

**YOU CAN'T
PUNCH**



**EVERY
NAZI**

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Introduction and Acknowledgments

You Can't Punch Every Nazi is based on a workshop I gave on January 15, 2017 called "How to Talk to a Nazi." This zine was written at a time when almost half of the voting public in the United States voted for a man I consider a fascist. Donald Trump's continual willingness to flout the law in order to wield the apparatus of the executive against all people who are not crafted in his image – narcissistic, cutthroat, imposing, American, male, white – is a testament to this. The core ambitions of his campaign – a halt to Muslim immigration, a Mexican border wall, a crackdown on "crime," a crackdown on "illegal immigration" a trade war with China, a commitment to colonial warfare – became catchphrases that his throngs of admirers would shout with him in unison like a racist gameshow. As activists began protesting his rallies, he encouraged fans to commit acts of violence, mourning for a mythological past golden age when such violence was condoned. It was to such a golden age he promised to "Make America Great Again."

Concurrent with Trump's rise from racist real estate dynast questioning the president's country of origin to president himself was a rise in fascist ideologies more broadly. US Islamophobia graduated from sporadic hate crimes and caustic bus ads to armed public demonstrations and state-wide refugee bans. US white nationalism graduated from stodgy think tanks and anonymous forums to popular podcasts and "free speech" rallies. Internationally, nationalist governments established themselves in the UK, Poland, Israel, India, Russia, and the Philippines with liberal governments elsewhere quietly following suit. In such a climate, punching and exposing Nazis is not enough to dissuade over a third of the US public from siding with them. Even if we could punch and expose that third of the population, they'd have no reason to side with us over each other.

This zine is an attempt to build a framework for engaging with those espousing fascist ideologies¹ based on six years of research both academic and activist. My interest in researching fascist ideologies began in 2011 as a student at Howard University in a history of economic thought class. In order to avoid having to cover either neoclassical economic theory or Marxian economic theory, I chose to research what existed of fascist economic theory. It turned out that economic theory in fascist ideologies was largely an afterthought emanating from their commitments to particular forms of cultural memory.

My activism began the following year when the now-defunct Aryan Nations planned a march to the Capitol to protest the “white genocide” they purported was occurring in South Africa.² In response, my friends and I created an informal organization called Smash Racism DC which we conscientiously chose not to name “antifa” since, at the time, few people ever heard of fascism much less knew what it meant. As a result of our outreach efforts, we were able to bring out 200-300 members of the community of a diversity of ages, races, and genders to confront about 15-20 members of the Aryan Nations driven in on a charter bus driven by a Black man. Because of our sit down blockades at every intersection, their planned half hour march became two hours. Because we were so loud and numerous, their two hour rally ended after twenty minutes. The day ended without violence (minus a police horse stepping on my friend’s foot) and without a platform for fascism.

1 Throughout this publication, the term “fascist ideologies” will be used to refer to a spectrum of political positions that originate or intersect with the core doctrines of the fascist intellectual tradition. The major doctrinal commitments of fascist ideologies and points of intersection with other ideological positions will be discussed throughout this zine.

2 In reality, there was a general spike in murders in poor areas of South Africa as economic opportunities dried up as a result of the global financial crisis.

Through organizing against the Aryan Nations, I got an up close look on how fascists attempt to conceal their allegiances for public appeal. As I dug into their Stop White Genocide website, I came across their alternative accounts of history in which a Jewish cabal which controlled the South African central bank coordinated with the Jewish-run NAACP and the communist ANC to take down apartheid. I also came across their quasi-public forum where I saw how they interacted with each other as well as the Aryan Nations' actual website where their preacher of a leader gave sermons in which he claimed *The Holy Bible* referred to *Mein Kampf*. As I learned more about the tapestry of fascist ideologies, I have never ceased being amazed at the esoteric and bizarre belief systems fascists adopt to avoid a material analysis of their sense of alienation.

You Can't Punch Every Nazi remains, as all catalogued knowledge, a work in progress. None of this progress would have been possible without the help of Maddy Hale, Spencer, and Edward Burns.

From the first release, this revised and expanded version is different in several respects. I have added Identity Evropa and their symbol as well as changing the odal rune to the one without the feet since the one with the feet is more commonly used in non-racist pagan traditions (though both have been known to be used by those espousing fascist ideologies). In several places, I correct dates and typos. I also added a note explaining the interwar origins of pan-European nationalism as well as one specifying the limited use of this zine. Lastly, I have greatly expanded the resources section to include organizing and security resources. Please continue to send me edits, comments, critiques, and questions to my email address at mike@vulgareconomics.com or in a Twitter direct message @VulgarEconomics. You can also subscribe to my Patreon or Venmo me @VulgarEconomics.

You Can't Punch Every Nazi

So, it seems like someone you know is dabbling in fascism. This is probably a troubling time for you. You've likely heard high-profile stories of violence inflicted by those espousing fascist ideologies³ in the news be they Dylann Roof, Anders Breivik, or Wade Michael Page. You've likely also heard less-publicized stories of violence being directed at people espousing such ideologies in response to their public demonstrations as happened in Sacramento, Harrisburg, and DC in 2016. Irrespective of your personal feelings about fascist ideologies, you don't want to see the person that you know involved in either one of these kinds of violence.

