

FASCISM AND THE RISE OF THE ALT-RIGHT



TACTICS FOR ORGANIZING WITH

LSPiRG 

LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT



We would like to take this chance to acknowledge that we are writing and working on the traditional territory of the Neutral, Anishnaabe and Haudenosaunee Peoples. We also offer respect to our Metis neighbours and strive to strengthen our relationships with them. This territory spans across 3 of the 4 Wilfrid Laurier campuses and their surrounding communities, and is subject to the Haldimand Proclamation of 1784, which guaranteed the exclusive use of 950,000 acres along the Grand River to the Haudenosaunee.

To this day, through processes of colonialism, racism and genocide, settlers have stolen (for the second time) 902,000 acres of the Haldimand Tract for their own, leaving just 48,000 acres for members of the Six Nations. We cannot exclude the conversations on colonization across Turtle Island (North America) from the conversation on fascism, anti-fascism and resistance. We need to be aware of the fact that even the most “liberal” and “democratic” governments that have taken power since settlers have arrived have been built on the foundation of European settler supremacy over Indigenous Nations. And these same methods of colonization and genocide have gone on to be examples and inspiration for many of the major fascist dictatorships around the world. To echo the words of the great revolutionary and anti-colonial leaders Guina-Bissai and Cape Verde Amilcar Cabral (1972) and Enaemaehkiw Wākecānāpaew Kesīqnaeh of the Kaeyes-Mamāceqtawak Nation (better known as the Menominee Nation of Wisconsin) in their recent article “Fascism & Anti-Fascism: A Decolonial Perspective”;

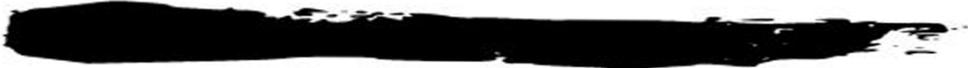
“While we cannot be sure that the defeat of fascism or capitalism alone will be enough to bring about the decolonization of Turtle Island, we can be sure that the defeat of colonization on this land will be the defeat of even the possibility of fascism, much less fascism itself.”

Colonization (as with fascism) does not exist in a past tense. It is an ongoing process that continues to exploit and oppress. And with all the work that we do, we believe that solidarity with Indigenous resistance and decolonization is the only way to do anti-fascist work in a good way.

In rage and solidarity,

the LSPiRG  team

INTRODUCTION



We would first like to make it clear that we are in no way experts on fascism or anti-fascist resistance. This zine is the result of months of research and support from others doing this work in our communities as well. The goal of this zine is to provide some starting points for conversations and planning. We have provided a list of resources at the back that we suggest utilizing in order to move this conversation forward.

We believe it is important to acknowledge that while conversations around fascism and anti-fascist resistance have increased since the election of Trump, these concepts are not new. The problem does not exist solely within the trump government, but instead is a wider, systemic issue. We cannot forget that current North American federal governments were built on capitalism, colonialism, white supremacy, slavery and genocide. The trump government did not create these issues, and while many liberal and democratic populations were expressing outrage and shock at the outcome of the 2016 election, we want to highlight the fact that North America has always represented these systems of power and control.

It only makes sense that an individual who supports the very tenets that a settler colony was built on would be able to take the place of President.

As we move forward with these conversations, we would also like to emphasize the importance of de-centering white, straight, cis and male voices. Fascism has long impacted the most marginalized communities, and in order to move forward in a good way, we need to center the voices of those who have been most impacted by these systems.

Thank you for taking the time to check out our zine,
we hope you find it helpful!



FASCISM

WHAT IS FASCISM

What is Fascism? That's a big question to answer! A much bigger question that we have time or space to answer here, but we will do our best!

In a sense, we are often too close to Fascism in order to fully grasp what it is, how it operates, and how it gains so much power. When asked what Fascism is, it is common for our thoughts to go immediately to the Holocaust. This is understandable since the Holocaust was a very clear example of the harm that can take place when Fascism takes state control. However, this is not the only example.

Okay then, how do we define Fascism? What does it entail? These are the questions that we often get stumped by.

The most common definition of Fascism which is given by the left has been one of **AUTHORITARIAN NATIONALISM** (an extreme form of government that restricts freedoms mixed with the idea that the country in question is superior to all others). It is generally attached to **AGGRESSIVE RACISM**, **CONSERVATIVE "TRADITIONALISM"** (wanting to go back to the "good ol' days"), **ANTI-LIBERALISM**, **ANTI-COMMUNIST**, and a strong **EXPANSIONIST FOREIGN POLICY** (usually due to a desire for "absolute power"). Popular examples that have contributed to this definition includes Mussolini's Italy, the Nazi Party in Germany, Franco's Spain, Romania under the Iron Guard, and various governments of Hungary in the 1930s.

COLONIZATION & FASCISM

In their article "Fascism and Anti-Fascism; A Decolonial Perspective", Enaemaehkiw Wākecānāpaew Kesīqnaeh outlines the perspective that fascism is when the violence and destruction that imperialist nations have perpetrated against other – often racialized – nations comes home to visit.

The difference here being that folks who are used to being the colonizers are at risk of experiencing increased levels of violence. If we examine fascism from the perspective of colonial violence turned within, we need to also recognize that, all across Turtle Island, this violence has already been turned within and experienced by Black and Brown folks for centuries.

