

An Investigation into Red-Brown Alliances

Third Positionism, Russia, Ukraine, Syria, and the Western Left

Vagabond

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Contents

On Some Obscure Strains Of Fascism	6
The Feudal Socialists	6
The Maurrassians, the Sorelians and the Birth of Fascism	6
The Dreyfus Affair	6
The Action Française and Charles Maurras	7
Georges Sorel and the Cercle Proudhon	8
The Sorelians and the Italian Fascists	9
The Conservative Revolution	11
The Conservative Revolution Under the Weimar Republic	12
Arthur Moeller van den Bruck	12
Oswald Spengler	13
Karl Haushofer	13
The Conservative Revolution and the Nazis	14
Julius Evola	15
German National Bolshevism	23
Laufenberg and Wolffheim	23
The Treaty of Rapallo	23
Ernst Niekisch	24
The Brownshirts and the Strasserists	26
Ernst Röhm	26
Gregor and Otto Strasser	27
Otto Ernst Remer and the Socialist Reich Party	28
Francis Parker Yockey	34
The European New Right	38
Jean-Francois Thiriart	38
Alain de Benoist	41
Third Positionist Fascism	42
Terza Posizione	43
The International Third Position	43
The Tricolour Flame, Forza Nuova and CasaPound	44
Red-Browns in Russia	44
Russian National Bolshevism	44
The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact	45
Post-Soviet Fascism	46

Aleksandr Dugin	50
Influence on Western Fascists in the Era of Globalization	53
The LaRouche Movement	55
The LaRouchite Cult And Its Ideology	55
The History of LaRouche	56
The Proximity Between LaRouche And The New Right	58
Sergey Glazyev	59
Novorossiia and Crimea	60
Konstantin Malofeyev	60
The Formation of Novorossiia and the Annexation of Crimea	63
The Anti-Orange Committee	66
Boris Kagarlitsky	67
Election Observers from the Far-Right	72
Rodina	74
The Syrian Social Nationalist Party	79
The SSNP, Fascists and Syria	80
Conspiracy Theorists	80
F. William Engdahl and Webster Tarpley	80
Kevin Barrett	82
Thierry Meyssan and the Voltaire Network	82
Michel Chossudovsky and Global Research	86
The SSNP's Networking	87
2011	88
2012	88
2013	89
2014	90
2015	90
2016	91
2017	91
Mussalaha and Mother Agnes Mariam of the Cross	92
Some Strange Stalinist Parties	96
The Workers World Party (WWP)	97
The WWP, Ramsey Clark and LaRouche	98
Cynthia McKinney	99
The Party For Socialism And Liberation (PSL)	101
The Strange Case Of Sputnik Radio	101
The Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO)	112

The Workers’ Party of Belgium	113
Bahar Kimyongür	115
Comité Valmy	117
The Pole of Communist Revival in France	118
Syrian Resistance	119
The WWP and Fascists	120
The RGRP	120
Borotba	121
Novorossiia	123
Chossudovsky	124
Kiyul Chung	124
Caleb Maupin	126
Syria	127
The Anti-Imperialist Camp	128
Querfronts	129
The “Anti-Globalist Resistance”/”Anti-Globalisation Movement of Russia”	130
Western Stalinists Allied With Fascists	134
The Hands Off Syria Coalition	139
Two Shady Books	142
Stephen Gowans	142
Tim Anderson	143
The Syria Solidarity Movement	147
Eva Bartlett	148
Vanessa Beeley	148
Conclusion	151
A Major Leftist Publication And Fascist Entryists	153
The Crisis of the Left	156

This started as an investigation about the Left and Syria which I started after I read the *Sol Process* blog's publication of three posts concerning shady pro-Assad sources used in leftist circles, and which later expanded into a more extensive investigation as well as an internal leftist critique of the Left's present crisis from a radical leftist internationalist and anti-fascist perspective. I also thank the acknowledgement of my blog post by Russia Without BS, whose blog was helpful in the initial stages of my research.

On Some Obscure Strains Of Fascism

I will first provide some historical context by exploring the history of early alliances between revolutionaries and reactionaries and of some lesser known forms of fascism which, unlike the majority of Western fascists who supported the United States' anti-Communism during the Cold War, instead actively supported and rallied around the Soviet Union.

The Feudal Socialists

Alliances between revolutionaries and reactionaries are by themselves nothing new, as already in the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx was criticizing the Feudal Socialists. Alliances between revolutionaries and reactionaries are by themselves nothing new: in 1848 Karl Marx was already criticizing the Feudal Socialists in the Communist Manifesto. The Feudal Socialists were members of the French and English aristocracies who had lost their privileges in the revolutions of 1830 and sought to restore the old aristocratic order by trying to appeal to the working class to attack the bourgeoisie: they presented themselves as protectors of the working class proclaiming that under their rule bourgeois exploitation did not yet exist while at the same time railing against the creation of a revolutionary proletariat which would undo the old order of society completely. The reactionary and aristocratic nature of their movements however meant that they never really gained any mass support. Those who adopted this strategy included a section of the Legitimists, the French royalists who sought a restoration of the *Ancien Régime* and supported the traditionalist House of Bourbon's claim to the throne of France against the then ruling and more liberal House of Orléans.

The Maurrassians, the Sorelians and the Birth of Fascism

The Dreyfus Affair

The Dreyfus Affair was a crisis which erupted under the French Third Republic in 1894 when French army captain Alfred Dreyfus was convicted of allegedly handing over secret French military documents to the German army. Despite evidence exonerating Dreyfus, he was still arrested and court-martialed due to anti-Semitic prejudice against him. Dreyfus was not given a fair trial and was condemned to life imprisonment and dishonorably discharged, with anti-Semitic groups publicizing the affair and the public supporting the conviction.

Dreyfus' family members were the only ones who kept on challenging the verdict and claim he was innocent until evidence surfaced that another army officer was the one who had given these documents to the German army, after which the pro-Dreyfus side gained increasing support and novelist Emile Zola wrote an open letter titled "*J'Accuse!*" (*I Accuse!*) which accused the government and the army of anti-Semitism and covering up the Dreyfus case, for which Zola was convicted of libel against the army and had to flee to England. His article had a profound

impact and divided the France into two camps: the anti-Dreyfusards, comprising the Catholic Church, the army and the right wing who feared the reversal of the verdict would weaken the military establishment, and the Dreyfusards, made up of a coalition of moderate Republicans, Socialists and Radicals.

With the Dreyfusards gaining ground, a document implicating Dreyfus was revealed to be a forgery and Major Hubert-Joseph Henry confessed fabricating it. However the anti-Dreyfusards became a threat to the Republic and the Republican parties formed a coalition and a left-wing cabinet was set up to defend the Republic.

When Dreyfus was found guilty again in 1899, a year after the reopening of the case, the French President instead decided to pardon him, and Dreyfus was eventually freed and exonerated.

The Action Française and Charles Maurras

Among the most extreme nationalist movements of the late 19th century was the *Action Française*, founded in 1899 as part of the anti-Dreyfusard nationalist reaction, and which became dominated soon after by Charles Maurras, under whom it became a far-right neo-monarchist organization. *Action Française* combined support of an Orléanais monarchy based on legitimist principles and corporate representation under a neo-traditionalist state with a radical nationalism into an authoritarian, exclusionary and intolerant ideology called “integral nationalism” conceptualizing the nation as an “organic whole” with the monarch as its head. Despite Maurras’ own agnosticism and interest in spiritualism and magic rather than Christianity, *Action Française* saw religion as a force of order and supported nationalism, tradition and religion, drawing its support from the Catholic public. According to Maurras’ and *Action Française*’s vitriolic intolerant ideology, minorities labelled as the four “States within the State” – Jews, Freemasons, Protestants and Metics – were supposedly taking over society by secretly helping each other to positions of power. *Action Française* acquired a prominent position within the early 20th century nationalist movement in France through a cultivation of style and aesthetics and through an elitist yet at the same time most vitriolic propaganda. The activists of *Action Française*, *Les Camelots du Roi* (the Streethawkers of the King), sold its publications and engaged in street fights against leftists and liberals, and though it has been called the first pre-fascist “shirt movement” of radical nationalism, its upper-class elitist nature means it never sought to properly become an organized party or develop a militia. The *Action Française* was so extreme that the pretender to the throne rejected it and the Papacy later excommunicated Maurras in 1927.

With the outbreak of massive strikes in 1906 following the Courrières mining disaster where French 1109 coal miners died in a coal dust explosion, *Action Française* started involving itself in social issues by forging links with trade unions and cooperating with syndicalists against the Republic. Maurras proclaimed that the solution to the inevitability of class struggle in democracy was the installation of an authoritarian class collaborationist monarchy, and between 1906 and the outbreak of the First World War, *Action Française* collaborated with various syndicalist movements.

Georges Sorel and the Cercle Proudhon

Among Maurras' collaborators was Georges Sorel, who started as an orthodox Marxist in the early 1890s and supported the Dreyfusard camp due to his conviction that socialism was a moral issue, although he later became disillusioned by how the politicians on the Left exploited the affair to join the parliamentary system and access the privileges of bourgeois institutions and came to regard the outcome of the affair as a "political revolution" which had confused class relationships. Sorel's belief of socialism being an ethical issue led him to later go through a process of significant revision of Marxism after supporting Eduard Bernstein's revisionism against Karl Kautsky. Embracing accelerationism with the hope that the development of capitalism would modernize society and encourage class consciousness, Sorel rejected materialism as well as liberal democracy and cooperation with the bourgeoisie and political liberalism in favor of direct action and transforming the proletariat as a whole into a weapon against the liberal order, saw violence as an end in itself and considered that society needed to be saved and regenerated from what he considered as "humanity's tendency to slide towards decadence". Consistent to Sorel's thought, however, was a rejection of bourgeois society and its values of rationalism, the Enlightenment and intellectualism and an embrace of pessimism and a cult of heroic ages and values, and his theory of myths, according to which the masses need myths to mobilize, and Sorel embraced philosopher Henri Bergson's rejection of rationalism in favor of intuition. By the end of this process of revisionism, Sorel had become a revolutionary syndicalist for whom the "myth" of the general strike would mobilize the proletariat to act against the French Third Republic and its bourgeois system.

With the decline of strike activity in 1909 and disappointed by the push for reforms rather than revolution by the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, however, Sorel abandoned socialism and in 1914 he declared that "socialism is dead". The radical nationalist Right was sympathetic to Sorel's anti-liberal, anti-bourgeois and anti-Jacobin but extremely militaristic proletarianism which rejected the principles of the French Revolution, and soon after Sorel read the second edition of the Maurras' book *Enquête Sur La Monarchie (Investigations on Monarchy)* where Sorel was positively mentioned, a collaboration started between him and Maurras' *Action Française* with the aim of overthrowing the bourgeois French Third Republic.

Following the failure of a common project between Sorel, his disciple Édouard Berth and the *Action Française*'s Georges Valois of a national-socialist journal called *La Cité Française*, Valois and Berth founded a National Syndicalist political group called the *Cercle Proudhon (Proudhon Circle)* while Sorel, whom the group claimed as its mentor, refused to participate in the *Cercle* due to his own apprehensions towards the Maurrassians, and instead founded his own anti-Semitic and nationalist journal, *L'Indépendance*. Sorel however became dissatisfied with nationalism, left *L'Indépendance* in 1913 and opposed the *union sacrée* and the entry of France in the First World War in 1914 before later praising Lenin after the Russian Revolution in 1917.

The common theme uniting the Sorelians and the Maurrassians was their opposition to the Enlightenment and the French Revolution and the aim of the *Cercle* was to provide a common platform for nationalists and leftist anti-democrats. The *Cercle Proudhon* had a particular interpretation of the works of Anarchist theorist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, largely due to his influence on syndicalism, but also because *Action Française* itself was attracted to his anti-Semitism and support for the traditional patriarchal family, and their own reinterpretation of his opposition to

bourgeois democracy, even though Proudhon himself was not a fascist or a proto-fascist. Out of the *Cercle Proudhon*, Georges Valois formed the Faisceau, the first French fascist party

The Sorelians and the Italian Fascists

At the same time that Sorel was preparing to launch *La Cité Française*, one of his Sorel's disciples in Italy was Arturo Labriola, who was also one of the main theoreticians of revolutionary syndicalism in Italy and in 1902 had started the publication of a revolutionary syndicalist called *Avanguardia Socialista*, to which contributed Sergio Panunzio, who later became one of the main theoreticians of Italian fascism. Around that time, the revolutionary syndicalists had left the Socialist Party in 1907 and the main socialist trade union, the CGL, in 1909, and founded their own *Unione Sindacale Italiana* (USI), becoming more heterodox in the process. Labriola developed doctrines emphasizing the need of developing a "society of producers" and elaborated his own theory of a "proletarian nation" according to which Italy was an exploited nation and revolutionary transformation concerned all of society instead of class alone. Among the other syndicalist leaders, Panunzio stressed the importance of violence, Robert Michels elaborated on mass mobilization and the need of new elites, and Labriola developed corporatist economic theories. These revolutionary syndicalists had an interpretation of Marxism whereby they advocated for developing Italian capitalism as a prerequisite for a revolutionary movement and were in favor of cross-class collaboration with the farmers and the workers and supported "proletarian nationalism" and Italian expansionism. In 1910, the journal *La Lupa* was founded by revolutionary syndicalist Paolo Orano and, like the *Cercle Proudhon*, united syndicalist leaders such as Orano, Labriola, Angelo Oliviero Olivetti and Michels, and nationalists around Enrico Corradini.

Some of Sorel's Italian disciples even left the Socialist Party to join Italian nationalist Enrico Corradini, who in 1910 founded the Italian Nationalist Association. The Italian Nationalist Association itself was an anti-socialist upper class and elitist organization though, based on the suggestions of the syndicalists close to him, Corradini described Italy as an exploited "proletarian nation" which had to undergo a class collaborationist national revolution which would modernize and strengthen Italy and turn it into a militarist and imperialist power. This process transformed many revolutionary syndicalists into nationalist syndicalists, and many syndicalists and nationalists supported Italy's 1911 war against the Ottoman Empire and its subsequent occupation of Libya. By 1914, the revolutionary syndicalists had significantly revised Marxism and some of its leaders became nationalists who supported Italy's entry in the First World War on the side of the Entente, thus becoming national syndicalists who later counted among the founders of the Italian fascist movement and members of the regime of Mussolini.

The USI itself adopted a neutral stance during the war, and its interventionist national syndicalist wing was put in minority position and subsequently expelled; one of the expelled members, Alceste De Ambris, together with Angelo Oliviero Olivetti in October 1914 co-founded the Revolutionary Fasci of Internationalist Action, which called on Italian workers to support Italian intervention in the war. The next month Benito Mussolini, himself a former syndicalist who had read Sorel before later becoming an anti-Communist nationalist, founded the Autonomous Fasci of Revolutionary Action and started his own publication funded by pro-interventionist business interests, *Il Popolo d'Italia* (The People of Italy) after his expulsion from the Socialist Party for his support of Italian intervention in the war. Olivetti's fascio merged with Mussolini's to form the Fasci of Revolutionary Action in December 1914, whose purpose was to mobilize the masses into

supporting the war, and in 1915 *Il Popolo d'Italia* first referred to it as the “fascist movement”. De Ambris became one of the founders in 1918 of the *Unione Italiana del Lavoro*, a national syndicalist union formed out of the interventionist wing expelled from the USI, and he co-authored the Fascist Manifesto in 1919 before later becoming an opponent of fascism and Mussolini and joining the anti-fascist *Arditi del Popolo*. Michele Bianchi, a former revolutionary syndicalist turned national syndicalist who had helped De Ambris found the *Unione Italiana del Lavoro*, later joined Mussolini and helped him found the Italian Fasci of Combat and the Fascist Party, of which he became the first secretary general, and was one of the leaders of Mussolini’s March on Rome. Sergio Panunzio joined Mussolini’s first fascio, and Paolo Orano and Robert Michels later joined the Fascist Party. The Italian Nationalist Association also later merged into Benito Mussolini’s National Fascist Party and many of its members became important figures of his regime, and within it formed part of the “Fascist Right” faction opposed to the national syndicalist “Fascist Left” faction led by Olivetti, Panunzio and Bianchi.

The Conservative Revolution

As part of the reaction against the Enlightenment arose a movement known as the Conservative Revolution, which traces its origin to Counter-Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his disciples in Germany, who combined cultural criticism and anti-rationalism, and to the denunciation of liberalism and rationalism as “un-German” by nationalists like Johann Fichte and Ernst Arndt. The Conservative Revolution developed in the backdrop of the drastic transformations Germany was experiencing in the 19th century, with Otto von Bismarck’s Unification of Germany and his establishment of a semi-authoritarian system with a weak parliament, with urbanization and the rise of class antagonisms and decline in Christian faith and specifically German culture accompanying the industrialization of Germany, and with Bismarck’s persecution of socialists and Catholics, which resulted in Germans blaming the parliamentary system and its parties for these conflicts, and the spread of the wish for the rise a Caesarist a national hero who would unify German society.

The Conservative Revolution started as a criticism of modernity, with early ambiguous figures such as Friedrich Nietzsche and Fyodor Dostoyevsky having been described as leading early members of this movement. The next generations of the Conservative Revolutionaries’ works however were marked by a fusion of cultural criticism and extreme nationalism, giving rise to an ideology of cultural despair and mystical nationalism which held liberalism as alien to the spirit and tradition of Germany: they attacked materialist capitalist society, castigated the press, the political parties and the new political elites, feared the “moral decay” of the decline of the aristocracy and the rise of the lower classes, and railed against the “spiritual emptiness of life” and the “decline of intellect and virtue” of urban and commercial mass society while at the same time romanticizing earlier rural communities of kings and peasants. The Conservative Revolutionaries adhered to a conspiratorial view of history whereby these ancient folk communities they idealized had been destroyed by a supposed conspiracy of outside forces, with certain early members of the movement like Biblical scholar, racist and anti-Semite Paul de Lagarde assigning a supposed “Jewish identity” to these alleged forces of dissolution.

Unlike the traditional conservatives who sought to preserve the old order, the Conservative Revolutionaries hated the liberal order, which they blamed for turning them into lonely outcasts, combined conservatism with revolutionary ideas and sought to break away from the present they lived in to create a future society based on a past they idealized. The Conservative Revolution was a revolt against modernity and liberal, industrial society and, while it was anti-socialist and anti-Communist, its main target was liberalism, which its ideologues held as alien to German society and equated with secularism, rationalism and humanism, exploitative capitalist society and embourgeoisement, and on which it blamed all the ills of Western society. In contrast to this, the Conservative Revolutionaries posed as defenders of national redemption, supported a return to a folk-community of believers in a new unifying German national religion, and in their quest for national heroism they glorified violence, justifying it by social Darwinism and racism. The Conservative Revolutionaries saw themselves as the guardians of an ancient tradition and,

attacking what they perceived to be the ills of German society, they turned to folk-rootedness and nationalism and intended to become prophets who would lead to a national rebirth through idealist and utopian reforms meant to turn Germany into the prime world power by unifying it and purging it of all internal conflict.

The Conservative Revolution Under the Weimar Republic

The Conservative Revolutionaries initially welcomed the outbreak of the First World War, which they saw as a promising break with the past. Having supported the struggle against the West, which they saw as antithetical to Germany, the Conservative Revolutionaries reviled the liberal capitalist Weimar Republic, which represented everything they opposed, and it was precisely under Weimar Germany that they came to prominence. Though the older generations of the Conservative Revolution had sought to accommodate themselves to the Republic, its younger members who had experienced the war insisted it should be replaced by a dictatorship and either worked with the German far-right seeking to overthrow it or stayed out of the political arena to delegitimize it.

Arthur Moeller van den Bruck

The main figure of the Conservative Revolution in Weimar Germany was Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, according to whom the world consisted of old and young nations, with Fate supporting the young over the old, and whereby he rationalized Germany's defeat in the Great War by claiming that old Britain and France had co-opted the young and gullible United States. Therefore, for him, the future of Germany was eastwards, between the liberal West and collectivist Russia.