Talking to this person is likely getting stranger and stranger. In addition to casually referencing writers and ideologies you've never heard of, they seem to be operating on another plane of existence. It's not that they refuse to believe facts. Rather, they have a very well-developed theory about how the world works that draws from a very cynical outlook on history, biology, and world religions.

In fact, they seem to make no distinction between the three. On the one hand, they seem to regard the world as an apocalyptic novel – searching for symbols & signs and drawing analogies between literature and decontextualized scientific & historical fact. On the other, you have difficulty explain-

³ It is important to note that this zine is not intended for all conservatives or Trump supporters. This zine is designed for people specifically espousing fascist ideologies. This is not often easy to gauge, especially in person with strangers. Ideally, this would be a person with whom you've at least built a rapport or are otherwise forced to maintain a social relationship. While it is possible to discern run-of-the-mill racist/sexist/homophobic/transphobic/etc. conservatives from those espousing fascist ideologies, doing so does require a reasonable amount of research. The references list at the end of this zine is a good place to start for doing this. Rather than using this zine, I recommend using standard community organizing techniques for people whose politics you can't discern or who don't appear to be espousing fascist ideologies. I have listed a few guides on such practices in the organizing section at the end of this zine.

ing why they shouldn't view the world this way, misguided though it obviously is. Regardless of how you feel about all of this, you don't want to see this person go down a path that almost inevitably leads to prison, early death, and a lifetime of increasing social isolation. You care about the people around you, and you don't want to see them harmed. This guide was written in the months after the beginning of the Trump presidency in the United States. It is meant as a handbook on how to identify when someone has been dabbling in fascist ideologies and how to confront them in a caring way to pull them away from this damaging and dangerous social sphere.

How Did This Happen?

To the those only superficially familiar with fascist ideologies, it would seem that they would only appeal to straight white men. Certainly, there is quite a bit of justification to this belief. By and large, spaces that foster fascist ideologies – mostly online – embrace open racism, sexism, homophobia, and a litany of other bigotries that most who would bear the brunt of these invective could not long endure.

In terms of protecting oneself from adherents to these ideologies, it's absolutely necessary to gauge the threat of confrontation on the basis of statements in this vein, but such awareness alone does nothing to guide a response to these ideologues beyond verbal conflict, physical confrontation, or retreat. While any of these approaches might bring you personal comfort or catharsis, none will pull the person you know away from these ideologies and as such will do nothing to minimize the real threat that fascist ideologies present.

If your goal is to have transformative conversations with an adherent of fascist ideologies, you will ultimately have to probe deeper into how people fall into fascist social circles and how these circles create & sustain a surprisingly diverse political culture centered around shared values of domination. This will require you to familiarize yourself not only with the nuances of fascist political thought but also the personal history of the individual you are trying to engage.

Fascist ideologies function in much the same way religions or self-help programs might. These ideologies give their adherents a general explanation for the injustice of the world and provide a ready self-improvement program for the individual to rise above it. For this reason, some scholars who have studied fascist ideologies refer to them as political religions.⁴

For this reason, adherents to fascist ideologies flock to them for the same diverse reasons one might join a church. Perhaps they were wronged in their life and are seeking a way to grow past their trauma. Perhaps they wronged someone else and want to absolve themselves of the harm they caused. Perhaps they have been screwed over by an unjust political or economic system they don't understand. Perhaps they feel uneasy about benefitting from an unjust political system and need reassurance. For these reasons and more, people – usually with few close friends – may turn to fascist ideologies.

Of course, to say that these are the reasons that people adopt racist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, or other bigoted thoughts and behaviors is obviously ludicrous. Rather, in beginning from a self-centered program of individual liberation motivated by the forms of moral or emotional desperation above, the ideologue's social position will emerge as a constellation of interrelated and reinforcing bigotries.

The root of these bigotries all stem from a similar place. Fascist ideologies see individuals dominating others as organically shaping the political structure of society. This accomplishes two things. First, it gives a prescriptive answer that any seemingly unscrupulous action can be justified as natural. Second, it sets the barometer of political rectitude at the degree of dominance one exhibits. Thus, an action can be deemed unnatural if there can be imagined some more forceful way of accomplishing it, perhaps in the hands of another person/group.

These two inconsistent maxims – a belief in political destiny on the one hand and a belief in escalating political confron-

⁴ For research on fascism as a political religion, see the work of Emilio Gentile.

tation on the other – are by no means applied universally. Unlike most post-Enlightenment traditions such as the belief in capitalism or socialism, fascist ideologies make no pretense to universal values except as they can undermine themselves. While they might occasionally defend the doctrines of universal free speech or free press, fascist ideologues know full well that they only make such appeals on their own behalf. This is also rooted in the same self-centered reasoning from which the seemingly contradictory dominance criterion itself is derived.

This will to survival motivates a reactive search for unbreakable alliance – reactive, because by extending the above reasoning, any groups engaging in the above behaviors will likely dominate any individuals. Taking this as an inevitable social precondition, those espousing fascist ideologies often turn to what identities they can claim as having had a history of hegemony. This often, but not exclusively, draws upon various socially privileged strata of society. At the time of writing this in the US, this would include whiteness, heterosexuality, cisgender maleness, etc.

A person espousing fascist ideologies will likely view these identity categories as more than simply social. In fact, their position of defensiveness under conditions of inevitable social conflict forecloses on much of the scholarship on social identity formation for one reason or another, usually reducing to a protracted ad hominem. This makes the work of black, female, or Jewish scholars, for example, out of bounds on the basis of those scholars' identity.

