

THE RED FLAG



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On Resurgent Fascism



*...and the
Resistance We Need*

Signs of the Crisis Times: Resurgent Fascism

*Comrades, do get it into your heads, this 'lesser evil' which
Year after year has been used to keep you completely out of the fight
Will very soon mean having to stomach the Nazis.*

– Bertolt Brecht

Nine days after Donald Trump's inauguration a Québec City mosque was assaulted by a violent white supremacist; numerous Muslims were shot in the back as they prayed. The attack happened in a context of multiple fascist excesses that spilled beyond the borders of the US while its new president gleefully signed orders that would ban Muslims from entering his country, target women, and make the US economy safe for the richest and whitest Americans. Everyone who still possesses an ounce of critical thought agrees that a new fascism is on the rise, that Trump's election represents this rise, and that we are living in dire times.

If we were to be honest, however, we would have to admit that the times have been dire for a very long time, especially for those who live in the global peripheries. Try telling a teenager in Afghanistan who has grown up over the fifteen years of invasion and occupation that only now the times are dire; such a question is meaningless since the most powerful nations have always permitted fascist excess in the nations they dominate. But we don't need to go so far as Afghanistan to recognize that dire times have been in effect, and for quite awhile, for certain populations. Under Obama it was okay, if you were a cop, to shoot whatever Black American you wanted to shoot and be exonerated. In the months leading up to the recent Trump election the US was sending its army unto Indigenous land to protect a pipeline. And up here in Canada, under the supposedly enlightened rule of Trudeau the Second, Indigenous protestors were being threatened with violence for daring to challenge the Liberal government's own pipeline projects. Before this, Canadian politicians were signalling fascism; Trump was simply isometric to the rightward drift of Canada's mainstream political order.

When Pinochet was dropping people out of helicopters and disappearing activists en masse that was okay because his fascism was in the service of "democracy". When Modi's regime enforces caste supremacy and designates all non-Hindus as inferior that's okay as long as India accedes to imperial might and defends the economic interests of the imperialist camp. Haiti, Honduras, Afghanistan—there are too many examples of imperialist intervention that was not uncomfortable with fascism. Because who cares about fascism if it's somewhere else? But now it's not only somewhere else; it's rebounded and is in the backyard of the nations that once pretended they were the locus of civilization.

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Therefore, if the rise of fascism represented by Trump's election tells us anything it is that now the repression once reserved for "other people" are going to be visited upon even more people, many of whom benefited from these past excesses. But only a short-sighted asshole would laugh about this fascist rebound; this is not a chickens-coming-home-to-roost scenario but a degeneration that will be even worse for the historically oppressed. Reality is becoming another genocidal threat for the traditional targets. Nazis are crawling out of their holes now that some of them are in positions of power. The so-called "alt-right" is repackaging and marketing white supremacy. Liberal pretenses are disintegrating as the bourgeois order closes ranks to become thoroughly and openly fascist.

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Everyone wants to be a Nazi hunter just as long as the profession is imaginary. A decade ago "Nazi" was a common insult though it was generally used inaccurately, meant to signal moral failure. Every schoolboy since WW2 likes to pretend that they would have resisted National Socialism if they grew up in Germany, that they would have fought Hitler with more commitment than their forbearers. The truth, however, is that this moral fortitude is easy to proclaim in the context of fictional depictions of fascist violence but quite difficult to follow in the face of real world fascism. Where is this army of Nazi hunters at the very moment they are required? It would not be inaccurate to say that many of them are collaborating with the current fascist resurgence: some are embedded in the liberal camp, some have been drawn into Trump's right populism and are working hard to pretend that their politics are *not* fascism. The problem, of course, is that the identification of fascism with evil was a hollow equivalence: there was no real definition of what fascism actually was—that it was a particular expression of capitalism—aside from it being "evil". So now, when it is upon us again, only the left and some worried liberals are able to recognize what is happening, and the latter camp have no idea how to fight it.

The truth is that the re-emergence of fascism is a tragic historical irony. This year marks the centennial of the October Revolution, an event that produced both a state and worldwide movement that would lead the fight against early 20th Century fascism. Both this revolution and past fascisms manifested in the crucible of capitalist crisis as militant political orders diametrically opposed in their response to capitalism's dilemma: whereas communism claimed that this dilemma could be solved by progressive social transformation, fascism sought to save capitalism by popularizing its most exterminist impulses.

Once again we are confronted with an economic crisis that is also a crisis in thought: imagine a world that transcends capitalism or imagine capitalism's salvation through its most depraved and reactionary articulation. But in this conjuncture we lack the same kind of worldwide communist movement of the past; the reactionary imagination seems to possess an advantage. In this context *The Red Flag* hopes that this small intervention will contribute to the kind of counter-hegemonic movement able to undermine the fascist advantage. ★

-The Editors-



COMMUNIST ANTI-FASCISM IN CANADA: ROUND ONE

Communists have always been anti-fascists. Despite serious missteps, before the Second World War it was Communists who led anti-fascist efforts all over the world, and it was the Soviet Union that ultimately destroyed fascism in Europe. Canada was no exception: from the late 1920s onwards, Communists led anti-fascist mobilizations and organizations across the country. This article is a brief but critical outline of the Communist Party of Canada's anti-fascist efforts before the Second World War, with an eye towards how we can learn from both the successes and mistakes of previous anti-fascist work.

Anti-Fascism During the Third Period (1928-1934)

While fascism was a political reality in the late 1920s, it was still amorphous: it had only conquered power in Italy. In Canada it had not yet assumed a concrete organizational form. However, the Communist International, at the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928, made anti-fascism one of its central political aims. Arguing that world capitalism was about to enter a period of crisis, which was later proven correct by the Great Depression, the Comintern stated that the bourgeoisie would respond to a capitalist crisis either through coalition with social democracy or through fascism, the latter of which it described as the "terrorist dictatorship of big capital." However, social democracy and fascism were not considered to be opposites: "social democracy itself, often plays a Fascist role."¹

It was this formulation which led to the Comintern adopting the "social fascism" thesis, that social-democrats and other reformists were variants of fascism. A 1931 article in *Pravda* provides a more in depth argument:

Social democracy is carrying out the fascisation of the bourgeois state under the pretext of defending bourgeois democracy, as the alleged "lesser evil," compared with fascism. The role of social-democracy, which in words comes out against fascism and which is praised in the press of the right wing and the Trotskyites as an opponent of fascism, must be ruthlessly exposed. There can be no compromise or bloc with the social democratic workers against fascism and social fascism.²

As such, it was the job of Communists to not only attack fascists but social-democrats as well. That is, Com-

munist parties were to mercilessly attack the leadership of social-democratic organizations while forming a "united front from below" with their memberships as a means of winning them away from social-democratic politics.

In 1928 in Canada, social-democracy was still in its infancy. There were some social-democratic Members of Parliament like J.S. Woodsworth, and local labour parties, but there was no coherent social-democratic movement or organization in Canada like there was in most of Europe. While the Communist Party of Canada was quick to condemn these different reformist groups and individuals as "social fascist," (a move that was made easier by the pre-existing enmity over the removal of many Communists from labour councils and the failure of the Canadian Labor Party) there was not a lot of time nor energy spent



Scene from the coal miners strike led by the Workers Unity League in Estevan, Saskatchewan.

on combatting a non-existent social-democracy. Where the "social fascism" thesis did have the most effect in Canada was in providing justification for a "go-it-alone" approach to mass organization, leading to the creation of the Workers' Unity League.

Somewhat ironically, the majority of the Communist Party's anti-fascist work in the late 1920s and early 1930s was directed against repression from so-called Canadian "bourgeois democracy." In 1929, the Toronto chief of police declared that he would smash the Communist Party: subsequently, Communist Party meetings and demonstrations were violently suppressed by the Toronto police. The Communist Party's response was to initiate what it called the "battle for the streets" wherein it fought back, with force, against police attempts to crush its public

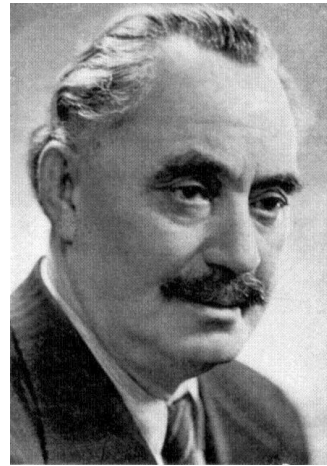
presence. Despite its lack of success in the short term, the Party was growing quickly throughout Canada. In response, Prime Minister Bennett declared the Communist Party illegal in 1931, and arrested its leadership under Section 98 of the Criminal Code. Also in 1931 Workers Unity League organizers were killed during a strike in Estevan; during the early 1930s there were several instances of the Canadian state using force against striking radical workers. The Communist Party fought back through the Canadian Labor Defence League, a mass organization tasked with the legal defence of working-class organizers in Canada. This isn't to say that all of the Communist Party's anti-fascist work during the Third Period was directed at the bourgeois state in defense of civil liberties: there were also isolated clashes with nascent fascist forces, such as the Christie Pits Riot in Toronto in 1933.

While in retrospect it seems ridiculous that the Communist Party of Canada was not able to distinguish between bourgeois democracy and fascism, given the repression it faced in the late 1920s and early 1930s from a bourgeois democratic state, it is easy to see how the two became conflated in the minds of many Communists. The takeaway here is that the rights enjoyed in bourgeois democratic societies are always superficial: the Comintern was right to suggest that fascism was a response of the bourgeoisie to a crisis of capitalism. And while the "social-fascism" thesis was overly sectarian and fundamentally incorrect, it was widely received precisely because of the pre-existing animosity between Communists and social-democrats. Trotsky and Trotskyists are wrong to suggest that in the absence of the social-fascism line, Communists and social-democrats would have been able to work together to stop fascism.

