



VIII CONGRESSO PORTUGUÊS DE SOCIOLOGIA

40 anos de democracias: progressos, contradições e perspectivas

ÁREA TEMÁTICA: Globalização, Política e Cidadania [AT]

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT DURING OBAMA FIRST TERM

FINGUERUT, Ariel

Doutorando em Ciência Política

Unicamp

arielfing@gmail.com

Resumo

De pré - candidato a presidente, Barack Hussein Obama parecia um nome político improvável para chegar ao posto de presidente e comandante-chefe da única superpotência mundial. Passada às concorridas e desgastantes primárias, Obama foi eleito como um candidato de oposição ao governo de George W. Bush. Prometendo mudança, novo engajamento com o mundo e recuperação econômica, a gestão dos democratas despertou grandes expectativas que também rapidamente se transformaram em grandes cobranças e grandes frustrações. Neste artigo, apresentaremos e discutiremos as reações e mobilizações anti-Obama que não lhe deram folga entre 2008 e 2012. Do recrudescimento da extrema – direita e pelo movimento Occupy Wall Street e terminando com as críticas dos neoconservadores, veremos como estes movimentos se mobilizaram, o que reivindicavam e assim, buscamos instrumentos para entender e a fazer um balanço do que foi o mandando do 44º Presidente dos EUA

Abstract

Barack Hussein Obama, since his early pre-candidacy, looked like a political name unlikely to reach the post of president and commander in chief of the world's only superpower. Past the crowded and stressful primaries, Obama was elected as a candidate of opposition to the government of George W. Bush. Promising change, new engagement with the world, economic recovery, the Administration quickly raises expectations that turned into great frustrations. In this paper we present and discuss the anti-Obama reactions and demonstrations that gave him no slack in his first term. The resurgence of the extreme right, the Tea Party movement and the Occupy Wall Street and ending with the criticism of the neoconservatives, we will see how these movements have mobilized, their agenda, helping us to understand and to discuss the 44th presidency.

Palavras-chave: Barack H. Obama; Reações Anti-Obama, mobilização política; mídia e disseminação de ideias.

Keywords: Barack H. Obama; Anti-Obama Reactions; political mobilization; media and the dissemination of ideas.

1. Introduction

Barack Hussein Obama, the front-runner in 2008 to candidate for re-election as U.S. president in 2012, has always aroused intense grassroots mobilization and politics among both supporters and sympathetic to his ideas and his charisma as among opponents who interpret their ideas and their political rise as dangerous, harmful and feel motivated to react and mobilize themselves fighting not only against a political project but especially against a political figure who consider dangerous for both American society and for the external interests of the nation.

The purpose of this article is to present and discuss the different anti-Obama reactions that the presidency has suffered throughout his term between 2008 and 2012. Analyzing these reactions initially understand their context, their flags, forms of articulation showing their apex and its outcome. Articulating the different reactions intend shows a moment of transition in ideas, strategies and forms of mobilization of American conservatism abroad political spectrum and historically mobilized, amid successes and failures, seeking to implement an agenda both domestically and in foreign policy that oscillates between reaction times with moments of proposition.

Faced with this moment of transition of ideas and demonstrations - in a context of polarization between liberals and conservatives - highlighted as a key explanatory of the media role, understood more broadly as a communication platform that can be television, print, virtual - internet - or organized as Think Tanks (TTs)¹. Before each anti-Obama reactions, discuss a particular aspect of using the media as a platform for mobilization and dissemination of ideas and their consequences.

Based on the legacy of two terms of George W. Bush marked mainly by the reaction to the terrorist attacks of 11/09/2001 and the influence of the neoconservatives in the foreign policy agenda of the Christian right and social libertarians on economic policy, we will argue that the conservatism of the Obama era oscillates between a movement and reaction revolt, the reaction occurring at the sensation of decline of American power, the return of progressive ideas in domestic politics and the revolt appears on the perception of growth of the state and the policies of Social Welfare, tax increases and the loss of individual freedoms. Facing of the charismatic Obama, we noticed a revolt that tries to associate the figure of the President to a figure manipulative, if not despotic - conspiratorially - the ideas associated with anti-American, mainly linked to socialism, fascism, Islam or interests of the speculative financial capital of Wall Street.