So what does it mean to have this conversation when we know that populations have experienced fascist states, even under so-called “democratic” governments? It means that we have to acknowledge that fascism and colonization can and do exist, even in so-called democratic countries. Framing the conversation this way helps us move beyond just imagining fascism as publicly disavowed atrocities such as the Holocaust, but also as ongoing settler colonization which has become normalized across Turtle Island among settler populations as “just the way things are.”

Enaemaehkiw Wākecānāpaew Kesīqnaeh also goes on to say that because of the state of colonized life, whether the governing political logic of the colonial state is liberal or fascist, the fundamental warfare remains in place. The principle threat of fascism for Black and Brown folks across Turtle Island wouldn't go from experiencing no violence to experiencing large amounts of it, but rather that the pace and accumulative logics of settler colonialism would just accelerate. As they stated, “At best, the choice lies between slow (democratic) and fast (fascist) colonialism.”

A GRADUAL CREEPING

Forms of fascism such as the Nazi Party – which after they gained relative power began to be more open about their intentions - is imore or less a social taboo. A small population of those on the right are willing to publicly align themselves with the perpestives and actions of the Nazi Party. That is why it is important to complicate the discussion around what fascism is and how it spread. Even when public discourse is seemingly against it.



Perhaps the most important technique of fascism is what scholar Stephen Shenfield calls “a gradual creeping or coup, accomplished by means of the steady penetration of state and social structures and the accumulation of military and economic potential.” (Quoted from *The Fascist Creep*, p. 2)

The “fascist creep” refers to the subtle actions which can allow fascism to creep into mainstream discourse. The development of fascism takes place more as a “process” than an “outcome” and this creep can happen within political governments but also as a general cultural and social movement. As a cultural phenomenon, it can spread through humour (more recently, memes), symbols, catch phrases, and the offering of platforms and “air time” for fascists which leads to the gradual normalization of the ideology in the mainstream. Often people do not understand the reality behind what they are supporting or have detached themselves from any responsibility by depicting it as harmless.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM

One of the first recorded expressions of “national socialism” (totalitarian system that the Nazi Party was built on) was Marquis de Mores. A French settler who was a rancher in America in the 1880s. He worked closely with Theodore Roosevelt as they both believed in eugenics, the preservation of the white race, and the domination of the white race over the world. He would travel to Europe to work with anti-Jewish organizations and the beginning stages of national socialist movement. Around the same time, Roosevelt was also working closely with Madison Grant, a Danish settler, who wrote *The Passing of the Great Race* – depicting the so called “racial suicide” that was taking place in the white settler community due to their acceptance of immigrants and “sub-species.” This book would go on to inspire Hitler as the Nazi Party was gaining power and he often referred to it as his “bible”. This is not surprising since the colonization of Turtle Island was so vast and murderous that it could stand as an example for Fascist leaders looking to conduct the same style of internal colonization.



For Hitler, his conquest represented the same kind of desire as Manifest Destiny (the 19th-century doctrine or belief that the expansion of the US throughout the American continents was both justified and inevitable). The eugenic justification of the designation of Jewish people as an “inferior race” used the same framework and language as the westward expansion of North American settler colonies. Other European colonial efforts created concentration camps in Cuba and South Africa, which acted as models for the Nazi concentration camps. Fascism in Italy was likely more informed by the colonization of Africa where fascist leaders advocated for the conquest of Libya in order to “empower” the working class.

Much like modern manifestations of fascism, early fascist governments like Mussolini and Hitler gained power by appealing to more liberal and conservative parties and individuals but also appealing to the fears and anxieties of the working class. We saw a similar tactic used during the Trump campaign, as he appealed to the working class by saying he was going to bring back jobs, strengthen the bleak economy and “make America great again”. However, this was little more than lip service in order to be appealing and draw in support from as many people as possible. Groups from all across Europe and North America saw this tactic working on the population, and implemented similar strategies. Particularly in North America, corporations saw the fascist rhetoric as being a potential tactic to stifling the worker’s rights movement. Fascism began to creep into both the left and the right, promising both sides that they could have the future they always dreamed of.

KLU KLUX KLAN

Many of these manifestations of fascism attempting to play down their level of commitment to the ideology and attempted to be deceptive of their intentions. However, a much bolder movement of Nazi skinheads began to spread across North America and Europe in the 1980s. Around this time, violence at the hands of the Klu Klux Klan (KKK) began to ramp up all across North America.

The government was responding slowly and, for the most part, not doing anything. Klan members were rarely being held accountable for hate crime, even though the laws were on the books. Community organizations, legal aid clinics, and anti-fascist collectives took on the onus and, on multiple occasions, successfully chased Klan members out of their neighbourhoods. Forcing them to relocate offices due to the level of anti-fascist action. Such actions and resistance will be talked about more when we go into greater detail around anti-fascism.

In the 1990s, the focus of the Klan and other nazi skinhead groups became immigration. Out of this grew the American Renaissance conference, which became a rallying point for fascists to vent their concerns about the economy and the threat of immigration. The conversations around a failing economy often allowed hard right-wing and fascist collectives to hold space in more leftist organizing – especially as the anti-globalization and anti-WTO protests ramped up in the late 1990s. This was a strategy that was done by putting conversations of race and immigration on hold in order to gain the trust and support from those on the left. At this time, fascist groups became increasingly difficult to discern from leftist groups.