The Popular Front and Anti-Fascism (1934-1939)³

Hitler's 1933 victory in Germany, his subsequent banning of the Communist Party of Germany, and aggression towards the Soviet Union, caused the international Communist movement to rethink its strategy. Within the Soviet state, Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, began seeking rapprochement with the West, chiefly France and Britain. Within the Comintern, which as of mid-1934 was under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov, the Third Period line came under scrutiny. Initially articulated as a return to the united front of the 1920s, Dimitrov made working-class unity against fascism a priority for the Comintern. At the Seventh Comintern Congress, held in the summer of 1935, the international Communist movement defined fascism as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvin-

istic and most imperialist elements of finance capital"⁴ and pushed for the creation of a proletarian united front alongside a "wide anti-fascist People's Front," in order to build a "fighting alliance between the proletariat... the laboring peasantry and the basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie."⁵ This was in sharp distinction to the earlier Third Period line.



Georgi Dimitrov.

While it was at the Seventh Comintern Congress that the politics of the Popular Front era became enshrined, overtures towards the Popular Front began in 1934 in Canada. The year previous, in 1933, Canadian social-democrats had finally formed a national party called the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Despite attacking the CCF viciously, in mid-1934 small unity overtures began to be made on the part of the Communist Party. In early 1934 the Communist Party had created the Canadian Youth League Against War and Fascism that contained both members of the Communist Party and the CCF. This laid the groundwork for the creation of the larger Canadian League Against War and Fascism (CLAWF), which had its opening congress on October 6 and 7, 1934 in Toronto. The CLAWF, which the CPC hoped would form the basis of the "anti-fascist People's Front", had gathered 315 delegates representing 203 organizations with a membership of 337,000; it was a significant gathering. It included the Communist Party, the CCF, bourgeois politicians, union leaders, church organizations, and others. Stating in its Manifesto that fascism was a product of war, and war itself a product of "monopolistic capitalism," the CLAWF was to combat fascism through "arousing and organizing the masses ... for active struggle against the war preparations and fascist tendencies of their own governments."⁶

The CLAWF grew quickly. By December 1935 it now included in its fold organizations with a combined membership of over 500,000. It mainly engaged in solidarity work with the Spanish Republic, and also campaigned for the repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code. In 1936 the CLAWF again grew, serving as the basis for the launching of three other organizations: the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion which sent anti-fascist fighters to Spain, the Committee for the Aid of Spanish Democracy, and the Friends of the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion. In 1937

the CLAWF changed its name to the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy (CLPD) and organized a series of boycotts against Japanese goods, speaking tours for Chinese anti-fascists, support for Norman Bethune's medical unit, and work against Duplessis' padlock law. Activities in 1937 also included demonstrations against domestic fascist organizations, including a demonstration 10,000 strong against the founding congress of Adrien Arcand's National Unity Party. By 1937, however, the CLAWF/CLPD had more-or-less reached its limit: membership began to decline and, in 1939, when the Communist Party was forced underground, the CLPD disbanded. While the CLAWF/CLPD was successful in building a mass movement against fascism, it was never able to truly mobilize the people it claimed to represent: the majority of its work was in the form of propaganda activities, and these were generally initiated by Communist Party members.

The CLAWF/CLPD was the largest of the Communist Party's anti-fascist initiatives, but it was not the only one. As mentioned earlier, the Communist Party was also instrumental in organizing the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion, which fought on the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War as part of the International Brigades. First formed in 1936 out of Canadian volunteers in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, over the course of the war the Mac Paps, as they came to be known, included 1,546 soldiers: the largest amount, proportionally, from any country other than France. In order to facilitate this undertaking, the Communist Party built a massive underground recruitment apparatus that was capable of getting volunteers into Spain despite participation in the Spanish Civil War having been declared illegal. In turn, the Communist Party also created the Friends of the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion to provide direct material support for the volunteers, as well as the more broadly based Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which worked in solidarity with the Spanish Republic. When Madrid fell to the fascists in mid-1938, the Mac Paps were quickly demobilized, returning to Canada in early 1939. And despite the Communist Party now having hundreds of members with anti-fascist combat training, the Party never put their skills to use in Canada.

Despite successes in building a mass movement against fascism, the Communist Party's efforts were ultimately hamstrung by the political orientation of the Popular Front. Whereas in the previous period the Communist Party was unable to distinguish between bourgeois democracy and fascism, during the Popular Front the Communist Party "bent the stick" too far in the other direction, declaring themselves the champions of bour-

geois democracy. The Communist Party openly argued that because fascism attacked bourgeois democracy it was their duty to defend it. To this end, the Communist Party abandoned much of its earlier radicalism, chiefly its understanding of the state as being a tool of the ruling class, its orientation towards the working class, and its goal of revolution. In short, the Popular Front marked the consolidation of revisionism within the Communist Party. By 1937, leading Communists had declared that at the present time the real fight was between fascism and democracy, not fascism and communism. The Communist Party was also willing to work with the Liberals as part of building what they called a "democratic front": despite the Ontario Liberal Party under Mitch Hepburn overseeing persecution of Communists, Stewart Smith, a leading Communist in Toronto, was quoted as saying "it is not impossible that from the Liberal party may come powerful forces to help in the people's fight to gain economic improvement and to save Canada from fascism."



The Communist Party was instrumental in organizing the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion.

Prime Minister McKenzie King, rather than pursuing a reactionary set of policies in defense of Canadian capitalism, even going as far as to flirt with fascism internationally, was seen to be torn between the fascism of the so-called "Hepburn-Duplessis Axis" and the broad people's movement against fascism.

More than anything, during the Popular Front era, the Communist Party abandoned its communist politics in the hopes of being able to build a broad movement against fascism. But when the Munich Agreement was signed in 1938 between Hitler's Germany and the Western powers, the limits of the Popular Front were exposed: deradicalization had not only not prevented rapprochement between fascism and bourgeois democracy, but it had also left the Communist Party in the difficult spot of now turning around and critiquing the same bourgeois

democracy it had spent the past four years defending. Finally, when the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was signed and Canada declared war on Germany in September 1939, the contradictions of the Popular Front era were burst open: the Communist Party was effectively immobilized as many of its members enlisted in the army despite the Communist Party condemning the war, and the Communist Party itself went underground. All of the mass mobilization the Communist Party had done during the five years previous had been for nothing.

Lessons from History

What can be learned from the early history of the Communist Party of Canada's anti-fascist work? **First**, while bourgeois democracy is not fundamentally democratic, there is a distinction between bourgeois democracy and fascism. **Second**, while bourgeois democracy is more favourable than fascism insofar as certain democratic rights are useful for organizing, this should not lead communists to uphold bourgeois democracy and abandon a critique of the state. **Third**, while mass mobilizations against fascism are good, important, and necessary, the orientation of these mobilizations and organizations

should not be towards liberals and other political moderates across classes, but rather towards the working class. Communists should not moderate themselves in the face of resurgent fascism: communist politics are more relevant now than ever. And we should certainly not abandon our goal of revolution in order to build quick and opportunistic alliances: insofar as capitalism constantly reproduces the conditions necessary for the emergence of fascism, it is only through revolution and building socialism that we can ensure that fascism will finally be destroyed. ★

-Rosso-

¹ *Programme of the Communist International.*

² *Pravda*, quoted in R. Black *Fascism in Germany: Volume 2.*

³ Due to the size of this article it is impossible to provide a thorough, detailed, and critical analysis of the Popular Front period in Canada. There is much more that needs to be said, here, but that would be the business of another article.

⁴ Georgi Dimitrov, *The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *First Canadian Congress Against War and Fascism, October 6th and 7th, 1934.*



A Communist-led demonstration in 1935.

Reject racism and Islamophobia!

Our epoch is confronted with a rapidly expanding scourge: Islamophobia. Today, it is the dominant form of racism in our society. Muslims are the most stigmatized, the most subjected to discrimination and aggression. As such, Islamophobia is detestable as are all forms of racism and xenophobia. But the scope of Islamophobia is further aggravated by the fact that it concentrates the most explosive contradictions of our time. In this, it does not merely isolate and overwhelm a racialized sector of the people; it is at the heart of the class struggle on a global scale. Islamophobia has direct implications for all sectors of the struggling peoples and it becomes impossible to play a progressive role without recognizing its general meaning and without paying it the attention it deserves.

Islamophobia is a form of racism

Many deny the very existence of Islamophobia by claiming that it is only a healthy criticism of religious ideas and that such criticism is formulated under the auspices of freedom of expression. Others exonerate it from the accusation of racism by qualifying that it targets a religion and not a "race". Obviously, no racism can really target a *race* since races do not exist as such, as science has long demonstrated: they are only hateful fantasies, ideological constructions and products of a racist discourse, which seek to justify mass discrimination and abuse. Thus, racism is not defined primarily by who it targets but by a way of thinking, a way of defining and treating "the other" as an enemy.

But appearances do not deceive: despite its revamped facade, there is indeed a racist thought behind Islamophobia. Racist thought reduces a population to one aspect of its identity, as a presumed fundamental and determinant aspect that makes it possible to generalize to the whole group the stereotyped representation of a set of attitudes, disabilities, and defects. As a resolutely anti-scientific approach, racist discourse drowns in a homogeneous bloc the complexity, diversity, and cleavages that necessarily traverse the human groups which the racist has more or less arbitrarily constituted on the basis of a single criterion.

Islamophobia assigns a single verdict to all Muslims—or anyone presumed to be so: by belonging to Islam, they are suspected of fanaticism, intolerance, violent behavior, retrograde conceptions, obscurantism, barbaric cultural practices, and so on. According to the Islamophobic discourse, the Muslim civilization is irreconcilable with the modern, rational, democratic, progressive or simply Christian Occident. Islam is held responsible for the disorders that shake the world.

Islamophobia is the face of the crises and conflicts of our time

We know that for the last 200 years, it was rather imperialism and before it colonialism that sowed violence and desolation in Arab-Muslim countries and in the world at large. The political and military aggressions of the West in the Middle East have intensified since the beginning of the 21st century. This is why Islamophobia today reaches an unprecedented dimension by being responsible for the convergence of a multitude of crisis factors affecting the dominant countries and their control of the world. It is the desperate response of a failing imperialist system assailed on all sides by difficulties.