We will divide our presentation of the anti-Obama reactions into four parts, each addressing a distinct form of mobilization, with flags and independent policies schedule. The presentation will follow the chronology of events and so we will start discussing the reaction of the extreme right who was the first to manifest before the possibility of a black reach the U.S. presidency. Then we will discuss briefly about the Occupy Wall Street movement, whose aim was not exactly the President Obama but it took its toll on the image of the administration. Finally, we will present some of the arguments of political actors and writers of conservative and neoconservative circles focusing on foreign policy. These actors, in the face of the Arab Spring, the strategic and political consequences of the War on Terror, and the anti-US protests around the world, especially during the second half of 2012, make a negative evaluation of the foreign policy of the Obama administration by attacking his supposed lack of leadership and blaming him for the decline of American power in the world.

2. The extreme right reaction

In the U.S, the political behavior, the intensity, strength of draws on the extreme right are monitored by groups like the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). And the authors as Chalmers (1987) Diamond (1995) and McVeigh (2009) have consistent work on these actors.

As the basis of this literature, what we call extreme right consists of six types of actors: 1) advocates of a white racial supremacy, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), with historical roots that refer to the U.S. Civil War and the rights of slavery at the Southern states, 2) Neo-Nazis with several subdivisions, of young and urban profile, present in large cities with international networking by internet; 3) religious movements that

blend racist ideology / eugenics with religious interpretations - particularly Christians - as for example the Christian Identity and its many subdivisions and subgroups. These sects spread throughout the U.S. they preach the basis of a own religious interpretation, racial supremacy of whites, spreading anti-Semitic and racist ideas. 4) Religious fundamentalists. Among them, the mainly are the Southern Baptist disagreements, one of the largest churches in the U.S. Religious leaders such as Fred Phelps, of the Westboro Baptist Church, preach against gays and often mobilize believers for demonstrations and actions, that sometimes, result in violent acts. 5) Separatist movements. Mainly related to historical issues of the South, but also strong in Alaska and California. They advocate the primacy of the right of states over the federal government and often mix with separatist flags and racist ideologies of hate. As an example we can mention is the League of the South, which basically takes flags of the Confederate (southern) and there is also The Middlebury Institute that argues in the basis of a constitutional rhetoric of the right of States to self-determination. 6) Militias and paramilitary movements. With historical roots in the U.S., with strong support in constitutional discussions and even with reference to the founding fathers, in their interpretations, defend the existence of militias and armed civilians. These groups exist throughout the territory; historically fluctuate between moments of proliferation and gathering, also alternating your flags, sometimes preaching resistance to the central government, sometimes fighting flags linked to globalization and multiculturalism.

This six actors here are applying for synthesizing abroad political spectrum, in our view, is articulated on Obama, from two major themes, the racial and economic crisis, and had in the conspiracy theories a great way to connect to mobilization and political action. And, how is showed the surveying of the ADL and SPLCiii, all these movements grew both in recruiting and like on display faced of the emergence of Obama.

The role of conspiracy theories as a tool of political mobilization in here is central for understanding the intensification of the extreme right in front of Obama. Knight (2000) shows that the search for conspiracies and paranoid behavior go next and both create cycles that close. Conspiracies lead to conspiracies that feed conspiracy, and paranoia lead and nurture new paranoias in a difficult cycle to break. Faced with Obama, the best example of this vicious cycle occurred between so-called "birthers" who are journalists, writers, essayists or simply researchers that in 'independent' form, seek to scour the personal trajectory of Obama looking for gaps and errors, trying "debunk "the official narrative told by Obama in books such as Dreams from My Father, 1995, and the Audacity of Hope 2006. Authors such as Daniel Pipes and directors like Joel Gilbert are two of the most successful birthers, getting access to a large audience are in the internet by other media. His "findings" accuses Obama since being a Muslim, through for a supposed influence and membership of revolutionary Marxism until the charge most notorious, that Obama was not born in the U.S., a charge that was used by the Republicans in both the campaign and during the mandate and in an ironic wayiv, also appeared in the re-election campaign of Democrats.

