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Topic: A Look Back on Trump's Presidency: Was he more of a Nationalist or a Fascist?

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Student's (official) Name: Li Zhuoning

Class: 4i4

Name of Teacher-Mentor: Ms Shanthi D/O Ramasamy

Declaration

I declare that this assignment is my own work and does not involve plagiarism or collusion. The sources of other people's work have been appropriately referenced, failing which I am willing to accept the necessary disciplinary action(s) to be taken against me.

Student's Signature :

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Li Zhuoning', enclosed in a light blue oval.

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Abstract

Trump's appeal was Nationalism, with his slogan "Make America Great Again," and his "America First" policies. However, we have seen him defy many conventions of America, an irony for one associated with Nationalism. This phenomenon can be explained through Giovanni Gentile's 1928 essay "The Philosophic Basics of Fascism." By using Empirical Political Theory to test if "Trumpism" meets this criteria, this paper has found that Gentile's form of Fascism is different from what we usually define Fascism as. Whereas both Nationalism and Fascism urge for people to conform to the identity of the state, the state, according to Nationalism, never changes, whereas for Fascism, it changes with the will of the people. Through association of Gentile's ideas with Trump's presidency, this paper shows the belief above can be dangerous.

Introduction

1.1. General Background

Giovanni Gentile was acknowledged by contemporaries, including Benito Mussolini, founder and leader of Italian Fascism, as the philosopher of Fascism. In his essay “The Philosophic Basis of Fascism” which seeks to improve ideas of Nationalism, the foundation and definition of Fascism is laid, and immortalised, because as a source, its ideas can be brought into conversation with political endeavours strongly associated with Fascism of any era afterwards. Recently, the most influential endeavour that meets this basis is Trump’s presidency, by the ideology of “Trumpism,” because there is a growing trend to associate him with Fascism.

1.2. Rationale

Popular definition of Fascism is stuck in its endeavours in the 1930s and 40s, but merely understanding the actions of it in that era means that one would have to predict and infer elements and influences of the ideals, which is prone to inaccuracies as some actions may not reflect the will and beliefs. The growing trend to associate Trump with Fascism and merely defining its past actions obscures Fascism’s definition, because many elements that are not important factors that sparked the consequences, and that are not original philosophies of Fascism could be brought in. Thus, Gentile’s essay is set as a research variable as it is the original definition that does not change with time, and directly influenced the endeavours in the past.

“Trumpism” is a rather new ideology, and one that has not been properly defined, due to Trump’s rather short presidency in order to fully achieve his visions. Trump’s Populism also makes it hard to see what his true visions are, as he is no stranger to political expedients, and would often shift his visions to appeal to his supporters. As a result, what most people come to see as “Trumpism” are his political expedients to power, such as demonising the media and defamation of opponents. Political expedients are not part of an ideology as they are a deviation from what one believes, which include his ideals. Before

comparing Trump's ideology to Fascism, this paper must first set the variables of what "Trumpism" is.

1.3. Research Questions

1. What are the beliefs of "Trumpism"?
2. To what extent would beliefs of "Trumpism" conform to Gentile's definition of Fascism?
3. What makes Gentile's ideals so dangerous?

1.4. Thesis Statement

Trump's election promises, as well as Economic, Immigration policies, and his influence in the Capitol Hill Riot, make him conform to Gentile's Fascism.

1.5. Delimitation

For the scope of Trump's presidency, this research uses Trump's Economic policies, Immigration policies, and his influence in the Capitol Hill Riot, to see if various promises are met. Only ideals and beliefs in the promises met will be compared against Gentile's Fascism.

This research does not compare Trump's actions, or beliefs and ideals by themselves respectively with Gentile's Fascism, since they are inseparable in an ideology.

For the scope of Fascism, this research uses Gentile's ideals and various proposals in his essay.

Since Gentile sets Fascism as a means to "improve" the Nationalism of his day, and Gentile has set clear distinctions between these two ideologies, thus for the scope of Nationalism, this research uses the antithesis of Gentile's Fascism as stated in the essay.

