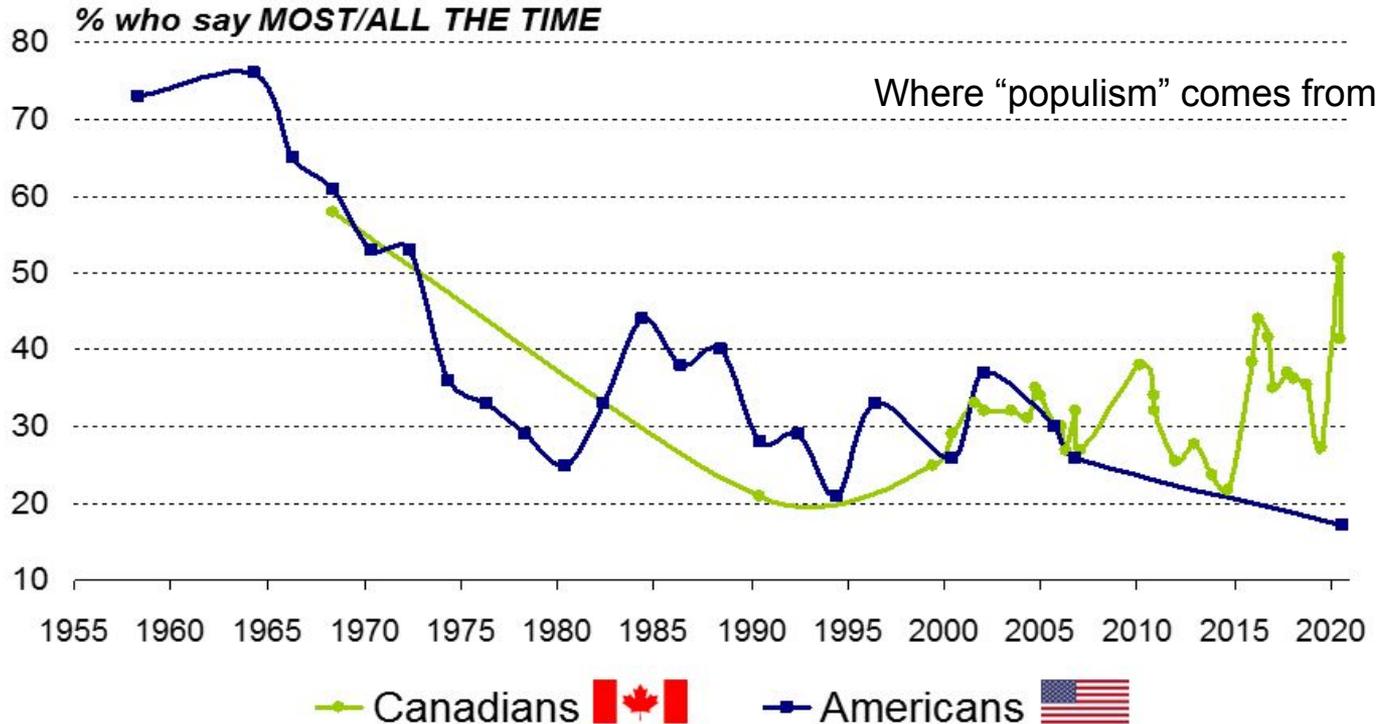
# How failing to advance Liberal society puts democracy at risk

## Four Steps to Nowhere

- 1 Policy failure that destroys public confidence in the national direction
2. Destruction of distinction between truth and falsehood at the national level
3. Resurrection of the historical anti-Enlightenment Right which desires a return to pre 1950 "Herrschaft"
4. New technology deployed that inflames social division and displaces moderate speech.

# Tracking trust in government

Q. How much do you trust the government in Ottawa/Washington to do what is right?



# Unpacking the anti-Enlightenment Assault on Democracy

When a party becomes a cult

1. A Big Lie
2. A Maximum Leader who promotes suspension of belief
3. Controls public discourse norms - the Overton Window
4. Opponents have no legitimacy: Our cause is transcendent
5. Violence - however regrettable - may be “necessary”

# DATA ANALYSIS - The Secret Sauce - Cambridge Analytics

By the end of August 2014, Wylie had the first successful outputs: 2.1m profiled records, from 11 target US states, the plan being that they would be used to communicate and refine messages in Mercer and Steve Bannon-backed Republican campaigns leading up to the 2016 primaries (Wylie left before these). “What that number represents is people who not only have their Facebook data, voter data, and consumer data (which was all matched up), but also had an additional 253 predictions or scores that were then appended to their profile.”