The effort and the struggle of the extreme right - against Obama had limited success, in part they succeeded, fed by conspiracy theories, linking the positive image of Obama from 2007 to distrust of labels like "socialist", "anti-American", "Muslim" or "pro-Islam" that spread to a wider spectrum of conservatism, "contaminating" the rhetoric of other movements like Tea Party, for example.

Focusing on our key explanatory, the role of communication platforms, in the case of the extreme right - we highlight the role of the internet in the middle of blogs, portals, e-magazines, newsletters or simply opinionated pages, fed and mobilized not only through conspiracies as came to be realized in demonstrations. The web with hundreds of blogs communities and virtual networks, create ideas, conspiracies, "factoids" that feedback and spread, increasing feelings of paranoia, xenophobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism but rather, front of the election of Obama create an atmosphere in which the government seems to have been occupied by a "foreign body" someone who was not born in U.S. with strange ideas to the U.S. being legitimate knocks him if not kill him.

So we can understand the number of death threats unprecedented than Obama suffered and still suffers on so how we can understand why the concerns and protests of the extreme right are cyclical and closed in a process of self-feeding in order to paranoia led to paranoia and conspiracies increase conspiracies.

3. Occupy Wall Street

The movement's origins have diverse sources, however we note a strong influence and a decisive role of groups of counterculture such as the surrounding of the Canadian magazine *Adbusters* that over the last ten years argue and discuss creative strategies to confront and question the large corporations, urban habits and capitalists proposing campaigns as *The Global Day Without Shopping*, *The World Week Without TV* in addition to using the U.S. flag by replacing the stars for large corporations logos^v. According Kaste (2012), it was through the site and blogs linked to *Adbusters* that organized and began the occupation of the square of Zuccotti Park on Wall Street, New York. Already in a perspective more sociological, looking at the current crisis in labor and capitalism, Bernes (2012) proposes that the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) was characterized as a "movement of the squares" in line with other world manifestations such as the anti-globalization in the beginning of the year 2000, through the protest movement led by young people in Europe (France, Spain, Portugal, Greece etc.) coming the called "Arab Spring" movements that, taken together, represent a renewed interest of young people in politics, is a struggle for jobs, either for democracy against government austerity plans and cuts in social assistance schemes, in others words, for an "another world."

We also found in most theoretical analyzes as West (2011), Naomi Klein and Yotam Marom (2012) several references to movements and political traditions in U.S. history, such as "sit-ins" of student movements that marked the New Left American in the '60s, with their assemblies, occupations followed by peaceful resistance and interaction and coordination of different activities between Campus. We also find references to the civil disobedience movement, famous from the trials and Henry David Thoreau manifest and also present in other writings between so-called transcendentalists that in the first decades of the nineteenth century, proposed a simpler life, more intuitive, romantic exchanging, as did Thoreau, the despair and the disharmony of cities and the crowds for a quieter life in harmony with each other and with nature. Thoreau, at age 28, chose to live at his own expense in a cabin in the woods in the vicinity of Walden Pond in Concord, Massachusetts for two years, two months and two days. Individual experience of Thoreau reported in (2007), may have inspired and echoed in the collective experience of the OWS camp in which mostly young people, also lived for months without direct external interference, there they needed to take care of food, security, establishing its own rules of living producing in terms of Milstein (2012) new forms of social and rebuilding the own idea of social life.

There are also critical authors as Neuman (2012) who point out that the claims and protests against the economic crisis were dominated by anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist demonstrations. The guilt turned to the Jews and the state of Israel would be the result of a questioning over who would be the "1%" that excludes the other 99% and who would controlling both the media and the American financial system, symbolized by Wall Street. Neuman also emphasizes that the idea of "occupying" bears, a direct reference to the situation of the Palestinians under Israeli occupation. Neuman also notes that the same magazine *Adbuster*, one of the ideological centers of the OWS movement, gained international prominence in 2004 by emphasizing the Israeli interests with the Iraq War and also emphasizing the supposed link between neoconservatives, many of them Jews, with the interests and disproportionate defense of Zionist interests. In summary to Neuman (2012) the OWS movement was much more hostile to Jews and Israel than other religions, ethnic and countries.