THE 2000'S

Due to the participation in a mass movement and the rising Islamophobic sentiment, the fascist and nazi collectives became more mainstream in the early 2000's, which became normalized even more after the election of Obama and the ensuing anti-blackness.

In the states, the Southern Poverty Law Center registered a decline in white nationalist organizing in 2014, but stressed that this didn't depict a real decline, but both the underground movement of the KKK and the growth of decentralized "lone wolf" violence. Despite the fact that there was less mainstream and above ground organizing of white nationalists, there was a drastic increase in Islamophobic and anti-black actions which increased 16 times after September 11, 2001 and tripled again after the Paris attacks in 2015. Including increased attacks on historically black churches and mosques.

REBRANDING FASCISM

Generally speaking, fascist groups today exist in many different forms, shapes and sizes although the underlying idea that a “revolution” must take place in order to replace the unproductive ruling white with a powerful elite that will return old privileges and advance a new age of health, spiritual greatness and so-called unity still persists. The germination of fascism in societies is based on the emotions of resentment and revenge, and, as anger builds, unity forms around demagogues that appear to cater to the populist anxieties and promises the “rebirth” of former greatness.

Much of the current conversation around fascism and the rise of the alt-right is revolving around Trump, however we must remember that fascist activity and actions have been carried out by seemingly democratic and liberal governments for generations. The late Harper administration passed the blatantly Islamophobic Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act, the Anti-Terrorism Act (Bill C-51), and the Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act (Bill C-24); two bills which allowed for the stripping of Canadian citizenship from dual citizens and those with the ability to obtain dual citizenship. It also allows acts of protest against the economy to be considered terrorism, a Bill that was drafted in order to target the Indigenous land and water protectors across Canada. None of these issues have been positively acted upon by the current Trudeau government.

In the context of north america, this conversation of fascism cannot be separated from white nationalism and the continuing colonization of Indigenous lands, the continuing criminalization of Black populations, and the continuing demonization of Muslim populations. These very ideas and acts are what allow fascism to gain a foothold in communities and governments. As mentioned above, fascism is a complex system of oppression that we could never do service to in the few short pages we have, but we hope that this provides a good jumping off point to continue the conversation and learning.

THE REACTIONARY RIGHT

When we are thinking about this surge in extreme right wing politics, it is useful to call it the “Reactionary Right”. It’s important to pay attention to detail and nuance when having these discussions because, although most of the groups and players involved in this movement are all *reacting* to a push towards a more equitable and just social system by the left, they are also very diverse in their interests and goals. You could expand this understanding to include some establishment Conservatives all the way to neo-nazi white supremacist groups. We see the words “fascism” and “nazi” thrown around a lot these days, but it is important to understand the real meaning and context of these words and use them appropriately. There are overlaps between white nationalists and nazis/white supremacists, but many members of the Alt-Right are not opposed to people of color joining their ranks and trolling alongside them. Here is a very limited breakdown of some of the groups associated with what we call the “Reactionary Right.”

THE ALT-RIGHT

“The Alternative Right, commonly known as the Alt-Right, is a set of far right ideologies, groups and individuals whose core belief is that “white identity” is under attack by multicultural forces using “political correctness” and “social justice” to undermine white people and “their” civilization. Characterized by heavy use of social media and online memes, Alt-Righters eschew “establishment” conservatism, skew young, and embrace white ethno-nationalism as fundamental values.” - Southern Poverty Law Center

We will get more into the Alt-Right in the next section of the zine, but for reference in this section, we will give a brief description. The term “Alt-Right” was coined by Richard Spencer in 2008 who headed the National Policy Institute (a white nationalist think-tank). During the Trump inauguration riots, Spencer was punched square in the face by a black bloc protestor resulting in a wealth of memes advocating for the punching of nazis and white supremacists.



Some adherents of the Alt-Right want to return to a more primitive Western civilization while others simply want to return to “traditional values” while keeping what they see as modern society. Most adhere to principles of “scientific racism” which posits that different races are biologically different. They believe that White people should live separately from Black, Brown and Indigenous folks. The Alt-Right firmly rejects egalitarianism (the doctrine that all people are equal and deserve equal rights and opportunities) and they see themselves as separate from both White nationalists and establishment Conservatives.

Their ideas are generally spread online and so the movements primarily consists of anonymous and otherwise disconnected youth who came to these ideas through online message boards like 4chan and 8chan’s/pol/ and Internet platforms like Reddit, Voat, and Twitter. There are many influential blogs online that spread information and events. Spencer currently runs alternativeright.com and Mike Enoch runs the Right Stuff blog. Folks within the Alt-Right also hold conferences and gala dinners. Spencer holds a gala at the National Press Club in Washington at least twice a year to discuss growth of the Alt-Right ideas. They can be seen at protests, often wearing MAGA (Make America Great Again) hats.

Alt-Righters organized relentlessly around Trump who they saw as instituting many of the same anti-immigrant and anti-political correctness principles they shared. However, after his election to the presidency, many Alt-Righters have lost faith in his power to enact these real changes they are looking for.

