

# Rebranding Fascism

National-Anarchists

Spencer Sunshine

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On September 8, 2007 in Sydney, Australia, the antiglobalization movement mobilized once again against neoliberal economic policies, this time to oppose the APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) summit. Just as during the protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle, Washington, in 1999, the streets were filled with an array of groups, such as environmentalists, socialists, and human rights advocates. And also just like in Seattle, there was a “Black Bloc”—a group of militant activists, usually left-wing anarchists, who wore masks and dressed all in black.

In Sydney, the Black Bloc assembled and hoisted banners proclaiming “Globalization is Genocide.” But when fellow demonstrators looked closely, they realized these Black Bloc marchers were “National-Anarchists”—local fascists dressed as anarchists who were infiltrating the demonstration. The police had to protect the interlopers from being expelled by irate activists.

Since then, the National-Anarchists have joined other marches in Australia and in the United States; in April 2008, they protested on behalf of Tibet against the Chinese government during the Olympic torch relay in both Canberra, Australia, and San Francisco. In September, U.S. National-Anarchists protested the Folsom Street Fair, an annual gay “leather” event held in San Francisco.

While these may seem like isolated incidents of quirky subterfuge, these quasi-anarchists are an international export of a new version of fascism that represent a significant shift in the trends and ideology of the movement. National-Anarchists have adherents in Australia, Great Britain, the United States, and throughout continental Europe, and in turn are part of a larger trend of fascists who appropriate elements of the radical Left. Like “Autonomous Nationalists” in Germany and the genteel intellectual fascism of the European New Right, the National-Anarchists appropriate leftist ideas and symbols, and use them to obscure their core fascist values. The National-Anarchists, for example, denounce the centralized state, capitalism, and globalization — but in its place they seek to establish a system of ethnically pure villages.

In 1990, Chip Berlet showed in *Right Woos Left* how the extreme Right in the United States has made numerous overtures to the Left. “The fascist Right has wooed the progressive Left primarily around opposition to such issues as the use of U.S. troops in foreign military interventions, support for Israel, the problems of CIA misconduct and covert action, domestic government repression, privacy rights, and civil liberties.”<sup>1</sup> More recently, the fascist Right has also tried to build alliances based on concern for the environment, hardline antizionism, and opposition to globalization.

Fascism has become increasingly international in the post World War II period, particularly with the rise of the internet. One of the most obvious results of this internationalization is the continual flow of European ideas to the United States; for example, the Nazi skinhead movement originated in Britain and quickly spread to the

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<sup>1</sup> Chip Berlet, *Right Woos Left: Populist Party, LaRouchian, and Other Neo-fascist Overtures to Progressives and Why They Must Be Rejected* (Cambridge, MA: Political Research Associates, 1994).

United States. In trade, Americans have exported the Ku Klux Klan to Europe and smuggled Holocaust denial and neo-Nazi literature into Germany.<sup>2</sup>

The National-Anarchist idea has spread around the world over the internet. The United States hosts only a few web sites, but the trend so far has been towards a steady increase. But it represents what many see as the potential new face of fascism. By adopting selected symbols, slogans and stances of the left-wing anarchist movement in particular, this new form of postwar fascism (like the European New Right) hopes to avoid the stigma of the older tradition, while injecting its core fascist values into the newer movement of antiglobalization activists and related decentralized political groups. Simultaneously, National-Anarchists hope to draw members (such as reactionary counter-culturalists and British National Party members) away from traditional White Nationalist groups to their own blend of what they claim is “neither left nor right.”<sup>3</sup>

Despite this claim, National-Anarchist ideology is centered directly on what scholar Roger Griffin defines as the core of fascism: “paligenetic populist ultranationalism.” “Paligenetic,” he says, is a “generic term for the vision of a radically new beginning which follows a period of destruction or perceived dissolution.” Paligenetic ultranationalism therefore is “one whose mobilizing vision is that of *the national community rising phoenix like after a period of encroaching decadence which all but destroyed it*.”<sup>4</sup>

For the National-Anarchists, this “ultranationalism” is also their main ideological innovation: a desire to create a stateless (and hence “anarchist”) system of ethnically pure villages. Troy Southgate, their leading ideologue, says “we just want to stress that National-Anarchism is an essential racialist phenomenon. That’s what makes it different.”<sup>5</sup>

Why should we pay attention to such new forms of fascism? There is no immediate threat of fascism taking power in the established western liberal democracies; the rise to power of Mussolini and Hitler in the 1920s and 1930s occurred in a different era and under different social conditions than those that exist today. Nonetheless, much is at stake.