As a movement of plural origins, the demands of OWS are also difficult to be synthesized. The context of the emergence of the movement, between September and December 2011, evidence of discontent with capitalism facing its many crises whose costs are borne by the "99%" always saving the "1%", who are the richest and powerful population. The large gap between rich and poor, the disproportion of government aid to the richest, made for the poorest and even the consequences of the financial crisis as the government aiding and injecting public money for the recovery of the banks, strengthened among young of OWS, the perception that the U.S. government not only governed primarily to the richest (the 1%) and was held hostage by the corrupt interests of large corporations and large financial conglomerates that did not generate employment and still receive protection and encouragement of the state. In this context we can infer a claim for social and economic justice, for morality in public administration - not fighting and protecting corrupt administrations - with a anti-corporate flag and with critique of capitalism in their aggressiveness well

expressed in transactions of Wall Street purse and well symbolized by the Charging Bull statue by Arturo Di Modica, sort of epicenter and major cultural symbol of OWS.



Figura 1 - Poster symbol of OWS movement. Fonte: <http://www.adbusters.org/blogs/ows>. Acessado em 29/09/2012.

The intensive use of media with slogans, pictures and with the hackers like Anonymous group^{vi} is based largely on the strategy of culture-jamming which according to Downing (2001) can be defined as the manipulation of cultural symbols and thus creating and manipulating and changing the purpose and message that they originally intended. Manipulating symbols and consecrated logos for example in fast food chains or big names in fashion, the culture jammers by the language of pop culture established manage to convey a message often subversive, sometimes shocking, sometimes producing questioning in social relations in major cities.

Having the media as the main strategy of mobilization the OWS produced a new meaning to the idea of *astroturfing*, a term that emerged in the U.S. in the eighties in a context where large corporations such as those relating to the tobacco industry tried to press senators and congressmen. The basic idea of *astroturfing* is oversize and multiply a certain action or a particular claim creating the feeling of a cause with great mobilization and broad-based support. The basic idea of *astroturfing* is, from a small group or having a revindication that normally would be considered unimportant or secondary or even utopian transforms it – by the field of media and cultural and social circles of pressure - a social fact, or is, into something concrete that requires a response from that position and that is being your target. Before the internet, how shows us Bienkov (2012) the *astroturfing* was characterized primarily by the intensive postal letters, literally "clogging" the mailbox or not giving a second of rest for a fax machine from a particular company, corporation, political or public office. Even if all this correspondence and faxes leave from a small group, the effect looked great. In times of internet, groups like *Adbusters* and *Anonymous* gave new dimension and new political weight to this practice and OWS, front of the Obama administration was that used this pressure resource and most successful political protest.

The OWS movement lasted effectively between September 17 and November 15, 2011, the date that the park was vacated by police, resulting in the arrest of 200 people^{vii}. From this date, the OWS movement not only expanded to other cities as for other countries becoming the "Occupy Movement" which, in 2011, has reached 95 cities in 82 countries.

4. Foreign Policy, Presidential Leadership and the course of American Power: the reaction of the neocons.

One of the major brands that were associated with the George W. Bush (2001 - 2008) were the wars in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) forming the so-called "War on Terror". These wars to their critics were mostly a result of an alleged ideological influence conducted by a small group and determined intellectuals. This influence was popularized as neoconservative.

With the George W. Bush victory, many names were recruited among these TTs and between neoconservative circles, mainly to fill the posts of second rank among the advisors of decision-making with a focus on security and foreign policy. From the declaration of "war on terror", post - attacks of 11/09/01, with the foreign policy of the U.S. having a unilateral direction, with two wars in the Middle East, both in the George W. Bush government, some intellectuals like William Kristol, Robert Kagan, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, John Bolton and Robert and writers like Niall Ferguson, Francis Fukuyama and Victor Davis Hanson were associated with neo-conservatism and were blamed for the stock splits, in other words, the increase price of the oil, instability and financial crisis in addition to increased of the anti-American sentiment in the world.