THE ALT-LIGHT

The term “Alt-Light” has been used by both the left and the right to describe the different people and groups that walk in Alt-Right circles but tend to believe that the values and beliefs go too far, specifically those calling for the privileging of whiteness. They might be conservatives who want to reclaim “traditional values” and preserve Western culture but believe immigrants and people of color can be included in that vision as long as they choose to assimilate.



The Proud Boys, founded in 2016, sees itself as a fraternal organization that prioritizes Western values and identity but is mostly founded on preserving masculinity. They try to position themselves as anti-racist and anti-queerphobia, but their membership, values and actions speak a different story. On July 1st 2017, a group of Proud Boys disrupted a Mi'kmaq ceremony honouring missing and murdered Indigenous women in Halifax. These kinds of "brotherhoods" are also seen in groups such as the Sons of Odin or Soldiers of Odin, also here in Canada, who center around Islamophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment more than anything else. The Three Precenters are another group organizing themselves in Canada, primarily in Calgary. The concerning aspects of their organization involve a high degree of militarization and weaponry training, and a seeming willingness to use them against anti-racist protesters and potentially Muslims.

WHITE NATIONALISTS

This ideology is based on racial separatism and the assumed supremacy of white people in all areas of culture and civilization. White nationalists often separate themselves from Nazi movements and position themselves as seeking a "non-violent" purge of non-white folks from white society. But, white nationalists are a mixed bunch and there are certainly groups who openly advocate for violence and genocide. The overlap between the Alt-Right and White nationalists, as stated before, is often indiscernible.

These groups are more organized and formal in their membership. They have benign sounding names like Faith and Heritage (Texas), Sons and Daughters of Liberty (Florida, Illinois, Indiana), and the Canadian Heritage Alliance (Ontario). Though they are sometimes more blunt about it like the Racial Nationalist Party of America (New York).

Identity Evropa is a White nationalist group founded in the states in 2016 by Nathan Damigo. The group advocates for a generation of "awakened" Europeans to rise up and reclaim "white America". They have a staunchly masculinist approach and in 2017, Damigo was filmed punching a female protestor in the face in Berkeley, California. Identity Evropa is a good example of a group which blurs the lines between White nationalism and White supremacy as its members walk in both circles and it draws support from both crowds. The group has had a patchy history with the Alt-Right, but there are still supporters amongst their ranks.

Milo Yiannopoulos, originally a player in the feminist harassment campaign known as Gamergate, is seen to belong to this group as someone who engages in the provocation and subversion aspects of the movement but is very much in it for the fame and doesn't have any real movement building goals.

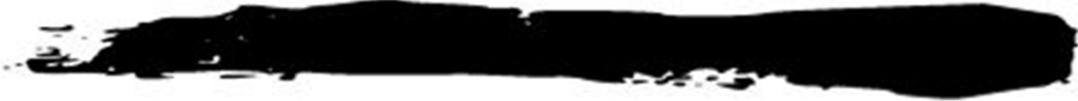
NEO-NAZIS, SKINHEADS AND FASCISTS

Nazis are united in their hatred of all non-whites and queer people, with Jewish people as their common enemy. They often idolize Adolf Hitler and the Nationalist Socialist German Workers' Party (the Fascist German Nazi Party) and are staunch supporters of a Fascist state and authoritarian leadership. They are avid white supremacists and are the most active in engaging in violent and murderous action to achieve their goals.

In America, the Southern Poverty Law Center publishes that the Klu Klux Klan still operates in nearly half of the US states. These people only make up a small percentage of the Reactionary Right in Canada, but it is always something to be aware of.

The Hammerskins and Blood and Honour are two Neo-Nazi groups that have been active in Canada in the past and may be reorganizing themselves currently. Between 2008 to 2010, members of Blood and Honour in Vancouver were charged with assaulting four individuals, two Black men, a Hispanic man, and an Indigenous woman. One of the members was also charged with lighting a Filipino man on fire while he slept on a couch in the street.

THE ALT-RIGHT



The Alt-Right (short for “Alternative Right”) is a loosely organized far right movement that shares contempt for both liberal multiculturalism and mainstream conservative stances (which are not deemed to be far enough right). They uphold a strong belief that some people are inherently better than others (usually drawn across lines of race and gender), and maintain a strong online presence but a limited in person presence outside of specific conferences or events. All the while upholding a narrative of being hip, cool and “new”. Anti-Fascist News defines the Alt-Right as an elitist reaction to anti-oppressive grassroots movements. They seek to challenge current systems of power while building support for authoritarian populism and fascism among the broader population.

Although a large foundation of the Alt-Right is located within the so-called united states, a large presence is felt within the “canadian” context as well.

The main ideology combines white nationalism, misogyny, anti-Islam, anti-semitism (although this is contested between groups) and authoritarianism in various forms and styles along the political spectrum from violent intervention to intellectual arguments. Although the Alt-Right share similar ideologies, it is important to understand that there are many different factions of the Alt-Right that hold a variety of positions within this spectrum and often do not agree on tactics, level of militancy or end goals.