These new permutations have the potential of playing havoc on social movements, drawing activists out from the Left into the Right. For example, when the Soviet Union collapsed, a number of non-Communist left-wing groups suddenly emerged in Russia offering the promise of a more egalitarian society *sans* dictatorship. However, the group that became dominant was the National Bolsheviks, who are probably the most successful contemporary Third Position fascist group (see glossary). Catching the

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<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey Kaplan and Tore Bjørgo, eds. *Nation and Race: The Developing Euro-American Racist Subculture* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> For recruitment of counter-culturalists, see Nick Griffin, “National-Anarchism: Trojan Horse for White Nationalism,” *Green Anarchy* 19, (Spring 2005). On spreading National-Anarchist ideas to BNP members, see Troy Southgate’s comments.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991), p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Email from Troy Southgate to National-Anarchist listserve, message #26659. November 30, 2003.

imagination of disaffected youth by taking up many left-wing stances and engaging in direct action, they successfully obliterated their rivals by absorbing their demographic base *en masse*. The left-wing groups disappeared and the National Bolsheviks remain a powerful political movement today with a huge grassroots and youth base. As they grow older, they will remain influential in Russian politics for decades.

Even when small, Jeffrey Bale suggests it is important to pay attention to these fascist sects because they can serve as transmission belts for unconventional political ideas, influence more mainstream groups, and link up into transnational networks.<sup>6</sup>

Over the years, the antiglobalization movement has also created an opening for these Left-Right alliances. The Dutch antiracist group *De Fabel van de illegaal* pulled out of the antiglobalization movement in 1998 because of its links with far right forces. Pat Buchanan, the paleoconservative politician who holds racist and antisemitic views, spoke on a Teamsters Union platform during the demonstrations against the IMF/World Bank in Washington D.C. in April 2000.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, racists like Louis Beam (who has worked with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations) and Matt Hale (of the World Church of the Creator) praised the Seattle demonstrations against the World Trade Organization in 1999.<sup>8</sup>

At the same time, parts of the anti-imperialist Left (including some anarchists) have built alliances with reactionary Islamist movements such as Hamas and Hezbollah, called for open acceptance of antisemitism, and embraced nationalist struggles.<sup>9</sup> This history prompts many cosmopolitan anarchists to worry that the overtures of newstyle fascists to radical Leftists could meet with some success.

## Sect History and Strategy

The National-Anarchists have their origin in the National Front, a far right British party with an impressive 1977 dark horse electoral success based on their xenophobic anti-immigrant platform. After the election, the group fractured into many internal factions before splintering into different sects. Troy Southgate, the main English-language National-Anarchist ideologue, is a veteran of this internecine maze. He joined the National Front in 1984, and subsequently joined a splinter group that eventually split

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<sup>6</sup> Jeffrey Bales, “‘National revolutionary’ groupuscules and the resurgence of ‘left-wing’ fascism: the case of France’s Nouvelle Résistance,” *Patterns of Prejudice*, v36 #3 (2002), pp. 25–26.

<sup>7</sup> Anti-Fascist Forum, ed., *My Enemy’s Enemy* (Montreal: Kersplebedeb, 2003), p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> Don Hammerquist, J. Sakai, et al., *Confronting Fascism* (Montreal: Kersplebedeb, et al, 2002), pp. 35–38.

<sup>9</sup> On the alliance between certain sectors of the antiglobalization movement and Islamist factions, see Andrew Higgins, “Anti-Americans on the March,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 9, 2006, p. A1. For an example of contemporary left-wing calls to openly tolerate antisemitism, see Rami El-Amine, “Islam and the Left,” *Upping the Anti* #5, October 2007.

again before becoming the National Revolutionary Faction (NRF), a small cadre organization openly calling for armed guerilla warfare.<sup>10</sup>

In the late 1990s however, the NRF started to morph into the National-Anarchist movement; the two were referred to interchangeably for a number of years, until the NRF disbanded in 2003.<sup>11</sup> Southgate's ideology does not seem to have changed substantially with the shift, and he continues to circulate his NRF-era essays.