The initial reaction to the victory of the neoconservatives and the Obama proposals were optimistic and skeptical. Optimistic about the fact that the U.S. had elected the first black president, which in the reading of William Bennett viii for example, (apud, Street, 2009, p. 104) would be a lesson to the African - American community to win without preaching racial hatred, and Charles Krauthammer (in: Washington Post, 07/03/2008) follow the same reasoning, writing that Obama would transcend race and his victory was positive for the U.S. The skepticism appeared in statements and interviews such as Robert Kagan (2003) in which declares have doubts about the changes promised by Obama and defends the inevitable continuity of foreign policy of George W. Bush.

Kagan in an interview in early 2009, also seems to agree with the hybrid reading as the ideas and attitudes of Obama, emphasizing that the maintenance of names of the George W. Bush cabinet, like Jim Jones (National Security Advisor) plus Robert Gates as defense secretary, signals ideological continuity beyond the maintenance of military operations in Pakistani territory and the maintenance of troops in Afghanistan, signaling for the maintenance and not for the change in international policy.

William Kristol, in conjunction with several other intellectuals, political strategists and conservative activists founded in 2009, *The Foreign Policy Initiative*^{ix} in which not only brings propositions and analysis but also criticizes the Obama foreign policy, giving voice to "neoconservatives" as Robert Kagan and Eric Edelman besides himself William Kristol. In these TTs, directed by Kristol, we found the perception of certain charges around the Obama government who accuse of inertia. In a bulletin published in September 2012^x we found, for example, the charging that the U.S. should create restricted areas around Syria, Libya and Egypt and accuse the administration to not focus on U.S. interests in long-term.

The international standing of the U.S. and the Obama administration has not only been the target of neoconservative, opinion makers, such as the economist, Nobel Prize winner, Paul Krugman (2012) reinforces the notion of Obama as continuity with new rhetoric. Focusing on the economic crisis of 2008 and analyzing the government's response, Krugman emphasizes that Obama fought the crisis with the same logic as "Wall Street", that marked the economic management of the George W. Bush^{xi}. This maintenance in economic policy led the British historian Niall Ferguson, to question, what was Obama's first term if not a series of unfulfilled promises^{xii}.

Adding the perception of mismanagement of the economic crisis with the perception of lack of international identity, the Obama administration came to be accused soon of be committing the American power putting the U.S. in a position of decline. The thesis of the decline, accompanies the U.S. foreign policy since the beginning of the Cold War in the late 40's, has gained strength in the late of seventies mainly with the Carter administration (1977-1981) that many consider similar to the Obama administration, in part by back of perception of the decline of power, but also by the practice of

"engagement", of dialog mixing the national interest with international agenda such as human rights, labor rights, environmental issues etc.. The label of "Carter" to Obama weighs how the image of a president who tries to increase and who cares about the popularity of the U.S. in the world, may well compromise your leadership and supremacy.

Faced with the consequences of U.S. involvement in the Middle East, Obama ends his term with a dead ambassador in Libya, with the military conflict in Afghanistan still alive and having to deal with anti-US demonstrations that spread in response to an islamophobic video posted on the Internet^{xiii}. In response to these reactions, both Secretary of State Hillary Clinton as Obama himself, gave statements and recorded specific messages for the Middle East emphasizing the U.S. commitment with the tolerance and religious freedom, stressing that the U.S. government would not have any relationship with the video^{xiv}. This position taken by many analysts, such as Hanson (2012), emphasizes the U.S. apologizing and putting in the background the attacks that suffered, such as the death of the ambassador in Libya.

For Berman (2012), Obama - in his foreign policy - tried to minimize and diminish American brands in the world and in the case of Libya, where there was a change of regime, American leadership was timid, classified as a lead, in the best case, from the rear encouraging other countries to take the lead. Ronald Rumsfeld, in an interview from *The Washington Post*^{xv}, talking about Libya and the unfolding of anti-American demonstrations, also reinforces the contradiction of the idea of "leading from behind", stating that it is only possible lead "ahead", also classified as a negative point the fact having the Muslim Brotherhood, a political movement in Egypt with a history of an anti-American sentiment that has often been accused of links with terrorist movements, ahead of the Egyptian government elected in June 2012.