Those 253 predictions were the “secret sauce” that Cambridge Analytica claimed it could offer its customers. Using Facebook itself, advertisers are limited to broad demographic strokes, and a few narrower algorithmically determined categories – whether you like jazz music, say, or what your favourite sports team is. But with 253 further predictions, Cambridge Analytica could, Wylie says, craft adverts no one else could: a neurotic, extroverted and agreeable Democrat could be targeted with a radically different message than an emotionally stable, introverted, intellectual one, each designed to suppress their voting intention – even if the same messages, swapped around, would have the opposite effect.

**Source: The Guardian, Cambridge Analytica: How Did It Turn Clicks Into Votes?,**

**6 May 2018**

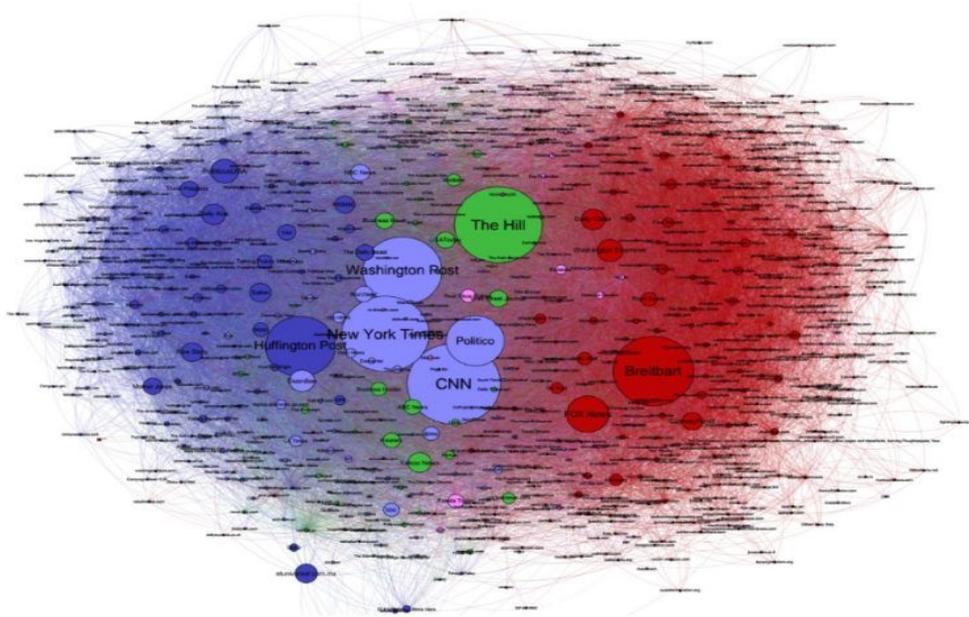
# NBER Working Paper - Fake News

Social Media Networks, Fake News, and Polarization  
Marina Azzimonti and Marcos Fernandes  
NBER Working Paper No. 24462  
March 2018, Revised August 2021  
JEL No. C45, C63, D72, D8, D83, D85, D91

## ABSTRACT

We study how the structure of social media networks and the presence of fake news affects the degree of misinformation and polarization in a society. For that, we analyze a dynamic model of opinion exchange in which individuals have imperfect information about the true state of the world and exhibit bounded rationality. Key to the analysis is the presence of internet bots: agents in the network that spread fake news (e.g., a constant flow of biased information). We characterize how agents' opinions evolve over time and evaluate the determinants of long-run misinformation and polarization in the network. To that end, we construct a synthetic network calibrated to Twitter and simulate the information exchange process over a long horizon to quantify the bots' ability to spread fake news. A key insight is that significant misinformation and polarization arise in networks in which only 15% of agents believe fake news to be true, indicating that network externality effects are quantitatively important. Higher bot centrality typically increases polarization and lowers misinformation. When one bot is more influential than the other (asymmetric centrality), polarization is reduced but misinformation grows, as opinions become closer to the more influential bot's preferred point. Finally, we show that threshold rules tend to reduce polarization and misinformation. This is because, as long as agents also have other sources of information, threshold rules actually limit the influence of bots.