The NRF's only known public action as "National-Anarchists" was to hold an Anarchist Heretics Fair in October 2000, in which a number of fringe-of-the-fringe groups participated. However, when they attempted a second fair, a variety of anarchists and anti-fascists blocked it from being held. After the same thing happened in 2001, Southgate and the NRF abandoned this strategy and retreated to purely internet-based propaganda.<sup>12</sup>

The fair reflected Southgate's adaptation of the Trotskyist practice of entrism — the strategy of entering other political groups in order to either take them over or break off with a part of their membership.<sup>13</sup> Southgate argues, "The NRF uses cadre activists to infiltrate political groups, institutions and services... It is part of our strategy to do this work and, if we are to have any success in the future, it is work that must be done on an increasing basis."<sup>14</sup> He claims that the NRF infiltrated the 1999 Stop the City demonstration and the 2000 May Day protest, as well as activities of the Hunt Saboteurs Association and the Animal Liberation Front.<sup>15</sup>

Beyond its tactical uses, entrism is a philosophy for the National-Anarchists as they recruit members from the Left and in particular anarchist groups. Instead of simply calling themselves "racist communitarians," they purposely adopt the label "anarchist" and specifically appropriate anarchist imagery. Examples include the use of a purple star (anarchists typically use either a black star, or a half black star, with the other half designating their specific tendency, i.e., red for unionists, green for environmentalists, etc.), or a red and black star superimposed with a Celtic cross (the latter being a typical symbol of White Nationalists). The allied New Right factions in Australia and the UK also use the "chaos symbol" — an eight pointed star — which they adapt from left-wing counter-cultural anarchists.

The fascist use of the "black bloc" political formation at demonstrations is also an appropriation of anarchist and far left forms. In recent years, German fascists calling themselves Autonomous Nationalists have marched in large black blocs, waving black

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<sup>10</sup> Troy Southgate, "Transcending the Beyond: From Third Position to National-Anarchism," *Pravda*, January 17, 2002.

<sup>11</sup> Graham Macklin, "Co-opting the Counterculture: Troy Southgate and the National Revolutionary Faction," *Patterns of Prejudice* 39, no. 3 (2005), p. 325.

<sup>12</sup> Macklin, p. 325.

<sup>13</sup> Troy Southgate, "The Case for National-Anarchist Entryism."

<sup>14</sup> "Neo-Nazis Join Animal Rights Groups," *Sunday Telegraph*, June 19, 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Macklin, p. 318.

flags (a symbol of traditional anarchism), and even appropriated the symbolism of the German antifascist groupings.<sup>16</sup>

As far back as 1984, Pierre André Taguieff, an expert on the European New Right, condemned the “tactic of ideological scrambling systematically deployed by GRECE,” a rightwing think tank that embraced some leftist critiques of advanced capitalism while promoting core fascist ideas.<sup>17</sup> Here we see that ideological scrambling deployed on a grassroots level.

It needs to be stressed that, despite the name, National-Anarchists have not emerged from inside the anarchist movement, and, intellectually, their origins are not based in its ideas. Anarchists typically see themselves as part of a cosmopolitan and explicitly antinationalist left-wing movement which seeks to dismantle both capitalism and the centralized state. They seek instead to replace them with decentralized, non-hierarchical, and self-regulating communities. Although similar to Marxists, anarchists are just as adamant in their opposition to racism, sexism, and homophobia as they are to capitalism. In the United States, anarchists were key players in the formation of labor unions, were the only political faction to support gay rights before World War I, were leaders in the free speech movement, and were active in helping to legalize birth control. The White Nationalists’ embrace of the anarchist label and symbolism is more than little ironic, since anarchists have a long history of physically disrupting White Nationalist events, for instance by groups like Anti-Racist Action. Anarchist military units were even formed to fight Franco in Spain and Mussolini in Italy.

## The Question of “Fascism”

The National-Anarchists claim they are not “fascist.” Still, Troy Southgate looks to lesser known fascists such as Romanian Iron Guard leader Corneliu Codreanu, and lesser light Nazis like Otto Strasser and Walter Darré. Part of Southgate’s sleight of hand is to claim to be ‘against fascism’ by saying he is socialist (as did Nazis such as Strasser) and by supporting political decentralization (as do contemporary European fascists such as Alain de Benoist). Sometimes he proclaims fascism to be equivalent to the capitalism he opposes, or promoting a centralized state, which he also opposes.

Southgate is undoubtedly sincere in his aversion to the classical fascism of Hitler and Mussolini, and has cited this as a reason for his break from one of the National Front splinter groups. He sees the old fascism as discredited, and an abandonment of the true values of revolutionary nationalism. But his ultimate goal, shared with the European New Right, is to create a new form of fascism, with the same core values of a revitalized community that withstands the decadence of cosmopolitan liberal capitalism. This

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<sup>16</sup> See URL.