Accustomed to the rhetoric of leadership, hegemony and supremacy and are not afraid to intervene, act and shape the world according to their values, the neoconservative idealism with deep roots in the American political tradition have left respond to the Obama administration, featuring in the synthesis, as a president without leadership and that would be committing the American power. Faced with the dilemma of an anti-America world, but with strong American leadership or a friendlier world to the U.S. but with doubts as to its power, the neocons would not have doubts about the preference for the second option, reacting against the ideas that point to the first.

In the balance of the reactions of the neoconservatives we emphasize two aspects. An initial distrust of the practical possibilities of "change" that Obama's victory signaled and mostly front of the ramifications of the economic crisis and the U.S. involvement in the Middle East, Obama's legacy will be of a president who according to Miller (2012) was the president of the "not now", the government that decided "not to act" on all fronts, be front of the Arab Spring, be front of the anti-American demonstrations and be ahead of the terrorist attacks as in the case of Libya, which Obama labeled as a 'crash course', the same term that many neocons use to rank their management.

Conclusion

Our effort in this article was to show the different forms of mobilization and reactions to the Obama administration (2008-2012). We followed the chronology of events and create certain types to organize what we call "extreme right", or around the organization and motivations of OWS, well as for the Tea Party and the neoconservatives in the face of Obama's foreign policy.

In general, what helps us to sew and finding common ground in the reactions that we present is a feeling that oscillates between frustration and angst but with a good dose of strangeness. Obama sparked estrangement as "progressive" in the middle of conservatives and libertarians, and so also instigated a polarization in the general media. As a president who continued wars in the Middle East and kept the influence of Wall Street in the management of economic policy disappointed mainly the young population - the main unemployed in the U.S. - that expected a president laureate Nobel Peace Prize and that signaled for an economy rebound to the spirit of the New Deal. Among neoconservatives, despite the skepticism about the return of the liberals White House, reacted belatedly but with the great

influence that conquered the last decades. The central point for them is about the direction of Obama's foreign policy that would be compromising the power and image of superpower of the U.S.

Another point to highlight in common the reactions was the use of the Internet as an instrument and platform both for mobilize and organize demonstrations and protest as to disseminate ideas and as a source of information that often fosters a distorted and paranoid worldview, as we shown in the case of the resurgence of far-right guided by paranoia and conspiracies around religion and nationality of Obama. Studies on the behavior of people on the internet such as Suler (2004) emphasize two aspects that help us understand how the internet has become a platform for these anti-Obama movements. The first is about the feeling of anonymity, invisibility and security that the use of the internet awakens and the second aspect relates to how software research, organization of information, sites and popular news portals create mechanisms to classify and assemble virtual profiles of the users.

Based on historical research, or through a previous login, or through the choice of words and terms that the user do when you use a research site, it creates an electronic ID and a profile of the user, thereby allowing these software select news, links and websites they think best outlined profile. Therefore, adding a sense of anonymity loosening social constraints with the segmentation strategy of portals and research programs we have a spiral of conspiracies and the apparent popularity of hate speech that outside the virtual environment, mobilize few actors but as shown, was a decisive factor for the anti-Obama demonstrations between 2007 and 2012.

The implications of Internet use have been studied in different areas. Is one of the most advanced in the field of marketing / sales in which the internet works as an instrument aimed the loyalty and advanced sales between a potential customer profiles with specific product profile^{xvi}. In the field of political mobilization and dissemination of ideas, we have by hypothesis that the effect in the U.S. has been to foster a polarization with dangerous distortions affecting the social imaginary of people who can be of different ideological hues but favoring ideologies that here we characterize as far-right. We argue that in this way, movements and ideas socially little expressive - and unreliable - gain another dimension and other muscles in the virtual universe. The best example of this process are the birthers, people who surround themselves with evidence and conspiracies that prove that Obama was not born in the U.S. or that could not be president of the United States. The impact of birthers contaminated not only the mainstream media and, at different times, forced the White House to speak out, even to show the president's birth certificate. Another good example is the proliferation of racist caricatures of the president and the death threats that have gained an unprecedented scale while that respond to the aspirations of a minority of American society.