1.6. Significance of Research

Through this research, one is able to better understand the differences between Fascism and Nationalism, since the line between the two have become increasingly blurred. It simultaneously wishes to bring the philosophy of Gentile to a larger significance when one talks about Fascism, for a better understanding

of it. This paper would also be able to define what “Trumpism” is. Through the similarities of Trumpism and Fascism, this research provides an answer to why Gentile’s well-meaning ideals can be dangerous. One can also infer from findings if Fascism, an ideology often thought as one of the past, is still very relevant to this present day.

1.7. Limitations

“Trumpism” does not end with Trump’s presidency, and is still going strong with evidence of his support in the Conservative Political Action Conference, so it is likely a developing ideology. Thus this research’s scope does not cover all elements of Trumpism.

The research lies upon the assumption that Gentile’s essay contains all beliefs of Fascism, and that the ideas fully represent the radical factors of past Fascist parties.

2. Literature Review

In this section, the research theory that influences this paper's method will be discussed, as well as the relationship between Gentile's, and contemporary definition of Fascism, and hypotheses of the paper (reasons why Trump is a Fascist). What Gentile defines as Fascism, and reasons why Trump is thought to be a Fascist would be the research variables.

2.1. Empirical Political Theory(EPT)

Inductive reasoning refers to making generalised statements derived from scenarios, whereas deductive reasoning refers to backing up generalised statements with scenarios. The theory is built upon criticism of the accuracy of using inductive reasoning alone, arguing for deductive afterwards, requiring observable evidence to back the generalised statement, and that the hypothesis (the generalised statements) should be falsifiable.

2.1.1. Scientific Method

EPT determines characteristics of an ideology through observable data. Johnson, Raynold, and Mycoff (2016) explained that empirical approaches in political science cover observations of empirical facts to build a piece of knowledge, which includes objective observation, experiment and logical reasoning.

While the implementation of the theory is located in the deductive logic side, where it begins from a theory with its theoretical proposition about the relations between independent and dependent variables in the form of a hypothesis. Empirical research then verifies the hypothesis against the fact to conclude that the theory is valid or not (Effendi, 2020). "Theory" could be better defined as "hypothesis," to avoid confusion with the research theory present in this paper.

This theory criticises inductive reasoning because it does not lead to a fair judgement of the larger picture. Observation or the result of an experiment—can

in the first place be only a singular statement and not a universal one.(Popper, 1968). Thus using inductive reasoning to infer what Trump's ideals were, from particular case studies in his presidency, only reveals a part of the larger picture.

2.1.2. Hypotheses must be falsifiable

According to Popper, to test this theory a scientist would now have to prove it false, because no amount of evidence assures us that contrary evidence will not be found.(Pidwirny, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to include variables that refute the hypothesis in a research, and in proving arguments that Trump is a Fascist, this paper must also prove that the arguments that he is not a Fascist do not stand.

2.2. What Fascism would look like according to Gentile

This section discusses the relationship between Gentile's philosophic basics, and contemporary understanding of Fascism, as well as evaluating if it represents Gentile's intentions.

2.2.1. Anti-Intellectualism

Gentile(1928), believed in the superiority of actions over thoughts, and declared Fascism as "Anti-intellectual," in the sense that it is hostile to all Utopian systems which are destined never to face the test of reality. The rejection of all Utopian systems also shows a disregard for ethics.

Contemporary definition of "Anti-intellectualism" is different, because it is way broader. Anti-intellectualism is defined as a generalized suspicion and mistrust of intellectuals and experts of whatever kind.(Merkley,2019)

Gentile(1928) does not distrust intellectuals, being one himself, instead, only criticising the ideas which observe no practical implication.