Germany's defeat and the German Revolution in which the German Empire was overthrown and replaced by the Weimar Republic gave rise to a sense of alienation and dissatisfaction among the middle classes and former officers among whom Moeller found his audience, and he subsequently animated the June Club, which was founded in 1919 and was based on national socialist and corporatist premises in addition to a strong anti-Westernism which became more pronounced after the Treaty of Versailles (the Club itself was named for the month the treaty was signed). The June Club was of considerable influence within conservative circles, and its meetings were occasionally attended by the future chancellor Heinrich Brüning and the future member of the Nazi party Otto Strasser, and in 1922 Hitler addressed one of Moeller's seminars, though Moeller later described Hitler as "wrecked by his proletarian primitivism" after the failure of the Beer Hall Putsch. The Club published a journal called *Gewissen (Conscience)* which lamented the decline of Germany, showed concern for the German diaspora, criticized party politics and advocated for replacing the Republic by a dictatorship.

The most influential of Moeller's publications was *Das Dritte Reich (The Third Reich)*, published in 1922 and in which Moeller summarized the resentments and aspirations of the Conservative Revolutionaries and laid down the vision of a conservative revolution which would establish a system of nationalist "socialism" uniting the classes in Germany into state he called the Third Reich, which constituted one of the most powerful anti-Republican ideas under the Weimar Republic. Moeller however had a nervous breakdown and committed suicide in 1925. Moeller's myth of the Third Reich was appropriated by the Nazis though they later repudiated him in

1933 and denied he had had any influence on them, largely because Moeller himself was not an anti-Semite.

Oswald Spengler

Oswald Spengler was another major figure of the Conservative Revolution. An opponent of liberal democracy, which he considered a “foreign concept” imported from England, he first published his magnum opus, *The Decline of the West*, in 1918 where he laid down his deterministic understanding of history according to which cultures develop like organisms which grow, develop, age and die, with their final stage of decline and death being when they become “civilizations”. According to his thesis, the transition from a “culture” to a “civilization” was marked by the appearance of rationalists such as Rousseau, Socrates and the Buddha, the decline of the culture-bearing elites and their replacement by the bourgeoisie, and accompanied itself by mass democracy, wars, expansionism and Caesarism: authoritarian rulers like Caesar or Augustus. For Spengler, the 19th and 20th centuries were when Europe declined from a “culture” into a “civilization”, with Napoleon being an equivalent of Alexander the Great who foreshadowed the age of Caesarism. *The Decline of the West* was a best-seller, largely because it comforted Germans by rationalizing the hardships of Germany as part of larger historical processes, though Moeller criticized it by claiming that, while Spengler had rightly predicted the decline of the West, Germany’s defeat had instead restored the promise of vitality.

The next year Spengler published *Prussianism and Socialism* with the aim of uniting German socialists and conservatives against the Weimar Republic, and in which he rejected Marxism as an “English ideology” and instead asserted a corporatist, nationalist and militarist “socialism” under the authority of a monarchical and authoritarian Prussian state inspired by the “Soldier King” Frederick William I of Prussia. The second volume of *The Decline of the West* was published in 1922, and in 1931, he wrote *Man and Technics*, where claimed that “colored peoples” gaining access to “Western technology” would turn it against “Nordic peoples”.

Spengler was a precursor of the Nazi regime and Hitler adopted much of the apocalyptic tone of *The Decline of the West*. However, while Spengler had initially voted for Hitler over Paul von Hindenburg in 1932, quickly became disillusioned and found Hitler vulgar, and he consequently faced isolation under the Nazi regime for his rejection of anti-Semitism and of racialist theories (Spengler instead adhered to a form of spiritual racism) and his criticisms of the Nazis.

Karl Haushofer

Another prominent member of the Conservative Revolution was Karl Haushofer, one of the leading theoreticians of “geopolitics”, a theory of international relations developed by Friedrich Ratzel and Halford Mackinder, and which conceived relations between states in terms of social Darwinist competition according to which whoever controlled the area dominated by the Russian Empire would be the major world power. Haushofer had been a military attaché to Japan following the latter’s victory against the Russian Empire in 1905, a victory which inspired anti-colonial nationalists around the world and led to the Russian Revolution of 1905 which was itself a prelude to the Revolution of 1917. After serving in the German Army in the First World War, Haushofer became an advocate of an alliance between Germany and Russia, and eventually with China and Japan. Unlike the Nazis who preferred Western colonialism and white supremacist domination

of the Third World, Haushofer instead advocated for German support for anti-colonial struggles against the British and French Empires. Haushofer however exerted influence on the Nazi party, especially through his pupil Rudolf Hess, and Hitler absorbed the concept of *Lebensraum* from Haushofer, though in a vulgarized pseudo-scientific form where Nazi racialism was combined with an expansionist category of space and the idea that the destiny of Germany was in the East. Karl Haushofer kept on providing rationalizations for Nazi expansionism, though he eventually became disillusioned with the Nazi regime. Haushofer never became a full-fledged Nazi, partly because his wife was half-Jewish, which made his task of justifying Germany's expansion distasteful for him. Haushofer also differed from official Nazi policy in his firm belief that peace with Britain should be important for German policy, which inspired Hess's failed attempt to negotiate with Britain. His son Albrecht was involved in the German resistance and participated in the failed attempt to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944, and Karl and his wife committed suicide after being investigated for war crimes after the war.

Other figures of the Conservative Revolution included Carl Schmitt, who rejected parliamentary democracy, elaborated legal theories resting on the idea that modern societies needed a "total state" to function and identified politics as the distinction between a "friend" and an "enemy", and Edgar Jung, who supported a fascist version of the Conservative Revolution envisioning an "organic German nation".

The Conservative Revolution and the Nazis

Shortly before Moeller's suicide, June Club itself was dissolved and transformed into the more aristocratic *Herrenklub* (which Moeller had refused to join), which sponsored a journal called *Der Ring*, the direct successor of the then defunct *Gewissen*. The Conservative Revolutionaries' influence was initially limited mostly to sections of the Republic's institutions such as former members of the German Youth Movement (which was itself part of the Conservative Revolution) who had joined the civil service and the government in large numbers. These ideas also became widespread within the *Reichswehr*, the newly formed army of Weimar Republic, under the leadership of the chief of staff and later commander in chief Hans von Seeckt who was himself close to Conservative Revolutionary ideas, and which many former *Freikorps* members who shared ideas similar to those of the Conservative Revolutionaries had joined. However, with the Great Depression, their ideas gained traction within German society and *Der Ring* hailed the undermining of the parliament by the succeeding Chancellors Heinrich Brüning, Franz von Papen (who had himself been a member of the *Herrenklub* and whose presidential cabinet was hailed as the culmination of the Conservative Revolution by *Der Ring*) and Kurt von Schleicher.

The Conservative Revolution itself was ambivalent towards the Nazis in that, while its members supported many aspects of Nazi ideology and welcomed its rise, they were elitists with a contempt for the masses reserving their ideas to an esoteric minority circle, and therefore saw themselves as paving the way for the creation of a "new Germany" in which they did not see a role for the Nazis, which they considered a vulgar mass movement and disliked those who joined it. Unlike the Nazis, the Conservative Revolutionaries expressed support for an alliance with the Soviet Union based on their own idea of a romantic and anti-capitalist "German socialism" (unlike Soviet socialism where the proletariat is the revolutionary element, their "German socialism" considered the "deeply revolutionary *Völk*" as its base), did not write about biological racism (though other forms of racism are present in their works), and eschewed the use of the

Republic's institutions to obtain power. During the last days of the Weimar Republic, this ambivalence manifested itself in how they were torn between opposing the Nazis, which meant supporting the Republic they despised, or siding against the Republic by supporting the Nazis, with whom they still had their differences despite shared similarities: while they welcomed the rise of the Nazis due to their shared reactionary ideals, they disliked the mass character of the Nazi movement

The attacks by the Conservative Revolutionaries on the Weimar Republic and its culture along with their spread of Caesarism and of a "sentimental brutality" shaped the mental and ideological climate that set the stage for the Nazis by making the German middle classes more receptive to Nazi ideology and paved the way for their rise: the Nazis gathered the millions of malcontents about whom the Conservative Revolutionaries had spoken and for whom they elaborated dangerous and elusive ideas. Many Conservative Revolutionaries welcomed Hitler's rise as the way to fulfill their goal, and *Der Ring* supported Hitler's Third Reich by identifying it with Moeller's. Some Conservative Revolutionaries joined the Nazis, the most prominent example being Carl Schmitt, who went on to join the Nazi party in 1933 and become the "crown jurist" of the Nazi regime, writing the legal justification for Hitler's massacre of the Nazi party's Strasserist wing in the Night of the Long Knives, and later formulating the concept of *Grossraum*, which denotes an area dominated by a power representing a specific "political idea", inspired by the American Monroe doctrine and based on international law to justify Hitler's expansionism. Edgar Jung became an opponent of the Nazi regime and was murdered during the Night of the Long Knives, while other Conservative Revolutionaries opposed to the Nazis went into exile and some Conservative Revolutionaries participated in the failed attempt to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944.

Julius Evola

Julius Evola was born to an aristocratic family of Sicilian origins in Rome in 1898, and in his teens had been interested in Italy's literary avant-garde movement and in Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's Futurist movement in art. Evola participated in the First World War in his late teens before embarking on a quest for self-transcendence to break with bourgeois values, symptomatic of the "lost generation" which had experienced the First World War and could not adjust to settled civilian life.

After the war he dismissed Futurism as loud and showy and he instead became a member of the Dada artistic movement and gave readings of avant-garde poetry before giving up on painting due to the commercialization of avant-garde. He became influenced by German idealist philosophers such as Schopenhauer and Hegel and by Nietzsche and the Conservative Revolutionaries, and he indulged himself in "transrational" philosophy and published a number of works of "philosophical idealism", according to which an "absolute individual" who had "achieved complete control over himself through wisdom" could easily eliminate the limits of the "real world". Evola subsequently immersed himself in the study of magic, the occult, alchemy and Eastern religions, and especially the Indian esoteric tradition of Tantrism, which complemented Western idealism in his quest for self-transcendence, and Evola perceived its secrecy and "elitism" as negating Western rationalism and democracy, in accordance to his anti-democratic and anti-modernist political thought rooted in his readings of Plato, Nietzsche and Oswald Spengler, whose *The Decline of the West* Evola later translated into Italian.

Having immersed himself in the study of Western esoteric tradition in the 1920s, he met a Roman occultist named Arturo Reghini through Masonic and Theosophical circles. Reghini, who was devoted to renewing classical tradition in a fiercely pagan and anti-Christian spirit, was himself immersed in magic, alchemy and theurgy, and he edited two journals, *Atanòr* and *Ignis*, which covered initiate studies such as Pythagoreanism, yoga, Kabbalah and Egyptian Freemasonry. Reghini strongly influenced Evola in the years from 1924 to 1930, introducing him to traditional texts of alchemy, whose symbolism they regarded as universal key to the macrocosm of the universe and microcosm of man, and many articles and reviews by Evola were published in Reghini's journal. Reghini and Evola considered the Roman patrician world and the imperial constitution to be the closest approximation to their ideal state and considered its strict hierarchy to represent a "higher, transcendental, absolute order", which they believed the universalism of Christianity had allegedly negated and dissolved, supposedly presaging the "disorder of the modern world".

A circle formed around Evola and Reghini, and in 1927 Evola founded the Group of Ur, an association of Italian intellectuals dedicated to studying the "esoteric and initiate disciplines with seriousness and rigor". The Group of Ur published a monthly journal named *Ur* (renamed *Krur* in 1929) from 1927 to 1929, and Evola's three-year affiliation with this group earned him a lifelong reputation of a theosophist crackpot, though Evola himself rejected theosophy as a "degenerate caricature of ancient wisdom". Reghini, in a 1924 article in *Atanòr*, wrote that he had fifteen years earlier predicted the rise of a regime based on the ancient world and he had welcomed the rise of Fascism, and the Group of Ur performed rituals to inspire the fascist regime with the spirit of the Roman Empire.

Through Reghini, Evola came under the influence of René Guénon, a French orientalist and traditionalist who invoked the notion of a primordial Tradition which supposedly reflected itself in the "authentic religious traditions" of the East and West. Guénon was an occultist who was interested in Theosophy and Freemasonry and more especially in the Hindu philosophy of Advaita Vedanta, which was then becoming popular in the West through Vivekananda. Guénon believed that Hindu Vedanta represented a "primordial Tradition" whose transcendent truths were also preserved in Islam and medieval Catholicism, and that the modern West had supposedly lost all connection with this tradition. According to Guénon's book written in 1927, *The Crisis of the Modern World*, the West had "succumbed to a spiritual decline", embraced materialization, and become focused on a "humanistic" concern of man's importance and consciousness which allegedly replaced all transcendence with individualism. For Guénon, this was the fulfillment of the Hindu Puranic divisions of time, the four *yugas*, each successively shorter than the previous one and corresponding to the Golden, Silver, Bronze and Iron Ages of Classical Greek tradition, with the present age supposedly being the "Dark Age" or Kali Yuga. Evola was subsequently inspired by Guénon into organizing his thoughts around the central concept of the critique of modernity.

Beginning in 1925, Evola started writing political journalism with the goal of transforming fascism to fit his own ideas of spiritual aristocracy and monarchy by attacking the fascist regime for its proximity to the Church, its functionaries' careerism and its dependence on the bourgeoisie and the masses. These attacks resulted in the publication in 1928 of his book *Pagan Imperialism*, in which he celebrated ancient Rome and condemned the Church and the universalism of both American democracy and Soviet Communism, and that same year he declared that the identification of Italian tradition with the Christian and Catholic Church was "the most absurd of all errors". Mussolini was impressed and wrote an article in response to Reghini's requests for the

fascist regime to initiate an era of “pagan imperialism”. The regime’s goal of a Concordat with the Catholic Church and the Lateran Treaty of 1929 however destroyed the Group of Ur’s hopes of influencing the new order and Evola declared fascism a “laughable revolution”.

In 1930, Evola founded a review named *Torre* to advocate for an elitist conservatism in opposition to what he denounced as the demagogic tendencies of official fascism. Fanatical anti-Semite Giovanni Preziosi admired *Torre* and introduced Evola to Roberto Farinacci, the local fascist chief in Cremona as well as one of the most prominent anti-Semites in Mussolini’s regime, and who later became one of the main pro-Nazi figures in fascist Italy. While Farinacci and the more radical fascists supported Evola’s calls for a “more radical, more intrepid, truly absolute fascism”, Mussolini instead did not tolerate this opposition, suppressed *Torre* and subjected its staff to a character assassination campaign, and Evola had to maintain a group of bodyguards, and *Torre* had died out by June 1930.

In 1934, Evola wrote *The Revolt Against the Modern World*, heavily influenced by René Guénon. Like Guénon, Evola believed in the Hindu cycle of ages and equated the modern world to the Kali Yuga, or “Dark Age”, and according to *The Revolt Against the Modern World* the West had experienced “a decline” from “higher spiritual values” to materialism, the rise of which Evola held responsible for liberalism, democracy, egalitarianism and democracy, all of which he considered evil, and he labeled Communism and capitalism as “twin evils” resulting from the replacement of the spiritual by the material. He condemned this “modern decadence” on the Renaissance, Humanism the Reformation and especially the French Revolution and considered this “decadence” to have started with the formation of the medieval Communes in Italy, which he saw as the “pioneers” of the “profane and anti-traditional idea of society based on economic and mercantile factors”. He instead applauded the poet Dante’s condemnation of the revolt of the cities of northern Italy, considered the Ghibelline dynasty of the Hohenstaufen emperors (which ruled from 1152 to 1272) as the “Germanic champion” of “sacred regality” in a revived Holy Roman Empire and praised Emperor Frederick I as having affirmed “the supranational and sacred principle” of empire against the “anarchy of the Communes”. Evola considered the rise of the Communes to be a preview of the French Revolution and blamed their revolt against the Holy Roman Empire for having destroyed the “organic unity” of Italy by starting a long period of instability and civil wars while Spain, England and France were emerging from the Middle Ages under strong national monarchies. In contrast, he appealed to the ancient pagan societies of Rome and Sparta and their patriarchal warrior culture, condemned the ancient Greek and Roman intellectuals for “causing the decline of traditional values” through their questioning, and claimed that a supposed need for a “spiritual virility” consisting of hierarchy, caste, monarchy, race, myth, religion and ritual constituted a “fundamental truth” of men and society. In Evola’s worldview, the world of tradition had been the victim of the process of modernization of Europe spearheaded by Italy, and the loss of this “spiritual virility” supposedly meant Man’s retreat from cosmos to chaos, the inability to create order and the disintegration of Europe.

Around the time of the publication of *The Revolt Against the Modern World*, Evola soon revived the idea of *Torre* in Farinacci’s own fascist publication, *Regime Fascista*. Evola edited a page in *Regime Fascista* where prominent right-wing intellectuals contributed discussions on fascist “philosophy”, and René Guénon allowed the publication of excerpts and translations of his works in *Regime Fascista*. Evola himself called on the fascist regime to adopt a more aggressive and imperialist foreign policy on this page, and on the eve of Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, he advised Mussolini to transform Italy into a “warrior nation” that would “appreciate and admire”

the “sacred valor of war”. Evola became Farinacci’s candidate to succeed Giovanni Gentile as the philosopher of true fascism, though this succession never happened. Evola’s relationship with *Regime Fascista* however continued until the collapse of the Fascist regime in 1943.

Evola had however always refused to join the Fascist Party even though he had up to a point seen fascism as a “cure” for the supposed “ailments” he believed had allegedly been “caused by American capitalism and Soviet Communism”, and his relationship with Italian fascism was complicated. For him, the “greatest merit” of fascism was “to have revitalized in Italy the idea of a State” and he approved of the fascist motto of “Everything within the State, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state”, in accordance to his belief that “Man must belong to a traditional, organic and hierarchical order”. Evola saw Mussolini as working towards this direction through his replacement of parliamentary democracy by fascist corporatism and by imposing a culture of discipline against the “bourgeois spirit” (Evola considered the “glory” of fascism to be its war on the behalf of “Roman ideals” against the “bourgeois race”). He however disapproved of the fascist regime’s bureaucratic centralism and its alliance with the Catholic Church, of the fascist party’s sidelining of the aristocracy and the monarchy and Mussolini becoming a rival of the king instead of his loyal counselor and forming a traditional state, and thought the Fascist Party should have been merged into the state after Mussolini seizure of power instead of existing as a parallel state.

Evola found Italian fascism to be too compromising and from the mid-30s onward he spent time in Germany, where he felt “in his natural element” and where his books were successful among right-wing German intellectuals. In his view, fascism had “attained its most sublime form” in Germany because right-wing thinkers such as leading Conservative Revolutionaries had been taken seriously by the Nazis. Evola himself became popular in those circles after he started lecturing at the University of Berlin and the city’s *Herrenklub* from 1934, with his articles being published in German right-wing and conservative periodicals from 1928 to 1943, and he sought to create an elite organization similar to the *Herrenklub* in Rome. Evola admired Hitler far more than Mussolini, and he admired the Nazi SS, considered them to be a vehicle of the state, hierarchy, “racial heritage” and a revival of ancient pagan warrior elites and he compared them more favorably to the *Moschettieri di Mussolini*, though the SS rejected Evola’s ideas as supranational, aristocratic and reactionary. What he liked most about Nazi Germany was the regime’s “attempt to create a kind of new political-military Order with precise qualifications of race”, though he disliked Nazi populism, plebeian culture and nationalism as manifestations of modernity, and considered the *Führer* principle by which Hitler derived his legitimacy from the *Völk* as ignoring transcendent reality

Evola was a racist, though he rejected the biological racism of the Nazis, which he saw as “based on reductionist and materialist science”, and he instead adhered to a spiritual conception of racism where he considered race as not solely biological, but subject to spirit and tradition, with his conception of “race” being divided into body, mind (religion and adherence to tradition) and soul (character and emotions), and he asserted that races only declined when their spirit failed. Evola’s interpretation of the word “Aryan” was similarly metaphysical and in his book on Buddhism he translated *arya* to mean “aristocratic” or “high caste” and “illuminated” as well as related to the populations who migrated into northern India at the end of the Bronze Age, and whom now discredited white supremacist theories then claimed were “light-skinned Nordic invaders”. Evola was a virulent anti-Semite, and he quoted the notorious anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, to accuse the “Jewish press and finance” of spreading the

“liberal virus” which would supposedly destroy all remnants of monarchy and aristocracy, and he published his own preface and an essay in the Italian translation of the *Protocols*. When his friend, Romanian fascist and Iron Guard founder and leader Corneliu Codreanu, was murdered in 1938, Evola responded with the vilest anti-Semitic tirades.