The way the ideologue understands the details of the political meaning of their identity varies from person to person. The major point, however, is that the identity is conceived as a living entity that has managed to survive hostile forces. It is the explanation for this survival, whether it is biological, spiritual, or cultural, that forms the basis for the bigotries for which fascist ideologies are so well known. It is also on this basis that adherents to fascist ideologies eclectically choose among scientific traditions, religious doctrines, and historical claims no

matter how contradictory, outdated, or inaccurate.

14 Ways Nazis Look At You

To this point, we have analyzed the general framework with which adherents of fascist ideologies create a self-justifying and self-reinforcing system of political investigation. Here we will explore fourteen ways that fascist ideologies manifest perhaps due to genuine difference, perhaps for disguise.

1. White Nationalism

Chances are, you've seen this one recently in headlines with respect to endorsements Donald Trump received during the presidential campaign. White nationalism asserts that white people are historically and irreconcilably distinct from other races and that this inevitably breeds conflict. Therefore, the white nationalist believes, white people should act in a concerted way to establish a state designed exclusively for their benefit. This basic political doctrine was the guiding principle of the various European fascist regimes in the middle of the 20th century as well as the Apartheid regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

2. White Separatism

Most white nationalists are well aware that calls for a racially chauvinistic nation-state are pretty taboo in mainstream culture. Many within the white nationalist crowd, particularly among those who take to public speaking, often adopt (at least nominally) a racist line that calls for nationalist whites to fall back into all-white racial enclaves. A more ambitious version of this advocate for the "peaceful ethnic cleansing" of what they decide are white nations. Historically, this has usually proven to be merely a foot in the door for far more violent and authoritarian movements.

3. Race Realism

In general, any ideology prefixed with the word "white"

is usually a philosophy of hatred. It's not to say there couldn't conceivably be an exception, it's just extremely unlikely. The same can probably be said about "race." Race realism is one of the many labels white nationalists have invented in an attempt to appear scientific. Race realism mostly relies on a belief in evolutionary biological destiny rather than historical political utility to explain or justify the material disparities between racial groups. While it has been updated for 21st century sensibilities, it is indistinguishable in both methodology and conclusions from the eugenics of the turn of the 20th century.

4. *Identitarianism*

Although the US is a hotbed for the development of white nationalist discourse (with its relatively lax hate speech laws), the European New Right is quite productive at coming up with buzzwords that may slip under the radar. According to Metapedia (the white nationalist version of Wikipedia), Identitarianism has four parts. Part one is Radical Traditionalism pioneered by René Guénon and Julius Evola - two white dudes who liked to use Asian religions and western metaphysics to justify antisemitic monarchism as some form of self-actualization. Part two is the writings of Alain de Benoist and his think tank GRECE which cloaks pre-Reich Nazi writings in post-war Marxist writing on national self-determination. Part three is Archeofuturism, a concept coined by Guillaume Faye, that posits a society founded on "traditional" (read: oppressively authoritarian) values but futuristic technology. Part four is the cultural "metapolitics" of Antonio Gramsci without all the icky Marxism and anti-fascism Gramsci adamantly espoused as a communist party leader even while in Mussolini's Fascist prison.

5. *Ethnopluralism*

This is another term that has found a home in the European New Right. In a similar fashion to white separatism, those who advocate for ethnopluralism purport to

be willing to share the planet as long as communities are formed strictly along racial lines. For ethnopluralists, this must happen at the national or perhaps even continental scale. Whereas most would assume that “pluralism” is generally a positive thing, the “ethno-” throws a wrench into the whole thing.

6. *Pan-European Nationalism*

One of the first times I saw a variant of this was in an interview on the Counter-Currents website. The interview featured Internet personality Buttercup Dew, a homosexual and a “Pan-European White Nationalist,” who runs a blog called *My Nationalist Pony*. The project of Pan-European Nationalism - to unite Europe under one nation-state - emerged in the 1920’s⁵ and saw a minor surge in the two decades after the second world war. The label was largely embraced by those who had been wartime fascists and Nazis trying to disguise their allegiances. In Buttercup Dew’s case, it’s probably because he’s of mixed British and Italian heritage and thus cannot claim a particular European country for his homeland.

7. *Human Biodiversity*

Plenty of committed racists perceive that convincing most people of the inherent conflict between races is a fairly tall order. For most reasonable people the motivation to identitarian conflict embodied in these ideologies is enough to make them suspicious. Given that terms like “eugenics” and “biological determinism” would likely return tales of the Nazis with a Google search, the white hate movement has chosen to relabel its ages old scientific racism. Human biodiversity (or HBD) misappropriates the ecological term biodiversity for the context of human races. Ecologists and environmentalists often argue in favor of biodiversity as it

⁵The initial version of this was outlined by Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi in his book *Pan-Europa* which outlines what some refer to as the Kalergi Plan.

pertains to maintaining a sustainable ecosystem. This means cultivating a wide array of species with a wide array of genotypes for the sake of symbiosis and evolution. For the HBD crowd, this concern with genetic diversity becomes a maxim in itself to apply to different races. This theory is particularly popular with Silicon Valley area neoreactionaries who are always looking for a scientific sounding justification for their pre-existing prejudices.