A few observations suffice to show that Islamophobia, far from being a marginal phenomenon, is on the contrary at the heart of the stakes of our time:

- Islamophobia is a racism that does not simply express the stubborn prejudices of marginal backward elements, but is constructed and fueled by some of the main institutions of bourgeois society (including the major governing parties and some media empires).
- It is a racism that the ruling intellectuals reproduce by summarizing the present world under the thesis of a "clash of civilizations".
- It is a racism that serves to justify uninterrupted wars of looting and devastation in the Middle East for more than 15 years.

- It is a racism that serves as an alibi for the strengthening of the imperialist states through security policies and the swelling of intelligence and repressive apparatuses through anti-terrorist laws.
- It is a racism that reproduces the old tactic always used in periods of economic and social crisis, which consists of erecting a minority of the population as a scapegoat for political diversion.
- It is a racism on the basis of which dominant nationalism is revived and redefined by the way of reinforcement of irrational identity insecurities.
- It is a racism that instrumentalizes feminist discourse to primarily stigmatize Muslim women, while veiling the extent of the oppression that Non-Muslim women are also struggling against.
- It is a racism that inspired acts of verbal and physical aggression, up to mass murder, attacks and sackings of places of worship, and forms of mass mobilization increasingly assimilated to the expression of “resistance” and patriotism.

The daily news tell us how much Islamophobia has become a furious bourgeois obsession. It is the grid of reading that is used to report and explain every day a growing number of local, national, and international events: it is the true narrative plot of our time.

Let's make working class unity at the forefront of the struggle against Islamophobia!

Islamophobia is an extremely explosive racist cocktail. It initially creates an intolerable situation for those associated with the community targeted by these attacks. With their rights, freedom, and integrity threatened, and being marginalized in socio-economic terms, they have every reason to deserve our solidarity. But it is also the whole exploited class that the bourgeoisie weakens by dividing it on the basis of prejudices foreign to its interests, sowing distrust in it, causing confusion in consciousness.

Don't let Islamophobia become what has been the ignoble tragedy of anti-Semitism in the 20th century!

The genuine need of the workers is not to fight religion, let alone to fight those who claim to have one faith or another; it is rather to fight against the capitalist exploiters—be they atheists, secularists, Christians or Muslims—that is, against the economic system and the policies that drive us all to crises, poverty, and war. Between proletarians, the confrontation of beliefs about religion, science, our worldviews, and our values is necessary, but it must be done through dialogue, in a spirit of camaraderie, without breaking our solidarity and our political independence in the face of the bourgeoisie.

Reject racism and Islamophobia! Unite against the bourgeoisie and its system! ★

-Comrades from Montréal-



Emergent Fascism and the Fragmented Left

The fascist right has been on the rise for years, crawling out of the sewer where it was hiding and festering. But only now that Donald Trump, the grossest symptom of this resurgence, has claimed the presidency is the mainstream willing to accept that fascism is a problem. Just a year ago this same mainstream was ignoring the “alt-right”, dismissing it as niche politics, refusing to see Men’s Rights Activism for what it was, and failing to take Islamophobia seriously. When the Parti Québécois proposed laws that targeted Muslims, when groups like PEGIDA held conferences, when the old Harper regime spoke about “barbaric cultural practices”, when misogynist groups infiltrated campuses, the liberal media mocked activists for using the word fascism and instead argued that all attempts to oppose this reactionary political sequence constituted “fascism” since militant activism was seen as tantamount to censorship. The liberal establishment has always and falsely believed that censorship is the true fascism and thus to even suppress fascist ideas is more fascist than the fascists!

So now when the same mainstream and its media, because of the Trump presidency, are beginning to see the same practices that preceded the Donald’s rise to power for what they always were (though without, it needs to be said, abandoning their liberal understanding of anti-fascism), we might content ourselves with blaming them for failing to recognize what they should have recognized years ago. The juvenile response, which so many of us cannot help but make on social media, is a snide “we told you so” and “look at your fucking house that’s been on fire for years.” The problem, however, is that the growing strength of fascism in the imperialist metropolises is mainly our fault.

Of course, on an abstract level we can lay the fault of rising fascism at the feet of the fascists themselves. “Trust a fascist to be fascist” is a truism: it is not as if the neo-Nazis, whether they be the Soldiers of Odin or the alt-right, were ever hiding what they were. At the same time, though, this statement is a tautology: fascist ideologues are fascist ideologues and they have long been a populist cesspit. The bigger question is why their right populism has been gaining clout to the point of being able to push someone like Trump into power in an imperialist country that has long (and falsely) imagined itself to be the enemy of “totalitarian” fascism. The answer to

this question is beyond the bounds of this article though it is worth pointing out the ways in which attempts to answer it signal the failure of the broad left: some of us, even now, are trying to find a solution to this dilemma by arguing that certain [white] factions of the middle- and working-class, due to their alienation from neoliberalism,



had good reason to gravitate towards fascism and thus, in response, we should court fascist logic. Sam Gindin, for example, has argued that working-class fear of precarity enabled Trump’s rise to power and thus the left should abandon, or at least hide, its commitment to open borders and anti-racism. Others, following his example, think the left should drop its militant language altogether, embrace a “left” settler-nationalism, and steer would-be fascists towards social democracy. Those who deliver these arguments with utter sincerity are partial proof that the broad left is responsible for the rise of fascism: even now, as Mosques are burned and anti-immigrant orders signed, some of us demand that we court this impulse and somehow transform it from within.

It’s also easy to blame the liberal establishment for enabling fascism. After all, for years they dismissed this resurgence and even participated in its groundwork. The American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], for example, still prides itself in having defended the right of Nazis to express their noxious opinions. The ACLU, which proclaimed itself an anti-fascist champion after Trump’s election, is thus an easy target; its hypocrisy is apparent.

Moreover, the US election is a perfect example of the ways in which the liberal establishment strengthened fascism: run a candidate who is only one or two meaningless shades to the left of a fascist, belittle everyone who demands more, imagine that an “I’m with her” politics actually matters, and blame the electoral loss on Russians and the actual left. Better yet, classify the real left as “the alt-left” and pretend your liberalism is somehow anti-fascist while simultaneously complaining about anti-fascists who punch Richard Spencer in the face.



But liberals cannot be blamed for being liberals. The left should know that the liberal establishment has always been an expression of the capitalist order and is thus the “nicer” side of a capitalist coin it shares with fascists. United under capitalism, liberals and fascists determine each other. In times of stability, as the old adage goes, capitalism is a liberal democracy; in times of crisis it closes ranks and becomes monolithic, i.e. fascist. These liberals who were more than happy to promote multiple fascist orders around the world as long as it was profitable are annoyed by the fact that it has rebounded upon themselves but are unable to explain why. They were always part of the problem though they prefer to deny this fact by pretending that fascism is little more than anti-liberal censorship. Around a century ago we called them social fascists for precisely this reason. And you can’t really blame a social fascist for fascism, can you?

So if anyone’s to blame it’s those who should have known what fascism was because they were the ones who led the fight against it before. In the Spanish Revolution and in World War Two it was the anti-capitalist left who initially came out against capitalism. The liberal order was eventually dragged along but only when Germany threatened other national-economic interests, not because of a dedication to anti-fascism. And it was this same anti-capitalist camp, that understood that fascism was one face of capitalism, who assured the victory of the Second World War. Anti-fascism is the job of the left because it is the left that must be anti-fascist by definition. We haven’t been doing our job very well.

* * *

When the first protests against Trump’s inauguration broke out, Trump officials began claiming that this was proof that they were right. The argument, here, was that the resistance of those they classified as enemies proved they were on the right track; if they weren’t on the right track then their enemies wouldn’t oppose them. Such an assessment will of course be familiar to Maoists: “To be attacked by the enemy,” Mao Zedong once proclaimed, “is not a bad thing but a good thing.” Communists and fascists draw similar friend/enemy distinctions, and it is not by accident that Mao’s Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society begins with the question of the friend/enemy distinction around the same time that the Nazi philosopher Carl Schmitt was asking the same thing. A militant politics always demarcates itself; communism and fascism are both militant but for different class reasons—their friends and enemies are diametrically opposed.

So when the people in Trump’s camp decided that it was good to be attacked by the enemy they were making their politics clear: their enemy was the masses; their friends were those dedicated to the most reactionary articulation of the capitalist order. Most importantly, they were making a declaration of hegemony. The attacks on their politics were treated as a galvanization of their fascism against those who oppose this fascism; the anger of the masses demonstrated that their anti-people politics were on track. Such declarations indicated that they understood the need to pursue hegemony, to foster a particular ideological hegemony against its discontents.

Unfortunately, the broad left that existed before and during the rise of today’s hard right has been largely incapable of making the same distinction. We the left, in all those decades since the fall of the Eastern Bloc, have become complacent. We have spent many years rejecting the kind of politics that seeks a unified political hegemony; we have treated the necessity of demarcating friends from enemies as the business of an interior identity politics rather than a political line. That is, we have quibbled amongst ourselves about who has the right to be properly left while, at the same time, resisting the kind of partisan politics that would promote hegemonic political unity... Or, by the same token, we have downplayed these internal problems in order to promote a false unity. Whatever the case, we now lack the political unity that is necessary to fight fascism.

In some cases the mainstream left has argued that the concept of political hegemony is outdated and thus embraced fragmentation. Now, after years of fragmentation, we are facing a hegemonic right without a counter-hegemony that can oppose it on any meaningful level. We spent years imagining that diffusion was a strength, that affinity groups and movementist praxis could make a difference, but meanwhile the right has become more unified. As yet, there is no left organization that can

counter this unification in a meaningful matter. A random punch of Richard Spencer, as justified and celebratory as this might be, is not a counter-hegemonic movement.

When the reactionary right re-emerged at the heart of imperialism the broad left, the only force capable of understanding its meaning, was incapable of dealing with this re-emergence because of its own political practices. We like to crow about the contradictions within the alt-right, as if it will explode without our intervention, but fail to recognize the even more damning fragmentation within our own movement.