In his book written in 1941, *The Synthesis of the Doctrine of Race*, Evola expressed his anti-Semitism by accusing Jewish culture of possessing a “corrosive irony” which according to him had allegedly “affected Europe” and by blaming Jewish intellectuals for “demolishing the foundations of Europe’s traditional culture”. Evola however saw the Nazi musings on race as polemicism and expediency and he considered their conspiratorial view of history as a “demagogic aberration”: he instead believed that racism could have “positive results” if interpreted in Nietzschean terms of spirit instead of biological terms of blood. Likewise, his anti-Semitism instead was metaphysical and he saw Jewish people as a “symbol for the rule of money, individualism and economic materialism in the modern world”. Evola denigrated Judaism as having “degenerated into a secular ethic of professional advancement and mammonism”, and he accused Jews of supposedly “poisoning, debasing and soiling all that is high and noble”. Instead of the Nazis’ anti-Semitic conspiracy theories which accused Jews of being the source of the “decadence” of the modern world, Evola’s own anti-Semitism consisted of him accusing Jewish people of supposedly “taking advantage” of humanism, the Reformation and the rise of rationalism to allegedly “rise to lofty heights of power and influence in the modern world” and “subvert ‘Aryan’ spirituality” and “create the secularized scientific and mechanistic world of modernity”: he described banking and rational calculation in early Europe as “fatal Jewish influence” and claimed that the presence of individuals who happened to be Jewish in both the Russian Revolution and American banking and industry was “evidence” of “erosive influence”. Evola’s anti-Semitism also took the form of him citing the Jewish backgrounds of Sigmund Freud (the founder of psychoanalysis), Albert Einstein (the developer of the Theory of Relativity), Karl Marx (the theoretician of Historical Materialism), and Émile Durkheim (the architect of social science) to accuse Jews of allegedly being “at the forefront of modernistic ideas” and of supposedly “denigrating lofty ideas by ascribing every human motive to economic and sexual motives”.

Another manifestation of Evola’s racism was that he asserted that in Italy “Nordic elements” coexisted in perpetual anarchy with “African” and “Mediterranean” elements, and he claimed that this was an “absence of psychic equilibrium” which supposedly “explained” the “complex, creative and infuriating history of the Italian people”, and Evola’s writings provided a theory of “Nordic *Romanità*” to Mussolini, who since 1921 had been trying to create a “new type breed of man in Italy” by “introducing a higher civic consciousness” among Italians. Evola believed in the existence of “inferior peoples” and he advocated for the imposition of social Darwinism on all areas which later came to be known as the Third World by claiming that some “races” supposedly possessed an alleged “dominant character” and that some others were allegedly “intended by nature to be slaves”, and his remarks about the Ethiopians, who were later terrorized and colonized by Fascist Italy, showed how his views concurred with Mussolini’s fascist imperialism. Evola supported the fascist regime’s attempt to create “a race imbued with a traditional and anti-materialistic conception of human nature”, though he was disappointed by how the fascist regime did not realize this goal and he complained that Mussolini failed in his plan to “improve the race”.

From as early as 1935, Mussolini had already admired Evola’s articles on race and his Fascist regime officially adopted Evola’s ideas when Italy enacted its own racial laws in 1938, and Mus-

solini was impressed by *The Synthesis of the Doctrine of Race*, with a subsequent printing carrying the title *The Synthesis of the Fascist Doctrine of Race*; when Mussolini finally met Evola in September 1941, he promised to support Evola's German-Italian journal, *Blood and Spirit*, though by then the Italian fascist regime was already losing the Second World War and *Blood and Spirit* never appeared. Until 1941 Evola had been hoping that the process of "fascistization" would "correct the manifold defects" of the Italian people though, after the Fascist Grand Council overthrew and arrested Mussolini in 1943 and the outbreak of the Italian Civil War opposing the Communist Italian Resistance to the fascists, he declared that "a damaged and inconsistent human component" had been hidden under the facade of fascism and that "it was not fascism that acted negatively on the Italian people" but that it was the Italian "race" which had "acted negatively on fascism", and he lamented that the Italians had not fought "until the end without a lament and without a rebellion" unlike the Germans who "fought on" because of their supposed "love of discipline".

Evola was in Berlin when Italy officially surrendered to the Allies in September 1943, and he was among the first to meet Mussolini in Hitler's lair after the Waffen-SS officer Otto Skorzeny had freed him from imprisonment. He subsequently participated in the creation of the fascist Republic of Salò, and in September 1943 he returned to Rome with Farinacci and started organizing a far-right group called Movimento per la Rinascita dell'Italia. Evola however disapproved of the pseudo-egalitarianism of Mussolini's new government and of the Congress of Verona, held in November of that year, where the Italian fascist movement was reconstituted. When Rome was liberated by the Allies in June 1944, Julius Evola fled to Vienna where he sought to assist the Nazis by working with fascist leaders all over Central Europe and acting as liaison for the SS as Nazi Germany tried forming a "European army" against the United States and the Soviet Union. He was injured during an aerial bombardment of Vienna, his wounds forcing him to remain in Austria until the war was over and paralyzing him from the waist down and forcing him to remain in a wheelchair for the rest of his life.

Following the war, Evola returned to Italy, though he regarded its liberation by the Allies as an "unmitigated disaster" which would lead Italy to embrace liberalism. He was however popular among young Italian neo-fascists, largely because his reputation had not been ruined by the war. Though Evola rejected participation in party politics, rejecting even the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), Europe's first neo-fascist party founded by veterans of Mussolini's Republic of Salò he had once helped create, he was however influential among the Italian neo-fascist Right, especially among the more radical sections of the MSI which formed an *evoliani* faction within the MSI led by Pino Rauti, himself a disciple of Evola. In the 40s, Evola guided this faction towards more reactionary positions through his writings in *La Rivolta Ideale*, the journal of the MSI, and later through his pamphlet titled *Orientamenti (Orientations)*, written in 1950. Giuliano Salierni, a young MSI activist in the 40s and early 50s, later recalled how he and other young MSI members visited Evola to listen to his accounts of working with the Nazis and his calls for violence against Communists.

In *Orientamenti*, Evola described Europe as "afflicted" by the same condition as Italy's for centuries whereby it had become weakened and "dominated by stronger outside powers": for him, the French and Spanish invasions of Italy of the 15th and 16th centuries had caused a "moral devastation" in Italy and left it disoriented, and he claimed that its 20th century analogue was the domination of Europe by the US and the USSR. In *Orientamenti*, Evola called for the "European man" to "rise again" by embracing an "aristocratic conception of life" to renew himself spiritually, and for his "brothers in the new battle array" to see capitalism and Bolshevism as "degrees

of the same illness” and the US and the USSR as “two branches of the same evil”. In *Orientamenti*, Evola stressed the “warrior ethic” and “legionary spirit” and outlined how ideals, elites and order could be maintained with the MSI, the police and the army taking over the state. He however warned his followers against subversion, on grounds that it would not work and would condemn the “aristocratic revolution” to failure, and instead advised them to “prepare silently the spiritual ambience” form when a new form of authority would form and to “advance with pure force when the moment strikes”.

In 1951 Evola and twenty neo-fascists were arrested and tried for attempting to revive the Fascist Party, which is illegal in Italy’s post-war constitution. Evola was also accused of being the inspirer of the Fasci of Revolutionary Action, a violent shadow organization of the MSI which carried out the far-right’s strategy of tension through indiscriminate bombings and aggression against Communists. Evola defended himself by claiming that he could not be held responsible for how his books were interpreted and the case against him came to nothing since he had never been an official member of the Facist Party or of neo-fascist organizations, and he continued agitating for far-right causes and remained the guru of the neo-fascist Right in Italy until his death in 1974.

While remaining an independent intellectual, Evola was still influential among Italian neo-fascists whose members described themselves as the “generation of 1945”, hailed Evola as a “celestial warrior” and were opposed to both American capitalism and Soviet Communism. In 1956, he wrote *Men Among the Ruins* for this new generation of neo-fascists, with an introduction by Junio Valerio Borghese, a veteran of Mussolini’s fascist regime and one of the most influential figures of Italy’s post-war neo-fascist Right. In *Men Among the Ruins*, he argued that the task of the Right in the post-war years was a counter-revolution, or, more accurately, a “conservative revolution”, which consisted, politically, of outmaneuvering the Christian Democratic Party (DC) and the Italian Communist Party (PCI), who for him respectively represented American capitalism and Soviet Communism, and, ideologically (and by borrowing from Marxist Antonio Gramsci’s ideas on cultural hegemony and counter-hegemony), of forming a counter-hegemony against the DC and the PCI (which he considered the hegemonic forces in Italy) which would be led by a minority elite of reactionary “supermen” adhering to an anti-bourgeois, warrior view of life. However he held that mainstream Italian conservatives had “played into the hands of the Left” by attaching themselves to the capitalist order and that his revolution should not be based on bourgeois sociopolitical structures, but on the the state and “values and interests of a superior character” which transcend the economy.

However, with post-war capitalist growth and consumerism sweeping away the remnants of tradition, hierarchy and order, Evola had given up on these means and his 1961 book, *Riding the Tiger*, was more pessimistic. For him, feminism and women’s liberation, the progress of modernity and liberty, and the spread of drugs, sex and alcohol meant that the world had “entered the final period of Kali Yuga” and nothing of it was worth salvaging, and his solution for this was for the West to retrace its steps and turn to spirituality through an anti-modern and traditional philosophy. Evola’s recommendations to his disciples was to withdraw from the politics of nation-states: he identified with aristocrats like Bismarck and, like Bismarck who considered nationalism to be a dangerous modern development, he was distrustful of nationalism, which in the aftermath of the French Revolution had been used by the then Left to defeat the aristocratic order and was still a revolutionary force in the form of Third World anti-colonial struggles in the 60s. Instead, he thought that a “new European order” would arise from the remains of the Sec-

ond World War: he called for a cooperation between the the European reactionary elites against American and Soviet occupation of Europe modeled on the international volunteers who had joined the Waffen-SS, who for him were reminiscent of the Order of Teutonic Knights, and he was encouraged by the emergence all across post-war Europe of neo-fascist organizations, whom he encouraged into a total way against the Left and the Center in a “revolutionary struggle” to restore Tradition.

Evola’s influence among Italian neo-fascists in the 60s was even stronger than it had been in the 50s. Evola became the figurehead of counter-revolution among the generation of 1968 and Giorgio Almirante, the leader of the MSI, called Evola “our Marcuse – only better”, in reference to the status of the Frankfurt School philosopher Herbert Marcuse as figurehead of the 1968 student movements and of the New Left. In the late 60s, many of Evola’s books were reissued and prominent neo-fascist leaders in the early 70s called him the “intellectual hero” of the militant neo-fascist movement in Italy and considered *Riding the Tiger* as its “breviary”. Evola was against accommodation with the liberal order, instead advocating for violence (Evola was fascinated by and agreed with Georges Sorel’s theories of violence), organizing the right-wing into a fighting force, calling on his followers to become “spiritual warriors” who would overthrow the liberal order through a “holy war” to establish a “metaphysical Regnum” and a “solar civilization” and declaring that, “It is not a question of contesting and polemicizing, but of blowing up everything”. The strategy of tension of neo-fascists in Italy escalated around this time, starting with the Piazza Fontana bombing in Milan in 1969, which was one of the early episodes which marked the beginning of two decades of turmoil in Italy known as the Years of Lead, with numerous violent neo-fascists throughout this period using Evola’s works as inspiration. Evola, who had advocated a radical doctrine of anti-egalitarianism, anti-democracy, anti-liberalism and anti-Semitism, was the prime thinker of the Italian extra-parliamentary neo-fascist Right throughout the thirty years prior to his death in 1974.

German National Bolshevism

Laufenberg and Wolffheim

The very first National-Bolsheviks were Heinrich Laufenberg, a former member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) who had been President of the Council of the Workers and Soldiers in Hamburg during the German Revolution, and Fritz Wolffheim, an ex-member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) who was then living in Hamburg, and who were both leaders of the Hamburg branch of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) during the 1910s. In 1919 they submitted to Karl Radek their policy of having the working class ally with the bourgeoisie into a nationalist dictatorship of the proletariat which would fight a national liberation war (a position which would strangely be adopted by various Marxist-Leninist and Maoist groups in the late 20th century) against the Entente powers occupying Germany following WWI. Laufenberg's and Wolffheim's proposal was rejected by Radek and labelled as an absurdity by Vladimir Lenin himself, and they were soon expelled from the KPD. Laufenberg and Wolffheim later helped the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD), but were soon expelled from it as well because of their National Bolshevism, their expulsion being Radek's condition for admitting the KAPD to the Third Congress of the Comintern.

The Treaty of Rapallo

Prussia, which then formed the core of Germany, had long looked towards Russia according to the long military tradition of its General Staff, which had considered Russia to be a natural ally from the reign of Frederick the Great in the 18th century onward, with several royal weddings having united the Prussian and Russian monarchies, and this alliance being later stressed again when the Tsar supported Prussia against Napoleon in the early 19th century. Bismarck, who had unified Germany, insisted that Prussia must align with Russia, who was Germany's closest and mineral-rich neighbor, and Germany and Russia entertained strong trade relations due to Russia's need for German goods and Germany's need for raw materials from mineral-rich Russia from Bismarck's days until the First World War.

Following Germany's defeat in the First World War, the Weimar Republic sought to circumvent the limitations on the Prussian-dominated *Reichswehr* imposed by the Treaty of Versailles through secret military collaboration whereby illegal and secret far-right German paramilitaries of the *Schwarze Reichswehr*, underground formations of the *Reichswehr* which included *Freikorps*, were permitted to train in Soviet territory and provide training for the newly created Red Army. This cooperation was formalized by the Treaty of Rapallo of 1922 and the secret Soviet-German Military Pact, proposed by the *Reichswehr*'s Hans von Seeckt and supported by the *Reichswehr*'s conservative Prussian military elite, for whom the national interests of Russia and Germany were compatible despite their ideological differences. The *Reichsbank*'s president Hjalmar Schacht ne-

gotiated for Germany to give credits to the Soviet Union while German firms were allowed to establish factories for the production of war equipment in Soviet territory (these circumstances meant that, ironically, many of the weapons produced in Soviet factories under the auspices of the Treaty of Rapallo were later used by the Nazi regime against Russian cities during the Second World War).

The start of the Occupation of the Ruhr by France and Belgium in 1923, meant to force Germany to continue paying war reparations, however threatened this cooperation and resulted in rising nationalism in Germany, especially among the working class, and the Comintern subsequently pushed for cooperation between the Communists and the ultra-nationalists. In June 1923 Radek gave a speech to the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern praising Leo Schlageter, a far-right *Freikorps* member who together with his unit joined the NSDAP in 1921 and engaged in sabotage against the French forces occupying the Ruhr before being executed by them in May 1923. Radek's speech was positively received from particular left-wing and right-wing circles in Germany and was followed by a period of cooperation between the KPD and the Nazis against the Versailles Treaty during which KPD member Ruth Fischer infamously attacked "Jewish capital" in an attempt to appeal to Nazi students, and the KPD's newspaper reprinted articles by members of the German far-right such as Arthur Moeller van den Bruck (though Moeller was critical of Radek's ideas, he supported the idea of an alliance with Russia, which he considered to be a "proletarian nation" which would be a "natural ally" for "proletarian Germany") even as its rank and file members were fighting against fascists on the streets.

This second National-Bolshevik wave died off during the period of growth Germany experienced from the mid- to late-1920s, though following the Comintern's "social fascism" turn (itself partly a reaction to the SPD using *Freikorps* units to crush the Spartacist uprising, during which revolutionaries Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered) the KPD cooperated again with the NSDAP in an attempt to bring down the Social Democratic Party-led government of Prussia in 1931, again with opposition from its rank and file base and again with support from the Comintern, which wished to end diplomatic talks between France and Germany. The next year, the KPD participated in a failed strike together with the NSDAP, while again rank and file Communists instead engaged in street battles against Nazi Brownshirts, and which were damaging to the KPD by revealing its poor organizing skills and lack of workplace support and making it appear confused while helping Nazi propaganda by giving credence to NSDAP claims of being a worker friendly party without harming the Nazis' relationship with the industrialists. This strategy, also based on the flawed accelerationist idea that the fascists' policies would lead to a proletarian revolution and summed by then leader of the KPD Ernst Thälmann's slogan "After Hitler, Our Turn!", actively helped the rise of the Nazis, and the KPD refused to form a United Front with the SPD and preferred directing its attacks against the social democrats even after the Nazis seized power and unleashed their violence on the German Left.

Ernst Niekisch

The third period of National-Bolshevism came with Ernst Niekisch, a member of the SPD who had participated in the foundation of the Bavarian Soviet Republic and was chairman of its Central Council. Niekisch was later expelled from the SPD for his extreme nationalism, after which he joined the Old Social Democratic Party of Germany, which he pushed towards a more na-

tionalist direction and called for a “Prussian-Slavonic bloc” from Vlissingen to Vladivostok, and became involved with the Conservative Revolution, though he never adhered to the “Prussian socialism” of the Conservative Revolutionaries and maintained his original Communist outlook. Niekisch saw the Russian Revolution as a national form of class struggle, advocated for a nationalist form of Communism and together with Conservative Revolutionary Ernst Jünger he joined the Consortium for the Study of Soviet Planned Economy (ARPLAN), which aimed to establish cooperation between Germany and the Soviet Union, and which he saw as the only way of opposing the Treaty of Versailles. Niekisch was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Nazi regime in 1934 and was released after the Second World War, becoming an orthodox Marxist and moving to West Germany following the suppression of the 1953 workers uprising by the German Democratic Republic with Soviet support. Among those influenced by Niekisch was Otto Paetel, who formed the Group of Social Revolutionary Nationalists, which opposed the Versailles Treaty, supported close cooperation with the Soviet Union and saw anti-capitalism as the means to free Germany from Western occupation. Unlike Niekisch, who was staunchly anti-Nazi, Paetel attempted to work with the Hitler Youth and many members of his organization also belonged to the “left wing” of the Nazi party of Gregor and Otto Strasser.

The Brownshirts and the Strasserists

Following the Nazis' seizure of power in 1933, many Communists from the KPD defected to the Nazis, being derisively labeled as "Beefsteak Nazis"- Nazis who were "Brown on the outside and Red on the inside". These former Communists joined and had a significant presence in the *Sturmabteilung* (abbreviated as the SA, also known as the Brownshirts and the Stormtroopers), the Nazi paramilitaries led by Ernst Röhm.

Ernst Röhm

Ernst Röhm was a veteran of the First World War, and an officer in the Imperial German Army and the *Reichswehr* who served in the *Freikorps* which destroyed the socialist Bavarian Soviet Republic. In 1919, he joined the recently formed German Workers' Party, which became the National Socialist German Workers' Party (the NSDAP, or the Nazi party) the next year, and Röhm soon became a close friend and ally of Hitler and helped him found the *Sturmabteilung*. In 1923 he participated in the Beer Hall Putsch, and after the failure of the coup he was tried and found guilty of high treason and discharged from the *Reichswehr* before spending two years as military advisor in Bolivia. Röhm was recalled back to Germany by Hitler after the latter's electoral success in 1930 to take command of the SA. Röhm drastically expanded the SA and turned them into a paramilitary force which helped Hitler's rise to power between 1930 and 1933 by fighting against Communists, engaging in racist and especially anti-Semitic violence, and intimidating opposition to the Nazis. Röhm and the SA belonged to a left-wing section of the Nazi party adhering to a "socialist" form of Nazism advocating for the overthrow of the German upper classes, nationalizations, and programs to support the petite bourgeoisie which was still anti-Semitic and anti-Communist, and Röhm saw the Brownshirts, whose members came primarily from the working class, as the core of the "revolution" envisaged by this wing of the Nazi party.