2.2.2. Acting at the moment

Gentile(1928) states that Fascism makes decisions and acts on them at the precise moment, and that Fascism has never been willing to compromise its future. This aspect has not been reflected in contemporary journals about the definition of Fascism. The closest it gets is in Eatwell(2017), which states that Fascists scapegoat and demonise other groups, though those groups differ by country and time. The factor of time means that in doing so, Fascists only care about boosting the morale of the masses by shifting the blame away at the moment, without consideration of how these actions may affect the country's image and development in the future. This characteristic that Eatwell(2017) associates with Fascism is a result of implementation of its ideal, or philosophic basic.

2.2.3. Individual Liberty and Totalitarianism

Gentile(1928) states that the totalitarian scope of Fascism's doctrine, which concerns itself not only with political organisation and political tendency, but with the whole will and thought and feeling of the nation. This sees a combination of Totalitarianism and Liberty in Fascism. Whereas Gentile(1928) justifies that individual liberty is important, and should be reflected, he only defines liberty as the thoughts and will of the people, and disregards liberty for truth, as well as individual liberty for opinions. This shows that he believes that the thoughts and will of individuals should be shaped for national unity, such that it is easier to satisfy the needs. From Fascist parties of his time, this is done through propaganda.

Contemporary understanding of Fascism in Szalay(2017), which states that Fascism believes that individualism and liberalism enable dangerous decadence and have a negative effect on the group. While he is right about the lack of individualism, there is no lack of liberalism as stated by Gentile(1928), because the wishes of the masses should be reflected in Fascism. Gentile(1928) also

refutes Eatwell(2017), which states that Fascist leaders only wanted the support of the people, and had no regard for their will.

2.2.4. Nationalism(or the lack of)

Gentile(1928), set the distinction between Nationalism and Fascism, stating that Nationalism views the state as the foundation of all rights and the source of all values in the individual composing it, whereas Fascism views the state as a wholly spiritual creation, and it is the consciousness and the will of the citizens, and is not a force descending on the citizen. This means that the will of people becomes the definition of the state in Fascism, and thus the State can change when the will of the people changes.

In contemporary understandings, there is little distinction between these two, with Szalay(2017) merely defining Fascism as Extreme Nationalism, and Eatwell(2017) stating that Fascists felt the nation had a specific character which required its own state. Eatwell(2017)'s understanding would belong to Gentile(1928)'s Nationalism, as "specific character" means that people conform to the state, and that the state does not change.

2.2.5. Evaluation of contemporary understanding of Fascism

The general trend that this section finds is that contemporary definitions of Fascism are derived from implementations of the ideals of Fascism. This can be inaccurate due to possible misinterpretations and political expedients of a past Fascist leader, which does not reflect Gentile's intentions. Contemporary understanding of Fascism showed no reference to the part about liberty, even contradicting Gentile, and the distinction from Nationalism is not present.

2.3. Why people think Trump is a Fascist

2.3.1. Violence and Radical Nationalism

Krugman(2021) states that Trump is an authoritarian willing to use violence to achieve his radical nationalist goals, which makes him a Fascist. This statement was made in reference to the Capitol Hill Riots, which saw Trump supporters break into the Capitol Hill in protest of his election defeat. Strength of this source is that it is part of the mainstream media, thus by using these views as the variable, this research is going to verify many people's opinions. Keller(2018) agrees with Krugmen(2021), as it stated that Trump was often driven by sheer aggression narcissism, and, rage. This interpretation of the psychology behind his governance supports, and explains Trump's use of violence.

2.3.2. Disregard of Democracy

His part in influencing The Capitol Hill Riot shows Trump's unprecedented refusal to accept electoral defeat(Krugman, 2021). Unable to accept his electoral loss, Trump rallied his base to 'stop the steal', which sowed deeper doubts about American democracy itself(Luke, 2021). This is supported by Lieberman(2019), who states that by violating Democratic Norms, Trump's presidency amplifies these doubts.

Trump's policy of Nativism can also be classified as undemocratic, because natives demote citizens who have the 'wrong' characteristics to, at best, second class citizens(Kleinfeld, R. & Dickens, J., 2020). This is undemocratic in two ways: firstly, as stated, in terms of spirit, it is a form of discrimination, and secondly, this will also draw attention away from them such that their will will not be reflected, thus unable to achieve material needs.