As for OWS, that characterize as a youth movement that is part of a long tradition of protest movements of the USA, of the transcendentalists of the nineteenth century to the anti-war student movements of the twentieth century, we highlight the culture-jamming strategy that reinforces the centrality of the media and the use of the internet as a platform for political mobilization. The cultural-jammers treat the propaganda of big corporations and even of the government to subversive way, questioning the final message but using the same instrument for communicating.

Now, the reaction of the neocons that was later among those presented here is directly related to the consequences and outcomes of the involvement of American power in the world and more specifically in the Middle East. To the neoconservatives bother, the international spread, but also in the internal debate, as the thesis of the decline of American power, and face of Obama, with his rhetoric of engagement, dialogue and the paradox of "leading from behind" sounds like an alert for this intellectuals group who still bet on a "new American century".

The main consequences of these anti-Obama reactions have their effects from 2013 when independently of the election result, a new term will begin and a new cycle of ideas and strategies will be underway.

References

MILLER, Aaron Davis. The Politically Incorrect Guide to U.S. Interests in the Middle East. Foreign Policy, August 15, 2012.

BERMAN, Russell A. Anti-Americanism in Europe has fallen during Obama's administration, but recent events show that there is still potential for its resurgence. London of School of Economics Blog (2012). Disponível em: <http://bit.ly/OIpJF0> Acessado em 07/10/2012.

BERNES, Jasper. Square and Circle: The Logic of Occupy. Disponível em: <http://thenewinquiry.com/essays/square-and-circle-the-logic-of-occupy/> . Acessado em 14/07/2012.

CHALMERS, David M. Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan. Duke University Press Books. Collins. 1987.

DAVIES, Merryl W.; ZIAUDDIN, Sardar. Por qué la gente odia EE.UU.? Ed. Gedisa, Barcelona. 2002.

DIAMOND, Sara. Spiritual Warfare. South End Press. Boston. 1989.

_____. Roads to Dominion. The Guilford Press. NY. 1995.

Downing (2001). Midia radical. Ed. Senac, Sao Paulo, 2001.

DREZNER, Daniel W.. Could foreign policy actually affect the 2012 presidential election? Disponível em: <http://drezner.foreignpolicy.com/?page=3> Acessado em 10/10/2012.

FERGUSON, Niall. Obama's Gotta Go. Disponível em: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2012/08/19/niall-ferguson-on-why-barack-obama-needs-to-go.html> Acessado em 07/10/2012.

FINGUERUT, Ariel. De Clinton a Obama: políticas dos Estados Unidos para a América Latina. Luis Fernando Ayerbe (Organizador) . Ed. Unesp, São Paulo. 2009.

HANSON, Victor Davis. The Fantasy House. PJ Media (2012). Disponível em: <http://pjmedia.com/victordavishanson/the-fantasy-house-of-barack-obama/>. Acessado em 12/09/2012.

KAGAN, Robert. Entrevista: Obama representa continuidade. Folha de S. Paulo, 4 de fevereiro de 2009.

_____. O Retorno da História e o Fim dos Sonhos. Rio de Janeiro, Rocco, 2009.

KASTE, Martin. Exploring Occupy Wall Street's 'Adbuster' Origins; Disponível em: <http://www.npr.org/2011/10/20/141526467/exploring-occupy-wall-streets-adbuster-origins> Acessado em 12/08/2012.

KLEIN, Naomi e MAROM, Yotam. Conversa (2012): Why Now? What's Next? Conversation About Occupy Wall Street. Disponível em: <http://www.thenation.com/article/165530/why-now-whats-next-naomi-klein-and-yotam-marom-conversation-about-occupy-wall-street#> Acessado em 05/10/2012.

KNIGHT, Peter. Conspiracy Culture: From Kennedy to 'The X-Files'. Ed. Routledge. Londres. 2000.

KRUGMAN, Paul. Como os Estados Unidos perderam o rumo. Disponível em: <http://www.outraspalavras.net/2012/08/28/como-os-estados-unidos-perderam-o-rumo/> Acessado em 24/09/2012.

McVEIGH, Rory. The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics. Ed. Univ Of Minnesota Press. Austin. 2009.

MEAD, Walter R. . Thank God W Isn't President Anymore. Disponível em: <http://blogs.the-american-interest.com/wrm/2012/10/01/thank-god-w-isnt-president-anymore/>. Acessado em 23/06/2012.