8. *Southern Nationalism*

While science tends to attract bigots in Silicon Valley and certain segments of the economy, regionalism still reigns supreme. A recent favorite of the KKK & affiliated groups and pushed by the white hate organizations League of the South & the Abbeville Institute is Southern Nationalism. Southern Nationalists assert that the European immigration to the US South was ethnically distinct from that of the North. Derived from the tenuous scholarship of Michael Hill and Donald Livingston, they claim that the North saw primarily Dutch and German settlers while the South was primarily "Anglo-Celt" or Scotch-Irish. Ignoring the millions of Black folks who lived there for at least as long and the indigenous peoples who have been there for longer, Southern Nationalists call for the secession of the South to form a white nationalist state.

9. *Christian Identity*

Another white hate ideology popular within the Klan is that of Christian Identity. These folks see Christendom as a nation in itself. There's also the catch that they believe that the British are actually the true descendants of the tribes of Israel - a position known as British Israelism. In this mythology, those who ordinarily claim lineage from the tribes of Israel - the Jews - are actually the descendents of Khazaria, an 8th century kingdom near present-day Ukraine in which some of its citizens converted to Judaism as Eastern Orthodoxy and Islam warred over its territories. Well, either that or they're

descended from Satan and, along with people of color, have no souls. British Israelists maintain that these converted peoples constitute the bulk of world Jewry and are “fake Jews.” Genetic studies largely discount this theory. It’s mostly used in order to cast Jews as foreign to Christendom and as exploitative of their historical narratives of oppression.

10. Creativity

But maybe the person you’re talking to isn’t willing to do the mental gymnastics to justify anti-semitism while practicing a religion derived from Judaism. Perhaps they’re so obsessed with themselves and their race that they seek a religion to justify that. They just might have found Creativity. Formerly the World Church of the Creator until being sued by a church of the same name, Creativity asserts the inherent creative ability of white people. Its adherents are known as Creators, who are commanded to do that which benefits the white race. Benign as this may sound, in actuality it is the motivation for what the Creativity Movement’s founder Ben Klassen called Racial Holy War (sometimes RaHoWa for short). In practice, this can mean attempting to take over entire towns for white people or ordering the assassination of federal judges.

11. Radical Traditionalism

Some racists are so interested in having a religious justification for their bigotry that they decide to appeal to all of them. Radical traditionalists analyze Vedic, Nordic and sometimes Christian texts as containing hidden information to reveal universal truths. They believe that traditional lifeways are an accumulation of ancient wisdom that has been abandoned since the Enlightenment. Consciously anti-rational, they rebuke science in favor of a mythology of benevolent kingdoms, secret evils, and adversarial races. Sometimes giants. Uncritically, they take as fact the mythologized histories written on behalf of kings against their frequently rebelling peasants and guilds.

12. National-Anarchism

But perhaps this person didn't get into ideological racism on the basis of ancient traditions. Perhaps they actually see racism as an entrepreneurial endeavor. Adopting rhetoric and style from the left, national-anarchists - also known as tribalists - seek to create racially exclusive communes which they justify with platitudes to 'freedom of association.' Equipped with a synthesis of right wing racial and gender mythologies dressed in decontextualized quotes from left wing ideologues, the primary activity of national-anarchists is entryism - attempting to infiltrate and recruit from the left.

13. National Bolshevism

Maybe this person you're talking to does have aesthetic and rhetorical flair of a radical leftist, but they seem especially authoritarian for any sort of anarchist, even a nationalist one. Rather than Kropotkin and Bakunin, they seem to have an affinity for Stalin, Mao, and Kim Il Sung. Chances are, you're talking to a National Bolshevik. Originally a smear employed by Hitler against those in the Nazi party that he had murdered in the Night of Long Knives, national bolshevism attempts to synthesize the ideologies of Hitler and Stalin into a coherent political framework. In practice this often looks like a defense of five year plans as projects to simultaneously strengthen the nation and rid it of Jews. While the ideology has had its momentary flashes since the 30's, it has its largest base of support in Russia where two ideologues - Eduard Limonov and Aleksandr Dugin⁶ - vie for their place as the chief luminary of this absurd ideology.

14. AltRight

But perhaps this person doesn't quite fit any of these molds. Perhaps they fit more than one and change depending on who they talk to. It's hard to get a handle on their particular political ideology apart for their

⁶Who now identifies as a "Eurasianist" to further distinguish his brand.

mortal fear of the extinction of the white race. In fact, they might insist that political ideology doesn't exist. In addition to memeing for Trump and referring to their detractors as cucks on Twitter, they also attend the occasional pseudo-academic conference. The Alternative Right - or AltRight for short - was born of a blog by the same name created by the former executive director of the white separatist National Policy Institute, Richard Spencer. The purpose of the blog and the growing movement is to unite conservatives who are outside of the political mainstream into one often incoherent camp. So far, the strategy appears to be working. Prior to the recent flurry of media attention Spencer and his compatriots have received during the Trump campaign, they had managed to sneak their eugenics-based immigration proposals (which Spencer has referred to as "peaceful ethnic cleansing") into the influential conservative think tank The Heritage Foundation. Further, the AltRight has managed to unite previously disparate factions of neo-Nazis, Islamophobes, anti-Latino bigots, survivalists, and internet trolls into one loosely affiliated camp. Since the start of the Alternative Right blog in 2010, the AltRight has grown in leaps and bounds and now threatens to eclipse US (and perhaps global) politics.