2.3.3. Nativism

Nativism refers to the tendency to define nationhood not by values or laws but in racial, ethnic or religious terms.(Kleinfeld, R. & Dickens, J., 2020). This agrees with Szalay(2017)'s definition of Fascism. The association of Trump with Fascism due to Nativism is also shown in van der Linden(2017), when it states that

Fascism scapegoats other nationalities and religions in order for gains in the morale of the majority. Such example include a part of his 2016 campaign which condemned undocumented immigrants from Latin America and Muslims as if they were national enemies.(Endo, J., 2016)

2.3.4. An Authoritarian

The term “Authoritarian” has been used commonly, and often without definition in Krugman(2021). van der Linden(2017) states that Trump is an authoritarian demagogue due to him being hostile towards the migrants, the ‘corrupt press,’ and he does not share the liberal notion that political power should always be contestable. However, Kellner(2018) has a different understanding of Trump’s Authoritarianism, which it states, is defined by his unrestrained Ego, which is comparable with past Fascist leaders, which is supported by him putting his name on buildings and sites. The idea of Authoritarianism is to ensure obedience, and therefore, through an element of fear, thus a mere psychological element of having an excess Ego itself does not justify one as an Authoritarian. van der Linden(2017) is supported by Szalay(2017) and Eatwell(2017) in definition of Fascism, because in ‘scapegoating’ the people as stated, Trump is able to appease the emotion and desires of his supporters. Trump assailed the danger of the way jobs were being shipped overseas, especially to China.

This appealed to the victims of Deindustrialisation, as it offers an explanation for their unemployment or loss in income, and one that does not put them at fault, instead blaming China. These populist economic appeals were overshadowed however when he declared: “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best [...]They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems. They’re bringing drugs, they’re bringing crime, they’re rapists, and some, I assume are good people” (D.J. Trump, 2015). This incites a feeling of urgency among voters to back him, arousing the fear of letting

immigrants in, and giving the impression that only a politician like Trump is hard enough on this matter.

However, what is lacking in van der Linden(2017)'s argument that Trump is an Authoritarian, is whether or not there was an obvious feeling of fear and obedience of his supporters towards Trump, which is an important aspect of Authoritarianism.

3. Methodology

The Literary Review has set the variables for analysis (what is Fascism, and why people think Trump is a Fascist). This paper would then review Trump's Inaugural Speech to understand his election promises, and see if it satisfies the reasons why he is thought to be a Fascist. Then, through the lens of EPT to define "Trumpism", this paper therefore analyses major endeavours in his presidency, including Trump's Tariffs with China, that represents his Economic and Foreign policy; his Immigration policies; as well as his influence in the Capitol Hill Riot, to see if they meet his election promises. The promises met would be compared with the ideals of Gentile's Fascism.

4. Discussion and Analysis

4.1. Inauguration and Promises

4.1.1. Transference of Power Back to The People

In his Inauguration speech, Trump blamed past politicians and establishments for protecting their own interest, resulting in the middle class not being able to reap the rewards of the economy. He promised greater transparency of the government towards the people, that every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families(D.Trump, 2017). Trump's attacks on the establishments are on their transfer of factories and jobs overseas, which caused unemployment locally, where most of the workers are the middle class.

Though Trump stated that he wanted to transfer the power back to the people, making sure that their interests are satisfied, throughout the speech, he has only cited the problems the middle class has faced. This, together with the fact that his campaign's anti-immigration messages, such as demonisation of Muslims and Mexican immigrants, to protect the rights of the majority, we can infer that when Trump said "The American People," what he was referring to was many of his voters who belonged to the White middle class.

This supports the point in the thesis about Nativism, and subsequently, a disregard for Democracy, as by portraying only the majority group as "The American People," when the country is getting more diversified, Trump reveals a belief that his voters, many of whom White, are the only ones that represent the country, and should have their interests prioritised over others'. This does not reflect Democracy, as there is an emphasis on the availability of opportunities for the people to control their leaders and to them without recourse to a revolution, as defined by Popper(Javie, 2006).