<sup>17</sup> Cited in Roger-Pol Droit, “The Confusion of Ideas,” *Telos* 98–99, (Winter 1993-Spring 1994), p. 138. GRECE stands for the “Groupement de recherche et d’études pour la civilisation européenne” – the “Research and Study Group for European Civilization.”

cannot be done as long as his views are linked in the popular mind to the older tradition.

## Third Position

One of the two main influences on National-Anarchists is a minor current of fascism called Third Position. The origins of Third Position are in National Bolshevism, which originally referred to Communists who sought a national (rather than international) revolution. It soon came to refer to Nazis who sought an alliance with the Soviet Union. The most important of these was “left-wing Nazi ” Otto Strasser, a former Socialist who advocated land redistribution and nationalization of industry. After criticizing Hitler for allying with banking interests, he was expelled from the party. His brother, Gregor Strasser, held similar views but remained a Nazi until 1934, when other Nazis killed him in the Night of the Long Knives.

A number of postwar fascists continued this train of thought, including Francis Parker Yockey and Jean-François Thiriart.<sup>18</sup> They saw the United States and liberal capitalism as the primary enemy, sought an alliance with the Soviet Union, and promoted solidarity with Third World revolutionary movements, including Communist revolutions in Asia and Latin American, and Arab anti-Zionists (particularly those with whom they shared antisemitic views). Thiriart’s followers in Italy formed a sect of “Nazi-Maoists” based on these principles, and after a gruesome August 1980 bombing in Bologna which killed 85 people, 40 Italian fascists fled to England, including Robert Fiore.

Fiore was sheltered by National Front member Michael Walker, editor of the *Scorpion*.<sup>19</sup> This paper subsequently spread Third Position and New Right ideas into Britain’s National Front, and Troy Southgate openly credits it as a major influence.<sup>20</sup> Third Position ideas also spread through the National Front via the magazine *Rising*.<sup>21</sup> After a 1986 split, this new influence resulted in a reconfiguration of the party’s politics. Prominent members visited Qadafi’s Libya, praised Iran’s Ayatollah Khomeini and forged links with the Nation of Islam in the United States.

Southgate claims to have abandoned Third Position fascism.<sup>22</sup> This is a duplicitous claim. He has rejected a centralized state, and therefore its ability to nationalize industry or create an “ethnostate.” Nonetheless, National-Anarchists retain the two

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<sup>18</sup> Martin A. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens*(Boston: Little, Brown & Co, 1997), pp. 168–83; Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 1999), pp. 191–92. For Yockey’s influence on Southgate, see Macklin, p. 320.

<sup>19</sup> Lee, p. 450 n40. See also Southgate, “Transcending the Beyond.”

<sup>20</sup> Troy Southgate, Interview, “Interview with Troy Southgate, Conducted by Graham Macklin.”

<sup>21</sup> Macklin, pp. 303–4; Martin A. Lee and Kevin Coogan, “Killers on the Right,” *Mother Jones* 12, no. 4, (May 1987), p. 45.

<sup>22</sup> Macklin, pp. 317–18.



main philosophical threads of Third Position. The first is the notion of a racist socialism, as a third option between both capitalism and left-wing socialism like Marxism or traditional anarchism.<sup>23</sup> The second is the stress on a strategic and conceptual alliance of nationalists (especially in the Third World) against the United States. Just as the National Front praised the Nation of Islam and Qadafi, the National-Anarchists praise Black and Asian racial separatist groups, and support movements for national self-determination, such as the Tibetan independence movement. Unlike many White Nationalists (such as the British National Party), National-Anarchists are pro-Islamist—but only “if they are prepared to confine their struggle to traditionally Islamic areas of the world.”<sup>24</sup>

As Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons note, Third Position fascism influenced U.S. groups such as the White Aryan Resistance (WAR), the American Front and the National Alliance; Christian Identity pastor Bob Miles also held similar views.<sup>25</sup> Often overlooked by commentators is the American Front’s affiliation with Southgate’s NRF, which he boasted of for years.<sup>26</sup> Like the National Front, U.S. fascists Tom Metzger and Lyndon LaRouche also forged ties with the Nation of Islam.<sup>27</sup> More recently, the National Alliance has incorporated Third Position politics. They attempted to cross-recruit left-wing activists by launching a fake antiglobalization website, and, in August 2002, held a Palestine Solidarity rally in Washington D.C.<sup>28</sup>

An early attempt to directly transplant National-Anarchist ideology to the United States was made by political provocateur Bill White. Starting his political odyssey as a left-wing anarchist, White briefly adopted a National-Anarchist stance at the height of the antiglobalization movement. He penned an infamous article for *Pravda* online in November 2001, which falsely claimed that National-Anarchists were part of anarchist

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<sup>23</sup> Troy Southgate, “Was ‘Fascism’ Outside of Germany and Italy Anything More Than An Imitation?”; “Revolution versus Reaction: Social-Nationalism & the Strasser Brothers.”