Following Hitler's seizure of power, Röhm began agitating for a fascist "revolution" and calling for the formation of a "people's army" by merging the *Reichswehr* into the much larger SA, which terrified the army, the Junker landowners and the industrialists whose support Hitler needed to secure his power and for his plans to rearm Germany. Hitler himself had considered the socialist slogans as merely propaganda to attract the masses and regarded the SA as a force whose purpose was to provide the violence needed to propel the Nazi party into power which had become expendable. Following Hitler's dismissal of a number of Nazi "radicals" and his alliance with industrialists, the dissatisfied SA increased their agitation for a "revolution". Meanwhile, Hitler secured the support of the *Reichswehr* for his goal of succeeding President Paul von Hindenburg, in exchange of which he would curb the ambitions of Röhm, reduce the power of the SA and guarantee the Army's and the Navy's positions as the sole bearers of arms of his Reich. With the agitation of the SA intensifying, the Junkers and industrialists around President Paul von Hindenburg and Vice Chancellor von Papen called for an end to the Nazi terror. In June 1934

von Papen gave a speech, written by Edgar Julius Jung, against the excesses of the Nazi regime at the University of Marburg which called for an end to the “revolution” and the Nazi terror and for a restoration of measures of freedom, including freedom of the press. Goebbels attempted to suppress the speech in vain, and Papen was furious at the suppression of his speech and told Hitler he could not tolerate such a ban by a “junior minister”, insisting that he had spoken as a “trustee of the President” and warned Hitler that he would inform President Hindenburg of this immediately. Hindenburg himself soon issued an ultimatum to Hitler according to which he would declare martial law and hand over the state to the army unless order was not restored in Germany as soon as possible. This threatened Hitler’s goals of succeeding President Hindenburg as well as the Nazi government and, with the encouragement of Heinrich Himmler and Hermann Göring, who were Röhm’s enemies within the NSDAP, Hitler had Röhm killed and the SA leadership purged from June 30 to July 2 of 1934 during the Night of the Long Knives. Edgar Julius Jung was arrested by the Gestapo and murdered during the Night of the Long Knives for his participation in the Marburg Speech. This purge was interpreted as a positive event by the KPD, who tried appealing to SA members.

Gregor and Otto Strasser

Strasserism was a form of National-Socialism advocated by the brothers Gregor and Otto Strasser, both German veterans of the First World War who later served in the *Freikorps* which destroyed the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Gregor took part in the Kapp Putsch of 1920 which attempted to overthrow the Weimar Republic and replace it with a reactionary authoritarian state while Otto joined the Social Democratic Party and opposed the coup. Both Gregor and Otto later joined Hitler’s Nazi party, Gregor joining the SA and expanding the Nazi party in Bavaria taking part in the Beer Hall Putsch, following which he was imprisoned for a few weeks until his election to the Bavarian *Landtag* allowed him to be freed, and after Hitler was released from jail and the ban on the NSDAP was lifted in 1925 he organized and expanded the Nazi party in northern Germany while Hitler was banned from speaking publicly. Otto, who had been a friend of Arthur Moeller van den Bruck in the early days of the June Club, was allegedly the one who had introduced the idea of the Third Reich to the Nazis.

The Strasser brothers led a left-wing faction of the Nazi party adhering to a *Völkisch* and anti-Marxist form of “socialism” which advocated for nationalizations and a mass action, worker-based and anti-capitalist while still extremely anti-Semitic and anti-Communist form of Nazism, with Otto interpreting Stalinism as a Russian form of National-Socialism and advocating for cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the anti-imperialist peoples of the East such as China and India against the “declining” West. The Strasser brothers opposed Hitler’s alliance with industrialists, and this as well as rivalry between Gregor Strasser and Hitler led to clashes between them, and Otto was expelled from the Nazi party in 1930 and formed the Black Front before later going in exile and later returning to West Germany after the Second World War, where he remained active among neo-fascists. In 1930 Hitler removed Gregor from his position as head of the NSDAP’s propaganda which he had occupied since 1926, and gave his position to Goebbels. After Gregor was proposed the post of Vice-Chancellor in 1932, the rift between Strasser and Hitler increased, and Strasser resigned at the end of the year and retired from politics.

Gregor Strasser was later arrested and killed and his faction of the Nazi party was purged during the Night of the Long Knives.

Otto Ernst Remer and the Socialist Reich Party

Under the Nazi regime, Otto Ernst Remer had been a *Wehrmacht* officer and became Hitler's bodyguard after playing a prominent role in suppressing the coup attempt of July 20, 1944. After the war he became the first of Hitler's generals to enter the post-war political arena, and in 1949 he founded a Strasserist party called the Socialist Reich Party (SRP), which was initially one of many neo-Nazi groups which had sprouted in post-war Germany but quickly out-flanked the rest of the ultra-nationalist movement and became West Germany's leading far-right organization.

Like many "former" Nazis, Remer had been approached by US intelligence in the late 40s, but he rejected their attempts to recruit him. During this period of large-scale restoration and recruitment of Nazis by the Americans and the Western-backed Federal German Republic in the early post-war period, many "former" Nazis had joined Konrad Adenauer's governing Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and West Germany's civil service on condition that they officially recanted their Nazi views and supported the Western alliance, but Remer, on the other hand, mocked the former Nazis who converted to liberal democracy after the war and declared that he would not help the Americans so long as Germany was an "occupied country". Remer and the leaders of the SRP were among the many veterans of the Nazi regime who considered the defeat of the Nazis at the battle of Stalingrad to be a confirmation of Bismarck's injunction that the interests of Germany must never come in conflict with those of Russia, and he and a number of SRP activists instead decided to agitate from the outside against the Allied occupation of West Germany and incited the crowds against the German Federal Republic's proximity to the United States, relentlessly attacking the United States and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's "American satellite policy" and blaming them for the partition of Germany. He railed against the "shit democracy" imposed by the Americans, attacked Konrad Adenauer as an American puppet, referred to Hitler's chosen successor Karl Dönitz as the "last legitimate sovereign of an all-German Reich", denied the Holocaust and dismissed the Nazi regime's atrocities as "Allied propaganda" while claiming that National-Socialism "could not be eradicated", and his SRP was at the time described as "the first party in which the Old Nazis can feel at home". Remer rejected any cooperation with the Western powers and instead advocated for Europe to be an "independent third force" opposed to both capitalism and Communism which would supposedly be led by a "strong, reunified German Reich".

A large minority of Germans who believed that Adenauer "prioritized American interests over German ones" was receptive to Remer's nationalist-neutralist line, and the American occupation authorities watched in dismay as the SRP gained momentum. The SRP soon attracted about 10,000 members and set up various auxiliary organizations, including a women's league, a youth group, an anti-Marxist labor union, and the *Reichsfront*, a paramilitary formation whose members were largely employees of the British-run German Service Organization, which included all German employees of the British occupation forces in Germany, with British press reporting that most of Remer's Brownshirt army was housed in British military installations. The *Reichsfront* was soon dissolved by an edict, and in September 1950 the West German government declared the SRP an enemy of the state and federal employees were threatened with dismissal if they joined the SRP after it scored well in the local elections. This policy was supported by US intelligence, who had

been keeping tabs on Remer and compiling reports on the SRP, considering it the most dangerous of radical rightist parties in West Germany, and who feared that the SRP would gain control of the *Bundestag* and legally come to power like the pre-war Nazis. The SRP was however still able to mobilize sufficiently large masses of the German electorate by its shameless appeals to the Nazi regime so that it was able to score 11% of the vote in state elections in Lower Saxony in May 1951, out-polling Adenauer's CDU in several districts. The apathy of the German public concerning the rise of the neo-Nazis worried the Americans, who feared a resurgence of German nationalism. However, even though SRP candidates were banned from campaigning publicly, it continued to score well in local elections, receiving nearly as many votes as the CDU in Bremen. West German police soon raided SRP offices in Hamburg and other cities, breaking up meetings with tear gas and billy club attacks, and the Federal Republic banned the *Reichszeitung*, the SRP's newspaper, and started legal proceedings to outlaw the party. Remer threatened to retaliate by answering terror with terror and vigorously denounced the Western alliance while avoiding criticism of the Soviet Union and East Germany.

With the Cold War settling in, the Soviets were alarmed by the Western powers pushing for the rearmament of West Germany and its integration into an anti-Communist military bloc, and they condemned these plans as an attempt to resurrect the fascist *Wehrmacht* under American control. In an attempt to derail the rearmament process, in March 1952 Stalin endorsed German reunification in free elections up to the Oder-Neisse line with free elections in a diplomatic note more commonly known as the Stalin Note or the March Note. According to this proposal, Germany would be allowed to maintain its own military and weapons industry, restrictions on German trade and economic development would be lifted, and all foreign occupation troops would be withdrawn after an agreement while all former members of the German army and all former Nazis, except for those condemned for war crimes, would have their civil and political rights fully restored. The condition was that Germany would remain neutral and would not be allowed to join any coalition or military alliances with its former enemies or against any power which had fought against it during the Second World War. The proposal swayed fence sitters in West Germany and galvanized neutralist feeling, with unification being more popular than integration into the West according to surveys, and even some members of Adenauer's CDU were favorable to the Soviet proposal: reunification and self-determination without war, an independent German army and a market for German products in the Eastern bloc was more attractive for them than the prospect of a permanently divided Germany under American control and without any possibility of regaining the territories lost during the war. Stalin reiterated his proposal twice that year, but Adenauer and the Americans each time dismissed the offer as a "public-relations gesture calculated to disrupt the Western alliance" and tried to wriggle out by asserting that only a democratically elected German government could decide whether or not to align itself with either superpower. The American refusal to accept a neutral Germany out of fear it would be "favorable to Soviet plans" thus aborted a chance to end the Cold War.

[**Note:** The *Bruderschaft* was a political and mystical secret society founded in July 1949 as a paramilitary cadre organization by former Hitler Youth, *Wehrmacht* and SS officers. The *Bruderschaft* had a membership of 2,500 members and therefore did hope to achieve its goals through the democratic processes due to its small membership. The *Bruderschaft* cultivated ties with neo-Nazi groups in South America, the Middle-East and the rest of Europe, being instrumental in the underground ratlines that allowed Nazis to flee abroad after the Second World War.

The *Bruderschaft* had a close working relationship with the SRP, and its chief ideologue, the former SS officer Alfred Franke-Gricksch, held a position in line with Remer's by supporting the concept of "Europe as a third force" and calling for a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. Franke-Gricksch visited East Germany for a series of meetings with the aim of coordinating a common struggle for reunification on invitation by the Lieutenant General Vincent Müller, the vice-chairman of the National Democratic Party of East Germany, the East German political party set up for former members of the Nazi party and the *Wehrmacht* by the Soviets and which was allowed to operate in the same bloc led by East Germany's ruling Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). Franke-Gricksch quickly opened lines of communication with the Soviet Military Administration and the East Zone authorities while also being in contact with Otto Skorzeny, the former Waffen-SS officer who had once freed Mussolini from prison and was at that time a prominent member of the *Bruderschaft*, concerning his visits to the East Zone.

(**Note:** The setting up of the National Democratic Party was part of Stalin's strategy to use German nationalism against the West in the same way that the Americans were exploiting German national sentiments against the USSR. In January 1947, Stalin had instructed SED leaders to attract Nazi collaborators instead of eliminating them to avoid pushing all former Nazis to the Western camp. Stalin's decision to cooperate with ex-Nazis however dismayed German Communists and the Soviet Military Administration, who waited until a year to implement it and disbanded the commission on denazification only in May 1948. Stalin expected the idea of a centralized, reunified and neutral Germany to be so irresistible to German nationalists that it would overcome their enmity towards the Soviets and the Communists, and Soviet diplomacy and propaganda pushed the idea of a centralized German state which was contrasted with Western proposals of federalization and decentralization. Reluctant to take the responsibility for Germany's partition and wanting that role to be played by the Western powers, Stalin deliberately stayed one step behind the Western powers' actions, creating units of secret police and military in the East Zone after the Western powers took decisive steps towards the separation of East Germany.)

The founder and co-leader of the *Bruderschaft*, Helmut Beck-Broichsitter, had also been visiting the East Zone, though this was part of a double-faced game whereby he secretly negotiated with the Soviets while at the same time offering his services to the Americans. Beck-Broichsitter proposed to American State Department officials the idea of a military vigilante network hand-picked by the *Bruderschaft* to combat "Red terror" throughout West Germany.

Beck-Broichsitter and Franke-Gricksch were unable to agree on which side to support in the East-West conflict and became embroiled in a major dispute which split the *Bruderschaft* into competing factions and eventually destroyed the organization. Beck-Broichsitter complained to the Americans that Franke-Gricksch had more money than him because of the Soviets' largesse while also accusing him of extorting money from German industrialists who were seeking to buy protection in the event of a Soviet invasion. Beck-Broichsitter revealed his own offers of Soviet financial support to the Americans in an attempt to use this as a lever obtain money from them.

Word of Beck-Broichsitter's association with US intelligence soon reached the Soviets, and the Soviet authorities suspected the *Bruderschaft* had been infiltrated by American intelligence and kept a wary eye on Franke-Gricksch. In October 1951, Alfred Franke-Gricksch disappeared in East Berlin and was never heard from again. His wife who had disappeared while searching for him returned to West Germany some years later with the information that he had been sentenced to death by a Soviet military court.]

Remer saw the Note as a proposal for genuine negotiations and condemned Adenauer's intransigence. With opposition to American plans for rearming West Germany pervasive all across the West German political spectrum, the neutralist scene included anti-war pacifists, Social Democrats, Communists and even fanatical Nazis, and the SRP started working with the West German Communist Party (SRP chairman Fritz Dorls had already met with Communist Party leaders to cement their anti-Adenauer ties in 1951 and both parties campaigned against US intervention in the Korean War). While the Communist Party was effectively a proxy of Soviet foreign policy with little influence over West German politics, the SRP was a growing mass-based party which instead pursued strategic relations with the Soviet Union with the hope of reunifying and rearming Germany and using its position between the East and the West to dominate Europe, with Dorls declaring that an understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union was the only danger to the SRP's plans. Dorls and SRP operatives occasionally traveled to East Germany to clandestinely meet the East German National Front, an organization closely monitored by Communist officials which was set up by the Soviets as a concession for former Nazis, army officials and figures associated with the Nazi regime after the abrupt end of Soviet denazification policy in 1948.

[**Note:** While the Soviets had been better than the Western powers at purging Nazis from public institutions and bringing them to trial for their war crimes, Soviet policy soon shifted with the hardening of the Cold War and the US plans to arm West Germany, and soon East Germany took a "nationalist course" and "former" Nazis who had "atoned by honest labor" were incorporated into the new regime, with ex-Nazis who converted to Communism being made eligible for rehabilitation and many Gestapo, SS and *Wehrmacht* veterans being integrated into the East German police and the Stasi, though this rehabilitation never occurred on a scale as large as in West Germany.]

In addition to discussing with former Nazis in East Germany, the SRP met directly with Soviet authorities there; both the Soviets and the SRP saw tactical considerations as being more important than ideological differences, and Soviet intelligence saw the neo-Nazi SRP as being a better investment than the Communist Party while the SRP was willing to work with the Soviets to receive the funding it needed. During this period, the SRP received Soviet funding while the Communist Party did not receive any such support from the USSR and, though SRP leaders did not acknowledge their contacts with the Soviets at the time, Remer later admitted having sent representatives to the Soviet headquarters in Pankow, Berlin. Though the SRP was committed to radical far-right ideology and was professedly anti-Communist, it was extremely anti-American and anti-British while never criticizing East Germany and the Soviet Union, instead supporting the Soviet line on neutrality in exchange of support for East German authorities and acting as a disruptive element in West Berlin for the Soviets, the party itself being suspected of working with the Soviets and soon gaining a reputation for having ties to the USSR, with these rumors being confirmed when a number of SRP officials soon left the party when they learned of its links to the Soviet bloc.

[**Note:** Another member of the German far-right who supported the Soviet line was the former SS officer Fritz Brehm, who was a major figure in the Bavarian section of the German Party, a radical nationalist party which had participated in the Bundestag's original national ruling coalition. Brehm played a leading role in a number of Soviet-financed newspapers which supported a nationalist-neutralist line.

However not all neo-Nazis who had an anti-American stance were paid Soviet agents, and some radical nationalists wanted on their own what coincidentally happened to be Soviet objectives as well, and since they were doing out of their own volition what the Soviets would have wanted them to do, there was no need for bribery or solicitude from the Soviets. In other cases, it was the radical nationalists who, for various reasons, contacted the Soviets and East Zone authorities instead of being sought out by them.]

Initially, there had been a significant grassroots opposition to the rearmament, especially among ex-soldiers who formed a large and potentially disruptive element in West Germany and who identified with the slogan “*Ohne mich!*” (“Count me out!”) that Remer had popularized and which was the rallying cry of the SRP against the Bonn-Washington rearmament axis. Remer was staunchly against accommodation with the West and declared that he would “only consider German rearmament when it was possible to assure all of Germany was to be defended”, and insisted that Germans should not fight to cover an American retreat if the Soviets got the upper hand in a war. He taunted US officials by announcing that he would “show the Russians all the way to the Rhine” and that the SRP would “post themselves as policemen, spreading their arms so that the Russians can find their way through Germany as quickly as possible” should a conflict erupt between the US and the USSR. Remer invoked the treaty of Rapallo, which has always remained a powerful symbol and slogan in German-Russian diplomacy, to insist that German national interests required an agreement with Russia on the basis of the Soviet proposals of March 1952.

Attempting to undermine the SRP and boost his own popularity, Adenauer started courting soldiers associations, including the most prominent of these, the *Hilfsgemeinschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit* (Mutual Aid Association, abbreviated as HIAG), a lobbying group formed in October 1951 by former Waffen-SS members which glorified the Waffen-SS while publishing negationist material denying its crimes and campaigned for Waffen-SS veterans who had been denied pensions and other benefits after the Nuremberg Trials had established the entire Waffen-SS as a criminal organization.

Remer’s hard-line pro-Soviet posturing however may have played into the hands of the German nationalists who supported cooperation with the West so long as they could obtain concessions from the US: with a possible new Treaty of Rapallo threatening American plans to rearm West Germany, Adenauer pressured the Americans into additional compromises during the negotiations for the independence of West Germany. American insistence on a West German army and fears that West Germany would drift towards neutrality if Adenauer’s requests were refused meant that the US yielded on nearly every point, and the Contractual Agreement signed on May 1952 allowed the Federal German Republic to exercise authority over its internal and external affairs in exchange of which West Germany would commit 12 divisions to a European military force. With its newfound sovereignty, the Federal Republic soon passed a law which allowed former SS members to join the *Bundeswehr*, the new West German army, with the same rank they had held during the Second World War, with generals who had served in Hitler’s *Wehrmacht* commanding the new army, a decision which earned Adenauer the support of Kurt Meyer, the head of the HIAG.

The Americans found the Cold War to be preferable to a neutral and unified Germany who might play the East and the West against each other to dominate Europe, and therefore adopted a dual containment policy of putting golden handcuffs on Germany (the Americans believed that anchoring West Germany into the Western alliance was the best way of preventing a resurgence

of nationalism and irredentism, and simultaneously hoped that the economic recovery and rise of living standards would sweep away the Germans' *Völkisch* obsessions) while containing the Soviets: while the overt purpose of NATO was to be a Western alliance against the Soviet Union, its tacit purpose was also to contain Germany, and it has been argued that its basis was to protect Western interests against Germany rather than against the USSR. The post-war economic recovery in West Germany and the suppression of the workers uprising of 1953 in East Germany made the West's golden handcuffs appear more attractive to many in West Germany, and the debate over rearmament was so divisive that it seriously undermined the anti-Communist opposition to Adenauer and caused so many splits among the radical nationalists that the neo-Nazis who supported neutralism were weakened. At the same time, Adenauer won over prominent right-wing leaders by offering them ministerial positions and other concessions.