Trump's emphasis that it is his election to the White House that allows the transfer of power from the government to his voters means that he is no Authoritarian, as there is no element of fear of his power. Instead, he used the

speech to appeal to the voters' Liberty, by allowing them to have a greater control of America's actions through him, instead of intimidating them to ensure loyalty towards his decisions.

4.1.2. Defend America's Borders

Trump criticised Mexican immigrants for bringing into the country drugs and crime, which led to negative consequences such as making the country unsafe, and depriving students of knowledge as they got engaged in gangs through the immigrants' influence. The promise made here is to cut immigration. Besides Mexicans, Trump has also criticised Muslims for radical terrorism, and said in the speech that he would eradicate it.

Demonisation of Muslims and Mexicans supports van der Linden(2017)'s claim that Trump is a Fascist, as he has not backed his claim about Mexicans with evidence or statistics, and his criticism of Muslim lies on a generalisation that all of them being the radical Islamic groups. This means that Trump was using emotion and the desires of his supporters as a shortcut to gain support by "scapegoating" the Mexicans and Muslims for the rise in crime rate.

Evaluation of the Hypothesis

Two of the four points have been supported by Trump's inaugural speech: about Trump's Nativism and disregard towards Democracy. The point about Trump's Authoritarianism is falsified by his promise to transfer power back to the people, or rather, most of his voters. About Trump's violence and radical Nationalism that potentially makes him a Fascist, his inauguration speech and promises have neither been able to prove nor disprove. Instead, this has to be done through evaluations of his subsequent actions.

4.2. Tariffs with China

These tariffs were meant to protect local industries, such as steel and aluminum, from losing out on competition on sales with China.

Satisfying his promise to bring back jobs to America, Trump hopes that these tariffs would make companies such as Apple shift their manufacturing factories to the US, boosting the middle class's employment. Although these aims have not been achieved, such as for the case of Apple, when they decided to absorb the impacts for the time being, this shows an attempt to fulfil his promises, proving that the slogan of "Buy American, Hire American," was not simply a political tactic to catapult Trump into power, but a reflection of what he truly believed in.

This attempt to bring back jobs has come at a cost. For instance, Apple's Stock Value dropped by about 5% upon the announcement of the tariffs.

Anderson(2021) states, "with a total drop of 10.4% over all of the events, and 12.9% over the three-day windows (beginning the day before the announcement and extending one day after). These drops in the market (...) will drive decreases in the expected wage." This shows that Trump's focus on the intentions of his voters makes him unwilling to compromise about long term consequences or the larger picture other areas a decision would affect.

How This Compares to Fascism

This aligns with the philosophic basic of Fascism that the identity of a Nation can change with its people. This belief leads to him prioritising the rights of the White middle class over the general economic welfare of the nation. Moreover, this aspect of "Trumpism" also fits in with Fascism's unwillingness to compromise its future, as Trump was very direct in his intentions: to pinpoint the focus of his policy on the immediate benefits of his voters, and ignoring warnings from advisors such as Gary Cohn.

4.3. Immigration Policies

4.3.1. Reforming the Legal Immigration System

In the Declaration of Independence, one of the most important monuments for Nationalism, Jefferson(1776) wrote that all men are created equal (...) with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Being built as a Nation for immigrants, hospitality towards them, therefore, is seen as a National convention, when one applies the beliefs in the Declaration. Such was the case for the two presidencies preceding Trump, as seen in Obama's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)—whereby unlawfully present aliens who had been brought to the United States as children and met other criteria could receive deferred action and, in many cases, employment authorization(Manuel, 2014). Even as a fellow Republican who proposed a more rigid Immigration agenda after the September 11 Attacks, George W. Bush showed no signs of hostility as Trump did. His proposal was a temporary worker program, titled "Fair and Square Immigration Reform," in order to better match willing foreign workers with willing American employers, when no American can be found to fill the job(Jachimowicz, 2004).