When the most recent crisis erupted near the end of the first decade of the 21st century the PCR-RCP argued that, due to the objective circumstances, it was necessary to re-initiate a revolutionary communist sequence in order to produce the subjective circumstances for overthrowing capitalism. We knew that in times of crisis the ruling class, in order to defend its exploitative order and oppressive form of life, would close ranks and drift towards fascism.



The policies that would soon be called “austerity” were indeed signalling fascism; right populism was already manifesting so as to recruit, in lieu of an organized left, factions of a disenchanted “middle class”. This middle class, whose consciousness was orientated towards capitalism, who did not want to lose their supposed “right” to a petty-bourgeois lifestyle, and who had been weaned on anti-communist ideology for years, was open to fascist organization. Enraged by the possibility of being proletarianized, despising the exploited and oppressed masses, large swathes of this strata were primed for reactionary explanations of their experience: terrorists, job stealing immigrants, “big government”, women, an imaginary war on the cishet white male.

In such a context we claimed that a comprehensive fighting party was indispensable. The only way to successfully confront and defeat the fascist possibility would be to organize and solidify counter-hegemony. Indeed, our conception of Protracted People’s War was theorized

as part of this necessity: we believed that we needed an organization that would be capable of developing a people’s army that could wage war upon the kind of capitalism that was not only defended by the institutionalized police and army but could also produce “rhizomatic” fascist paramilitaries thus transforming class war into a struggle on innumerable fronts.

Moreover, we saw the bourgeois electoral arena as a space that was complicit in the fascist drift. As all of the parties moved right in an effort to preserve the capitalist order—signalling fascism with austerity measures, harsher mechanics of surveillance, and anti-immigrant policies—the practice of bourgeois democracy continued to drain the energy of the broad left, inspiring a lesser evilism. No matter how narrow the choice between one party or other was becoming, broad swathes of the left wasted their resources trying to mobilize the masses to vote for the best of the worse instead of building counter-hegemony. Nearly half of the country’s voting population was already boycotting these elections, left behind by the pitiless reality of the crisis, but their plight was largely ignored despite possessing the potential to resist the growing tide of reaction. Hence we argued for an explicit boycott so as to break with the bourgeois legality through which fascism was plotting to emerge.

Of course liberals like to imagine that a rejection of elections is what permitted fascism. Refusing to admit that they are part of the problem—that they have enabled fascism at every moment of their existence by continuing to endorse the fascist drift of the entire bourgeois system—they now spin fairy tales about Russian conspiracies, mock those who have historically confronted and resisted fascism by calling us the “alt-left”, and pretend that their peaceful non-resistance is an anti-fascist high road. Yesterday the ACLU poured its resources into defending the right of Nazis to spread their noxious propaganda, today they pretend this contributed nothing to an ascendant fascism. Yesterday the US Democrats declared open season on New Afrikans, allowing “Blue Lives Matter” legislation to be passed; today they claim they are the champions of those they once called “super predators”. Yesterday the Canadian Liberal Party told Indigenous land protectors to fuck off, today they see themselves as a bulwark against Trumpism. Yesterday the entire Canadian liberal establishment permitted the passing of Bill C-51, now they have the gall to express anxiety about “totalitarian” control. Yesterday Canadian politicians passed or attempted to pass Islamophobic laws, today they express horror when a mosque is violently assaulted by a white supremacist that the liberal establishment, even now, is dismissing as a misguided “lone wolf”. What a rotten hegemony; it was always ready to drop the veneer of liberal hypocrisy and reveal its putrid fascist face.

If there is to be any hope of resisting this fascist tide and moving one step closer to socialism we need to break with the style of work that has left us defenseless. We need to return to building revolutionary hegemony, the kind of unified political movement that is as unified as the fascists and thus able to confront them in every arena. While demonstrations and online performative declarations are useful, without a coherent strategy of hegemony they will serve to exhaust the movement.

We should recall the massive mobilizations against imperialism that greeted the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001: thousands upon thousands of people took to the streets, the energy of the resistant masses was drawn into the anti-war movement; within a few years the demonstrations dwindled, the unorganized advanced and intermediate forces drifted away, the left returned to being the same marginalized left it had been prior to 2001. The movementist fascination with the spectacle of marches, demonstrations, and fragmented actions did not end the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, nor did it build a stronger and more disciplined anti-capitalist movement. Today the left is starting from the same place it started from before 9/11 and is again beginning to draw more people into participating in its demonstrations. But if this left had succeeded in producing a successful counter-hegemonic movement fifteen years ago then it would be starting from a stronger position with a strategy to transform today's demonstrations into a further strength.

I am not arguing that the entire left except the PCR-RCP is to blame for our current level of strength. Those

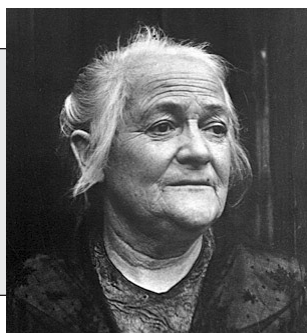
of us in PCR-RCP circles are also to blame for failing to build a comprehensive fighting organization quickly and thoroughly; some of our own efforts have been marred by the movementist experience and practice we hoped to escape. Other organizations that seek to be revolutionary parties have also failed to produce such counter-hegemony for reasons that are partially similar. Altogether, those of us who proclaim fidelity to various types of party hegemony politics have failed to figure out the way in which to construct a viable united front: either we have wasted our time on sectarian disputes that justify the worst kind of dogmatism, or we have erroneously classified all principled differences as "sectarian" and have attempted to build useless refoundationalist spaces that cater to the lowest common denominator of unity. Going forward, those of us who understand the need for revolutionary hegemony must not only continue to organize on such a basis, and draw clear lines of demarcation between our practice and the movementism that will take us nowhere, but also find a way to co-construct meaningful united fronts with other like-minded radicals and even those movementists who, despite the failure of their practice, are still on the side of the masses against fascism.

As anti-capitalists we have always been in it for the long haul but, now that this long haul is about to enter a phase of fascist attrition, we must again realize that we cannot treat our struggle like a game. The ruthless critique of everything existing must also be a ruthless struggle in the streets against an emergent fascist order. ★

-Tomas M.-



A Brief History and Assessment of Antifa Organizing



"The proletariat must have a well organised apparatus of self-defence. Whenever Fascism uses violence, it must be met with proletarian violence."

- Clara Zetkin

Since its original emergence in the early 1920s, fascism as an ideology and a movement has been met with fierce opposition. From the very beginning, communists (along with other leftists) have taken up the cause to not simply resist, but to actively oppose and crush fascism wherever it has cropped up. One such organization, the Roter Frontkämpferbund ("Red Front Fighters' League"), was formed in 1924 by the German Communist Party as a paramilitary organization to carry out militant antifascist work. In order to continue their militant antifascist work after the Roter Frontkämpferbund was banned, the German Communist Party formed another organization which was the first to bear the name Antifascist Action. Antifaschistische Aktion operated until its demise in 1933 under the violent repression of the Nazi regime, which itself was defeated by the Soviet Red Army in 1945.

A significant resurgence of fascism began in the late 1970s and early 1980s as more white nationalist organizations began to emerge and grow in numbers as capitalism found itself once again in crisis. A severe global economic recession and the widespread adoption of neo-liberal policies were fodder for fascists to consolidate their bases within the frustrated working classes. Employing a mix of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, racism, and ultra-nationalism, fascism began to take shape on the streets in the form of violent, white nationalist groups adopting an aesthetic that mixed their fondness for the Nazis with a co-option of skinhead counter-culture—thus the quintessential "neo-Nazi skinhead". Some notable organizations worldwide include Combat 18, Blood and Honour, Hammerskins, White Aryan Resistance, and the Heritage Front here in Canada.

As this militant, white-supremacist fascism began to grow during the 1980s, so did the resurgence of militant anti-fascism. Groups adopting the name Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) in the UK and Europe and Anti-Racist Action (ARA) in North America started to appear—the first being the AFA in London, England (1985) and ARA in Minneapolis, USA (1988). While these organizations have often included fighting sexism, homophobia, anti-Semitism, and other forms of oppression within their mandate, combating street-level fascism has been their primary focus.

Like the organizations of the 1920s and '30s, these AFA and ARA groups (or simply antifa, as they are colloquially known) consisted of communists, anarchists, and other non-aligned leftists brought together for the express purpose of confronting and preventing local fascist organizing. Whereas the earlier organizations were often formed directly or indirectly by various communist parties as literal fighting forces to defend the working class from fascist violence, antifa organizing in the post-Soviet Union era was mostly disconnected from any larger revolutionary organizing. These groups possessed a policy of "no platform" for fascists, best summarized by the ARA's first point of unity: "We go where they go. Whenever fascists are organizing or active in public, we're there. We don't believe in ignoring them or staying away from them. Never let the Nazis have the street!" Its ideological eclecticism was seen by some as a strength and was credited for the ability to draw in recruits of various levels of politicization.

Due to this antifa model's disconnection from a larger revolutionary movement such an organization could serve only a limited and relative purpose. Once a local antifa's aim was achieved, that is to say once the local fascists were decisively crushed to the point of organizational dissolution and thus no longer a threat, the antifa organization ceased to have a purpose. While such victories are of course worthy of celebration, they are only minor victories in the larger context of our collective struggles against capitalism and the various oppressions it inflicts upon the masses and the environment. Once victory against an enemy is won, what becomes of an organization? Without connection to a larger revolutionary movement, all the time and effort put into organizing is now left with nowhere to go. Formerly, anti-fascist organizations would serve as a generic avenue for its members to become more politically developed and be able to move into higher levels of organizing due to its connection with a revolutionary communist party. Without this generic connection and no forces with which to be consolidated, the fighting potential was then lost as members dissipate into other non-revolutionary organizations, if they continue to try to organize at all.