US officials meanwhile feared the SRP's willingness to cut a deal with the Soviet Union to unify Germany, and recommended that the SRP be destroyed. The SRP had been kept under close surveillance by Western intelligence agencies, and many of its leading members were convicted on various charges which ranged from slandering the Federal Republic to tearing down the West German flag. Remer himself was sentenced to a four-month prison sentence for publicly insulting Adenauer, with Remer comparing his conviction to the persecution and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, causing political figures in Germany to fear that Remer would become a martyr and that his party would benefit from it. While serving his sentence, Remer was tried and convicted for defaming the 20th of July conspirators (Remer's book, *July 20th*, was one of the most popular books about the coup attempt in circulation among German ultra-nationalist circles), with the landmark case establishing that the Nazi regime was illegal and that the Germans who tried overthrowing Hitler were not guilty of treason. The SRP soon began to fracture under intense government pressure, with key members forming new groups, other members vowing to continue the party underground, and talks of infiltrating and taking over other parties. Rudolf Aschenauer, the pro-Nazi attorney who had been defense lawyer for hundreds of Nazis during the Nuremberg trials, agreed to form a camouflaged successor party to the SRP in the form of new nationalist party, though his plans were doomed once US intelligence learned about them (strangely, despite his ties to the pro-Soviet SRP, Aschenauer had also worked with the rabidly anti-Communist American senator Joseph McCarthy in an attempt to overturn the convictions of Nazi war criminals who had been sentenced for participating in the Malmedy massacre where unarmed American prisoners of war had been killed by the Waffen SS). In October 1952, the SRP was branded as the direct successor of the Nazi party and was outlawed by West German Constitutional Court. Seeking to avoid another prison term, Remer went into hiding, making his way to Egypt in 1953 where, in his own words, he "served as political advisor to Nasser", and then to Damascus.

Francis Parker Yockey

As Anarchist researcher Kevin Coogan details in his book, Francis Parker Yockey was born in Chicago, Illinois in the United States, where he briefly flirted with Marxism in his youth before soon abandoning it for fascism. After reading Oswald Spengler and meeting Carl Schmitt, Yockey came under the influence of the Conservative Revolutionaries, including Haushofer, and was influenced by their ideas on cultural elites and geopolitics, their support of an alliance between Germany and the Soviet Union and their advocacy of German support for anti-colonial struggles.

Yockey would later associate with fascists during the Interwar period and during the Second World War including Charles Coughlin, the German-American Bund, the National German-American Alliance, the Silver Shirts, the America First Movement, among others. During WWII, Yockey would enlist in the US army despite opposing the entry of the US in the war, disappearing for two months after pro-Nazi saboteurs with ties to his family were arrested by the FBI (the FBI suspected Yockey himself was on an espionage mission for Nazis in Mexico) before returning and being honorably discharged after a mental breakdown in 1943. Yockey soon applied for a post at the Office for Strategic Services but was refused a job there because of his Nazi sympathies.

The defeat of the Nazi regime did not weaken Yockey's commitment to fascism and he instead became more active in pro-fascist activity, becoming dedicated solely to reviving fascism. However many of these groups were anti-Communist and therefore would refuse to work with Yockey, with George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party and his allies spurning Yockey and calling him a "neo-Strasserist" due to the idea of an alliance between the Left and the Right and working with anti-Zionist Communists being central to Yockey's ideas.

In 1946 Yockey obtained a position in the US War Department as attorney for the Nuremberg Trials, undoubtedly to help some of the Nazi war criminals being tried. In Germany Yockey would spend his time forming ties with German fascists operating underground against the Allies and agitating against the US occupation of Germany and against what he perceived to be the "biased procedures" of the trials, causing him to be fired from his position the next year.

Following this he fled to a small village in Ireland where he wrote his heavily Spengler-influenced book *Imperium* with the aim of reviving fascism. In *Imperium* he rejects the biological racism of the Nazis and opts for a cultural racism instead, though he still defended the Nazis by denying the Holocaust in his book (while privately acknowledging the existence of the Holocaust and praising the Nazis' atrocities) which he dedicated to Hitler, being one of the very first Holocaust deniers ever, and considered the rise of the Nazi regime as an "European revolution". Yockey, like Spengler, was opposed to parliamentarism and other models derived from the French Revolution, but unlike Spengler who did not stress anti-Semitism, Yockey himself was an avowed anti-Semite, and the crux of the ideology laid out by his book was that Europe was being eroded by liberalism, which he saw as a "Jewish plot to undermine European culture", and was occupied by the United States and the Soviet Union, and that therefore Europe had to eschew nationalism and nation-states to instead unite into a fascist superstate which

would “rejuvenate European culture” and be capable of opposing the two superpowers of the Cold War. This idea of a superstate was influenced by Carl Schmitt’s concept of the *Grossraum*.

Shortly after writing *Imperium*, Yockey lived in London, UK, where he worked for a short time for the European contact section of fascist Oswald Mosley’s Union Movement, allowing him to form ties with an underground fascist network throughout Europe, including Alfred Franke-Gricksch, a former SS official and the leader of the neo-Nazi *Bruderschaft* organization. Following Yockey’s falling out with Mosley, he formed with the support of baroness Alice von Pflugl and the help of former Mosleyites the European Liberation Front, whose aim was to “liberate” Europe from the US and the USSR.

Yockey’s perception of the United States was itself negative in that he considered it to be little more than a “bastardized colony of Europe which had devolved from the influence of non-European minorities” and had “come under Jewish control”, and he therefore considered the impact of American capitalism as more destructive than Soviet repression for European culture and thus considered Soviet control as preferable to American domination of Europe. Hence he urged fascists to not collaborate with American anti-Communism during the Cold War and unlike most fascists who collaborated with US intelligence during the Cold War, Yockey’s European Liberation Front instead maintained a position similar to that of Otto Ernst Remer and the Socialist Party, and it remained neutral and had a pan-European approach of geopolitics, with Yockey praising Soviet policy in Germany and seeking to secretly organize neo-Nazis in West Germany who would then collaborate with the Soviet military against American occupation. His aim was of course to form the European fascist superstate whose designs he laid out in *Imperium*.

Having lost his political ties in the United Kingdom, Yockey instead entered West Germany clandestinely, with army documents stating Yockey was “promoting a National Bolshevist movement” and contacting ex-*Wehrmacht* and ex-Nazi officers, among whom the Socialist Reich Party (SRP), whose founder Otto Ernst Remer praised *Imperium*.

Yockey then traveled around Europe, distributing copies of his book to prominent neo-fascists, including French fascist Maurice Bardèche (himself one of the very first post-war Holocaust deniers like Yockey) and Julius Evola.

In Europe, Yockey participated in a conference by the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), which was also attempting to form fascist networks. The conference amounted to little due to the aims of the various fascist groups involved present being at odds with each other and with internal strife within the MSI itself over whether to adopt an “Atlanticist” strategy and align with NATO and the West or a pan-European “Third Position” strategy opposed to both the Americans and the Soviets, with the anti-Communist MSI eventually allying with NATO and the US who were more concerned with opposing the Italian Communist Party instead of punishing fascists in these early days of the Cold War. Yockey’s advocacy of allying with the Soviet Union did not find very receptive audiences among these fascists, with many pan-European fascists including Julius Evola, who had erstwhile praised Yockey’s book, being skeptical his ideas.

Returning to the USA, Yockey worked with infamous anti-Communist US senator Joseph McCarthy and with H. Keith Thompson, an American fascist who was the American representative of the Socialist Reich Party and worked for the defence of Otto Ernst Remer. Thompson defended Hitler and the Nazi regime and would remain in connection with Yockey until his death. In 1950 he would give a speech at a conference by far-right preacher Gerald L. K. Smith’s Christian Nationalist Party where he would call the Nuremberg Trials a “sham” and claim the supposed existence of “global Jewish conspiracy”.

In the early 1940s Stalin initially adopted a pro-Zionist foreign policy (despite Lenin himself having condemned Zionism as a reactionary bourgeois movement) with the hope that Israel would be a socialist bulwark against British hegemony and supported the UN plan for the Partition of Palestine (and by extension endorsed the ethnic cleansing of Palestine) and the subsequent creation of the colonial Israeli state. The Soviet Union was the second state to recognize Israel after the United States, though the Soviet bloc soon did a foreign policy volte face and threw its support behind Arab nationalist movements after Israel emerged as a Western ally. However, far from being merely anti-Zionist and in opposition to Israel only, Soviet policy in Stalin's later days became outright anti-Semitic and the Eastern bloc faced a wave of anti-Semitic purges in the 1950s which included the Night of the Murdered Poets and the Doctors' Plot. It is in this context that Yockey, visiting Europe again, found himself attending the 1952 show trials in Prague during which eleven Jewish members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party including its secretary general Rudolf Slánský were executed on charges of being Zionists, Trotskyists, Western imperialists and Titoists (Slánský was, on the contrary, staunchly anti-Zionist). Yockey considered this to be the end of American hegemony in Europe and thought it "foretold a Russian break with Jewry", which he saw as "a favorable development in the fight to liberate Europe". For Yockey, the wave of anti-Semitic purges was a "declaration of war by Russia on the American-Jewish leadership" and he therefore cooperated with Soviet bloc intelligence and became a paid courier of the Czech secret services who themselves worked for the KGB, and he started advocating for a tactical alliance between fascists and the USSR to end the American occupation of Europe.

Back to New York, Yockey's report on the Soviet bloc anti-Semitic purges led James Madole of the National Renaissance Party, an American Nazi party, to endorse the campaigns against "rootless cosmopolitans" and "Zionists" (which here is a coded anti-Semitic term referring to Jews rather than to the actual colonialist ideology of Zionism). Madole declared Communism as a mask for Russian nationalism following the triumph of Stalin over Trotsky, whom they saw as the leader of the "Jewish internationalist faction", thus in his eyes transforming what fascists consider to be "Jewish Bolshevism" into National Bolshevism. The National Resistance Party itself started praising the Soviet Union and had portraits of Hitler and Stalin on its wall, attracting both Communists and Nazis, and certain American fascists started praising the Soviet Union as result.

Dissatisfied with the anti-Communism of the majority of the US far-right who was not very receptive to his National Bolshevik ideology and was at odds with his sympathy for the Stalinist USSR and for Third Worldist movements, Yockey traveled around the world, clandestinely going to East Germany and possibly to the USSR, writing propaganda for the Egyptian Information Industry and meeting Egyptian president Abel Gamal Nasser, under whom thousands of Nazi war criminals (including Yockey's collaborator Otto Ernst Remer) fleeing Europe found refuge in Egypt.

Yockey spent some weeks in Cuba shortly after the Cuban revolution where dictator Fulgencio Batista was overthrown, seeking to form new ties again though his attempts failed, before being arrested by the FBI in 1960 and imprisoned. In jail, Yockey is recorded to have lamented the capture of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann and praised Hitler as a hero. Yockey eventually committed suicide in jail by swallowing cyanide, allegedly to protect his contacts.

Before his suicide, Yockey was visited in jail by Willis Carto, who would then become one of the main advocates of Yockey's ideology in North America, although Carto rejected Yockey's own rejection of biological racism and his anti-American and pro-Soviet position. Carto's orga-

nization, the *Liberty Lobby*, distributed Yockey's writings through its newspaper *Spotlight*, and its publisher *Noontide Press* republished *Imperium*.

Therefore Yockey's core ideology could be seen as consisting of: a cultural rather than biological racism, rejection of nationalism in favor of a European superstate, and support for pro-Soviet and Third Worldist forces against American hegemony and liberal democracy, which he considered to be a "Jewish plot". Yockey's ideology has been very influential among post-war neo-fascists and his book is distributed among Nazis and white supremacists, with former leader of the neo-Nazi British National Party John Tyndall praising *Imperium*, and is influential among far-right neo-pagans and occultists.

The European New Right

Yockey would become the ideological predecessor of the Third Position and the European New Right, among whose prominent members are Jean-Francois Thiriart, Alain de Benoist and Aleksandr Dugin. A main feature of the European New Right is its criticism of American imperialism and of the “economism” of liberalism and its attempt to form alliances or infiltrate far-left opponents of Western imperialism and globalization.

Jean-Francois Thiriart

Jean-Francois Thiriart was briefly a leftist in high school before joining the National Legion and the Association of the Friends of the German Reich, two far-right organizations, later serving in the Waffen-SS for which he would be imprisoned after WWII. After his imprisonment he would retire from political life until the 1960s when he re-entered politics due to his belief that Europe was losing its status as a cultural center, especially after the independence of the Congo and the Algerian Revolution during which he organized in favor of Belgian settlers who wanted Belgium to reconquer the Congo as well as support for the French Secret Army Organization seeking to maintain Algeria as a French colony through a brutal and bloody campaign of massacring Algerians.

Thiriart saw the Belgian and French loss of the Congo and Algeria as pan-European affairs rather than in purely nationalist terms and he founded the organization Jeune Europe with the aim of creating a united Europe which would have its own nuclear arsenal and would be independent of the USA and the USSR whom he considered were dominating Europe and had turned it into a battlefield, thus echoing Yockey in his pre-1952 days, though Thiriart himself had never apparently known or read Yockey. Like Yockey, Thiriart also despised parliamentary democracy and instead advocated for an anti-egalitarian totalitarian state.

Thiriart would also try denying being a fascist and distancing himself from his Nazi past, instead calling the Left-Right division as outdated (in typical fascist rhetoric) and advancing a philosophy called Communitarianism which claimed to transcend the division between the Left and the Right though Jeune Europe had open ties with Nazis and used openly fascist imagery. Thiriart from then on advocated for a union of Europe and the Soviet Union, which he considered to be more Russian than Communist as from the early 50s, into a “massive white power bloc from Brest to Vladivostok”. Here he was echoing Yockey again.

Following the Sino-Soviet Split, Thiriart started advocating for supporting China against the Soviets in an attempt to make the latter lose its grip on Europe to pave the way for a rapprochement between Europe and Russia, as well as supporting revolutionaries in Latin America and the Black Power movement in the United States to end American hegemony on Western Europe. He would further restructure Jeune Europe along the line of a Leninist vanguard party, drop the open Nazi imagery of his organization and repudiate his earlier positions on Algeria and the Congo.

From then on, Thiriart moved towards a “National-Communist” perspective which was significantly influenced by Nicolae Ceaușescu’s adoption of an ultra-nationalist National Communism as state ideology, no doubt the result of Romania’s inclusion of former Iron Guard fascists within its intelligence apparatus, and Romania’s break with the Soviet Union and shift towards the People’s Republic of China. In 1966, Thiriart himself met Ceaușescu who contributed an article to Thiriart’s publication and would then help Thiriart meet Zhou Enlai, from whom Thiriart attempted in vain to obtain Chinese support for Jeune Europe.

After Argentine politician Juan Perón was deposed by a military coup in 1955, he went in exile to Madrid, where he courted European neo-Nazis and his inner circle included many hardcore fascists, such as Mila Bogetich, a veteran of the Croatian Ustaše fascist movement, who was in charge of security at Perón’s residence. Otto Skorzeny arranged for Perón to live comfortably in Madrid and introduced him to Thiriart, of whom he soon became a close collaborator; Perón saw his own views of Latin American unity and integration as tied to Thiriart’s ones on European unity and he saw Fidel Castro and Che Guevara as heroes just like Thiriart did (for which obviously neither Castro nor Che themselves should be blamed).

[**Note:** Juan Perón embraced “justicialism”, an ambiguous political ideology which had many similarities to Italian fascism, being extremely nationalistic, authoritarian and opposed to both capitalism and Communism. While justicialism appealed to much of the Argentine working class, it also resonated favorably with the many Nazis who poured into Buenos Aires in the late 1940s and early 1950s after fleeing Europe.

During Perón’s first presidential term lasting from 1946 to 1955, Argentina became a repository for a large amount of stolen Nazi funds, deposited in bank accounts controlled by Juan’s wife Evita, and the preferred haven for tens of thousands of Nazi war criminals and their fellow travelers, which included Josef Mengele, Carl Vaernet, Adolf Eichmann (the main administrative director of the Holocaust) and Ante Pavelić (the founder and leader of the Ustaše and fascist dictator of wartime Croatia, who had escaped to Argentina with the help of the Vatican and set up a government-in-exile in Buenos Aires). During the early 1950s, Otto Skorzeny had visited Argentina as a representative of the Krupp company and encouraged Perón to hire German firms for public infrastructure works. While in Argentina Skorzeny met Hans-Ulrich Rudel, a Nazi pilot from the Luftwaffe who had been decorated by Hitler for destroying more than 800 combat vehicles, 500 tanks and 3 battleships during his sorties against the Allies and had, after the war, become an important operator of the Nazi escape routes and a close friend of Skorzeny, and, after escaping to Argentina with the help of the Vatican, became a paid advisor of Perón’s government, using his personal relationship with Perón to secure jobs for more than 100 former Luftwaffe staffers in the Argentine air force.

While Perón’s rule was not as repressive as the Nazi regime and he never turned his prisons into slaughterhouses, and at times he even prevented his followers from attacking the Jewish community of Buenos Aires, he still instigated and tolerated many excesses and he provided a sanctuary for perpetrators of crimes against humanity and thus enabled the to regroup and launch many initiative in the post-war era.

While the American intelligence agencies had assisted the large-scale emigration of Nazis to North and South America, US officials also cynically criticized Perón for welcoming fugitive fascists, motivated by Perón’s denunciations of US imperialism and his embrace of dissident left-wing intellectuals adhering to justicialism.]

[**Note:** During his exile, Perón asserted in his autobiography, *Perón As He Is*, that he saw American political, economic and cultural domination as the greater problem for Latin America than Soviet domination, warning that Latin Americans would soon repeat the scenario of Cuba's struggle against the United States. Describing the turbulence of the 1960s as the "the Hour of the Peoples" and quoting Mao Zedong, Perón aimed his message at the Argentine radical leftist youth who supported revolution.

Encouraged by Thiriart, Perón urged his supporters, many of whom were unaware of Perón's collaboration with fascists in Madrid, to overthrow the military dictatorship in Argentine. Perónist circles during that period were an odd conjunction of far-right and far-left tendencies.

Among Perón's contacts in Argentina was Joe "Jose" Baxter, a mysterious Yugoslav-born Argentine who in the mid-1960s became the leader of the Tacuara, a paramilitary neo-fascist sect with long-standing ties to the Argentine secret services. When Adolf Eichmann, who had been secretly living in Argentina, was captured by Israeli intelligence in 1960, Tacuara members went on a spree of anti-Semitic attacks and wrote vile anti-Semitic graffiti in Buenos Aires. After Eichmann's execution, Tacuara violence erupted again and they abducted Jewish students and carved swastikas in their flesh.

Around the same time as Thiriart's shift leftward, Baxter shifted the Tacuara sharply to the Left and, with Perón's support, reorganized it into Argentina's first urban guerrilla warfare organization. Many Tacuaristas, Baxter included, visited Havana, where they were trained into guerrilla maneuvers, and reportedly the People's Republic of China in 1965 as well. After Baxter returned to Latin America, the core of the Tacuara merged with various revolutionary groups to form the Montoneros, a left-wing nationalist group whose armed struggle paved the way for Perón's return to Argentine in 1973.

The Montoneros, believing they were on the threshold of a social revolution, had come to greet their hero on June 20, 1973, and claim what they felt to be their rightful place next to the platform where he was scheduled to address the largest public rally of Argentine history. As Perón stepped off his jet, neo-fascist squads organized by one of Perón's chief advisors machine gunned the Montoneros; Perón had used the Montoneros as shock troops for his political comeback and, once they were no longer useful, discarded talk of a "socialist fatherland" and the illusions of the Montoneros were shattered during the ensuing bloodbath.

Soon another military coup took place in Argentina and the Argentine military leaders used the bogeyman of a then no longer existent left-wing guerrilla movement to target unarmed men, women and children. Between 10,000 and 30,000 people disappeared during these seven years of horror as European neo-fascists specialized in torture and murder assisted the Argentine military regime.

Norberto Ceresole, who was for a time a close advisor of Hugo Chavez, was an associate of Perón. This red-brown tendency of Ceresole was also reflected by his association with Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson and with Roger Garaudy, a Holocaust denying Communist who was himself praised by Hassan Nasrallah and Muammar Gaddafi]

Thiriart would adopt a policy of forming ties with the Left from now on, praising Ho Chi Minh's struggle against America which he saw as an inspiration, and visited many Arab states trying to obtain support for a potential armed organization who would fight "American occupation" in Europe, and speaking at a Ba'ath party conference and meeting with Saddam Hussein, who was then only a colonel in the army. However receptive the Ba'ath party was to Thiriart's proposal, it scrapped this project following the Soviet Union's refusal to support it. He also attempted to

form ties with Palestinian resistance organizations during this period. Thiriart retired again from public life after his failure to obtain significant support, though his few public appearances would keep on being vehicles for his anti-Americanism.