<sup>24</sup> Troy Southgate, “Enemy Within? Hizb-ut Tahrir, Al- Muhajiroun, & the Growing Threat of Asian Colonisation.”

<sup>25</sup> Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America* (New York & London: Guilford Press, 2000), pp. 269–70; see also Betty Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile, “*White Power, White Pride!*” *The White Separatist Movement in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), pp. 262–67. On Miles, see Lee, pp. 340–41.

<sup>26</sup> Southgate says, “We also have an excellent relationship with National-Bolsheviks like the American Front (AF), who, despite the fact that they do not share our anarchistic tendencies, are basically working for very similar objectives.” “Synthesis Editor Troy Southgate, Interviewed by Dan Ghetu.”

<sup>27</sup> Berlet and Lyons, p. 267.

<sup>28</sup> The website for the “Anti-Globalism Action Network.” See also Center for New Community, “Neo-Nazi Infiltration of Anti-Globalization Protests,” Center for New Community, June 22, 2002; Anti-Defamation League, “Purported ‘Anti-Globalization’ Web Site Fronts for Neo-Nazi Group,” July 12, 2002. For the Washington, D.C. rally, see Anti-Defamation League, “Neo-Nazis Rally in Nation’s Capital,”; Susan Lantz, “Fascists Countered In D.C.,” Baltimore IMC, August 28, 2002; “Washington, DC: National Alliance Rally a Huge Bust,” *Infoshop News*, August 24, 2002.

black blocs.<sup>29</sup> Later White linked up with the National Alliance before embracing the undiluted Nazism of the National Socialist Movement.

Currently there are two U.S. websites directly affiliated with the National-Anarchists.<sup>30</sup> One is the work of a prolific Christian ex-Nazi skinhead, while the Bay Area site has established a regional “network.” It is this small group that claims to have taken part in demonstrations for Tibetan independence and protests against the Folsom Street Fair.

Additionally, as an identity within the White Nationalist scene, National-Anarchists continue to attract a number of followers in the United States. For example, one of the early collaborators of the Oregon-based magazine *Green Anarchy* affiliated with their perspective.<sup>31</sup> U.S. National-Anarchists also frequently enter into discussions on Stormfront, the main internet gathering place for White Nationalists. There they defend their racial-separatist and antisemitic credentials to traditional fascists, many of whom look upon Third Position politics with skepticism, if not outright hostility. Apparently hearing White Nationalists promoting Islamist, Communist, and anarchist thinkers is as difficult for some of the Right to digest as it is for the Left.

## Benoist and the European New Right

Besides Third Position fascism, the other major ideological influence on the National-Anarchists is the European New Right, especially the thinker Alain de Benoist. National-Anarchists have adopted his ideas about race, political decentralization, and the “right to difference.”

Benoist founded the think-tank GRECE, and has spent his life creating an intellectually respectable edifice for a core of fascist ideas. Like Southgate, Benoist loudly proclaims that he is not a fascist, but scholars such as Roger Griffin disagree. Griffin says that the New Right “could by the end of the 1980s be credited with the not inconsiderable achievement of having carried out a ‘makeover’ of classic fascist discourse so successfully that, at least on the surface it was changed beyond recognition.”<sup>32</sup>

Benoist extended the notion of an alliance of European nations with the Third World against their main enemies: the United States, liberalism, and capitalism. But against the fascists who desired a united Europe under a super-state, Benoist instead

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<sup>29</sup> Bill White, “Anti-Globalist Resistance Beyond Left And Right: An Emerging Trend That Is Defining A New Paradigm In Revolutionary Struggle,” *Pravda Online*, November 2, 2001.

<sup>30</sup> folkandfaith.com is based in Idaho Falls, Idaho. bayareanationalanarchists.com/blog is based in California’s Bay Area. As unlikely as this location may seem, the NRF-affiliated fascist skinhead gang the American Front originated there as well. attackthesystem.com is another site sympathetic to National-Anarchists.