The level of unity required to do antifa work is relatively low. Whether you are a communist, anarchist, or leftist liberal—whether you are categorically anti-capitalist or reformist—as long as you are down to fight Nazis, you're in. While a low level of unity is well suited for coalitions, united fronts or other ad hoc formations, ideological eclecticism in an organization leaves it prone to strategic problems and bad decisions. For example, it was due to a liberal tendency within the London AFA that a split occurred in 1989. Despite a new formation made up of the more militant members later that year, ideological problems persisted. A pamphlet published by the London AFA in 1991 reveals its anarchist influence by stating "(w)hile AFA must be of, and for, the working class it is not our job to argue how progressive changes can be won."

Due to the British National Party's continual defeats on the streets by AFA, the BNP changed up its strategy from the streets to the more respectable arena of electoral politics in the early 1990s. London AFA soon followed suit with their own move, which they called their "Filling the Vacuum" strategy of running candidates to offer constituencies a political alternative. The attempt to have the rest of the AFA Network adopt this electoral strategy, coupled with the decline in street-level organizing by the fascists in favour of other avenues, led to strife within the Network and contributed to its eventual (if not inevitable) break up. With the choice of liquidating into reformist electoral campaigns while facing a decline in relevancy due to the simultaneous decline in fascist street activity, the logical problem of being limited to street-level organizing was brought to a head.

The problems faced by this model of organizing is not specific to antifa; they are easily found in a great number of organizations focused more or less exclusively on a single issue. Fighting fascism is direly important—like fighting police violence, environmental destruction, homelessness, etc. is direly important—but you can't cure a disease by chasing after the symptoms alone. Defeating street-level fascists does not by itself stop those fascists who are moving amongst the ruling class any more than stopping one pipeline saves a body of water from contamination by other extractive industries. To ultimately solve these problems is to wage a much larger war. As these issues are all symptoms of capitalism, the solution is found in working class organizing in order to take power and thus dictate the society in which we wish to live. We will only do this by connecting anti-fascist, anti-racist, anti-colonial, anti-patriarchal, pro-environment organizing with revolutionary anti-capitalist organizing aimed towards achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat. ★

-Victor R.-



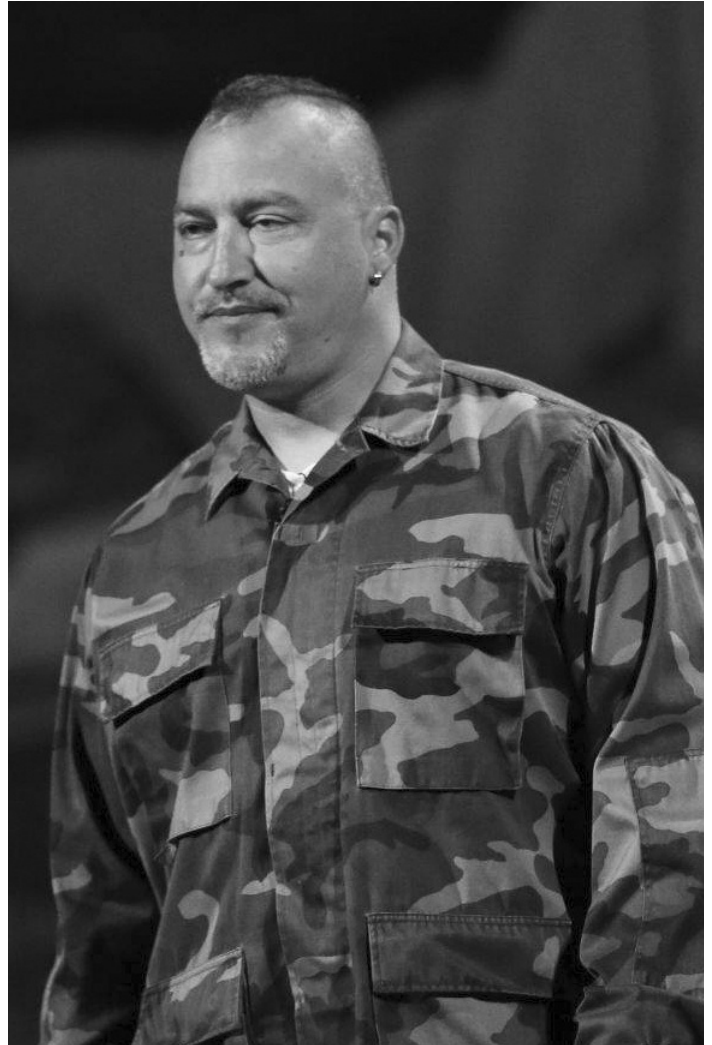
"Rambo" Gauthier's Party: A Project Completely Foreign to the Interests of the Working Class

This article from the Montréal Revolutionary Workers' Movement (MRO) was written a few days after the announcement of the decision of a well-known trade unionist from the construction sector, Bernard Gauthier (known as "Rambo" Gauthier), to run for the next provincial election. The article is an appropriate response to the lies of this impostor. A misogynist and a racist who assumes his positions, Gauthier has made himself known for his controversial defense of members of the FTQ-construction in the Côte-Nord region. People like him are using the genuine anti-system sentiments of the working masses to channel them into a dead end, which ultimately benefits the system and weakens the working class as a whole.

-The Editors-

So it is that Rambo Gauthier—the trade unionist who stood before the Commission of Inquiry on the Awarding and Management of Public Contracts in the Construction Industry—finally announced that he is launching himself into bourgeois politics by joining an obscure marginal party. He tells us that the current parties do not meet the needs of the workers and that we must fight against the political establishment. This is fair: a large proportion of the workers, by not going to vote, show at each election that they have already understood that the parties in the running, and even the electoral process itself, are not serving their interests.

In hearing him speaking on behalf of "ordinary people", denouncing the "elite" and accurately rejecting the hypocrisy of the accusations of intimidation brought against him by anti-union bourgeois justice, one may be under the impression that Rambo Gauthier is an authentic representative of the working class and that his political project could be a real alternative to the status quo. But there is no need to dig deeply to realize that appearances are deceptive. Indeed, it soon becomes clear that something is wrong when he says that immigration and reasonable accommodation are among the most important problems faced by Quebecers outside Montréal. He suggests that Montréal is invaded by hordes of Muslims and that the purity of the rural and semi-urban regions should be preserved. This mystifying and false speech is precisely that of the political and media "elites" which he claims to denounce. Workers in



Québec have real problems, but it is certainly not the faithful of Islam who are responsible.

Were Minister Lise Thériault and the Construction Commission's CEO Diane Lemieux wearing the hijab when they actively worked to eliminate union placement? What is the nationality of employers who refuse to hire construction workers on the Côte-Nord? Who abolished 340 jobs at the Olymel plant in Saint-Hyacinthe and nearly 500 jobs at the Christie biscuit factory in Montréal? There are not many Muslims among these capitalist bandits. Rambo Gauthier, who claims to speak on behalf of the workers, is not even able to identify the real enemies of the working class!

In order to secure their power, the capitalists have always sought to mobilize proletarians against each other. They have always benefited from the confusing views prevalent in certain sectors of the working class, especially if these views stigmatize other vulnerable sections of the popular masses. At one time, workers were told that the Jews were the problem. Today, they are told that the Muslims are. Many confused people appropriate these misconceptions, which only serve to make a diversion and prevent them from fighting their true enemy.

Rambo Gauthier is telling us that there will be a “civil war” if things do not change. Civil war, or more precisely protracted people’s war, is indeed the only means by which the working class will succeed in expelling the capitalist class from power and freeing itself from its domination. However, in declaring that he is trying to avoid such a civil war, Rambo places himself in the camp of the capitalists: he is appealing to them to let him play a part in their state so that their domination would be preserved from the legitimate rebellion of the masses. In other words, he is asking the bourgeoisie to entrust their sword to him so that it can save its purse. He is showing himself as the ultimate bulwark against the proletarian revolution. Whether the bourgeoisie will appoint him for this task, the future will tell us.

Rambo’s love for social peace, imposed by what is the greatest known violence in history—that is the exclusive armament of imperialism—also harmonizes with his unwavering support for the Canadian army and his proposals for resuming conscription. The civil war that Rambo wants to prohibit here, as well as the world war in which he wants Canada to take part as he said in his biography, is a capitalist war against the people. Its enemy is not “the establishment” but all peoples dominated by Canadian imperialism, many of whom are members of the “Muslim world”, as well as the Canadian working class, a considerable portion of whom are visible minorities and in which women—whom Rambo also proposes to send back to the kitchen—make up more than half.

Gauthier is sort of a rather skillful actor who plays the role of a regional worker rebelling against the system. He tries to explain that despite his six-year stay in the Canadian Army, despite his book sales and especially in spite of his career as a “business agent” for the Québec

Federation of Labour (a job in which he proved to be a formidable Director of Human Resources for entrepreneurs on the Côte-Nord), he totally understands the misery lived by the working class. The problem is that this new star cannot speak for both capitalists and workers. In the class struggle, we always have to choose our camp. Gauthier chose his own: that of the bourgeoisie coming from the regions, but also that of the bourgeoisie in its totality which seeks to perpetuate its hold on Canadian territory.

The working class has not been a political actor for a long time. That workers want their class to express themselves politically is a good thing. But the working class needs representatives with a correct class perspective allowing it to mobilize and unite around a common project. Such a project must be directed against the capitalist class as a whole and must aim at the conquest of power in order to impose a socialist order that could lead to communism. By his reactionary stances, Rambo Gauthier showed that he is not a genuine representative of the working class but rather another watchdog of the bourgeoisie. ★

Gauthier’s “Power to the Citizens’ Party” is defending the power of the rich!

Proletarians from all regions of Canada and of all origins must unite to fight the bourgeois state and end the rule of the bourgeoisie!

-Montréal Revolutionary Workers’ Movement-



Jordan B Petersen and the Fascist foothold in Canadian Academia

Having thrown itself headlong into the struggle to confront, expose, and disarm fascism and misogyny, the MER-RSM in Ottawa and their comrades were successful in shutting down the screening of the MRA funded *The Red Pill* at Mayfair Theater. The anti-Muslim demonstration (organized by the Soldiers of Odin, an organization with documented Neo-Nazi ties) on the 15th of October was also confronted by the MER-RSM of Montréal. An important and latent attempt by the fascists to gain inroads into organizing in Canada, however, is in the form of attacks on people's self-identification of gender that is now taking place in the sphere of academia as opposed to the street level activity of cleaned-up boneheads. As the saying goes; Keep watch only for the *giants* and you'll be eaten by the *ants*.