MILSTEIN, Cindy. Occupy Anarchism (2012). Disponível em: <http://cbmilstein.wordpress.com/2012/10/08/occupy-anarchism-musings-on-prehistories-present-imperfections-future-imperfections/> Acessado em 17/09/2012.

NEUMANN, Jonathan. Occupy Wall Street and the Jews. Commentary magazine, Janeiro de 2012.

Southern Poverty Law Center. Intelligence Files: Christian Identity; neo-Confederacy, Neo-Nazi groups, White nationalist groups. Disponível em: <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/ideology> Acessado em 10/05/2010.

_____. Intelligence Report. Rage on the Right. Issue Number 137. 2010. Disponível em: <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report> Acessado em 10/05/2010.

SULER, John. The Psychology of Cyberspace. (2004) E-Book, disponível em: <http://users.rider.edu/~suler/psycyber/psycyber.html>. Acessado em: 10/10/2012.

THOREAU, H. D. Walden ou A Vida nos Bosques. Ed. Ground, São Paulo. 2007.

WEST, Cornel. Entrevista com Cornel West (2011) : It's the Makings of a U.S. Autumn Responding to the Arab Spring. Disponível em http://www.democracynow.org/blog/2011/9/29/cornel_west_on_occupy_wall_street_its_the_makings_of_a_us_autumn_responding_to_the_arab_spring. Acessado em 08/09/2012.

ⁱ As discussed in Finguerut (2009, p. 13) what is meant by Think tank: The result of recent American political culture, with birth in the twentieth century, it is possible to describe them as small groups made up of experts, intellectuals and politicians who pore in research on different aspects involving the political power of the United States of America. Ultimately the Think Tanks seek to shape American power and its role in the international system. As this is the research that address strategic issues for the continuity of American power, these groups can have a major influence in decision-making.

ⁱⁱ Cf. <http://www.adl.org/about.asp> Accessed on September 19, 2012.

ⁱⁱⁱ Cf. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2010/spring> Accessed on September 19, 2012.

^{iv} Cf. <https://store.barackobama.com/featured-15/made-in-the-usa-mug.html> Accessed on October, 1, 2012.

^v Cf. <http://www.adbusters.org/>. Accessed on September, 23, 2012.

^{vi} The Anonymous group is an organization of hackers that acts both on the Internet like in street protests since 2003 defending flags as freedom of expression, combat corruption and using cyber attacks as an instrument of protest and mobilization.

^{vii} Cf. <http://frontpagemag.com/2011/jlaksin/the-end-of-occupy-wall-street/>. Accessed on September, 24, 2012.

^{viii} Conservative politician, part of the Reagan government (Secretary of Education), George W. H. Bush (secretariat combat drugs) is a researcher at the Project for the New American Century (PNAC).

^{ix} Cf. www.foreignpolicy.org accessed on October, 02, 2012.

^x Cf. In <http://www.foreignpolicy.org/content/fpi-bulletin-responding-recent-events-egypt-and-libya-0> Accessed on October, 14, 2012.

^{xi} Names like Larry Summers, Christina Romer, Tim Geithner and Paul Volcker would transit between the Republican government like Democrat and would be in terms of Krugman "men and women of Wall Street."

^{xii} Cf. text published in Newsweek - 19/08/2012 edition), available at <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2012/08/19/niall-ferguson-on-why-barack-obama-needs-to-go.html>.

^{xiii} Cf. In <http://www.fatosinteressantes.com.br/2012/09/innocence-of-muslims-legandado-em.html> Accessed on September, 27, 2012.

^{xiv} Cf, for example: <http://landing.newsinc.com/shared/video.html?freewheel=69016&sitection=breitbart&VID=23817749> (accessed on September, 30, 2012)

^{xv} Cf. <http://youtu.be/Om03gUSUaaQ>. Accessed on September, 30, 2012.

^{xvi} Cf. For example, *The Social Media Sales Revolution: The New Rules for Finding Customers, Building Relationships, and Closing More Sales Through Online Networking*, de Landy Chase e Kevin Knebl, Ed. McGraw-Hill, NY, 2011.