# Breitbart ecosystem - Election 2016



2016 election-media sources shared on  
twitter CJR -  
<https://www.cjr.org/analysis/breitbart-media-trump-harvard-study.php>

# Breitbart Ecosystem

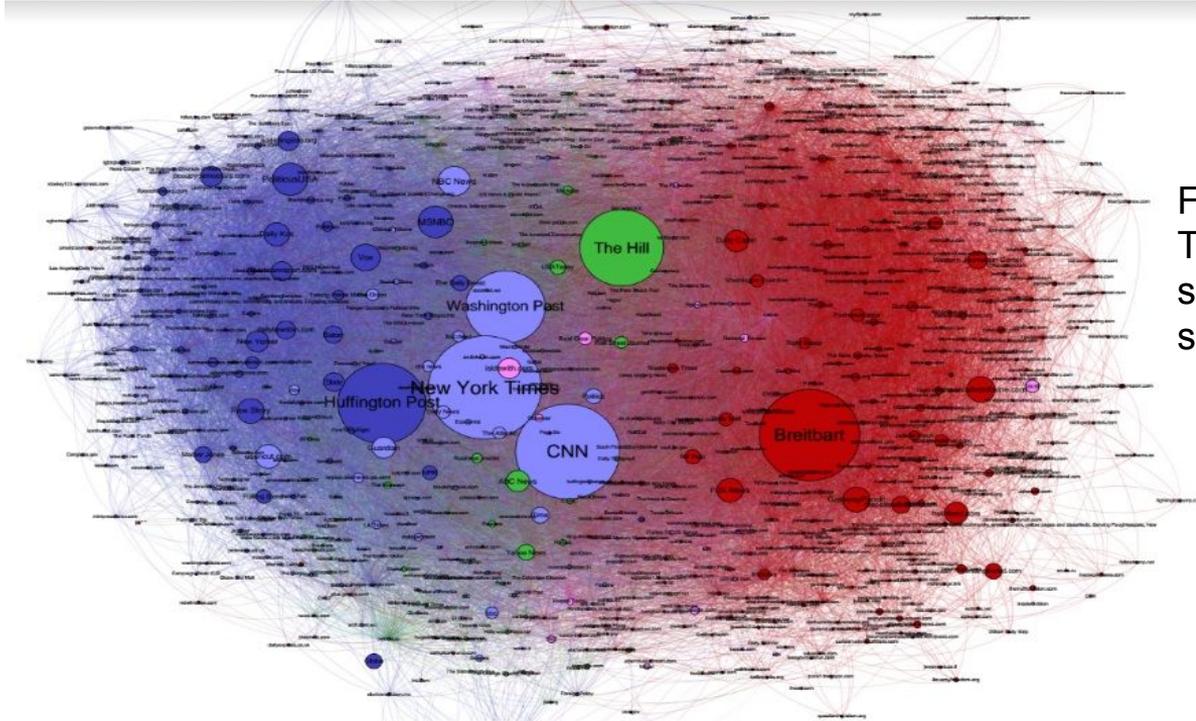


Fig. 2: Media sources shared on Twitter during the election (nodes sized in proportion to Facebook shares).

# Understand the Battle Over US Voting Rights - NYT 2021-12-04

**Why are voting rights an issue now?** In 2020, as a result of the pandemic, millions embraced voting early in person or by mail, especially among Democrats. Spurred on by Donald Trump's false claims about mail ballots in hopes of overturning the election, the G.O.P. has pursued [a host of new voting restrictions](#)...

**What are Republicans trying to do?** Broadly, the party is taking a two-pronged approach: imposing additional [restrictions on voting](#), especially mail voting, and giving [Republican-led state legislatures greater control](#) over the mechanics of casting and counting ballots.