A key thing to note about the Alt-Right is the shift away from the traditional make up of american fascists and white nationalists. The Alt-Right is significantly more urban, upper class and college / university educated (traditionally, fascist and white nationalist groups were made up of more rural folks). This, in turn, changes the way we must organize in order to resist these groups. We must also challenge the notion that the Alt-Right is simply a reaction to (or a part of) the Trump phenomenon.

Although it has contributed to the support for Trump, it has been growing for many years.

The ideological roots of the Alt-Right mostly stemmed from two different intellectual currents; paleoconservatism and the European New Right

Paleoconservatism can be traced back to the “Old Right” around the 1930s (which was against the formation of large governments that regulated economic and social aspects) and the the American First movement (which opposed US entry into WW2). Many of the right wing groups bonded during the Cold War era and the concept of anti-communism. When the Soviet bloc collapsed (1989-91), the anti-communist alliance also fell apart. Old debates on the right came to the surface again, and the Old Right began referring to themselves as Paleoconservatives in order to separate themselves from mainstream conservatives (also called neo-conservatives, people who had formally been liberal and leftist intellectuals but were gaining influence in right-wing think tanks under the Reagan administration). Religion also played a factor as many of the neoconservatives at the time were Christian and Jewish, which places them outside of the Old Old Conservative group that was often based in anti-Jewish sentiments. Paleoconservatives often called neoconservatives “closeted leftists” and criticised their loose immigration policies, free trade, globalization and the welfare state. They also spoke out against the US’s close connection to Israel while articulating their anti-Semitic stance. During the 1990s, paleo-conservatives played a key role in building anti-immigrant and neo-confederate movements, although they became more isolated in the early 2000s when neo-conservative views became more popular.

The **European New Right (ENR)** began in France in the late 1960s and spread across Europe in an attempt to rebrand fascist ideology. This was done largely by co-opting political traditions from other movements - including the left - to mask their fundamental rejection of the principle of human equality. They oppose the idea of the melting pot and globalization and believe that true anti-racism means keeping different racial and ethnic groups separated to protect their unique cultures. They also believe that “true feminism” means defending the “natural gender differences” instead of forcing women to “divest” from femininity. The ENR started to get more attention across Turtle Island in the 1990s, notably in opposition to multiculturalism. Although there are differences between these groups, there was enough of a connection to allow for those seeking to build a white nationalist movement outside of the traditional neo-Nazi / KKK circles.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL LEVELS

As already mentioned, there are many different organizational and political levels that make up the Alt-Right. Here we will outline some of the main tenets, although this list is by no means exhaustive. Check out the resources listed at the back of this zine for more detailed readings.



The Alt-Right is made up of various think tanks, book publishers, conferences, and journals that work towards giving the movement a set of ideological leaders, media spokespeople, and a shared ideology.



Online presence is made up of podcasts, websites, reddit subsections, memes, and the use of doxing (collective a persons personal info in order to harass them both in public and online).



The majority of Alt-Right groups reject class analysis or pandering to the white working class. They are more interested in reaching out to college-educated , urban based and financially secure men than rural, poor or working-class folks. This is an elitist movement.



The Alt-Right does not care to include women in their organizing and view them in a similar way as poor or working class whites, that being non-actors. The Alt-Right is overwhelmingly male.



Many Alt-Right circles are anti-Semitic, consider Jewish folks to inferior to other white populations, often partake in denial of the Holocaust, but also normalize jokes of wholesale genocide against non-white and Jewish populations. However, many Alt-Right groups are internally divided over perspectives on the matter. Similar to the divide that exists between groups that are willing to “tolerate” queer folks and those who are not.



Most of the Alt-Right views Trump as a useful stepping stone for their movement, but do not view him as a leader of the Alt-Right. Many groups think that while what he is doing is good, it is still not enough.

▶▶▶ A central pillar in the Alt-Right is their belief that it can be scientifically proven that there are biological differences in race that correspond with levels of intelligence, a person's tendency to act in criminal or anti-social ways, an ability to be "civilized" and, in the case of Jewish folks, the belief that they are prone to destroying "white civilization". This is what anti-fascist organizers often call "scientific racism".

▶▶▶ Much of the Alt-Right centers their movements around race and white nationalism. However, they also overlap with many other political currents as well, including; the so called "manosphere", neo-reactionary movements, right-wing anarchism, and male tribalism.

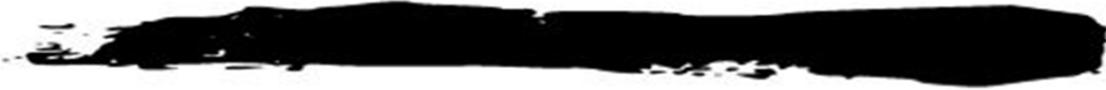
▶▶▶ According to many factions of the Alt-Right, all those who do not support them are in fact protectors of the dominant political and economic order, likely working for the Jewish population, and defenders of "communism".

▶▶▶ The Alt-Right have been known to use talking points that have been co-opted from the anti-oppressive movements. Examples include calling anti-racist organizers the "real fascists", claiming we need diversity because white people (particularly white men) are being excluded, and referencing a so-called "white genocide".

Some groups will include all or most of these tenets, while others may only focus their attention and organizing efforts on a few. The Alt-Right movement is complex and diverse in their political and organizational positions.