Recently it was spoken of in the news: a professor of the University of Toronto refused to abide by his contract as an employee of a publicly funded university (despite of numerous warnings of the university). The principles informing the refusal of this professor, Jordan B Petersen, constitute the fascist reterritorialization of liberal "freedom of speech". Petersen represents a flagrant case of backwards ideology subsidized directly by the government.

Petersen's views can be summed up in his statement, in reference to being asked to refer to a fellow professor by their correct pronouns: "If you aren't a man or a woman, I don't see what the options are."¹ Given Petersen's position and the subject of his field of study we can begin to ask the question: is Petersen really unaware of the numerous genders that exist in many cultures (both in the past and today)? He claims that his research is intended to find 'universals' in mythologies of many cultures², yet his sincerity in this task and the relevance of his own work is cast in doubt as the professor blithely professes ignorance of the rigorously and extensively documented history of gender variety within ancient and modern cultures of the present, past, and every known continent. Instead of recognizing and studying the anthropological and social research behind this phenomenon, Petersen absurdly blames a conspiracy of a "coterie of... ideologically motivated...

left-wing radicals" for the "invention" of these genders and ridiculously assumes that people's genders are something which is up for debate³.



Jordan Petersen rightly confronted by protesters at University of Toronto.

None of the above is an idiosyncratic theory of Petersen's. It is rather his pushing of a gender binary which betrays his own ideological motivation—Fascism. Fascists have blamed the chimera "Cultural Marxism" for the phenomenon of gender variance, assuming that societies with no knowledge of Marxism that existed long before the birth of Marx were somehow subject to his influence. This is a clear echo of the Nazi era "Cultural Bolshevism". Petersen is canny enough to avoid terminology directly associated with fascists. The absurdity of his claim, however, is in no way diminished; applying political distinctions such as Left and Right (which originated in the parliamentary systems after the French Revolution) to societies without such political bodies is scarcely less risible than applying the name and current of thought of a 19th century political economist to phenomenon which spans far past either. Rightists blame Marxism itself for the "inventions" of non-binary genders, in contradiction of the fact of such genders existing before Marxism and in societies without any knowledge of that subject. Trans people have always existed and Petersen is a fraud.

Petersen's storied ability to lecture without notes is not the result of an eidetic memory; his ignorance of

elementary facts on his field of study are simply a case of naked and unabashed charlatanry allowed to go rampant in academia. Applied post-modern idealism taken to its conclusions reveals the unmistakable recrudescence of obscurantism and mystification. The dilettantish mixture of mythology with psychology serves a greater purpose of social conformity in capitalist reproduction. In an interview Petersen stated that the genders *man* and *woman* are “fundamental axioms” that are not to be “watered down”⁴. The “inherent” social function of these is a crucial component of the fascist view of strict binary gender roles corresponding to exterior anatomy. Essentialism with regard to binary gender roles corresponding to an assumption of sex based on external anatomy is a universal component of Fascist ideology, serving the propagation of the nuclear family of bourgeois society. The research of Magnus Hirschfeld, who had uncovered and documented gender variance, was burned by the Fascists in order to bury the truth scope of gender expression in German society. Petersen’s influences are nearly a who’s who of the principle fascists in academia today. His premier intellectual antecedent Mircea Eliade was an unremitting supporter of the Iron Guard. Two more of his ideological predecessors, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Carl Jung, were known crypto-fascists; both had much praise for the Nazis and demonstrated anti-Semitism. Indeed, Solzhenitsyn wrote an anti-Semitic work and had praise for every 20th century Fascist leader under the sun⁵.

Jung certainly had choice words for the Jews that also betrayed his retrograde stance on gender in very stark terms:

The Jew who is something of a nomad has never yet created a cultural form of his own and as far as we can see never will, since all his instincts and talents require a more or less civilized nation to act as host for their development. The Jews have this peculiarity with women; being physically weaker, they have to aim at the chinks in the armour of their adversary.⁶

Elsewhere, Jung held great praise for Mussolini: “The huzzahs of the Italian nation go forth to the personality of the Duce, and the dirges of other nations lament the absence of strong leaders.” The greatest praise, however, was saved for Hitler, who he described in nothing less than divine terms as “a medium [...] the mouthpiece of the Gods of old...” and as “a demi-deity or, even better, a myth.”⁷

Returning to the subject of gender we find throughout Jung’s work a typical psychopathology of gender traits which leads itself to essentialism (in the explicit gendered form of “anima” and “animus”). It is also worthwhile to add that the chief popularizer of the work of Carl Jung in North America was Bill Moyers who, as press secretary of the Johnson Administration, had the

job of obfuscating the atrocities of the imperialist invasion of Vietnam. Such unscientific theories lends itself all too easily to the lowest of purposes. As Mao Zedong said, “dogma is like cow dung, it can be used to make anything, even Revisionism.”

Petersen’s views certainly do not occur in a vacuum as some moment of clarity that struck an enlightened member of liberal society; they are carried as part of the historical mission of fascism to cow mankind in obedience to atavism. His claims for his own free speech are claims that the origins and consequences of the ideas he is expressing to be ignored. The fascists of the present day themselves know the people’s hatred for fascist ideology and thus make every attempt to conceal it through novel though recognizable insignia and labels such as “Identitarian” or “Alt-Right”. It is through tracing the genealogy of fascism and being familiar with its tenets that we are able to recognize and combat it.

Liberals, on the other hand, are only too readily fooled by this chameleon’s trick. The claims by liberals to an individualism is one sided, as its ideal notion of the individual is one which is devoid of the characteristics which would individuate it from others and their historical provenance (class, gender, ethnicity, etc.). Those who find themselves made distinct by the concrete characteristics of their identity and a target for fascists are told by liberals they must put themselves at risk for the greater good of society and its expression of free speech. The content of the fascist ideology—the desire for cleansing “undesirables”—is ultimately not so different from the mission of liberals in their project of Capitalism, which is the cleansing of any poor people without any interest in spending most of their lives sustaining the bourgeoisie’s wealth.

Liberals, despite their professed belief in the historical flourishing of truth in the wake of the free expression of all views are incapable of seeing Fascism for its reactionary objective—its unthinking acceptance of the superiority of a imaginary *status quo ante*—the state of purity untouched by historical processes such as modernity. The fascist offensive to erase the colonized peoples, the gender nonconforming, and a militant, partisan, and independent labour movement is an offensive against the living bearers of a history, the latter of which is an affront to the former’s mythological conception of history. Fascism in Europe was a movement with the middle class as its mass base directed by finance capital; it was concerned with the excision of the history of class struggle in that continent. The bitter and brutal history of primitive accumulation, the enclosures, the Peasant War in Germany, the working class uprisings of the Springtime of Nations in 1848, and the Paris Commune in 1871 are the ultimate affront and repudiation of their idyllic and flatly ignorant vision of Western Civilization as harmonious.

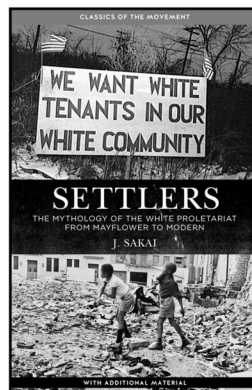
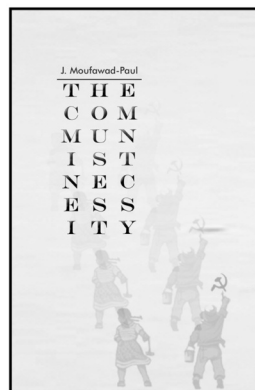
The humanities have too long been perceived as a place where left liberals have popular hegemony (in opposition to the sexism related with STEM and the technical fields that was unearthed during the "GamerGate" episode). The retreat and reversal nonetheless requires a tactical shift in combating fascism wherever it appears. During the Cultural Revolution the *Criticise Lin Biao Criticise Confucius* campaign represented a struggle against elitist and misogynistic feudal ideology that had reared its head even within the Communist Party of a socialistic society. Scientific findings have dispelled the notions of binary sex characteristics in human beings. However, the contrary attitude persists in the popular imagination and must be combatted by revolutionaries. Reactionaries in academia and the arts serve to reinforce these notions while playing into vulgar and stereotyped images instead of equipping the masses with scientific understanding of topics which apply to their daily lives (as was espoused by the revolutionary Jiang Qing who made the point of popularizing on the basis of raising the level of understanding). If this development has a positive counterpoint, it is that reactionaries have run aground with their project of archaic distortions of science and fact in service of backwardness and now dip into mythology and fiction. If a proletariat is to challenge and uproot false understandings of human biology it must be armed with a scientific understanding of anatomy and the world changing power of modernity to wield it for the cause of winning their freedom from patriarchy, capitalism, and the overt bridge between the two embodied in fascism. ★

-Kevin-

- 1 <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/10/05/protesters-decry-u-of-t-professors-comments-on-gender-identity.html>
- 2 <http://safaalai.com/2011/03/maps-of-meaning-jordan-peterson/>
- 3 <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/asithappens/as-it-happens-friday-edition-1.3786140/i-m-not-a-bigot-meet-the-u-of-t-prof-who-refuses-to-use-genderless-pronouns-1.3786144>
- 4 <http://www.torontosun.com/2016/09/29/u-of-t-prof-rips-bill-outlawing-gender-identity-discrimination>
- 5 <https://communismgr.blogspot.ca/2016/08/solzhenitsyn-rotten-legacy-of-fascist.html>
- 6 Collected Works of CG Jung X, para. 353.
- 7 *The Seduction of Unreason: The Intellectual Romance with Fascism from Nietzsche to Postmodernism*. Richard Wolin. Princeton University Press, 2009. p. 75-76.