Symbols and Signs

Despite tacit approval through various policies of the Trump regime, embracing fascist ideologies still results in a high degree of blowback. Adopting swastikas generally begets cold stares at best and hard concrete on average. For this reason, combined with the aforementioned spiritual mandate to dominate, those espousing fascist ideologies seek more insidious forms of social insertion. Among these is the use of symbols to announce themselves to those who recognize them, and to serve as conversation pieces for those who don't.

Fascist symbols serve a dual purpose to those who know them. They are first designed to intimidate those who rec-

ognize them and don't agree with fascist ideologies. They are also designed to covertly signal comradery to those who embrace fascist ideologies.

Despite the general unpopularity of fascism, relatively few people would recognize most fascist symbols beyond a swastika. Those sporting fascist symbols usually count on this fact allowing them to find comrades and intimidate foes with relative impunity. Additionally, the embrace of more obscure fascist symbols serve as conversation starters for those who don't know what they signify. Often these symbols have complex meanings that can ultimately be linked to fascist ideas if the person wearing them chooses to reveal as much. Some of these symbols are depicted below.

 Swastika	 Celtic Cross	 Odal	 Wolfsangel
 Totenkopf	 Parteiadler	 SS Symbol	 Sunwheel

While the symbols in the bottom row were used prominently by the German Nazi regime, the top row all have meanings tied to ancient and medieval religions. These alternative religious meanings often provide those sporting these symbols cover when asked about them. When operating in public, those espousing fascist ideologies often occupy the grey space of plausible deniability.

Further complicating this is the fact that there are (relatively

few) people who earnestly hold particular religious beliefs that might adopt these symbols. Ultimately, you will have to discern the intent behind a person's choice to adopt these symbols.

In addition to the above symbols, several established organizations also have logos that those espousing fascist ideologies will adopt whether or not they are actually part of those groups.



Blood Drop Cross – When colorized, this logo of the Ku Klux Klan has a red blood drop in the center with a red circle around the black and white iron cross. The symbol is meant to evoke the Klan's interpretation of the Bible that Jesus Christ spilled his blood to save the Aryan race. It's fairly un-

likely that someone unaffiliated with the Klan would wear this symbol.



National Alliance – Although the National Alliance ceased operations as a membership organization in 2017, their propaganda still has currency among white nationalists. This organization was founded by William Luther Pierce who penned *The Turner Diaries*, a novel about a white nationalist revolution serving as

the inspiration for multiple bombings, mass shootings, and assassinations carried out by white nationalists. The symbol has since been adopted by National Vanguard, a similar group that grew out of the defunct National Alliance.



AltRight – This relatively recent symbol serves as the official logo of the new AltRight.com website run by various white nationalists affiliated with the National Policy Institute. Usually, the symbol is white on a background of outer space.

Hammerskins – This is the logo of the neo-Nazi skinhead gang



the Hammerskins. Usually, the grey areas in this image are colored red. The logo itself comes, ironically, from a similar image in the theatrical production of Pink Floyd's album *The Wall* whose themes of anti-racism and anti-authoritarianism are apparently lost on the Hammerskins.



Golden Dawn – Despite belonging a fascist political party in Greece, the logo of Golden Dawn has found traction outside of Greece due in part to the party's deliberate international outreach. The party has attempted to set up shop in various places throughout the world including an office in New York City.



Southern Nationalist Flag – This symbol, sometimes emblazoned with inverted colors on a crest, is the official symbol of the League of the South. This organization believes that the US south is ethnically distinct from the north with the former being predominantly Scotch-Irish and the latter being predominantly Anglo-German. Being a white nationalist organization, League of the South does not account for all the people of color who live in both areas. The flag itself is based on the confederate battle flag flown during the US civil war. The group adopted this flag as a way of masking their politics to the uninitiated.



Vanguard America – This organization, formerly known as American Reaction and American Vanguard, is a white nationalist organization affiliated with the AltRight including the National Policy Institute, Counter-Currents Publishing, and The Right Stuff. They have held a few rallies across the US under the banner of “White Lives Matter.”



Traditionalist Worker Party – This white nationalist organization takes its inspiration from the anti-Semitic Christian nationalist writings of Romanian fascist Corneliu Codreanu. The organization, though small, has managed to pull off some relatively large events including a major rally outside of the Pennsylvania statehouse as well as another in a Sacramento park that ended in multiple stabbings. They have

allied themselves with various Nazi organizations including the National Socialist Movement to form the Nationalist Front. In addition to the pitchfork and gear logo, their youth



wing, Traditionalist Youth, has a separate arrow down logo. Traditionalist Youth preceded the party and was the result of a rebranding of Towson University's White Student Union. Both logos are often yellow instead of black.



Identity Evropa – This pretentiously-latinized organization was founded by military-veteran-turned-armed-robber-racist Nathan Damigo and is based out of California. Despite the group's relatively small membership, they still manage to fly all over the US to

attend white nationalist rallies and often show up alongside more mainstream Trump supporters as "free speech" rallies. The logo is usually rendered in teal on a white background, though occasionally the colors are reversed.

In addition to pictorial symbols, those espousing fascist ideologies will often employ numerological codes to communicate their political leanings.