**All content listed on page 14 and 15 have been quoted from CTRL-ALT-DELETE: An Anarchist Report on the Alternative Right by Matthew N. Lyons, It's Going Down, Kersplebedeb and Bromma.

THE RISE OF THE ALT-RIGHT



The term “Alt-Right” or “Alternative Right” was introduced by Richard Spencer in 2008 when he was a managing editor of the paleoconservative Taki’s Magazine. He used the term as a general way to refer to the range of right-wing voices at odds with both the left and the mainstream conservative establishment. Shortly after, he left Taki’s Magazine and formed AlternativeRight.com - which has become popular among right-wing intellectuals that are unsatisfied with the current models of conservative thinking.

AlternativeRight.com quickly began forming relationships with a number of other white nationalist publications. In 2011, Spencer became the head of the white nationalist think-tank National Policy Institute (NPI), and joined the online magazine Radix. Currently, the “Alt-Right” often means an internet focused string of blogs, Twitter accounts, podcasts, Reddit trolls, and websites. All of which combine scientific racism, romantic nationalism, and neo-fascist ideas to create a white nationalist movement that has almost no historical connection to neo-Nazis or the KKK. A lot of the growth in the movement can be attributed to the internet culture that has been developing for years.

The lack of face-to-face communication and ability to stay anonymous allows folks to easily spew supremacist speech.

However, despite the fact that a lot of the growth within the Alt-Right movement has - and continues to - take place online, it is important to acknowledge that these spaces and articulation of supremacist ideals increases the likely hood of violent actions taking place. From the mass shooting at the Quebec City Mosque by Alexandre Bissonnette on Jan. 29th 2017 that took the lives of 6 people and injured 5 more to the Charleston church shooting in June of 2015 (carried out by Dylann Roof who took the lives of 9 folks while defending his action by saying that he had to kill them because they were black), along with many others - racially motivated attacks have been inspired by online rhetoric, empowerment and support. It can be easy to write the Alt-Right off as an online subculture, but the violence it inspires has very real consequences in the lives of many folks who are the target of fascist and white nationalist anger.

REACTIONARY RIGHT SYMBOLS AND LANGUAGE

This is a list of symbols and language that is used by the Alt-Right / Reactionary Right. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but consists of some of the most common language being used.

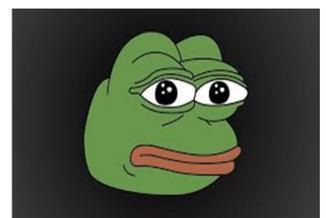
CUCK: short for “cuckold”, which is a man who watches someone have sex with their significant other. This is the most common insult among the Alt-Right forums. Playing into the ideas of masculinity and dominance, it also has racist undertones as it is often understood to mean a white man whose wife is sleeping with black men.

CUCKSERVATIVE: a combination of “cuckold” and “conservative”, coined to ridicule Republican politicians who are seen as traitors to their people who are selling out conservatives with their support for globalism and certain liberal ideas.

ALT-LIGHT: a term used by both the left and right to discuss those who populate online Alt-Right spaces but do not completely buy into the ideology.

PEPE THE FROG: originally created as a character in a cartoon strip strip called Boy’s Club by Matt Furie. It was appropriated by the Alt-Right and other various hate groups online to become the leading meme in their arsenal, often depicting Trump. In his newest comic, Matt Furie kills off Pepe as he was upset with the Alt-Right associations with his character.

BASED STICKMAN: aka the Alt-Knight. A reference to an Alt-Right supporter, Kyle Chapman, who showed up at a rally in California with a gasmask, a shield with an American flag, and a long stick. He was arrested for hitting an antifa protestor in the head with it and became an internet hero.



PEPE THE FROG

SPECIAL SNOWFLAKE: a term used to insult Millennials who the Alt-Right says have been coddled all their life and told they are special and unique like fragile snowflakes, thereby losing all ability to compete and withstand social pressures.

MANOSPHERE: the informal network of blogs, websites and chatrooms where participants focus on the issues surrounding men and masculinity, most often in direct opposition to feminism.

GOD EMPEROR: an Alt-Right nickname for Trump.

1488ERS: an Alt-Right reference to the genocidal Fascists among their ranks. 14 stands for the fourteen words “we must secure the existence for our people and a future for white children” of the Nazi party and 88 corresponds with the alphabet - H being the 8th letter - resulting in HH which stands for Heil Hitler. This type of coding is used in other groups as well.

LARPERS: similar to the 1488ers, a LARPer is a Live Action Role Player who still believes its 1939 and the Nazi Party is about to ride to fame . Both terms - 1488ers and LARPer - are meant to disparage these people within the Alt-Right as they are seen as undermining White identarian politics.

KEK: Alt-Right shorthand for LOL based on the gaming platform World of Warcraft. A cult for Kek has emerged in ironic fashion over the past few years as some realized there was an ancient Egyptian god name Kek who was often depicted as a frog. This led many Alt-Right online groups to jokingly declare that Pepe was a reincarnation of Kek.

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GETTING RED-PILLED: a reference to the Matrix where Neo takes the “red pill” and becomes aware of the truth of society. It is used by Alt-Righters to describe people coming over to their point of view. This predates the Alt-Right, however, and is also used widely by Men’s Rights Activists, who have made a movie called The Red Pill.