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Possibilities and Limits of Fascism in Canada

The rapid rise of Trump in the United States caught almost everyone—both on the left and among bourgeois political analysts—off guard. Trump entered the Republican leadership race as a relative outsider, widely considered to be a joke candidate. He won. Poll after poll showed that Trump would not win the election. He won. Trump's cabinet appointments were expected by many to be a return to normalcy. Sure enough, within the first two weeks of his presidency, Trump has done more to advance fascism in the United States than nearly anyone expected. Time after time Trump has proven commentators wrong and surprised many by essentially doing what he promised to do.

Canada is not immune to the social forces that have allowed fascism to blossom in the United States. While there has been a nascent white-supremacist and extreme-right movement in Canada for decades, the election of Trump represents a shift in the political climate: it is no longer politics as normal. With this in mind, it is worthwhile to briefly sketch potential openings for fascism in Canada and their limitations. We should not make the same mistake in underestimating the possibility of fascism that our comrades to the south made.

Where Did Trump Come From?

Before examining the forces of the embryonic fascist movement in Canada, the social forces which gave rise to Trump should be briefly described. Trump, first and foremost, is a symptom of American capitalism in decay. Coming out of the 2008 economic crisis, the US ruling class was in a much weaker position in the world imperialist system than they had been beforehand. In the face of rising Chinese and Russian imperialism, the US ruling class was no longer the sole superpower. This was compounded with military defeats in Afghanistan and Iraq, both of which cost the American state and ruling class a substantial sum of wealth. As a result, the US ruling class was thrown into a period of crisis: there was no longer general agreement as to the political direction that America should take. This first became apparent in the years preceding the 2016 election, where different sections of the American state not only began contradicting each other (one thinks here of the different declarations, from various sections of the US state, during 2014 as to whether or not the US would invade Syria), but even began actively supporting different factions in proxy wars

overseas. This was combined with the increase of drone wars: the US military was only able to destabilize potential enemies, and could not project power in the way they had previously. The American political establishment was weaker than it had been since the Second World War, and the ruling class began to turn against itself.

In turn, the decline of American imperialism in the world imperialist system resulted in a process of political polarization within the US. Some sections of the US ruling class—personified by the Koch brothers—funded and deployed the forces of the ultra-right, principally around the Tea Party, as a means of undermining more “liberal” fractions of the US ruling class. On the opposite side, the bourgeoisie attempted, and largely failed, to co-opt the various movements that arose in response to the heightened contradictions within American society: chiefly Occupy and Black Lives Matter. Within these movements a process of radicalization was underway, with people moving both to the left and right (though with BLM chiefly to the left). Unable to deliver on any promises, Obama's failures undermined the political legitimacy of liberalism, which also opened political space for radicalization.

As the crisis of American imperialism deepened, some sections of the US ruling class began to seek solutions beyond even what the far-right had previously proposed. These sections of the ruling class were not convinced about the viability, or profitability, of the current model of American imperialism: many called for a return to isolationism, and even entertained multilateralism, specifically against ISIS in Syria. Trump was their avatar, and this movement (the alt-right) was able to court and unify: i) sections of the US white working class which were still suffering from the fallout of the 2008 economic crisis; ii) an embattled petty-bourgeoisie which felt squeezed by capital but also by demands for equality coming from marginalized peoples; iii) sections of the far-right which had been born out of the Tea Party movement; and iv) neo-reactionaries who had been lying in wait for their opportunity to come out into the open. Trump, now victorious, has the privilege of overseeing the continued decline of American imperialism that, despite overtures towards a less aggressive foreign policy and a renewed domestic policy, appears to be even more volatile (and less competent) internationally while also advancing authoritarian and anti-people policies internal to the US. The crisis within the US ruling class has actually reached the point whereby all

the factions of the US ruling class actively undermine various American institutions, through directly challenging the legitimacy of elections, the utility of the courts, and other fundamental institutions of bourgeois democracy.

Do these same conditions exist in Canada? Not to the same extent as in the US. Canadian imperialism emerged from the 2008 crisis in a stronger position—both absolutely and relative to US imperialism—than it had been beforehand. There has been no crisis of Canadian imperialism to the same extent that there has been in the US. However, in part due to the regional dynamic of Canadian capitalism, there is a profound lack of unity within the Canadian ruling class: hence the enmity shown by the traditional political elites to the Harper Government. As Canadian capitalism continues to decay, it is unclear how these divisions will manifest: already, though, a volatile situation is being created, as Canadian capitalists sit on massive piles of un-invested capital as they struggle to find profitable investment. Below, I've outlined possible openings that the Canadian ruling class could seek to exploit if they decide to pursue more radical solutions, unleashing the forces that gave rise to Trump in the US.

The Conservative Leadership Race

Given the rise of Trump within the Republican Party, the Conservative Party's leadership race is the obvious place to begin if we're looking for parallels to the process that played itself out in the United States. The thirteen candidates vying for leadership of the Conservative Party all have anti-people politics to some degree. However, most do not attempt to mobilize the same white-nationalist,

anti-globalist, and populist politics that propelled Trump to victory. Nearly every candidate has some connection to the Canadian ruling class, having either served as a cabinet minister or as a successful business person. Most of the candidates employ the same Conservative neo-liberal rhetoric and policy packages that we have come to expect from the Conservative Party.

There are, however, notable exceptions. Steven Blaney's campaign slogan is "Canada First", a hyper-nationalist slogan reminiscent of Trump's "America First". Maxime Bernier, the former Minister of Industry and an MP from Québec, pledges to prevent immigration from being used as a tool to change the "cultural character and social fabric" of Canada. Most alarming though is Kellie Leitch, who has proposed screening immigrants for so-called "Canadian values" and is generally positioning herself as being tough-on-crime, socially regressive, and a defender of a "traditional" white Canada. Leitch has even employed populist rhetoric, attacking other candidates as "elites." It is not surprising that after Trump's win, Leitch quickly attempted to hitch her campaign to Trump's trailer by saying that Trump's victory was "exciting" and "needed in Canada." While multiple Conservative leadership candidates lay the ground for the normalization of fascism through their use of racist rhetoric, Leitch takes racist dog-whistling to its furthest extent and combines it with an anti-elite populism. Most concerning is her relative popularity: she has polled quite well, only losing ground in recent weeks after Kevin O'Leary announced his candidacy. Alarmingly, Leitch polls better among non-member supporters of the Conservative Party than she does among members, indicating that her populist posture may be working.



It is worth pointing out here that many on the left are, understandably, concerned with Kevin O'Leary's candidacy. O'Leary is a deplorable human being who has, in the past, suggested numerous proposals which would be detrimental to the lives of millions of working-class Canadians. Furthermore, O'Leary's fame as a reality show star and position as a businessman has drawn numerous comparisons to Trump. However, O'Leary's proposed policies are more-or-less standard-fare neoliberalism: O'Leary is in favour of balanced budgets and fiscal responsibility, thinks that 'greed is good', and has publicly criticized Trump's mobilization of white-nationalism. While O'Leary in a position of power in Canada would be a terrible thing, it would likely be no more terrible than the reality of Canada under Harper or Trudeau.

Kellie Leitch's campaign represents the most dangerous opening for the rise of fascism in Canada. A Conservative Party under her leadership would be a major boon for fascism in Canada, much in the same way that Trump was able to use the Republican Party as a vehicle for fascism in the United States. This has not gone unnoticed by the alt-right, many of whom are encouraging other "deplorables" to help Leitch win.¹ Most alarming is that while O'Leary is the clear front-runner in the campaign, Leitch is not unpopular: a Leitch victory is within the realm of possibility.

The Alt-Right²

Much like in the United States, the Alt-Right is growing in Canada.³ From Internet forums to alternative media to campus-based groups, neo-reactionaries are crawling out from underneath their rocks and slowly engaging in public activity. It is these forces that provide the respectable cover and brain-trusts for fascism: their online activity was instrumental in promoting Trump, and they can play a similar role here in Canada.

The Alt-Right is in many ways more sophisticated than traditional fascist organizations. They articulate a coherent set of politics—generally pro-white working class, anti-cosmopolitanism, populist, anti-feminist, and in favour of some bourgeois rights—and engage seriously with the question of strategy. Many try and incorporate lessons from the left: the Council of European Canadians, for instance, quite consciously articulates its "metapolitical" strategy in the language of Gramsci.⁴ Seeing in Trump the emergence of a mass movement—albeit without a direct corollary in Canada—some sections of the alt-right have begun to encourage their members to be more public and direct in their organizing and propaganda work⁵ so as to create a public presence.

Alongside newer forums, like the r/metacanada subreddit, the alt-right also uses more traditional forms of far-right media (or vice-versa). One here thinks of Ezra Levant's The Rebel Media which has become a favourite

source of the Canadian alt-right, playing a role similar to Breitbart. As the alt-right becomes increasingly mainstream, it will present new openings for a fascist movement in Canada.

As of now, the alt-right in Canada remains unorganized and dispersed. There is nothing indicating that this will always be the case.

"Right Wing Extremists"

So-called "right wing extremists" have operated openly in Canada since at least the 1970s. I include here neo-Nazi and skinhead groups, as well as the KKK. We can also include the more 'respectable' but equally dangerous Soldiers of Odin. Currently there are more "right wing extremists" in Québec than any other province, but they exist across Canada. While they peaked in number and activity in the early 1990s, there has been a recent resurgence, especially as leading members (Kyle McKee for instance) have gotten out of jail.

In many ways "right wing extremists" are the most immediately dangerous forces for the left, especially those doing anti-fascist work. "Right wing extremists" see virtue in violence, frequently forming fight clubs amongst their members as a way of training themselves for combat. Many have connections to biker gangs. They are willing to viciously attack anti-fascists, as we have seen for instance in attacks on comrades in Calgary. However, there are also limits to the organizing capacity of "right wing extremists" even in the absence of attacks from anti-fascists: the lumpen class basis combined with the hyper-violent culture of these groups leads to a high level of membership turnover, with mostly disaffected young men cycling through in 2-3 years while a core of dedicated members remain. Given the focus on strong leadership figures (modeled after the autocratic rule of Hitler) and hyper-masculinity, "right wing extremist" groups are unstable and frequently succumb to infighting.