[**Note:** During Thiriart's retirement, one of his followers, Renato Curcio, would go on to found the Red Brigades radical leftist organization which was active in the 70s and 80s in Italy. Another disciple of Thiriart, Claudio Mutti, would form the Italian-Libyan Friendship Organization after Muammar Gaddafi took power in Libya and later took part in organizing a "Nazi-Maoism" movement with the help of pro-China student groups, forming the Lotta Di Popolo organization, and would later meet Aleksandr Dugin in the 90s before arranging for Thiriart to visit Russia. Some Italian militants influenced by Thiriart would even adopt Hitler, Mao, Gaddafi and Juan Perón as heroes, and had slogans supporting a "fascist dictatorship of the proletariat" and praised both Hitler and Mao together.]

The collapse of the Soviet Union encouraged him to start working with the National-European Communitarian Party (PCN) a small party made up of former Maoists and neo-fascists, and run by Luc Michel, who identified himself as a National-Communist and acted as Thiriart's secretary. In 1992, Thiriart would lead a PCN delegation of National-Communists to Russia to meet fascists who were now able to operate openly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thiriart met Yegor Ligachyov, who was receptive to Thiriart's idea of a union between Europe and Russia against America. Ligachyov suggested it should be in the form of a revived Soviet Union, which Thiriart accepted, paralleling Yockey's post-1952 National-Bolshevik positions.

Thiriart died from a heart failure in late 1992, his followers setting up a second European Liberation Front to continue Thiriart's project. The European Liberation Front kept contacts with the Russian coalition of the National Salvation Front and supported the National Salvation Front during the 1993 crisis opposing it to Boris Yeltsin in Russia.

Alain de Benoist

Among the neo-fascists to come out of Thiriart's ideological orbit is Alain de Benoist, who has exerted a substantial influence on the New Right. In his teenage years, De Benoist joined Thiriart's Jeune Europe out of sympathy for the French occupation of Algeria in the late 50s and would later be a member of the editorial board of Europe-Action, a successor organization of Jeune Europe after the latter was banned by the French government.

During this period De Benoist was a standard mainstream neo-fascist opposed to Communism, defending apartheid and supporting the American imperialist war in Vietnam. Dissatisfied with the then state of the far-right and its inability to challenge the Gaullist French state, De Benoist would instead opt for giving up on the biological racism and conspiracy theories of the far-right and instead favor a more intellectual approach, and in reaction to the radical leftist movement of May 1968 he founded the think tank GRECE (which is the acronym for *Groupement pour Recherches et Etudes pour la Civilisation Europeenne*, the French translation of *Research and Study Group for the European Civilization*). Inspired by the theories of Italian Marxist theoretician Antonio Gramsci on cultural hegemony (for which the by-then long deceased Gramsci should not be blamed), De Benoist would advocate for fighting an ideological war to influence mass culture as foundation for political change, a theory called "metapolitics". GRECE consequently published

material rehabilitating fascists such as ideologues of the Conservative Revolution and supporters of National-Bolshevism such as Ernst Niekisch.

De Benoist's ideological evolution was also marked by a shift towards hostility to Christianity, which in his view had "colonized" Indo-Europeans by force, and support for a revival of pre-Christian European polytheism, which echoed Julius Evola. Accompanying this shift was an increasing anti-Americanism of De Benoist, who hated the "American way of life" and "it's inane TV serials, chronic mobility, ubiquitous fast food, admiration of the almighty dollar and its quiescent, depoliticized populace". He opposed free-market capitalism, appropriating left-wing critiques of liberalism by decrying it as an ideology reducing every aspect of human life to purely economic value, thus producing a totalizing consumer society which was inescapably totalitarian.

Paralleling Yockey and Thiriart before him, De Benoist came to consider American imperialism and liberal democracy as more dangerous than Soviet Communism, writing "Better to wear the helmet of a Red Army soldier than to live on a diet of hamburgers in Brooklyn" in 1982 (which would be *repeated in 2017 by Richard Spencer*, a prominent figure of the American fascist "Alt-Right" movement), supporting Third World struggles while condemning NATO and voting for the Communist Party in the French elections of 1984.

Against accusations from other neo-fascists of having defected to the New Left, De Benoist would just like Thiriart before him claim he was out of the Left-Right spectrum and instead supported "a plural world grounded in the diversity of cultures" against a "one-dimensional world". This concept, called "ethnopluralism", meant that De Benoist had gone from a white supremacist to a supporter of separate ethnic and cultural identities and regionalism against what he was as a "homogenizing global market", putting him at odds with the vision of a pan-European superstate of Thiriart.

This concept of "ethnopluralism" would find its way among wider far-right circles, with Jean-Marie Le Pen re-using it in his xenophobic declarations and neo-fascists adopting it to 'soften' their racist rhetoric.

The end of the Cold War signified the end of the Left-Right divide for De Benoist and following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, he would visit Russia in 1992, months before Thiriart's own delegation, where he would meet many figures of the opposition to Boris Yeltsin and proclaim that politics consisted of anti-system forces against the "establishmentarian center", effectively advocating for a Left-Right coalition against liberal democracy.

Third Positionist Fascism

Among the movements close to the European New Right is Third Positionism, a strand of fascism which stands in opposition to both capitalism and communism and has its origins in "classical" fascism and in the Strasser brothers.

The Movimento Sociali Italiano's adoption of an electoral course during the 50s and 60s resulted in the formation of a number of neo-fascist offshoots of the MSI who preferred extra-parliamentary methods and sought to replace parliamentary democracy with a fascist dictatorship.

Terza Posizione

Among these were the Evola-influenced Ordine Nuovo and the Avanguardia Nazionale which would be dissolved by the Italian state in 1973 because they were attempting to revive fascism, which was illegal in Italy's post-war constitution. *Riding the Tiger* was a major influence among this Italian neo-fascist generation of the 1970s, who believed that Italy had to be freed from "dual enslavement" by Coca Cola and Karl Marx by a violent overthrow of the status quo. Stefano Delle Chiaie of the Avanguardia Nazionale portrayed his followers as an Evolian "elite of heroes" in a right-wing manual in the 70s. Founded by one of Evola's disciples, Pino Rauti, in 1956, the Ordine Nuovo itself was a violent neo-fascist group which was heavily influenced by Evola's ideology, and its members called themselves the "Children of the Sun" and used Evolian terminology such as aristocracy, hierarchy, elite rule, political soldiers and warrior asceticism – Evola himself later called Ordine Nuovo the only political group in Italy "that doctrinally had held firm without ever descending to compromise".

Following their dissolution, many of their ex-members along with members of Claudio Mutti's Lotta di Popolo would come together to form Terza Posizione, whose ideology was based on Julius Evola's work and was one of the "pioneers" of post-war Third Positionist fascism. Following the 1980 Bologna massacre in which a suitcase blew up in a train station in Bologna, Italy, killing 85 people and wounding 200 others, the group would come under investigation as prime suspect behind the attacks, and as the members of Italy's neo-fascist underground, Claudio Mutti included, were interrogated, recurrent in the investigations was the name of Julius Evola as inspiration, mentor and guru figure of the violent neo-fascists. Several members of Terza Posizione fled to London and other foreign capitals, spreading knowledge of Evola among neo-fascists wherever they went. Evola soon became a cult figure among neo-fascists, his ideology and publications becoming popular among the European New Right, and his esoteric elitism and spiritual authoritarianism especially appealed to neo-fascists who considered Anglo-American neo-Nazism as being too crude and with limited appeal and instead sought a more "sophisticated" ideology.

The International Third Position

In the UK, Fiore met Nick Griffin and Derek Holland, former members of the far-right National Front who had formed a Third Positionist faction within the NF called the Political Soldier wing, which opposed to the NF's own electoral politics. In 1986, dissensions within the NF led Griffin and Holland to break away from the NF and form their own organization named the Official National Front (ONF). Unlike the National Front, the ONF supported ethnic regionalism in the UK and praised Ayatollah Khomeini, Muammar Gaddafi and Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, a position close to that of Otto Ernst Remer's, and in 1988 Griffin and Holland traveled to Libya on invitation by the Libyan government.

Following a further split in the Official National Front, Griffin, Holland and Fiore would become the founding members of the International Third Position (ITP), and Holland and fellow ITP member Colin Todd visited Iraq shortly before the Gulf War as part of a ITP delegation. Patrick Harrington meanwhile went on to found the National Liberal Party, the party and later think tank Third Way, and Solidarity-The Union for British Workers.

The ITP would itself undergo multiple splits, with Griffin leaving in 1990 and later joining the British National Party (BNP), and later succeeding John Tyndall at the party's head before being

expelled from it in 2014 and founding his own party, the British Unity. Another member, Troy Southgate, left in 1992 to later form in 1998 the “National-Anarchist” National Revolutionary Faction, which again true to Third Positionist habits appropriates left-wing imagery and aesthetics for a reactionary, fascist ideology. “National-Anarchism” cannot be considered a legitimate form of Anarchism since only did it not develop out of any existing Anarchist thought, but Anarchists themselves have been at the forefront of opposition to fascism for many decades.

The Tricolour Flame, Forza Nuova and CasaPound

The Movimento Sociale Italiano would rebrand as a supposedly more moderate conservative party (though it maintains its fascist imagery and does not repudiate the party’s ties to Mussolini’s regime), leading its hardliner fascist faction to form Tricolour Flame, a Third Positionist fascist party.

A pro-Fiore and pro-Morsello faction within Tricolour Flame would grow while they were in “exile” in the UK and later split from Tricolour Flame and became an ultra-Catholic fascist party of its own named Forza Nuova, and when Fiore and Morsello returned to Italy, they were made the leaders of Forza Nuova. Once allied to the Ukrainian far-right Svoboda party, Forza Nuova later shifted to a pro-Russian and pro-Donbass position after the Euromaidan, with one member even going to, ironically, fight against “Kiev fascists”.

A sibling of Forza Nuova is CasaPound, named after fascist and anti-Semite Ezra Pound, which also grew out of Tricolour Flame, and whose members call themselves the “Fascists of the Third Millennium”. CasaPound is virulently xenophobic and anti-immigration, and has been behind many attacks against leftists and refugees in Italy while also adopting the New Right concepts of “ethnopluralism” and of metapolitics, and appropriating leftist methods such as squatting and occupying buildings, criticizing globalization and austerity, supporting workers and running social centers. Among CasaPound’s affiliates is Solidarites-Identites (Sol.ID), an “ethnopluralist” NGO which is active in Syria, Burma, Kosovo, Palestine and South Africa.

Red-Browns in Russia

Russian National Bolshevism

The origins of Russian National Bolshevism differ from interwar German National Bolshevism and have their roots in the Russian Civil War which followed the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent counter-revolutionary power grab by the Bolshevik Party, when Lenin made concessions to Russian nationalists to stabilize the newly formed Soviet Union and many Tsarist White movement members and defectors from the proto-fascist Black Hundreds switched sides and joined the Bolsheviks.

[**Note:** Many prominent revolutionaries at that time condemned the counter-revolutionary acts and the authoritarianism of the Bolsheviks, with Emma Goldman becoming disillusioned with the situation in Russia and denouncing the Soviet Union as state capitalist, Otto Rühle saying that the struggle against fascism begins with the struggle against Bolshevism, and Russian Anarchist Voline, who had participated in the Russian and Ukrainian revolutions, labeling the USSR under Stalin as red fascism.]

Among former White movement supporters who joined the Bolsheviks was Nikolai Ustrialov, who saw the Bolshevik Revolution as the way to reestablish Russia as a great power, called for the end of the Russian Civil War and for Russian nationalists to collaborate with the Bolsheviks, which Ustrialov and Russian emigres in Prague published in their publication named *Smena Vekh* while adopting the “National Bolshevik” name after Ustrialov read Niekisch. The Soviet government subsequently subsidized *Smena Vekh*, which became influential in the USSR and though Ustrialov himself initially praised Stalin before being executed during his purges, a number of Smenavekhites became influential ideologues in the Soviet establishment.

Following the failure of the Spartacist uprising in Germany and Stalin’s victory in the power struggle which followed Lenin’s death in the Soviet Union, the mixture of nationalism and Marxism-Leninism of the Soviet Union developed into some kind of National Bolshevism as result of the USSR’s adoption of the “Socialism in One Country” policy in 1925, the adoption of which was also partly motivated by the need to reassure Germany that the Soviet Union’s priority was to maintain the Treaty of Rapallo instead of exporting revolution.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

Another period of Red-Brown collaboration followed the crisis resulting from the failure of the Western powers’ appeasement policy towards Hitler when he violated the Munich agreement (from which the Soviet Union had been excluded) by annexing Czechoslovakia, leading Stalin to openly negotiate a potential alliance against Hitler with Britain and France, while also secretly negotiating with Germany. To the shock of Western powers and Communists around the world, in August of that year the German-Soviet Credit Agreement and the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact were signed, followed by about five hundred German Communists who had previously sought exile in the Soviet Union being deported by Stalin back to Germany. These treaties were accompanied by secret protocols dividing Eastern Europe into Soviet and Nazi spheres of influence, and the next month the Nazis and the Soviets invaded Poland, with the Soviet and Nazi troops holding joint parades at Brest-Litovsk and Lvov. After this the USSR and Germany held further talks which resulted in another treaty whereby the Nazis ceded Lithuania to the Soviets in exchange for Stalin recognizing Hitler’s occupation of Warsaw and Lublin, and which included protocols concerning a population transfer between Germany and the Soviet Union as well as sharing of intelligence to repress Polish resistance to the occupation. More talks in Moscow concerned the expansion of economic and political cooperation between the Nazis and the Soviets, which Molotov and Ribbentrop openly declared would be a “solid foundation for peace in Eastern Europe”.

[**Note:** When Jean-Francois Thiriart came out of retirement in the 80s, he praised the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and declared that it made the Soviet Union the geopolitical heir of Nazi Germany.]

When Britain and France declared war on Germany in reaction the invasion of Poland, the Comintern instead suspended all anti-fascist activity and forced Communist parties to condemn the war as imperialist and oppose war credits, causing the collapse of the anti-fascist Popular Fronts. The Soviet Union and Nazi Germany signed another economic agreement in 1940 whereby the USSR sold raw material to the Nazis, who would provide the USSR with war equipment, helping Germany circumvent the sanctions imposed by Britain, and unresolved talks about the possibility of the USSR joining the Axis ensued. The agreement ended only when Hitler violated

the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, prompting the USSR to enter the war on the side of the Allies, during which Stalin used nationalist rhetoric about fighting the “Great Patriotic War” to mobilize the Red Army.

This nationalist policy was continued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union throughout the ensuing Cold War, where it made use of both Russian nationalism and Marxism-Leninism for mobilization, and the nationalist factions of the Soviet establishment tolerated and supported National Bolshevism, especially through the Communist Youth League and the Red Army.

Post-Soviet Fascism

With the catastrophic collapse of the Soviet Union and the whole Eastern bloc, numerous fascist and ultra-nationalist movements emerged and took advantage of the rise in poverty, decrease in standards of living and corruption resulting from the massive privatization of Boris Yeltsin’s made in USA disastrous “shock therapy” to strengthen their positions. As part of the backlash against Yeltsin, Aleksandr Barkashov, a former member of Pamyat (an anti-Semitic organization which blames a “Zionist Masonic plot” for the Russian Revolution and for all of Russia’s ills) and the founder and leader of neo-Nazi group Russian National Unity, allied with former KGB officer Aleksandr Stergilov (himself an open anti-Semite), to form the Russian National Assembly (RONS), which wanted to remove Yeltsin through constitutional means and advocated the unification of all Slavs from the former USSR and of which many members were active duty intelligence officers, Stergilov explaining that the security organs “were always composed of patriotically-minded people”.

This process of unification of the opposition to Yeltsin culminated with the formation of the National Salvation Front, the alliance of the most hardline of Yeltsin’s opponents composed of fascists, Russian ultra-nationalists, Tsarist monarchists and Stalinists, which coalesced out of resentment at Russia’s downfall from a major world power to a weak state plagued by instability and crises, and had close ties to a parliamentary bloc called “Russian Unity”. The co-chairman of the National Salvation Front was Aleksandr Prokhanov, who was also the editor in chief of *Dyen*, the mouthpiece of the National Salvation Front, which published the vilest anti-Semitism such as excerpts of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and expressed support for Western neo-Nazis. Also involved in the National Salvation Front were Aleksandr Dugin, who was published in and helped edit *Dyen*, and Eduard Limonov, a former Russian exile who had been part of punk and leftist circles in the US, met Alain de Benoist in Paris, and participated in the Yugoslav war on the side of Radovan Karadzic before returning to Russia and joining the red-brown opposition to Yeltsin. Limonov was conscious that overt fascism had no means of succeeding in Russia because of the legacy of the Soviet Union’s participation in the Second World War and therefore he decided to attempt introducing it there through covert ways, and he and Dugin instead formed the National Bolshevik Front, which was itself part of the National Salvation Front and occupied a prominent position in the Russian counter culture. Another prominent member of the National Salvation Front was Gennady Zyuganov, who had previously taken part in discussions with Alain de Benoist and Jean-Francois Thiriart during their visit to Russia in 1991 and later founded the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), which despite its name is an ultra-nationalist and reactionary organization which opposes “cosmopolitanism”, claims “Zionists” are plotting to take over the world, called for banning Jewish organizations in Russia together with fascist party Rodina in 2005, and whose member Albert Makashov is an outspoken and virulent anti-Semite

(a red-brown trend which is very common among many Stalinist parties of states which were once part of the former Soviet bloc).

[**Note:** After Otto Ernst Remer ended his exile in the Middle-East and returned to Germany in the 1980s, he started touring around Western Europe and meeting neo-Nazis from various countries with the goal of organizing the neo-Nazi movement. Wherever he traveled, Remer proposed the idea of a German-Russian geopolitical alliance, similarly as when he had campaigned for the Socialist Reich Party in the 1950s, which, according to him, was the only way to defeat the Americans and “liberate Western Europe”, and he claimed that Wall Street was supposedly “under Zionist control” and blamed America’s wars on Israel. Rumors started circulating that Remer had returned from the Middle-East with funding from Syria, the staunchest Arab ally of the USSR, to support an “anti-Zionist project” in the form of an alliance between Germany and the Soviet Union. According to Remer’s racist worldview, Russia was allegedly worried about a supposed “threat” from China and would become the “outer shield” of the “white race” and welcome a reunited Germany to hold the Western powers in check, and he advocated for total collaboration from the Iberian peninsula to the Ural mountains.

In 1983, Remer launched the German Freedom Movement, whose aim was the signing of a new Treaty of Rapallo, and whose manifesto, titled *The Bismarck-German Manifesto*, equated the American way of life with the “destruction of European culture”, agitated against NATO and Germany’s membership in NATO, and opposed German participation in a potential war against Russia. The German Freedom Movement united 23 right-wing and neo-Nazi groups and, while it had a membership of 1500 members, it trained a generation of neo-Nazis. During this period, Remer was the most pro-Soviet neo-Nazi in West Germany and supported a reunification of Germany through an arrangement with the Soviet Union, a strategy which was increasingly favored by right-wing extremists. While he still considered the USSR as an enemy of Germany so long as it dominated Eastern Europe, he nevertheless thought the situation could change if the Soviet Union were to start fraying at the edges because of its economic difficulties. Remer hoped that the USSR would be willing to allow German reunification in exchange of economic assistance and security guarantees, and he met with Valentin Falin, the former Soviet ambassador to West Germany who served as one Gorbachev’s chief advisors on foreign policy, with the question of a new Treaty of Rapallo and a new German-Russian alliance being raised each time.

With the emergence of the left-wing ecologist and pacifist Greens and following NATO’s decision to station a new range of nuclear missiles in Europe galvanizing neutralist sentiment, the Greens became a mass-based opposition movement in West Germany. Remer advocated for dialoguing with all German neutralists, including the Greens and other left-wing peace activists, to pressure the Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who supported NATO’s plan to install missiles in Europe.