<sup>31</sup> See Griffin; The U.S.-based *Green Anarchy* is not to be confused with the UK-based *Green Anarchist*, despite shared ideology. *Green Anarchy* has explicitly denounced National-Anarchism.

<sup>32</sup> Roger Griffin, “Plus ça change! The Fascist Pedigree of the Nouvelle Droite,” draft, August, 1998; p. 5.

calls for radical federalism and the political decentralization of Europe. Roger Griffin describes this vision as:

The pluralistic, multicultural society of liberal democracy was to give way, not to a culturally, coordinated, charismatic, and, in the case of Nazism, racially pure, national community coterminous with the nation-state, but to an alliance of homogeneous ethnic-cultural communities *ethnies* within the framework of a federalist European “empire.”<sup>33</sup>

Benoist also incorporates many sophisticated left-wing critiques, sometimes sounding like a Frankfurt School Marxist. Today he denounces capitalism, imperialism, liberalism, the consumer society, Christianity, universalism, and egalitarianism; he defends paganism, “organic democracy,” and the Third World. He questions the role of unbridled technology and supports environmentalism and a kind of feminism.<sup>34</sup> He also rejects biological determinism and embraces a notion of race that is cultural.<sup>35</sup> Southgate follows practically all of these positions, which are not necessarily present in Third Position.

Because of these views, the European New Right is very different from the U.S. New Right, whose Christianity and free market views are anathema to the Europeans. The Europeans are closer to the paleoconservative tradition in the United States, and connect with The Rockford Institute, publisher of *Chronicles*.

Benoist’s main intellectual formulation is the “right to difference,” which upholds the cultural homogeneity and separateness of distinct ethnic-cultural groups. In this sense, he extends the anti-imperialist Left’s idea of “national self-determination” to micro-national European groupings (sometimes called “the Europe of a Hundred Flags”). The “right to difference” has influenced the anti-immigrant policies of Jean-Marie Le Pen’s National Front in France, and a number of GRECE members joined this party, even though Benoist himself rejects Le Pen.<sup>36</sup>

Benoist has also influenced U.S. White separatism. Usually based around the demand for a separate White nation in parts of Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming, this became a popular idea in White Nationalist circles starting in the early 1980s.<sup>37</sup> This decentralized regional perspective was matched by decentralized

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<sup>33</sup> “Plus ça change!” p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Alain de Benoist and Charles Champetier, “The French New Right in the Year 2000,” *Telos*, no. 115, (Spring 1999), pp. 117–144.

<sup>35</sup> Many fascist intellectuals have held this view, including early Nazi leader Otto Strasser, Italian occult philosopher Julius Evola, U.S. Third Position theorist Francis Parker Yockey, and German Nazi legal theorist Carl Schmitt. For a discussion of “spiritual” versus “biological” race, see Coogan, 313 n38, p. 481. See also Lee, pp. 96.

<sup>36</sup> “Three Interviews with Alain de Benoist,” *Telos*, nos. 98–99, (Winter 1993–Spring 1994), pp. 173–207.

<sup>37</sup> Dobratz and Shanks-Meile, p. 99.

organizational schemas which emerged at the same time. Louis Beam advocated “leaderless resistance,” and the “lone wolf” strategy for far-right terrorism,<sup>38</sup> while Christian Identity Pastor Bob Miles started referring himself as a “klanarchist.”

Inverting language, Benoist claims that he is an antiracist. Racism, he argues, is a function of universalistic ideologies like liberalism and Marxism, which purportedly wipe out regional and ethnic identities. He says “Racism is nothing but the denial of difference.”<sup>39</sup> But Taguieff, a keen observer of the European Right, identifies a “phobia of mixing” at the core of this form of racism. It is part of the “softer, new, and euphemistic forms of racism praising difference (heterophilia) and substituting ‘culture’ for ‘race.’”<sup>40</sup>

The influence of these New Right ideas on the National-Anarchists is explicit. In Australia, the National-Anarchist group is for all practical reasons coextensive with “New Right Australia/New Zealand” and at one point they claimed that “New Right is the theory, National-Anarchism the practice.”<sup>41</sup> In Britain, Troy Southgate has been involved in New Right meetings since 2005.<sup>42</sup> But while Benoist claims that he does not hate immigrants, repudiates antisemitism, and endorses feminism, the National-Anarchists show what New Right ideas look like in practice: crude racial separatism, open antisemitism, homophobia, and antifeminism. The “right to difference” becomes separate ethnic villages.