Throughout his campaigns, Trump has promised to revoke Obama's immigration policy(DACA), and this is achieved through strengthening and expanding the E-Verify. The E-Verify is a system that enables workers to check their work eligibility of potential hires, by verifying their identity data against a federal database. Strengthening it deters against illegal immigration, by making it more difficult to secure a job without legal status. As for Trump's comparison with Bush, Trump never wanted a fair and square immigration reform, instead prioritising the interests of his supporters.

However, Trump has only demonised the illegal immigrants, and there has been debates in America, of whether the rights of the Declaration would apply for the illegal immigrants. Therefore, it is not yet possible to state Trump's attitude towards immigration to prove his Nativism.

4.3.1.1. Increasing Vetting and Obstacles for Legal Immigration

The RAISE act, which Trump supported, addresses Trump's promises on immigration. The bill would impose a cap of 50,000 refugee admissions annually, which is less than the average of 750,000 put in place in 1965. More importantly, it is point-based, by characteristics such as English test scores, and educational attainment (Pierce, S. & Bolter, J. & Selee, A. & 2018), and that only the most enumerated points would be permitted for admission. This shows an attempt to cut down immigration on a whole, by making it more difficult to identify as a legal immigrant.

While congressional inaction has impeded Trump's ability to substantially reform the legal immigration system, his administration has made changes that increase the vetting process of potential immigrants, and slow legal admissions. This includes significantly increasing the number of interviews that applicants need to undergo prior to being approved for immigration or travel to the US (Pierce, S., Bolter, J., Selee, A., 2018). This shows that Trump's strategy was to lengthen, and introduce stricter measures, in order to cut down on the number of immigrants over a period of time.

Thus, this section is able to show that besides demonising illegal immigrants, Trump has also made it such that it would be easier to identify an immigrant as illegal, which shows the plan was to cut down immigration, and that the hostility is targeted at immigrants entering the country in general. Moreover, stricter requirements for an immigrant to be legal means that many past legal immigrants would now not fit into this category, which gives a reason for them to be demonised. This is Nativism.

4.3.1.2. Cutting back on Humanitarian Programmes

The Trump administration terminated the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for hundreds of immigrants, on the condition that they are deemed unlawful immigrants under more stringent legal immigration reforms. This shows that besides efforts to make it harder to immigrate to the US, Trump has also made a

more hostile environment for immigrants already in the US, not just from his campaign speeches, but also from his actions. This shows that his promises have materialised.

Trump's hostility towards immigrants in general breaks American conventions. Whereas not all of his policies have been able to be put into action due to interventions from the congress, it is able to prove that he truly meant his words, because he has made radical changes to the extent that they could undermine ideals of the declaration, to realise the interest of his supporters.

4.3.2. Buy American, Hire American

This is one of the first policies of Trump after his rise to the Oval Office. In the words of the President, it was to maximize the use of materials produced in the United States, including manufactured products; components of manufactured products; and materials such as steel, iron, aluminum, and cement(Hufbauer, G.C.,2013). This fulfilled Trump's promise to create more jobs, and prioritise the interest of American workers, hoping to boost the economic welfare, as well as the rights of his supporters. As with the analysis of his inauguration speech, when Trump said "American," he did not refer to all citizens, or people living in the US. This can be seen in how he stripped some immigrants' legal status, and cut back on humanitarian help, with some of whom having lived in America for a long time, showing his disregard for their human rights. He has reformed the legal immigration system, such that when the "Buy American, Hire American" policy, most benefiting from it would be the white middle class, a large proportion of his supporters.

How This Compares to Fascism

This paper believes that Trump's immigration policies are the strongest factors to associate Trump with Fascism. These policies conform to Gentile's Fascism, because after defining his supporters as the identity of the nation, Trump went on

to change the nation's image to suit the interests of his supporters, by changing America's profile from being a country for immigrants, and one that respects their human rights, to one that is more hostile to immigrants. This can be seen as an application of Gentile's words that the nation changes with its people. Moreover, Trump's immigration reform would make the people of America conform to the identity of the nation, which is the interests of the white middle class, as these reforms would force minority groups to compensate for their rights such that Trump's supporters would be the new face of America.