14/88 – This numerical code contains two separate references. The first two numbers, 14, reference the 14-word slogans coined by David Lane (known colloquially as 'the 14 words'). These slogans are, "We must secure the existence of our peo-

ple and a future for white children,” and, “Because the beauty of the White Aryan woman must not perish from the earth.” The 88 has a dual meaning, standing for the 8th letter of the English alphabet to signify *HH* or Heil Hitler. Additionally, the 88 refers to an 88-word passage from Mein Kampf that provided the inspiration for the 14 words.

14/83 – While the above code is popular among pagan neo-Nazis like David Lane, this code is popular among Christian nationalists – particularly the Ku Klux Klan. The 83 stands for the 8th and 3rd letters of the English alphabet *HC*, an abbreviation for Hail Christ.

18 – This numeric code stands for the 1st and 8th letters of the English alphabet *AH*, an abbreviation for Adolf Hitler.

211 – This numeric code is the namesake of two organizations, the 211 Crew, a Denver-based prison gang. The numbers stand for *BAA* or Brotherhood of Aryan Alliance. There is also a far-right skinhead group called the 211 Boot Boys, though it is unclear where the name originates given the few people of color within their ranks.

23/16 – This numeric code stands for the 23rd and 16th letters of the English alphabet *WP*, an abbreviation for White Power.

There are a number of other symbols and numbers those espousing fascist ideologies use to subtly announce themselves. The Anti-Defamation League has a full list of them on their Hate Symbols Database online.

Preparing to Engage

Now that we have gone over the roots of fascist ideologies and how to recognize those espousing them in terms of their rhetoric and aesthetics, it is important to review some basic precautionary measures to take before engaging them. As previously discussed, those espousing fascist ideologies pose two distinct threats to those they interact with.

First, they are generally insincere in the way they present their beliefs. Those espousing fascist ideologies may downplay or

emphasize certain aspects of their ideology to suit the politics of the person they're engaging with. Further, they may even completely misrepresent their own ideology for the sake of shaking someone else from theirs. For example, a person who might identify as a national socialist (Nazi) might pretend to be a libertarian for the sake of disabusing a leftist from their form of anti-capitalism.⁷

Second, the lack of scruples on the part of those espousing fascist ideologies means that they are not above seeking to threaten your safety. While for the most part fascists are cowards when the odds are not stacked heavily in their favor (either in terms of numbers or firepower), they have been known to dox political adversaries when convenient.

For these reasons, it is important to prepare to protect both your physical and digital safety as well as prepare mentally for some of the rhetorical tricks fascists are known to employ. This means not only being cognizant of the ways you might be vulnerable to various forms of fascist violence, but also being aware of the situations you decide to put yourself in and the individuals you choose to engage.⁸

Physical Security

Engaging with those espousing fascist ideologies in person is a dicey task. As previously mentioned, their predilection for violence makes assessing any given situation paramount to determine whether it is safe to engage with them. It is advisable to exercise extreme caution if they are recording as

⁷ Those espousing fascist ideologies are also opposed to the capitalist system on the basis that it subverts the authority of the state and 'natural' hierarchies and advocate instead for a society arranged into legally regimented classes along the lines of feudal caste societies. This technique of shaking someone of their beliefs is sometimes called "black pilling."

⁸ While this zine poses some important questions regarding security, it should not be taken to be a complete security protocol or threat model. For information on this and how to design your own, please consult the security resources at the end of this zine.

they are not above cutting up footage to misrepresent you or encouraging their followers to find and share your personal information. It's not a bad idea to use a pseudonym.

By and large, anyone openly espousing fascist ideologies in public is probably not in any position to be convinced of anything by a stranger. Further, they are all that much more likely to misrepresent their genuine beliefs in order to try to appeal to whatever they perceive your sensibilities to be. In such a situation, it is generally advisable to have numbers with you and an easy escape route if you choose to engage verbally, though it will likely be more frustrating than anything else.

Digital Security

While confronting fascists digitally might spare one of the immediate threat of physical violence, other vulnerabilities exist that might be more damaging and terrifying. You likely use a host of social media services that connect you to friends, colleagues, employers, and perhaps even your home address. With enough skill, ingenuity, and good guesses, anyone can cobble together enough of a dossier to put you in harm's way.

While it may be impossible to scrub the internet of all of your personal information, it is possible to conscientiously modify how you use your social media so as to better protect your personal information. It's not a bad idea to have a personal security protocol of rules to follow to compartmentalize your online activity. Some concerns you might consider include:

- Where can people find your employment information
- Where can people find your location or region
- Where can people find your contact information
- Where can people find your professional connections
- Where can people find your friends
- Where can people find your family
- Where can people find your personal interests

- Where can people interact with you most easily
- What accounts can people connect searching for identical pictures or sections of text
- What aliases can be connected to your name or email address

Ultimately, these questions will require you to balance having a public profile online with taking security precautions. One approach is to have a spectrum of social media from most to least private. Another is to maintain multiple online personas for different purposes. Designing these protocols will make it more difficult for fascists (and others) to gather information to do you harm.

Emotional Security

Confronting a person espousing fascist ideologies is usually stressful emotional labor. To rhetorically engage fascists requires a level of detachment that might not always be easy to maintain. This is especially true for those who are more likely to be the victim of racial or sexual harassment.⁹

It's important to take stock of your intentions. You are under absolutely no obligation to anyone to completely change the mind of someone espousing fascist ideologies. The likelihood of this happening is fairly slim, and the pursuit of such a goal is probably more exasperating than it's worth. It's also important to know your limitations. You should have answers to the following:

- When do you stop responding or walk away
- When do you punch them or block them
- When do you attempt to establish boundaries
- When do you let their bullshit slide

⁹ If you read this to mean that white dudes should take on more emotional labor to confront those espousing fascist ideologies in more ways than simply trying to punch them, you are correct.