The New Right also has had a limited influence on elements of the Left intelligentsia. In the United States, the influential journal *Telos* (known for disseminating Western Marxist texts into English) moved rightward in the 1990s as its editor showed sympathy for Europe’s New Right and published Benoist’s works.<sup>43</sup> It continues to publish Benoist, and explores the thought of Nazi legal theorist Carl Schmitt. Many Leftists now consider the once venerable journal anathema.<sup>44</sup>

## Richard Hunt

Although Benoist advocates decentralized federalist political structures, the Australian National-Anarchists make clear that he does not go so far as to advocate anar-

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<sup>38</sup> See Jeffrey Kaplan, “Leaderless Resistance,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9 no. 3, (Autumn 1997), pp. 80–95; see also Dobratz and Shanks-Meile, pp. 171–74, pp. 267–68. For the influence on Troy Southgate, see Macklin, p. 312. Beam’s essay is also reproduced on the Australian National-Anarchist site.

<sup>39</sup> “Three Interviews with Alain de Benoist,” p. 180.

<sup>40</sup> Pierre-André Taguieff, “The New Right’s Vision of European Identity,” *Telos*, nos. 98–99, Winter 1993–Spring 1994; p. 123.

<sup>41</sup> New Right Australia New Zealand Committee, “Statement of New Right on National-Anarchism and Australian Nationalism.”

<sup>42</sup> For the intellectual influence of the New Right on Southgate, see Macklin, p. 306.

<sup>43</sup> *Telos* nos. 98–99, Winter 1993 – Spring 1994.

<sup>44</sup> Tamir Bar-On, *Where Have All the Fascists Gone?* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

chism itself.<sup>45</sup> Instead the claim to “anarchism” apparently stems from Richard Hunt’s notion of “villages.” Originally an editor at the British magazine *Green Anarchist*, which advocated an intensely anti-industrial environmental ethic, Hunt was expelled from the editorial collective for his right-wing views before founding *Green Alternative*, which is seen as an “ecofascist” publication.

Hunt adopted an apocalyptic, Mad Max-esque vision of a post-industrial society. Southgate comments that “to say that we have been hugely influenced by Richard Hunt’s ideas is an understatement,” and Southgate took over the editorial helm of Hunt’s magazine when he fell ill.<sup>46</sup>

Hunt’s critique also reverberated with the environmental strain of classical fascism, such as the views of Hitler’s agriculture minister Walter Darré. Southgate openly gushes over Darré’s “Blood and Soil” ideology in one article<sup>47</sup> while white-washing him in another, referring to him merely as a “nationalist ecologist.”<sup>48</sup> Many other contemporary fascist groups, especially WAR in the United States, also embrace environmentalism.

## Homophobia, Antisemitism, Antifeminism

The National-Anarchists are quite open about their antifeminism and desire to exile queer people into separate spaces, but tend to hide their deeply antisemitic worldview. Troy Southgate says of feminism, “Feminism is dangerous and unnatural... because it ignores the complimentary relationship between the sexes and encourages women to rebel against their inherent feminine instincts.”<sup>49</sup>

The stance on homophobia is more interesting. Southgate said:

Homosexuality is contrary to the Natural Order because sodomy is quite undeniably an unnatural act. Groups such as Outrage are not campaigning for love between males — which has always existed in a brotherly or fatherly form — but have created a vast cult which has led to a rise in cottaging, male-rape and child sex attacks... But we are not trying to stop homosexuals engaging in this kind of activity like the Christian moralists or bigoted denizens of censorship are doing, on the contrary, as long as this behaviour does not affect the forthcoming National-Anarchist communities then we have no interest in what people get up to elsewhere.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See New Right Australia New Zealand Committee.

<sup>46</sup> “Synthesis Editor Troy Southgate, Interviewed by Wayne John Sturgeon,”; see also Macklin, pp. 312–13.

<sup>47</sup> Southgate, “Blood and Soil.”

<sup>48</sup> Troy Southgate, “The Guild of St. Joseph and St. Dominic.” On the link between German Nazis and ecology, see Janet Biehl and Peter Staudenmaier, *Ecofascism: Lessons From the German Experience* (San Francisco: AK Press, 1995).

<sup>49</sup> Southgate, Sturgeon interview.

<sup>50</sup> Southgate, Sturgeon interview.

What this means in his schema is that queer people will be given their own separate “villages.” The recent National-Anarchist demonstrations in San Francisco were against two majority-queer events, the Folsom Street Fair and the related fair Up Your Alley. Their orchestrator, “Andy,” declares that he is a “racist” who hates queer people.