ECHOES: a set of three parenthesis placed around the name of Jewish people to identify them online by framing them like (((this))).

DOXXING: a tool used by the far right to threaten and attack their opponents. Doxxing can include publishing the real names of people all the way up to publishing information about their families, home addresses, where their kids go to school, and their phone numbers. It is important to note that this tactic is also used by left-wing activists opposing the right.

SJW: abbreviation for Social Justice Warrior, which is used to refer to liberal activists concerned with “identity politics”. The far right sees these people as being responsible for the loss of white dominance through institutionalizing “political correctness” through anti-oppression policy and limiting free speech.

MOON MAN: originally a 1980’s McDonald’s character, Moon Man had been re-purposed as a racist symbol in memes online, mostly because his head resembles a KKK hood.

NRX: short for Neoreactionaries, these are people who adhere to a philosophy that rejects democratic rule in favor of autocracy and a complete rejection of religion.

ANTI-FASCIST RESISTANCE



Anti-fascist resistance has been around for as long as fascism has.

Although anti-fascist resistance can look many different ways (as you will see below) a common goal is to increase the social cost of oppressive behaviour. Of course, eradicating fascism entirely would be the ideal situation, but anti-fascist collectives believe that a good starting point is to prevent fascist and racist ideology from being normalized and taking strong holds in our communities (or reversing the normalization that is already there).

The history of anti-fascism ranges from resistance to colonization, genocide and slavery across Turtle Island, resistance within concentration camps during the Holocaust (including sabotaging military equipment that was being built in the work camps), and a wave of Anti-Fascist Action collectives that popped up around Europe and Turtle Island in the 1980s.

The history of anti-fascism in 20th century Europe is largely one of fighting squads, like the international militant brigades fighting Franco in Spain, the Red Front Fighters' League in Germany who were fighting the Nazis since the party's formation in the 1920, the print workers who fought ultra-nationalists in Austria, and the 43 Group in England fighting Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. In most instances of anti-fascist organizing, physical confrontation and "combat" were brought used.

Much like the early anti-fascist collectives, the movement that really took fire in the 1980s and 90s consisted mostly of resisting fascist organizing and/or events in the streets. One example of this is the Black Dragons in England - a collective of over 1,000 members, mostly Black folks, committed to taking physical action against the National Front. However, this was not the only technique. Many groups also participated in systems of community support. Antifaschistische Action (AFA) in Germany, for example, participated in street actions but also operated squatted social centres that shared information, housing, food and clothing support. The AFA also became famous for dressing in all black and covering their faces during street actions to protect their identity from the police and fascist organizers. However, they were not the first or the last group to take such precautions.

Out of these early collectives grew the Anti-Fascist Action (nicknamed Antifa) and Anti-Racist Action groups. Both of which exist internationally although neither have a hierarchy or exist as structured organizations.

As mentioned above, much of the organizing consisted of physical resistance against fascist and racist organizing. However, some groups expanded to include acting as security for folks accessing abortion clinics, supporting queer and trans liberation movements and, much like the AFA in Germany, doing community support work and mutual aid. This can look many different ways, depending on the needs of the community and the context of what else is taking place.

It is also important to acknowledge that, while physical resistance is a common tool in anti-fascist organizing, it is not just a source of resistance but can also be a survival technique. Fascist and racist organizing cannot happen without a target or a “scapegoat” - and the folks who are on the receiving end of the violence that ensues are often put in positions where they are required to defend themselves. This ranges from Black collectives in the south of so-called united states teaching each other how to fire weapons in order to defend against Klan attacks, martial arts and self-defense classes, anti-fascist based gyms (such as Haymaker in Chicago which plans to open its doors in the Fall of 2017) and community safety strategies.

A recent example was sparked by Trayvon Martin’s murder on Feb. 26th 2010 (and the string of incidents of police brutality that became increasingly visible afterward). A collective called the Rural Organizing Project began organizing actions and leading community conversations, discussions and presentations around the impact of this violence on the Black community.

They quickly began to receive large amounts of threats which resulted in some of their speaking events being canceled due to safety concerns. In response, a security team made up of folks of color assembled to provide security for organizers and attendees at the events.

This type of organizing is not new. As Mike Bento says in the article “Fighting the Cops and the Klan, the History and Future of Black AntiFascism” “Historically, a lot of the work that Black people have done has been antifascist. From the anti-lynching campaigns in the early part of the last century up through the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Panthers: these are all antifascist movements.” He goes on to note that the foundational culture of White nationalism, combined with the long history of state oppression of folks of color has always been a fascist state for Black, Brown and Indigenous folks across Turtle Island.

Even before the Black Panthers or the height of the Civil Rights movement, Black activists like Mabel and Robert Williams were fighting the most brutal forms of American fascism by arming Black people and teaching them how to defend themselves against the Klan.

This work has been happening for a long time, and it is continuing in many communities across Turtle Island. Late in 2016, Rapid Response Network was launched in Brooklyn, which aims to establish neighbourhood groups (connected via a hotline) that can provide safety, first aid, and assistance in the event of Immigration and Customs Enforcement raids on undocumented folks, as well as physical presence and defense in the event of racist street attacks. People Power Assemblies have also been organizing in the Brooklyn area since at least 2013, advocating against the closing of schools in racialized communities and the increasing levels of state and police violence - while also incorporating conversations on antifascism.