- When do you stop showing them respect
- When do you let them see anger

These might vary from person to person and might change as you get to know a person. It is unlikely you will treat a cousin the same way you would a teenage internet troll.

Some Handy Tools

Thus far, we've discussed the origin of fascist ideologies as a sort of crystallized rationalization of the capitalist social order which demands an atomized and dominating conception of the self. In applying such a conception of the self practically, the 'rational' praxis emerges of trying to enmesh oneself in rigidly hierarchical institutions in the hopes of ascending both with and within it.

Fascist ideologies offer an explanation for one's plight and provide a moral compass, however cynical. They seek to give the adherent a sense of purpose and destiny that is especially appealing if someone has been abused or abandoned. It's possible you might identify with that. If so, you'd know that fascist ideologies are not the only way to process such experiences.

The toolkit below is designed around disabusing people of fascist ideologies as a matter of praxis. It is meant to be taken in stages, each one dislodging that which attached someone to fascist ideologies in the first place.

Trolling

The first stage is designed to disabuse those espousing fascist ideologies of their obnoxious behavior. It consists largely of mimicking their behavior while allowing them to tap out as they grow weary of their own games.

Chief among these games is a sort of ritualistic competitive derailing of any conversation at hand. You will likely notice this game being played almost the instant a person espousing fascist ideologies interacts with you. The game is played by being

competitively mean with each other without much regard for the topic of conversation.

The purpose of this game ties in heavily to what has already been discussed here about fascist ideologies. First, this serves the purpose of a symbol of their ideology in the particular social myths they draw upon. Second, it serves to test others' boundaries by violating what they might be with gusto. Third, it serves as an exercise in domination to establish a social hierarchy based on who's least offended.

You will not get far with someone espousing fascist ideologies – especially if you don't know them personally – if you refuse to engage in this game. No amount of reasoned debate, chastising, or even attempts to relate on a personal level will get through to them unless you are willing to play this game. In many ways, the game also exists as a means of averting any information that does not come in the form of trolling.

But the game doesn't have to be played the way it was intended. As long as you exhibit all the basic formal styles of how fascists interact verbally, they will probably respond. Some elements of this game include:

- **Derailing:** It's important to remember that when you begin talking to a fascist, you are not having a conversation or a debate. You are engaged in a battle of wits that is solely about demonstrating a flaw in the other person's knowledge in the most dismissive way possible. Rather than trying to develop an argument, latch on to anything that can be contradicted with a point that calls into question the primacy of hierarchy and domination.¹⁰
- **Snark:** Part of the game is demonstrating that you do not and cannot take anything seriously. Chief among the things that you should seek to demonstrate you don't take seriously are the intellectual prowess of the

¹⁰ This is especially potent when the subject of conversation is evolution. Peter Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid" is a great reference here.

person you are talking to and anything that is steeped in fascist ideology. Being as terse and witty as possible is important here. Ultimately, you want to put the person you are talking to in the position of trying to impress you, not the other way around.

- **Hypocrisy:** Pointing out hypocrisy can be a useful tool in this game, but it takes a lot of skill. First, it requires that the person you talking to actually contradicted themselves while you were talking to them. It is not sufficient to simply infer their position on things since, as previously noted, they have no problem misrepresenting their ideology for the sake of the person they're recruiting. Second, it requires that the hypocrisy is framed in such a way as to not leave room for more fascist ideology. In pointing out hypocrisy, you are necessarily indicating that two positions they hold contradict each other. The difficulty here is that you need to present this contradiction in a way that doesn't leave open the possibility of resolving it by further embracing fascist ideologies.¹¹

Success at this takes some practice, but more than anything it requires research. Fascists spend an inordinate amount of time preparing arguments that they usually come up against. These aren't very hard to find on fascist blogs and forums. Generally speaking, you should endeavor to anticipate typical fascist talking points and have rebuttals for them, many of which have already been formulated for you by antifascist individuals and organizations.

Personalizing

At some point, you will likely notice the person you are talking

11 You should not let your own political sensibilities be a guide here. Just because you believe a more extreme position is unreasonable or unconscionable does not mean that a fascist will. One should take Poe's Law – that a parody of extremism is indistinguishable from actual extremism – seriously here. Fascists have no problem dabbling in the absurd in order to maintain their cynical social myths.

to trying to steer the conversation in a particular direction rather than continuing to derail. When they do so a few times, let them keep the conversation there for a while. At this point, rather than using trolling techniques, ask them open-ended questions to interrogate the origins of their beliefs. Examples of such questions might include:

- Why do you think that's true?
- Why is that important to you?
- How did you come to believe that?

The purpose here is to connect their political beliefs with their personal experience. As they start to divulge details about their personal life, use active listening techniques to empathize with their personal experiences, whatever they are. Most likely, their ideology serves the quasi-religious function described earlier. It is important to understand their line of reasoning and demonstrate that you do. They will not be receptive to recontextualizing their experiences if they don't think you understand them.