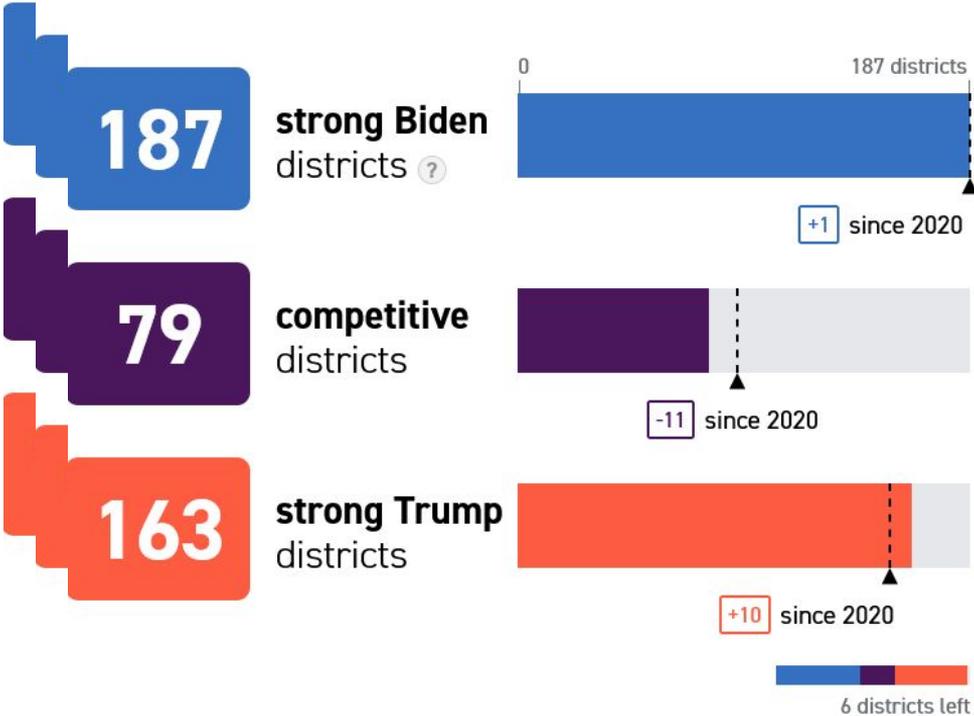
**Why are these legislative efforts important?** The Republican push to tighten voting rules has fueled doubts about the integrity of the democratic process in the U.S. Many of the restrictions are likely to [affect voters of color disproportionately](#).

**How have the Democrats pushed back?** Democrats had hoped to unravel voting restrictions with federal legislation, but they [weren't able to secure enough votes](#) to pass it in the Senate. An [attempt to change the Senate's filibuster rules](#) to enable the passage of the bill [also failed](#).

**Which states have changed their voting laws?** Nineteen states passed 34 laws restricting voting in 2021. Some of the most significant legislation was enacted in battleground states like [Texas](#), [Georgia](#) and [Florida](#). Republican lawmakers are planning a [new wave of election laws in 2022](#)..

**Will these new laws swing elections?** Maybe. Maybe not.

# “Tweaking” the vote: Redistricting Update 9-6-2022 - Politico ReDistricting Tracker



# DHS National Terrorism Advisory System

## Summary of the Terrorism Threat to the US Issued June 7, 2022 (Extract)

The United States remains in a heightened threat environment, as noted in the previous Bulletin, and several recent attacks have highlighted the dynamic and complex nature of the threat environment. In the coming months, we expect the threat environment to become more dynamic as several high-profile events could be exploited to justify acts of violence against a range of possible targets. These targets could include public gatherings, faith-based institutions, schools, racial and religious minorities, government facilities and personnel, U.S. critical infrastructure, the media, and perceived ideological opponents. Threat actors have recently mobilized to violence due to factors such as personal grievances, reactions to current events, and adherence to violent extremist ideologies, including racially or ethnically motivated or anti-government/anti-authority violent extremism. Foreign adversaries—including terrorist organizations and nation state adversaries—also remain intent on exploiting the threat environment to promote or inspire violence, sow discord, or undermine U.S. democratic institutions. We continue to assess that the primary threat of mass casualty violence in the United States stems from lone offenders and small groups motivated by a range of ideological beliefs and/or personal grievances.

# The New Deep Right: Anti-Enlightenment, Anti-Modern, Declinist

**Peter Thiel** - Multi-Billionaire, MAGA/Trump supporter, techno libertarian, shares fears with “traditionalists” of “inversion” and possible tech apocalypse

**Curtis Yarvin** - Brilliant programmer, blogger and poet, Thiel’s “muse”. A “formalist”. favours a US CEO-Monarch

**J.D. Vance**, author of “Hillbilly Elegies”, finance expert, currently in Thiel’s employ, deplors coastal ivy-league neo-liberal Ivy League élites selling out heartland heavy industry and encouragement of China’s rise,

**Steve Bannon**-Brilliant tactician, “Trotsky of the Right”, former Cambridge Analytica Director and Trump White House advisor. “US is Rome, awaiting its Caesar”. Dialogues with Alexander Dugin and his 4th Political Theory.