Andy also denies the charge of antisemitism against National-Anarchists, claiming that they merely engage in a “continuous criticism of Israel and its supporters,”<sup>51</sup> as do the majority of Leftists and anarchists. Once again, this is a typical disingenuous attempt by National-Anarchists to duck criticism. Antisemitism is an important element of the political world views of Southgate and Herfurth.

Southgate actively promotes the work of Holocaust deniers, including the Institute for Historical Review, and holds party line antisemitic beliefs about the role of the international Jewish conspiracy. As a dodge, he sometimes uses the euphemism “Zionist”; for instance, he says “Zionists are well known for their cosmopolitan perspective upon life, not least because those who rally to this nefarious cause have no organic roots of their own.”<sup>52</sup> In another interview he says that, “there is no question that the world is being ruthlessly directed (but perhaps not completely controlled) by International Zionism. This has been achieved through the rise of the usurious banking system.”<sup>53</sup> And he describes the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (a forgery which is the world’s most popular antisemitic text) as a book which “although still unproven, accords with the main events in modern world history.”<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile, his Australian counterpart Welf Herfurth is even more explicit in his neo-Nazi antisemitic views. In one speech, he describes the Holocaust as an “extrapolation” that “has been an enormously profitable one for the Jews, and one which has brought post-war Germany and Europe to its knees,” before referring to Israel as “the most powerful state in the Western world.” Herfurth concludes that “by liberating Germany from the bondage to Israel and restructuring a new Germany on the basis of a new ‘volksgemeinschaft,’ the German nationalists will liberate Europe, and the West as well.”<sup>55</sup>

## Conclusion

Recently new groups of National-Anarchists, recruited through Southgate’s internet activism, have made the leap from contemplating their idiosyncratic ideas on the internet into making them the basis of really-existing politics, by joining demonstrations

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<sup>51</sup> “A smear salad: Nick Griffin, Green Anarchy, and a concoction of fallacies,” Bay Area National-Anarchists, October 7, 2007.

<sup>52</sup> Troy Southgate, “Manifesto of the European Liberation Front, 1999.”

<sup>53</sup> Southgate, Sturgeon interview.

<sup>54</sup> Troy Southgate, “Oswald Mosley: The Rise & Fall of English Fascism Between 1918–45.”

<sup>55</sup> “Welf Herfurth On Kameradschaft.”

in Australia and San Francisco. Web pages and blogs continue to pop up in different countries and languages.

The danger National-Anarchists represent is not in their marginal political strength, but in their potential to show an innovative way that fascist groups can rebrand themselves and reset their project on a new footing. They have abandoned many traditional fascist practices—including the use of overt neo-Nazi references, and recruiting from the violent skinhead culture. In its place they offer a more toned down, sophisticated approach. Their cultural references are the neo-folk and gothic music scene, which puts on an air of sophistication, as opposed to the crude skinhead subculture. National-Anarchists abandon any obvious references to Hitler or Mussolini’s fascist regimes, often claiming not to be “fascist” at all.

Like the European New Right, the National-Anarchists adapt a sophisticated left-wing critique of problems with contemporary society, and draw their symbols and cultural orientation from the Left; then they offer racial separatism as the answer to these problems. They are attempting to use this new form to avoid the stigma of the old discredited fascism, and if they are successful like the National Bolsheviks have been in Russia, they will breathe new life into their movement. Even if the results are modest, this can disrupt left-wing social movements and their focus on social justice and egalitarianism; and instead spread elitist ideas based on racism, homophobia, antisemitism and antifeminism amongst grassroots activists.

## Glossary

**Fascism:** Fascism is an especially virulent form of far-right populism. Fascism glorifies national, racial, or cultural unity and collective rebirth while seeking to purge imagined enemies, and attacks both left-wing movements and liberal pluralism. Fascism first crystallized in Europe in response to the Bolshevik Revolution and the devastation of World War I, and then spread to other parts of the world. Postwar fascists have reinterpreted fascist ideology and strategy in various ways to fit new circumstances.

**Third Position:** Third Position politics are a minor branch of fascist thought. It rejects both liberal capitalism and Marxism for a kind of racially based socialism. Its main precursors are the National Bolsheviks, who were a fusion of nationalism and communism, and the Strasser brothers, key figures in the “left-wing” of the Nazi party. Third Positionists tend to support national liberation movements in the Third World, seek alliances with other ethnic separatists, and have recently supported environmentalism

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