Contextualizing

As the person you are talking to is divulging the details of their journey into fascist ideologies, you should make an effort to contextualize their experiences within the material reality of our society. This means more than simply relating that what happens to them is not uncommon (although this is also important). It means providing an alternative political understanding of their personal plight. Here are some potential examples:

- Lost their job? Talk about the injustice of the alienating system of wage labor and how the competitive nature of capitalism forces the boss's hand to cut costs (including people) or risk falling behind.
- Lost their home? Talk about the injustice of the commodification of basic needs and how the privatization of land during feudalism trapped workers in a nev-

er-ending rat race to have a roof over their heads.

- Lost their business? Talk about how the competitive nature of capitalism makes it impossible for a moral business owner to compete with unscrupulous corporations.
- Lived a lonely life? Talk about how the competitive nature of capitalism bleeds over into every facet of life including school, dating, etc. and turns tearing other people down into a virtue.

These will obviously vary with your own political understandings of the world and the receptivity of the person you're talking to. What is paramount is that you are honest and do not coddle their politics. Fascists might not be able to discern whether something is bullshit, but they can still tell when they're being bullshitted.

Growing

Giving someone an alternative framework with which to analyze their own life might be an interesting thought experiment, but it will likely not be sufficient to disabuse someone of deeply held political beliefs that are complimented by a socially reinforced pattern of behavior. As theory, fascism is certainly toxic, but its toxicity manifests chiefly on people exercising its core claims.

This relationship between ideological commitments and social behavior (often referred to as 'praxis') is mutually reinforcing. That is, the theory serves to justify the continuation of the behavior, and the behavior – should its results be those that are expected – justifies the adherence to the theory. In order to disabuse someone of fascist ideologies, it is necessary to provide them not only with a new theoretical framework to view the world with, but also a viable way to relate to the world that comports with the theory.

One way to do this is to compel commitments to personal growth. Since fascist ideologies are often ways of understanding trauma or a sense of being wronged, you could conceive

of such commitments as healthy coping mechanisms, but they don't have to be. They can be as simple as requesting that the person doesn't use particular slurs¹² or approaching dating in a less self-centered manner. They can also be as dramatic as making amends to people they've wronged or leaving their fascist social circle.¹³

The kinds of commitments to eusocial¹⁴ growth will ultimately depend on circumstance and should not seem forced. Since people espousing fascist ideologies are generally fairly hostile to people telling them what to do, it's best to propose these as potential alternatives to behavior they engage in. To do this, you will want to draw out how these behaviors impact negatively upon them¹⁵ and how replacing those behaviors can break that cycle.

It's important not to view compelling these commitments to growth as a goal. First, it will be apparent and alienating if you try to get them to commit to new behaviors. Second, getting those espousing fascist ideologies to see their politics as a product of their personal experience does a lot to shake their conviction, especially if they are given a way to see that experience in a new light.

You can't punch every Nazi, but perhaps you can pull the person you know away from being a Nazi before they get punched.

12 A good way to approach this is to request it as a personal favor that they not use them around you. Your mileage may vary.

13 Orchestrating a departure from a social circle might require some legwork on your part since abandoning one's friends is difficult without anyone to fall back on and there is a potential for reprisal if they're part of a particularly violent organization.

14 Eusocial as opposed to anti-social.

15 You generally can't count on a person espousing fascist ideologies to care about other people.

Resources

Books

- Mark Bray. *Antifa: The Antifascist Handbook*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville Press. 2017.
- Alexander Reid Ross. *Against the Fascist Creep*. Oakland, CA: AK Press. 2017.
- Roxane Dunbar-Ortiz. *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press. 2014
- Michael Kimmel. *Angry White Men*. New York, NY: Nation Books. 2013.
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- Tamir Bar-On. *Where Have All the Fascists Gone?* Abington, UK: Routledge. 2007.
- Emilio Gentile. *Politics as Religion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. George Staunton, trans. 2006.
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- Claudio Fogu. *The Historic Imaginary: Politics of History in Fascist Italy*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press. 2003.
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- Daniel Kevles. *In the Name of Eugenics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1985.
- Stephen J. Gould. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton. 1981.
- Walter Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London, UK: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications. 1972.
- Peter Kropotkin. *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications. 2006. Original publication 1902.

News

Idavox	http://www.idavox.com
It's Going Down	http://www.itsgoingdown.org
Submedia	http://www.sub.media
Unicorn Riot	http://www.unicornriot.ninja
Crimethinc	http://www.crimethinc.com
Anti-Fascist News	http://www.antifascistnews.net
We Hunted the Mammoth	wehuntedthemammoth.com

Organizations

Political Research Associates	One People's Project
Southern Poverty Law Center	Rural Organizing Project
By Any Means Necessary	Redneck Revolt
Life After Hate	Campus Antifascist Network

Security

So You Want To Fight the State?	http://resist.space
Equality Labs Anti-Doxxing Guide	http://tinyurl.com/antidoxx
Holistic Security Manual	http://tinyurl.com/holsec
Elle Armageddon's PopSec Guide	http://tiny.cc/opsec
Gods and Radicals InfoSec Guide	http://tiny.cc/infsec

Organizing

Teamsters Organizing Guide	http://tiny.cc/shoptalk
Beautiful Trouble's Spectrum of Allies	http://tiny.cc/allies
20 Principles for Organizing	http://tiny.cc/20principles

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