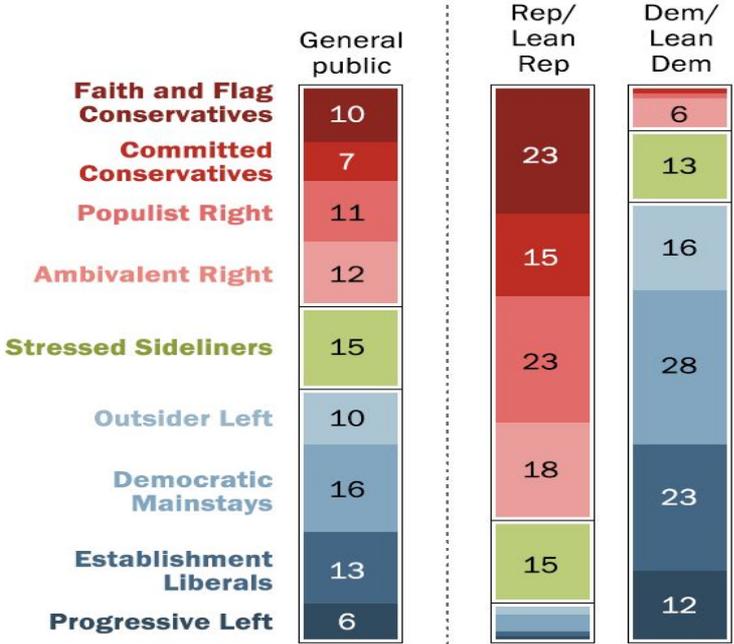
**Claremont Institute** - Academically reputed, a platform for personalities of the New Right.

**Alexandre Dugin** - Erudite far right Russian philosopher. His “4th Political Theory attacks modernism and liberalism in favour of “traditionalist” ethnocentric, autocratic nationhood, promoting Eurasianism and predicting apocalyptic war between “Atlantis” and the Eurasian Leviathan.

# A Two-Party System - that Divides by 9 on Both Sides! Parsing two-party support: Pew Centre Results

## The 2021 political typology

% of \_\_\_\_ who are ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 8-18, 2021.

# What's Just Happened?

**Jan 6 Committee hearings and their report to the people**

**SCOTUS cancelling Roe v Wade and permitting universal gun carry in NYC**

These have finally awakened public attention to the existence of a major “Conservative” threat to the Republic. But the national divisions are very real...and perhaps too big to bridge with an overlapping pro-Enlightenment majority.

Implications for Canada of an anti-modern US? A beacon's light extinguished-

OR “Welcome - Glad you could join us” from a trendingly populist, non-liberal ROW?

-end-

# Sources not cited on slides

Slide 2: The concept of progression of rights and governance is elaborated in Alexander Görlach (2019) *Homo Empathicus: Von Sonderbecken, Populisten und der Rettung der Demokratie*, Herder, p.167, citing Ralf Dahrendorf.

Slide 3: John Rawls (1971) *Theory of Justice*, Belknap Press, Harvard, esp Chapter 1,3, p. 12 “Among the essential features of the situation (the “veil of ignorance”) is that no one is able to design principles to favor his particular condition”. Rawls (1996) *Political Liberalism*, Lecture IX, Reply to Habermas, *Two Main Differences*,376-385; Catherine Audard (2009), *Qu'est-ce que le libéralisme?Le Rôle de la raison publique* (John Rawls, 1999) et Jürgen Habermas (2008), 655-663.

Slide 5: The chart is from *A National Security Strategy for the 2020s: Report of the Task Force on National Security*, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs (GSPIA) University of Ottawa. May 2020, p.30

Slide 7: Alex Hern, 6 May,2018, “Cambridge Analytica: How Did They Change Clicks into Votes,” *The Guardian*,<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/may/06/cambridge-analytica-how-turn-clicks-into-votes-christopher-wylie>

# Sources not cited on slides

Slide 8: Jeremy Pogue, 20 April, 2022, Inside the New Right, Where Peter Thiel is placing his biggest bets, Vanity Fair,

<https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2022/04/inside-the-new-right-where-peter-thiel-is-placing-his-biggest-bets>

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Anna Wiener, October 27, 2021, What Is It About Peter Thiel, The New

Yorker, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-silicon-valley/what-is-it-about-peter-thiel>

Daniel Miller, Review of War for Eternity: Inside Bannon's Far Right Circle of Global Power Brokers, by Benjamin R. Teitelbaum, Day Street Books, New York,

2020, <https://voegelinview.com/war-for-eternity-inside-bannon-s-far-right-circle-of-global-power-brokers/>

Aleksandr Dugin, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleksandr\\_Dugin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleksandr_Dugin)