Trump's immigration policies does not make him a Nationalist by Gentile's standards, because a Nationalist would preserve the conventional ideals, instead of breaking them for one's interest. Moreover, Gentile's Nationalism means that one has to surrender one's rights and free will to conform to the nation's identity, not reshape the nation's identity to preserve one's free will. Therefore, this falsifies Trump being a Nationalist.

4.4. Capitol Hill

On 6 January 2021, supporters of Donald Trump after a Trump rally stormed the Capitol, two months after his election loss to Joe Biden. Whereas he denied involvement in the matter, Trump did encourage them on twitter where he tweeted, "Be there, will be wild!"(Fuchs, 2021). Moreover, he made a speech before the riot, blaming the "fake news and the Big tech," and that the "election victory was stolen by emboldened radical-left Democrats"(Trump, 2021). The Capitol housed not only the Congress but also the Library of Congress, the Supreme Court, the district courts and other offices, and represents one of the symbols of Democracy, which is a system America was built upon. Trump has moved against the ideal of Democracy in two ways: firstly, by casting doubt over the results of the election, and secondly, by not accepting defeat, and encouraging his supporters to storm a building that symbolises Democracy.

How This Compares to Fascism

Despite not being physically involved, Trump did not condemn the riot, and instead, used social media and a speech to encourage it. By encouraging the Capitol Hill Riot, Trump reveals a break away from traditional ideals of America, instead favouring a coup to restore him as President, as Fuchs(2021), interpretes. This means that this case study falsified Trump being a Nationalist by Gentile's standards.

Another principle America was founded upon is an independent press(Klass, 2016). The Capitol Hill Riot can be seen as a result of the effects accumulated from Trump's tactics. Throughout his presidency, Trump has demonised the press by calling some reports fake news. According to Coll(2017), his definition of "fake news" is credible reporting that he doesn't like. Trump abandoning the ideals of Democracy and a free press means that "Trumpism" does not fit into the hypothesis of his violent Nationalism, because the violence is not due to Nationalism, but instead, due to loyalty towards Trump.

Yet, the Capitol Hill Riots still makes Trump a Fascist. This is because Trump's point of demonising the press is such that people would have to refer to him to find identity and truth, and in other words, he has become an embodiment of the state, conforming to Gentile's anti-intellectualism, that criticises static national state itself as too abstract. This also conforms to Gentile's justification for Totalitarianism, as by making people refer only to him for identity and truth, Trump is uniting people's interest towards his words, while disregarding their liberty for truth and identity.

5. Conclusion

A part of “Trumpism” contains elements including a disregard for Democracy, Nativism, and a willingness to break national conventions to achieve the will of Trump’s supporters, which conform to Fascism.

The Philosopher of Fascism did not call for a massacre of a certain ethnicity, nor did he justify or glorify violence. Instead, he has merely provided the philosophic basics(ideals) that shape the beliefs of Fascist leaders. Giovanni Gentile’s writing reveals a part of Fascism that is both Liberal, when it calls for rights of the people to rule the nation, and Totalitarian, when it calls for a person to be an embodiment of the state who everyone can conform to, in a process that involve the changing one’s intentions to fit the majority. The reason why this “improvement” to Nationalism is so dangerous is because when the identity of the state is constantly changing to fit the will of the people, there is nothing holding them back, and certainly no moral obligation to consider when they want to achieve their intentions.

This is derived through Trump’s presidency, as he conforms to most of Gentile’s ideals. By first defining his supporters as the state in his inauguration speech, Trump proceeded to set Economic and Immigration policies to favour the will of his supporters, disregarding the traditions of the country, and set himself as the one all people should listen to. These actions would eventually result in the Capitol Hill Riot after he lost, an event which shocked the world due to its violence and disregard for democracy.

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