Black Lives Matter Toronto have taken on similar tactics with not only advocating against the closing of schools in racialized areas, but also against the level of police presence in schools with more racialized students.

They have also formed a project by the name of Freedom School which is a three week program for black youth 4-10 years old in the GTA. It was a response to a lack of humanizing, self-affirming, and queer positive education. It's been designed to teach children about Black history, engage them in political resistance to anti-black racism and state violence through a trans-feminist lens. They learn about the Black Lives Matter Movement, Marie Joseph Angelique, Marsha P. Johnson and the Stonewall Riots, the Memphis garbage strikes, the Bussa Revolution in Barbados, the Haitian Revolution, and the Soweto Uprisings. All taught with child friendly resources like claymation, video animation, and augmented realities.

“There’s something powerful about direct forms of resistance that are more aggressive and straightforward; but also, part of the antifascist work is establishing alternative ways of being. In many ways, people of color have always kind of done that in this country out of necessity. But i think it needs to be expanded, and I think it needs to be named as antiracist, antifascist work. Both of those are part of our liberation struggle.” - Colin Ashley of the racial justice group People Power Assemblies.

As you can probably see, physical confrontation is not the only anti-fascist tactic, but groups are known for their no-tolerance stance when it comes to giving fascist or racist organizers platforms. The reason for this is because many groups understand that fascism, racism, colonialism, and other forms of oppression are upheld up subtle, daily actions. The more “air time” fascist organizers get, the more they become normalized in our society (as we saw during the Trump campaign).

Anti-fascist and anti-racist action groups often firmly believe that supporting fascism, white supremacy, and colonialism is not simply an “opinion”. It is the upholding of oppression against groups of people. They refuse to ignore the real harm that takes place when these ideas are deemed as socially acceptable. As mentioned earlier, the goal is to increase the social cost of oppressive behaviour by attacking both fascist institutions or groups and everyday fascism and racism as it appears in our communities.

And there really is no end to the possibilities of how we can go about doing that work!

We have talked here a lot about organizations and larger scale resistance, but we would like to stress the fact that anti-fascist work can happen on an individual level as well.

WHY ELSE YOU CAN DO TO RESIST

Support folks in your community who are experiencing burnout. Anti-fascist organizing often demands quick responses, tense moments and a considerable amount of commitment. It can take a toll on our mental and physical health.

Creating zines (such as this one) to help spread ideas and information.

Sharing information online via social media.

Calling out fascist and/or racist ideologies when you hear them in your classrooms, meetings, at events, or in daily conversation.

Creating art! Making stickers, t-shirts, posters, buttons and art can create a more vibrant anti-fascist and anti-racist presence in our communities!

Anything else you can imagine!

RESOURCES

BOOKS

Against the Fascist Creep by Alexander Reid Ross

Blessed is the Flame: an introduction to concentration camp resistance and anarcho-nihilism by Serafinski

CTRL-ALT-DELETE: An Antifascist Report on the Alternative Right by Matthew N. Lyons, It's Going Down, Kersplebedeb and Bromma

The Revolution Starts at Home; Confronting Intimate Violence Within Activist Communities Edited by Ching-In Chen, Jai Dulani & Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha

POSTS, ARTICLES AND WEBSITE BLOGS

Indigenouaction.org/anti-colonial-anti-fascist-action/

Anti-Fascist New

Aljazeera.com *"US Anti-Fascist: We Can Make Racists Afraid Again"*

Thebasebk.org/rapid-response-network-assembly/

Itself.blog *"The Groundhog Day of Free Speech" & "Who Decides"*

ROARmag.org *"Trump and Everyday Anti-Fascism"*

It'sGoingDown.org

Threewayfight Blog *"Calling Them Alt-Right Helps us Fight Them"*

Stopracism.ca

"Early Anti-Klan Organizing" by Julian Sher

Freedomschool.ca

[Facebook.com/haymakerchi](https://www.facebook.com/haymakerchi)

Theguardian.com *"Alt-Right Online Humour as a Weapon of Fascism"*

Truth-out.org *“Fighting Cops and the Klan:
The History and Future of Black Antifascism”*

Warriorpublications.wordpress.com *“Fascism & Anti-Fascism: A Decolonial
Perspective”* by Enaemaehkiw Wākecānāpaew Kesīqnaeh

Southern Poverty Law Center

We also suggest checking out AK Press online for
many more books on fascism, anti-fascism, the Alt-Right and
many other topics!

ALT-RIGHT WEBSITES

AlternativeRight.com
Black Conservatives
Jack Donovan (Male Tribalism)
Radic Journal
Counter Currents
VDare
American Renaissance
The Occidental Quarterly
The Right Stuff
The Daily Stormer
Red Ice Radio
Identity Evropa
Vanguard America
Portland State Students for Donald Trump
Attack the System
Breitbart News Network
Occidental Dissent
Return of the Knights
Taki’s Magazine
A Voice for Men
Vox Popoli

This zine was created by the staff at LSPIRG!
Feel free to photocopy and share!