"Men's Rights" Groups

So-called "men's rights" associations (MRAs), such as the Canadian Association For Equality (CAFE), are virulently misogynistic organizations. In response to demands for an end to patriarchy on behalf of those people facing gender-based oppression, MRAs have risen as a means of (usually white, middle-class) men defending their privileged position in society. MRAs operate on the assumption that men are persecuted as a result of their gender, that feminism is to blame for this persecution and therefore must be combatted. This takes the form of mass organizing (see CAFE's programs in Toronto), online harassment (such as GamerGate) and doxxing, and even physical attacks on feminists such as in Kingston in 2015.

In many ways MRAs pre-dated the alt-right, and provided a recruitment pool for them. As a result there is a

large overlap in membership between MRA and alt-right groups: Janice Fiamengo, a known MRA and member of CAFE at the University of Ottawa, also writes for the Council of European Canadians, for instance. There are however distinctions between MRAs and the alt-right: MRAs are more organized, have a more singular political goal, and have established mass work.

The Doomsday Scenario

Having briefly identified some of the forces in Canada that constitute the nebulous embryo of consolidated fascism, we now turn to the “doomsday scenario”: the scenario that would mark the rise of a consolidated and powerful fascism in Canada.

The alt-right would consolidate around Kellie Leitch. Through a combination of on-the-ground support and Internet promotion they would propel Kellie Leitch to victory in the Conservative leadership race. In the process they would consolidate their own spaces and organization(s), enjoying a spike in popularity akin to the “Trump bump”. Kellie Leitch would act as the public face of the alt-right and would forge an alliance between traditional conservatives and neo-reactionaries, with alt-right politics in command.

Such a political alliance would translate also into extra-parliamentary politics. There would be alt-right and neo-reactionary think tanks (similar to Richard Spencer’s National Policy Institute) and community organizations. The alt-right would become the political force capable of unifying various “right wing extremists” into a single para-military organization, or multiple organizations unified in a broad fascist movement. This would give the alt-right street muscle, and allow them to physically attack their opponents. There would likely be multiple levels of organization with varying degrees of respectability, all with overlapping memberships, and existing in alliance with one another. They would be aided by various white nationalists and right wing extremists who have infiltrated repressive state apparatuses such as the police and military. This level of coordination exists in Finland, where the parliamentary True Finns exist alongside Suomen Sisu (Finnish Pride, or “SS”) and other neo-Nazi groups, and where there is considerable membership overlap between groups despite different public faces and organizational roles.

Such a configuration of fascist forces—a fascist leading a mainstream political party, combined with extra-parliamentary organizations and para-military muscle—would mark the emergence of fascism as a strong political force in Canada. While it does not guarantee that fascism would be successful, it would mark a qualitative shift towards a fascist Canada.

Limits

Despite Canada moving towards the above scenario, there are limits—both subjective and objective—to the emergence of fascism in Canada. First, Canada’s status as a country with two dominant nations (Canadian and Québécois) hampers the ability for the far-right to organize in Canada. It is difficult to consolidate ultra-nationalists from two nations in the same organization: for Canadian nationalists, Québec is indisputably part of Canada whereas for Québécois nationalists it is seen as separate. This is especially important given that far-right Québécois nationalists constitute a large section of the fascist movement in Canada.

Second, while official multi-culturalism is itself a racist ideology which essentializes national “others” and provides openings for reactionary petty-bourgeois leaderships of various national communities in Canada, it has become part of the fabric of Canadian ideology. What this means is that white-nationalism, or other forms of white-supremacist ultra-nationalisms, have a much more difficult time taking root in Canada than they do in other countries.

Third, it may actually be the case that the Canadian ruling class does not desire fascism at this point, and so there will not be any class fractions willing to back Leitch in the Conservative Party leadership race. Furthermore, it may be the case that even if there is a section of the ruling class which backs Leitch, the membership of the Conservative Party as a whole will be more committed to the traditional “respectable” conservative politics than the politics Leitch promotes. The failure of Leitch to gain control of the Conservative Party would be a setback for fascism in Canada, but it would not be the defeat of fascism: it could force fascists to organize themselves outside of mainstream political parties.

Finally, the biggest limit to the rise of fascism in Canada will be mass action on the part of the masses. Fascism cannot govern if the people decide to be ungovernable. It cannot consolidate if its meetings are broken up and if it is given no platform. From this, it stands to reason that the growth of the revolutionary movement (party and mass organizations), and a broad-based anti-fascist movement, are the best defences against the threat of fascism in Canada. Fascism is not inevitable: it can be stopped. But that’s up to us. ★

-Rosso-

¹ <http://www.eurocanadian.ca/2016/12/kellie-leitch-alt-right-candidate-of-canada.html>

² See also the review of *Ctrl-Alt-Delete* included in this issue – the Editors.

³ <http://www.metronews.ca/news/canada/2016/12/05/alt-right-in-canada-can-it-happen-here.html>

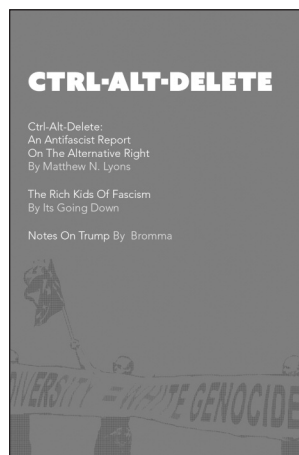
⁴ <http://www.eurocanadian.ca/p/metapolitical-strategy.html>

⁵ <http://www.eurocanadian.ca/2016/11/make-canada-great-again.html>

CTRL-ALT-DELETE:

An Antifascist Report on the Alternative Right

Author: Matthew N. Lyons, *Its Going Down*, K. Kersplebedeb, Bromma
 Publisher: Kersplebedeb Publishing, 2017



Know thy enemy. For any prepared comrade, we understand that this maxim is a key element in planning political action. *Ctrl-Alt-Delete: An Antifascist Report on the Alternative Right* is a must read to arm ourselves in this growing political climate, where white supremacy is openly claiming legitimacy and the left is scrambling to fight against the rising tide of fascism. The book gives shape to the pool of people that flow from the inter-

net to the White House: the Alternative Right, a movement loosely tethered together through the ideological forces of fascism and white supremacy. The book is comprised of four essays that deftly tackle the alt-right, where it came from, how it intervenes and shapes our current political climate, and what it means for the state of the world as we know it.

The first and titular essay, by Matthew N. Lyons, charts the rise of the alt-right, its major ideological currents, and their relationship to Donald Trump. As definitions of the alt-right are often vaporous and difficult to pin down, Lyons' essay does an excellent job of concretizing what is often relegated to Internet subculture. Exploring the alt-right's roots in the Paleoconservative and the European New Right (ENR) movements, Lyons illustrates a tangible history of the alt-right, the fascist movement that often eludes clear identification. Lyons, and other essays throughout the book, note the nebulous identity of the alt-right, a "big-tent culture" where various ideological currents flow in and out. While the alt-right does not hold the organizational capacity to enact mass violence, they can enact what Lyons identifies as a "metapolitical" shift in mass culture, that is, the tolerance and even approval of individualized violence in the name of white supremacy and the growing acceptance of fascism.

The second essay, "The Rich Kids of Fascism: Why the Alt-Right Didn't Start With Trump, and Won't End With Him Either" by comrades from the website *It's Going Down*, picks up where Lyons leaves off--the question of cultural shift

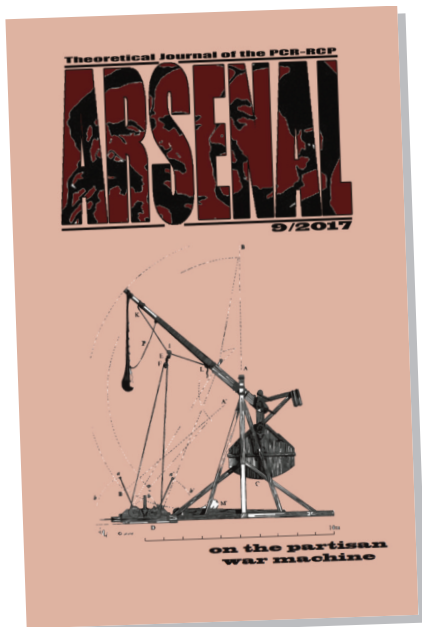
amidst a rising tide of fascism. This essay explores the elitism of the alt-right movement, how they lead a movement of fascist respectability. As the *It's Going Down* comrades note, "the media loves the alt-right because it plays by the rules." As they perceptively note, the alt-right has no political organization in the streets, they don't have the capacity nor the ideological unity, but the alt-right, and in particular its elitist leaders, are excellent at drawing the media's attention. As the comrades of *It's Going Down* conclude, this media attention is also what we can use as a tool to fight them: drag the elitist scum into the mud and keep them there.

The final two essays serve as capstones and contextualizations on the alt-right. Extending the conversation on the alt-right and its ideological currents of white supremacy in the first two essays, the third essay, "Black Genocide and the Alt-Right" by K. Kersplebedeb, reminds us that "there is no such thing as 'white racial purity' or 'white nationalism' without anti-black racism and genocide." The fourth essay, "Notes on Trump" by Bromma, extends a view that, as we witness the clamour for ethno-states desired by the alt-right, we also see a reflection that the cosmopolitan dream of liberals, and of globalization itself, is in decline. Engaging with the discourse of how we shouldn't "normalize" Trump, Bromma brilliantly articulates that white supremacy has been the norm in the United States since its settler-colonial beginnings, and that such language serves to normalize Obama, a president who served monopoly capitalism to his fullest.

While a relatively short book at 108 pages, *Ctrl-Alt-Delete* serves as an important articulation of what the alt-right is and offers some recommendations on how to organize moving forward. As the alt-right hides in the veil of the internet and memes, *Ctrl-Alt-Delete* lifts the veil and exposes the movement for ideology, organizational capacity, and current impact on our political climate. With the rise of fascism in North America, it's a must read to arm ourselves for the fights to come.

-A supporter-





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