(**Note:** The attempts of the Greens to forge a third way beyond capitalism and Communism had certain similarities with themes stressed by the New Right and neo-Nazis who were trying to outwit the Left through radical positions on ecology, nuclear weapons, US imperialism and “national liberation”, with some neo-fascist extremists even advocating for a “revolution from below” in Germany modeled on Third World independence struggles. They often used leftist-sounding rhetoric meant to appeal to the Greens’ supporters, with many Greens being receptive to New Right arguments that German reunification was a prerequisite for peace in Europe, and these topics were debated in New Right publications which published articles by both leftists and neo-fascist “national revolutionaries”. Far-right strategists who were trying to leave the fringes of the political scene took advantage of this ideological cross-fertilization and tried riding the wave

of the electoral successes of the Greens, who had scored well enough to enter the Bundestag. While most Greens were committed anti-fascists, some of them were not well-informed enough to realize they had been infiltrated by neo-fascists, and a struggle opposing leftists to neo-fascist elements inside the party ensued.

Among the earliest fascist infiltrators of the Greens was August Haussleiter, a veteran of Hitler's Beer Hall Putsch with a long history of involvement with the far-right after WWII. During the early 1950s, Haussleiter's *Deutsche Gemeinschaft* (German Community) had collaborated with the *Bruderschaft*, and after the Socialist Reich Party was banned he engaged in talks with Remer's colleagues in an attempt to salvage the political power of the SRP's faithful activists while Rudolf Aschenauer was a member of the executive board of the *Deutsche Gemeinschaft*. Haussleiter shifted to the Left in the late 1960s to attract student radicals, and his nationalist anti-war group, the Action Community of Independent Germans, began to focus on nuclear and ecology issues. The first organization to call itself "The Greens" in 1977 was led by Haussleiter, who became a father figure to the Greens, whose initial supporters included both dissident conservatives and left-wing activists. Haussleiter was elected as a chairman of the Green Party in 1980, but was soon forced to step down after his far-right past came to public light.

In 1980, a group of "national revolutionaries" who had covertly attempted to take over the West Berlin chapter of the Greens was expelled from the party. In reaction to the leftists prevailing, the eco-fascists formed their own rival party, the Democratic Ecology Party, headed by Herbert Gruhl, in 1982. Rudolf Bahro, a former East German dissident who had become a leader of the West German Greens, shocked his allies by urging them to "rediscover the 'positive' side of the Nazi movement so as to liberate the 'suppressed brown parts' of the 'German character'". The German neo-Nazis' and New Rightists' interest in Green issues was however a pretext to promote aggressive social Darwinist and racist ideology under the guise of ecology, with Gruhl invoking the "laws of nature" to justify a hierarchical social order and using a *Völkisch* form of eco-fascism to promote xenophobia, and Bahro echoing the New Right after leaving the Greens in the mid-1980s by calling for authoritarian measures to save the biosphere, and called for an "eco-dictatorship" and a "Green Adolf".

The leftists ultimately prevailed in this struggle, rejecting the neo-fascists and their ideas. The Greens had more differences than similarities with the far-right: they were committed to egalitarian principles and, although they supported German reunification based on disarmament and neutrality, they opposed the concept of Greater Germany espoused by the neo-fascists, did not accept the position of German conservatives who called for decriminalizing German history, and rejected the right-wing notion which blamed the partition of Germany on the imperialist policies of the occupation forces, which they maintained minimized the role of the Nazis and of German nationalism.)

One of Remer's followers during those years was Bela Ewald Althans, a former collaborator of neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen, with whom Althans had been a leader of the neo-Nazi Action Front of National Socialists before it was banned by the German government in 1983. After his expulsion from high school and being disowned by his parents, teenage fascist Althans became a follower of Remer, who had been introduced to a new generation of German neo-Nazis through his friendship with Kühnen. Remer introduced Althans to important members of the fascist underground, and Althans became a youth leader of Remer's German Freedom Movement. Althans explained that "the most important thing" that Remer had taught him was that "Germany needs Russia", based on Bismarck's thinking, and Remer introduced Althans to Yockey's *Imperium* and

convinced Althans that Germany had been “colonized by America” and “hoodwinked by corrupt historians, journalists and government officials” who were allegedly bent on “making Germans feel shame and guilt” for what had happened during the Nazi era. According to Remer, this was all part of a “master plot” to supposedly “justify reparation payments to Israel and post-war domination by the United States”.

Close to Remer was Karl Philipp, a close ally of Holocaust denier David Irving in Germany, and a contributor to CODE, a far-right publication edited by Ekkehard Franke-Griksch, the son of Alfred Franke-Griksch. After Remer suffered a stroke, Philipp became the minder of Remer who received journalists in his home in Bad Kissingen and would, with little prompting, be outspoken about his fanatical anti-Semitism and his admiration for Hitler. During this period, Remer published the *Remer Dispatch*, a newsletter in which he denied the Holocaust, which resulted in a long running legal battle with the Federal Republic. When he was convicted in 1985 of defaming the dead by distributing Holocaust denying material, Remer referred to the governing Christian Democrat government as “toads”.

Remer also recounted his dealings in the Middle-East from his exile during these years, and when the United States bombed Tripoli in 1986, he denounced Reagan’s “gangster tactics” and in contrast he called Muammar Gaddafi a “good man who knows what he wants”, and when questioned about the Ayatollah Khomeini, he declared that, “Anyone who makes trouble for the United States is very welcome”. When Iraq fired 39 scud missiles at Israel in 1991 during the Gulf War, Remer claimed the attacks were “fabricated by Jews” to “extract more money from Bonn”. Remer considered Russians to be “white people” who, in his view, were “a hundred times closer” to Germans, unlike the Americans, whom he considered “mixed”; Remer similarly saw Russia as the key to the “survival of the ‘white race’”, which he considered to be “at stake”.

In 1988, while he was still working with Remer, Althans traveled to the United States and stayed with former Ku Klux Klan grand dragon Tom Metzger, and in 1992 and 1993 he visited Russia on “fact-finding missions” sponsored by Holocaust denier and Hitler apologist Ernest Zundel, where he met Aleksandr Barkashov, who supported an alliance with Germany, unlike Limonov. Zundel enthusiastically declared that Russia would be the center of a future neo-Nazi movement, and visited Russia again in 1994 with Althans, where the former bought a gold embossed edition of *Mein Kampf* in Moscow and met with Barkashov’s Russian National Unity and opponents of Yeltsin like Stergilov, with whom Zundel claimed to have “talked of pan-Slavism in a new racialist form”, leading Zundel to declare Russians as “the racial guards on the eastern frontier” who were, according to him, “protecting Europe from Muslims and Chinese people”. In December of that same year, however, Althans was condemned to eighteen months in prison for distributing Holocaust denial videos, and in 1995 a three-and-a-half year sentence was added to his term while he claimed to no longer be a neo-Nazi in court. After his release, Althans dissociated himself from any far-right activity and disappeared from public life.]

Following Yeltsin’s decision to dissolve the Russian parliament in 1993, the National Salvation Front attempted to form a shadow government and wrestle power from him during the following crisis, resulting in a showdown opposing Yeltsin to a red-brown alliance which included the National Salvation Front and Aleksandr Barkashov’s neo-Nazis in front of the Russian White House, and after Yeltsin sent the tanks to storm the Russian White House, a large number of his red-brown opponents were killed or wounded and many opposition leaders were thrown in jail, *Dyen* was banned along with many opposition newspapers and, with Western cheerleading, Yeltsin consolidated his increasingly dictatorial power through a constitutional reform drastically

increasing the President's powers before decreeing new elections. The winners of these elections, however, included the the KPRF, which won 32 seats in the State Duma, and the misleadingly-named far-right Liberal Democratic Party of Russia of hardline far-right nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (who had been close to Eduard Limonov around that time, Limonov having toured him around Paris in 1992, where he introduced Zhirinovskiy to Jean-Marie Le Pen, who subsequently endorsed Zhirinovskiy's presidential bid), which won 59 seats, as result of the anti-Yeltsin protest vote. In February 1994, this Duma dominated by Yeltsin's opponents granted amnesty to Yeltsin's imprisoned enemies, with *Dyen* reappearing under the name of *Zavtra*, Barkashov marching freely in Moscow and Limonov starting his own newspaper, *Limonka*.

Faced with economic and social deterioration in Russia, Yeltsin took an increasingly racist populist turn and started targeting ethnic minorities in Russia in the mid-1990s and in 1994 invaded Chechnya. At this point the National Salvation Front began to disaggregate, prominent National Salvation Front members criticizing the war while Zhirinovskiy, Limonov and Barkashov instead supported Yeltsin's policies and the bloodbath unleashed in Chechnya, with Limonov leaving the Front and lambasting its members opposed to the war as "moderates". Around this time Limonov broke with Zhirinovskiy, who went on to throw his support behind Yeltsin in 1998. Limonov criticized Barkashov's open Nazism and called it counterproductive since the memory of the Nazis' atrocities and the legacy of the massive loss of lives of the Soviet people during the struggle against fascism in WWII meant that fascism and Nazism were rejected in Russia and, in his view, the only way for fascism to be introduced there was in more discreet forms. After Barkashov's rebranding as a "serious politician" in 1995 to distance himself from the Nazi label, Limonov's National Bolshevik Front continued collaborating with Barkashov's Russian National Unity, which by 1998 had expanded into 64 of Russia's 89 regions, running military camps indoctrinating youth into fascist ideology while local and regional authorities were lenient and even collaborated with Barkashov, the situation of Russia at that time being compared by Martin A. Lee to that of the Weimar Republic – a situation which helped the rise of Vladimir Putin, the former KGB official turned right-wing authoritarian whose popularity was boosted by his bloody and brutal handling of the war in Chechnya and was appointed by Yeltsin as acting president. Around that time the National Bolshevik Party experienced a split and in the spring of 1998 Limonov parted ways with his associate Aleksandr Dugin. Limonov went on to ally with liberal Garry Kasparov's United Civil Front and join the opposition to Vladimir Putin in the 2000s. The National Bolshevik Party was among the organizers of the anti-Putin protests known as the Dissenters' March and Limonov later became one of the leaders of The Other Russia opposition coalition together with Kasparov.

Aleksandr Dugin

Aleksandr Dugin was born in the Soviet Union in 1962 and joined the Moscow Aviation Institute in 1979 before being expelled from it because of his associations with the esotericist Golovin Circle led by fascist mystic Yevgeny Golovin, for which he translated Julius Evola's works. Following the Demokratizatsiya under Mikhail Gorbachev, Dugin joined Pamyat and became a member of its Central Council in 1988 before Barkashov, who saw him as an ideological rival, had Dugin expelled from it in 1989 for attempting to introduce new ideas to the organization, after which he traveled to Western Europe where he met Alain de Benoist and Jean-Francois Thiriart, who strongly influenced his anti-Americanism and his support for Russian traditionalism. This prox-

imity of Dugin to the European New Right explains why the ideology of the National Bolshevik Front he later founded was closer to Niekisch's National Bolshevism than to that of the Sme-navekhites.

Dugin then returned to Russia and founded *Arktogaia*, which published material expressing support for a conservative social revolution in Russia which would lead to the creation of a traditionalist, authoritarian and spiritual society. Around this time, Dugin proposed to Limonov (who was also regularly published on Matt Taibbi's and Mark Ames' *The eXile* from the later part of that decade **until the 2010s** – members of *The eXile*'s team such as **Yasha Levine, John Dolan**, Matt Taibbi and **Mark Ames** and *The eXile itself* have praised Eduard Limonov until late 2016) to form the National Bolshevik Front, which was materialized in 1993. The purpose of the National Bolshevik Front was to use a National Bolshevik reinterpretation of Russian history reconciling its monarchist and Communist periods to help the formation of anti-liberal coalitions at a time when the red-brown alliance was struggling against Yeltsin, and *Dyem* itself was associated with *Arktogaia* during this period (Gennady Zyuganov declaring that Russians were “the last power on the planet capable of mounting a challenge to the New World Order – the global cosmopolitan dictatorship” was clear evidence he was influenced by Dugin). It was also at that time that Dugin started publishing his own journal, *Elementy* with the primary aim of propagating a “revolutionary nationalist” ideology to radicalize the red-brown alliance and reconcile its fascist and Stalinist sections, and which praised figures of the Conservative Revolution and members of the Nazi regime, and published the first Russian translations of Julius Evola. This attempt to radicalize the red-brown alliance was exemplified in an essay by him written in 1992 and titled *Fascism – Red and Borderless*, where he tried to link Russia to European fascism by evoking the “left wing” of German fascism which supported an alliance with the Soviet Union and was eliminated by Hitler and tried blaming the Second World War on the West rather than on fascism.

In 1997, Dugin wrote *The Foundations of Geopolitics* as a lecturer at the Academy of the General Staff with the help of Leonid Ivashov, a Russian colonel and former Soviet military officer who was the head of the International Department of the Russian Ministry of Defense from 1996 to 2001. *The Foundation of Geopolitics* became the basis for Russia's own school of geopolitics and was instrumental in establishing the acceptance of geopolitics in Russia after it had been considered a fascist discipline under the Soviet Union. Dugin however left the National Bolshevik Party in 1998 after being dissatisfied with it and sought to increase his contacts, writing the program of the KPRF, and becoming advisor to KPRF member and the Speaker of the Russian State Duma Gennady Seleznyov (which was crucial in helping Dugin's rise from the fringe circles of Russia's fascist scene to the Russian Federation's establishment), while also praising figures of the NSDAP and Nazi Germany such as the Strasser brothers especially, and calling for a “fascist fascism”. As from 1998, Dugin also re-articulated his anti-Semitism by declaring those he deemed “subversive, destructive Jews without a nationality” as enemies while being supportive of Zionism and forming ties with Israeli ultra-nationalist groups who believe every Jewish person should live in Israel, which aligns with the ideology of “ethnopluralism” espoused by Dugin and the European New Right, but also with Dugin's hope that these ultra-nationalists would destabilize the region and allow Russia to dominate the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

Dugin's call for a “red and unbound fascism” means he adapted his ideology and turned it into what Roger Griffin and Matthew Feldman describe as “an aggressively open system“, integrating elements from across the political spectrum to fight its total enemy, that is liberalism represented by the United States. For this purpose, he combined his National Bolshevism to Eurasianism,

an ideology developed by White émigrés who saw the Russian Empire as a “natural” necessity and considered the October Revolution to be a “conservative revolution” that preserved imperial continuity and national individuality of Russia and saved it from a period of Westernization and Europeanization started by Peter the Great. The result of this synthesis was a “Neo-Eurasianist” ideology whose worldview is one where a “Sea Power” centered around the United States and the United Kingdom form an “Atlanticist New World Order” which “dilutes national and cultural diversity” through globalization and is engaged in an eternal confrontation against a “Land Power” centered around a Russian-oriented “Eurasian New Order” which resists globalization. In Dugin’s view, the collapse of the Soviet Union brought about a “Unipolar World” dominated by the globalized, liberal West, and in reaction to this he **advocates for** the formation of a “Multipolar World” by creating an “Eurasian empire” with a hierarchical, “ethnopluralist”, patriarchal and traditionalist society, with himself as the heir of an alleged “Eurasian Order” which he claims had supposedly existed secretly for centuries. This shows how Dugin has adapted his ideology with time while its core remained the same throughout the years: in the early 90s, Dugin had claimed that representatives of this “Eurasian Order” had been present in the *Abwehr*, the Nazi regime’s military intelligence, and in the *Sicherheitsdienst*, the intelligence service of the SS (Dugin had called Reinhard Heydrich, the chief of the *Sicherheitsdienst* and one of the main architects of the Holocaust, a “convinced Eurasianist”, and claimed that Heydrich had been the victim of an “Atlanticist” plot), and labeled the KGB as an “Atlanticist” agent while calling the Waffen-SS and more specifically its division in charge of research the history of the “Aryan race”, the Ahnenerbe, “an intellectual oasis in the framework of the National Socialist regime”.

Another example of this adaptation is that since the early 2000s, he started distancing himself from the term “fascism” and adopted the labels of “Conservative Revolution”, “National Bolshevism” and “New Socialism” while instead claiming to be an anti-fascist and accusing his opponents of being Nazis and fascists, though Dugin never changed the core of his ideology and is still effectively a fascist. This also accompanied itself with attempts by Dugin infiltrate the Western Left through his fascist geopolitical ideology under the facade of an anti-Western but pro-Russian conception of “anti-imperialism”, as Eric Draitser, himself a left-wing journalist and former victim of Dugin’s manipulation recounts on *CounterPunch* and, in accordance with his goal of developing Left-Right coalitions against liberalism, in 2013 he sent **a memo [archive]** to his associate Georgiy Gavrish which listed a number of international figures from both the European Left and far-right, with the aim of creating “an elite club and/or a group of informational influence through the line of Russia Today”. In 2001, he formed the Eurasia Movement and the Eurasia Party and in 2005 he formed the Eurasian Youth Union, and after he **left the Rodina bloc in 2003** he has chosen a metapolitical strategy to realize his fascist goal. While Dugin’s influence in Russia is exaggerated, such as when he is called “Putin’s Rasputin”, he nevertheless is influential within sections of the Russian establishment (the head of United Russia’s ideological directorate and deputy culture minister in charge of the film industry, Ivan Demidov, is an Eurasianist close to Dugin) and military and used to be the head of the Department of Sociology of Internal Relations at the Moscow State University until thousands petitioned for him to be fired after he made calls to mass murder Ukrainians in 2014. Dugin has been **hosted and promoted** by Russian state television *RT*, formerly known as *Russia Today*, which now tries to downplay Dugin’s influence and distance itself from him. However Duginists like Mark Sleboda, Manuel Ochseneiter and Tiberio Graziani are regularly hosted as experts on Russian state-owned inter-

national media, especially *Sputnik International* (formerly *RIA Novosti* and *The Voice of Russia*), the radio broadcaster owned by the Russian state.

Influence on Western Fascists in the Era of Globalization

In opposition to the neoliberal counterrevolution started by Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s and followed by globalization which allowed for the free movement of capital in the 1990s, arose the left-wing anti-globalization movement, spearheaded by the Zapatista uprising in 1994 in opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement. The autonomous self-organization of indigenous communities on the basis of indigenous practices and Anarchism in Mexico inspired various initiatives which fueled a growing Anarchist movement across the United States, and the Battle of Seattle in 1999 which shut down the World Trade Organization's Ministerial Conference was largely anti-authoritarian in nature and dissented against the union bureaucrats and the NGOs by confronting the ruling Democratic Party and the police. However some neo-fascists, such as white supremacist Matthew Hale and Louis Beam, saw these protests in a positive light even though they framed these actions in terms of "Zionist Occupied Government" and the "New World Order" conspiracies, and attempted to infiltrate the protests. Though these neo-fascists were largely ignored by leftist protestors, certain neo-fascist leaders saw the Anti-Globalization Movement an opportunity to attempt recruit leftists to their cause.

[**Note:** Among the neo-fascists who seek to recruit from the Left is James Porazzo, who used to be the leader of the American Front, one of the oldest racist skinhead groups in the United States, founded in 1987. The American Front has undergone many ideological shifts since its foundation: initially a "standard" racist skinhead group whose ideology was based on anti-Semitism, anti-Blackness and hatred of minorities, under Porazzo's leadership during the 1990s it became one of the only Third Positionist groups in the United States, supported Islamists including Hamas, Hezbollah and even Osama bin Laden (the American Front was rumored to have connections to the Taliban during this period), and declared that it had "more in common, ideologically, with groups like Nation of Islam, the New Black Panther Party or Aztlan than with the reactionaries like the Hollywood-style nazis or the Klan".

After 9/11, Porazzo claimed that the American Front's support for al-Qaeda "inspired some heavy state harassment and severely limited our ability to safely expand or organize" and he soon disappeared, with his fellow American Front member, David Lynch, taking over and steering the group back towards its initial racist ideology and allying with neo-Nazi skinheads such as the Hammerskins, Volksfront and Blood & Honour. Lynch revived the group to some extent until he was murdered at his home in unsolved consequences. Soon after Lynch's death, Porazzo took over the group again, and dissolved it and reformed it into the New Resistance. The New Resistance adheres to Dugin's ideology and to a syncretic mix of Left and Right ideology which combines racial separatism to opposition to capitalism, communism and liberalism, and exemplified by how it calls for "environmental sustainability", "social justice" and "direct democracy", its support for Bashar al-Assad, Muammar Gaddafi and Hugo Chavez and by how it encourages its followers to read Karl Marx, Julius Evola, Fidel Castro, Claudio Mutti, Che Guevara and Aleksandr Dugin.]

The European New Right and Third Positionists became more influential following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism in the People's Republic of China with the reforms of Deng Xiaoping, which meant the loss of the Communist bogeyman against which the majority of Western fascists had agitated throughout the Cold War. The tide of neoliberalism

and globalization meant that the new bogeyman for neo-fascists was “globalism“, an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory whereby a tiny secret elite was working to undermine national sovereignty to form a “One World Government” and uses immigration for these ends, and one way how this opposition to “globalism” by neo-fascists manifests itself is through their support for nationalist authoritarian regimes such as in Russia, North Korea, Syria and Iran. A common fixation of these conspiracy theories is George Soros, the philanthropist billionaire who donates to many liberal non-profits and charities supporting the Democratic Party, causes which, while not left-wing themselves, are nevertheless still considered as “far-left” by the far-right. Soros also being of Jewish background, neo-fascists have elaborated extensive anti-Semitic conspiracy theories inspired by the anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which present him as a “wealthy Jewish elitist” and accuse him being behind every sort of social movement and opposition to the status quo so as to paint every form of grassroots resistance as illegitimate.

In Europe, the far-right rebranded itself by co-opting leftist causes such as LGBT rights and secularism and anti-establishment politics abandoned by the old left-wing parties which caved in to “Third Way” politics and using them for their own reactionary cause, and went from opposing Communism and supporting the United States to opposing the United States and what their anti-Semitic conspiracy theories call the “Zionist lobby” and instead rallying around the Russian state, especially after the rise to power of Vladimir Putin and his brand of authoritarian right-wing politics. Meanwhile, globalization split the post-Cold War Right worldwide, splitting the neoconservative Right, supporting transnational corporate capital, from the neo-fascist Right, which sees this new order as a “mortal enemy”, and which adopted an “anti-imperialist” and “anti-corporate” message and presents itself as a defender of the “little man” against capitalism (which these neo-fascists believe is “run by Jews”); neo-fascists around the world shifted from the Cold War flag-waving support for Western imperialism to the populist, insurrectionary and mass revolutionary movement analogous to the pre-war fascism of Hitler and Mussolini, rooted in class grievances and class ambitions, and appropriated “anti-imperialist” rhetoric after the left-wing national liberation struggles of the 1950s to 1970s exhausted themselves and gave way to neocolonialism.

This influence of the New Right’s ideas among the larger fascist movement has also resulted in its integration within larger fascist networks spanning around the world. For example, one of Dugin’s disciples, Nina Kouprianova, is married to white nationalist leader Richard Spencer. Kouprianova has translated Dugin’s works which were published by Spencer’s publishing house, the *Washington Summit Publishers*. Spencer himself, before he came to the public eye, has been hosted on *RT* regularly as commentator **concerning Libya, Syria, US foreign policy, Vladimir Putin** and was allowed to promote his white nationalism under the guise of **discussing racist police violence, discussing the Black Lives Matter movement, discussing national security**. More recently, Aleksandr Dugin has also been **platformed on Infowars**, run by far-right conspiracy theorist Alex Jones. **Alex Jones** himself has been hosted by *RT* as a **long time “expert”** since the days when he used to **host Lyndon LaRouche**.

The LaRouche Movement

The LaRouchite Cult And Its Ideology

While Lyndon LaRouche and his movement are easily dismissed as being a ludicrous group of weird conspiracy theorists and cranks, researchers Chip Berlet, Matthew Lyons and Matthew Feldman say this outward image acts as a smokescreen for the real nature of this organization: a violent fascistic cult which is an inciter of hate against Jewish and British people as well as presently the prime worldwide distributor of coded anti-Jewish literature based on the anti-Semitic forgery the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The LaRouche Movement itself functions as a totalitarian cult with the aim of promoting Lyndon LaRouche, who exerts a dictatorial control over the whole movement, and is organized into a corporatist structure which is itself complemented by an intelligence division as well as multiple defunct and still-existent front groups and numerous publications.

The ideology of the LaRouche movement itself views the world as dominated by “an Anglo-Jewish oligarchy which is behind a conspiracy to weaken Western society through international banking, drug trafficking and Zionists, with the British being behind a plot to balkanize the US and the Queen as responsible for drug trafficking”. Their view of history is that one of an eternal war opposing good “Platonists” to evil “Aristotelians” according to which “good humanists” have been in a conflict for millennia against an “evil oligarchy” based initially in Babylon, then Venice and presently Britain’s House of Windsor, being effectively a form of anti-Semitic conspiracy theory, and they often target Jewish people in positions of power, such as Kenry Kissinger and the Rothschild family, as members of this alleged conspiracy. LaRouche’s answer to this supposed conspiracy lies in a “humanist” dictatorship who would rule on behalf of industrial capitalists, with Lyndon LaRouche himself of course at its head. The core of LaRouche’s ideology can be described as a coded form of Illuminati, Freemason and “Jewish banker” conspiracy theories which are internally consistent despite being their outlandish appearance.

The organization’s methods of mass recruitment involve psychological manipulation by convincing its victims the whole world is a police-controlled environment perpetually feeding them misinformation, the result of which being a global collapse happening for which they are held responsible unless they submit fully to LaRouche, who will “teach them how to think”, and to his ideology which proclaims Lyndon LaRouche as the savior who will fix all this wrong. New members are made to undergo what amounts to psychological torture to erase their past and turn them into “new individuals” with new personalities subservient to the cult and younger members are forced into what amounts into indentured labor to raise funds. A Security Division is also present, responsible for supposedly protecting LaRouche and keeping dissident members in line, investigating members who appear disillusioned and making it difficult for anyone asking questions to to leave the organization.

The History of LaRouche

Lyndon LaRouche served as a non-combatant in the US army in the Second World War, after which he was briefly close to the Communist Party USA before joining the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1949. Within the SWP, LaRouche was part of a faction called the Revolutionary Tendency which was later expelled by the SWP in late 1963 and early 1964, following which he shortly joined the Spartacist League before founding the National Caucus for Labor Committees (NCLC) with the aim of gaining control of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) until the SDS expelled the NCLC in 1969.

Following this, the group expanded its activities, gaining adherents in Europe, and with its members becoming fanatically devoted to the group and its leader, and LaRouche himself adopting what Chip Berlet describes as “the same ideas and styles which took National Socialism and turned it into part of the European fascist movement”, and in 1973 the NCLC was responsible for a series of physical assaults called “Operation Mop-Up” on leftists in the United States including the CPUSA, SWP, the Progressive Labor Party and Black Power activists in an attempt to either gain political hegemony on the American left or destroy it, with the NCLC being compared to Hitler’s Brownshirts by US Communists. The NCLC from then on also adopted virulent sexism and homophobia in its theories while becoming more and more of a totalitarian cult-like group fully subordinate to LaRouche himself and adopting brainwashing techniques typically found in cults.

This same year LaRouche founded the US Labor Party (USLP) as a political wing of the NCLC and the next year first began to contact far-right groups while also devolving into conspiracy theories about a supposed global conspiracy by the Rockefellers. In 1976, during LaRouche’s first presidential campaign, he attempted to infiltrate far-right groups such as the American Conservative Union, the John Birch Society, the Young Americans for Freedom and the Ku Klux Klan while also forging links with Republican Party state organizations during the same decade. With the help of KKK grand dragon and American Nazi Party member Roy Frankhouser and former CIA officer Mitchell WerBell, with whom LaRouche arranged to provide the NCLC security force with armed training, he gained access to wider right-wing circles which included spies, mercenaries and intelligence operatives, and Frankhouser would later support LaRouche during his trial in the late 80s. LaRouche would start working through front groups such as the Schiller Institute (which was **founded by Lyndon LaRouche’s wife Helga Zepp-LaRouche**), Food for Peace and publications like *Executive Intelligence Review*, *New Solidarity* (later *The New Federalist*).

Around the time of the death of Nelson Rockefeller, LaRouche came under the influence of the *Liberty Lobby* of Willis Carto, himself a prominent Holocaust denier, admirer of Hitler and disciple of Francis Yockey. As he did in 1976, LaRouche again shifted, this time from conspiracy theories about Rockefeller to conspiracy theories of obvious anti-Semitic nature about a supposed worldwide conspiracy under the control of the “British Oligarchy”, with the Queen of England as their lackey. By the end of that same year, LaRouche had moved fully to the far-right, with his newspaper *New Solidarity* becoming more and more anti-Semitic and full of anti-Jewish conspiracy theories about international bankers, influential Jewish families, the KGB and secret societies.

As researcher Dennis King records, LaRouche’s attitude towards the Soviet Union changed around this time, going from praising Leonid Brezhnev to demonizing Moscow and calling it the

“Third Rome” and a center of the Russian Orthodox Church, which he believed was controlled by the “British oligarchs”. LaRouche called Mikhail Gorbachev the Anti-Christ when he took power.

LaRouche’s activities in the 70s also included harassment campaigns against the United Auto Workers and the United Steelworkers of America, and he started collecting and disseminating intelligence on progressive groups at this point, selling them to US as well as foreign intelligence agencies so that, by the 1980s, LaRouche had already developed an extensive and sophisticated telecommunications network through which political and economic intelligence was collected and then re-shared. LaRouche worked with several states’ intelligence, police and militaries, among whom the Shah of Iran for whom they investigated student dissidents and gave reports to the SAVAK, Filipino dictator Ferdinand Marcos, Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega, the South African apartheid regime for which they prepared reports on anti-apartheid groups, the Argentine Junta, the US Reagan administration until the mid-80s and with the KGB between 1974 to about 1983, the LaRouchites themselves claiming they acted as an open channel between the CIA and the KGB while also taking responsibility for Reagan’s “Star Wars” missile defense program.

In many cases, LaRouche would defend the dictators with whom he worked through distortions such as by ***claiming Manuel Noriega was overthrown by the US because he resisted the US government’s cocaine trade*** even though Noriega had himself been a CIA collaborator involved with cocaine trade, and painting the brutal dictator Ferdinand Marcos ***as a sympathetic figure and denying his abuses***.

True to its virulent homophobia, the LaRouche Organization would in 1986 also sponsor Proposition 64, also known as the “LaRouche Initiative” in the US state of California, which would require any HIV positive individuals to be reported to state authorities and barred from schools and jobs in restaurants and possibly be quarantined. The proposition was defeated twice.

In the mid-80s however, following LaRouche candidates winning the Democratic primary in Illinois in 1986 (leading Democratic Party senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan to condemn his party for ignoring its infiltration by LaRouche) and subsequent investigations into LaRouche’s illegal fundraising bringing the organization to public light, the ties between the Reagan administration and LaRouche were severed. Many LaRouche Movement organizations were seized by the US government and LaRouche himself was imprisoned for fraud and conspiracy from 1989 to 1990, being defended by the former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark, about whom I wrote more further below in this post.

With the loss of their US government connections, LaRouche instead moved to seek ties with other states’ political elites, and the collapse of the Soviet Union meant that LaRouche became interested in the Russian Federation, with the Schiller Institute for Science and Culture, a branch of the LaRouche organ the Schiller Institute, being established in Moscow in 1992. LaRouche himself would repeatedly visit Russia throughout the 90s while additionally trying to influence Russian economic policy-making, with the Schiller Institute presenting a LaRouche memorandum to the State Duma in 1995, and LaRouche himself ***presenting his own report to the Russian parliament that same year***, with his conspiracist economic theories being well-received by groups such as the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia as well as other ultra-nationalists.

In Russia itself, LaRouche’s position is that of ***absolute praise and support for Vladimir Putin*** and his administration along with nostalgia for the Soviet Union. LaRouche’s support for Putin is driven both by Putin foreign policy hostile to the European Union and the United States as well as LaRouche and Putin having similar positions on internal policy, both promoting

reactionary ideas such as an authoritarian state, the primacy of traditional culture and religion as well as infrastructure projects.

At the same time as his rapprochement with the Russian establishment, LaRouche moved from biological to cultural racism, and started shifting towards more ostensibly left-wing positions in the 90s, organizing anti-war demonstrations and rallies and attempting to insert themselves in anti-war coalitions during the Gulf War, attempting to form coalitions with and control African-American civil rights groups since the 70s, opposing the death penalty, praising the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, supporting social programs against the Republican Party's budget cuts, criticizing neoconservatives and organizing anti-war conferences in the prelude to the imperialist invasion of Iraq by George W. Bush. It was in this context that, in 2003, a British student in Paris named Jeremiah Duggan found himself in one such rally believing it to be a legitimate anti-war event at the Schiller Institute which however turned out to be a recruitment session for LaRouche's network. After Jeremiah stood up to the anti-Semitic conspiracism during the event and announced he was Jewish, his body was found hours later on a roadside, having died in a state of terror. Jeremiah's mother received two interrupted phone calls shortly before his death where Jeremiah cried out loud that he feared for his safety. German authorities however hastily ruled it as a suicide and closed the case within three months without having recorded any formal witnesses, and the coroner who later ruled his death was not a suicide however refused to accept evidence that Jeremiah had been killed.

LaRouche has been a "pioneer" of presenting fascism through a facade of progressivism, and already in 1981, the *Liberty Lobby* was defending LaRouche by declaring that "No group has done so much to confuse, disorient, and disunify the Left as they have... the USLP should be encouraged, as should all similar breakaway groups from the Left, for this is the only way that the Left can be weakened and broken". This is evident in how, more recently, LaRouche was one of the many far-right groups who attempted to infiltrate the Occupy Wall Street movement and were rejected by it. *RT* has also hosted LaRouche and his movement many times, ***promoting him as a misunderstood civil rights leader, as "expert" on the Egyptian Revolution, and to speak about the New Silk Road project.***

The Proximity Between LaRouche And The New Right

The above mentioned positions of LaRouche and his cult, such as a Manichean view of history as a perennial war ("Platonists" opposed to "Aristotelians" for LaRouche, and a "Land Power" opposed to a "Sea Power" for Dugin), cultural racism, and geopolitical support for Russia as the key to humanity's salvation coupled with opposition to the US and UK, are something they share with other groups such as Aleksandr Dugin and his neo-Eurasianists as well other New Right groups and "red-brown" organizations such as the KPRF, hence leading to increased indirect contacts between these various reactionary groups. LaRouche and Dugin being very different from each other in that the former has a vision wrapped under a rhetoric of science and rationalism while the latter's is based on Russian revival steeped in mysticism however prevent any substantial alliance between them.

The result is that LaRouche and Dugin share many common allies, which Matthew Lyons suggests might be open channels for sharing ideas between these two movements.

Sergey Glazyev

An interesting ally of both LaRouche and Dugin is Sergey Glazyev, who was Minister of External Economic Relations under the Yeltsin administration before resigning in protest over Yeltsin's decision to dissolve the State Duma which led to the failed coup attempt of 1993. Glazyev was elected to the State Duma in 1994 and became chairman of the parliamentary Economic Affairs Committee, forming ties with LaRouche around this time and being praised by LaRouche "as a leading economist in opposition to Boris Yeltsin's regime". Glazyev's interviews and writings were published on the LaRouchite publication *Executive Intelligence Review*, which also **published** the English translation of a conspiracist book by Glazyev. In 2001, LaRouche himself **spoke** at a State Duma hearing on the Russian economy at the initiative of Glazyev, then chairman of the Duma Committee on Economic Policy and Entrepreneurship, who headed the hearing. In 2012, Sergey Glazyev was appointed by Putin as presidential aide to coordinate the work of federal agencies in developing the Customs Union between Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan, a project which both LaRouche and Dugin happen to support.

Glazyev happens to be close to Aleksandr Dugin as well, though described as not an Eurasianist by the Duginists themselves, and assisted to the **foundation of Dugin's Eurasia Party in 2002** while Dugin was himself temporarily a member of Glazyev's Rodina bloc in 2003. Glazyev and Dugin are both **members of the Izborsky Club, a far-right-think tank founded and headed by Aleksandr Prokhanov** which glorifies both the Tsar Peter the Great and Josef Stalin, and Sergey Glazyev also happens to be on the **Supervisory Board of the far-right think tank Katehon**, as was **Aleksandr Dugin until early 2017**. The name *Katehon* appears to be a reference to the katechon, the Biblical restrainer of the Anti-Christ (a topic which Carl Schmit had written about), which Zurab Chavchavadze, who is on its **Supervisory Board, believes was the role of Tsarist Russia due to its position as a "worldwide bastion of Christianity"**. Another member of its Supervisory Board is Andrey Klimov, who is a member of Vladimir Putin's United Russia party and was a member of its General Council until 2016.

Novorossiya and Crimea

Konstantin Malofeyev

The president of *Katehon* is Konstantin Malofeyev, a Russian businessman who who aspires to revive the Russian monarchy. In May 2013, Malofeyev attended the 7th conference of the Christian Right, anti-LGBT, anti-abortion World Congress of Families, **on whose board of directors is Aleksey Komov**, who is also the **head of international projects of the Saint Basil the Great Foundation**, the “charitable foundation” of Malofeyev. Malofeyev’s position at the World Congress of Families was to present the Christian conservatism of the West in the 1980s in favorable terms compared to the state atheism of the Soviet Union, before contrasting it to the situation in 2010, where he claimed that religious freedom was “under attack” in the West and evoked all the tropes one might hear on *Fox News* such as the “War on Christmas”, the “LGBT agenda” and “political correctness”. To this, he contrasted the situation in Russia, where the Church has been experiencing a revival, religion is taught in schools and homophobic laws have been on the rise, and Malofeyev **promised** that “Christian Russia can help liberate the West from the new liberal anti-Christian totalitarianism of political correctness, gender ideology, mass-media censorship and neo-marxist dogma”.

[**Note:** The **members of the board of the Saint Basil the Great Foundation** include Zurab Chavchavadze, and the Bishop Tikhon Shevkunov, a member of the **Izborsky Club** and of the **Supreme Council of the Russian Orthodox Church**, with influential ties to the state and rumored to be the personal confessor of Vladimir Putin. As the secretary of the Patriarchal Commission of Russian Orthodox Church investigating the executions of Tsar Nicholas II and the Romanov family, Bishop Tikhon Shevkunov has claimed in 2017 that the execution was allegedly a “ritual murder” and that they supposedly held a “special significance” for the chief executioner of the imperial family, Yakov Yurovsky, who was of Jewish origins, which is an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory in line with how blood libels were used as pretext for anti-Semitic programs and atrocities in Europe.]

[**Note:** A partner of the World Congress of Families is the Sanctity of Motherhood Program, an anti-abortion organization **headed by Natalia Yakunina**, the wife of Vladimir Yakunin, who was the director of Russian Railways until 2015. In 2017, the World Congress of Families **sponsored** the **Rhodes Forum 2017** of Yakunin’s foundation, the World Public Forum Dialogue of Civilizations (WPFDC). In September 2014, two of Vladimir Yakunin’s organizations which also both have Natalia Yakunina as vice president, the Center of National Glory and the **Foundation of Saint Andrew the First-Called**, organized the **“Large Family and Future of Humanity” international forum** with the support of Malofeyev’s Saint Basil the Great Foundation. The conference, held at the State Kremlin Palace and animated by Yakunina, was intended to be the 8th conference of the World Congress of Families until it **was ostensibly forced to suspend its participation following the crisis in Ukraine**, though Malofeyev’s Saint Basil the Great Foundation **mentioned the involvement** of Lawrence Jacobs, the General Director of the World

Congress of Families. On what appears to be the conference's Facebook page, is **a now dead link** (but **relayed by the Christian News Wire**) to a post on the website of World Congress of Families' Russian section about a meeting by the International Planning Committee of the conference whose members included Malofeyev, Yakunin, Yakunina, Lawrence Jacobs and Don Feder of the World Congress of Families, and Jack Hanick, a former *Fox News* employee and a devout Roman Catholic **turned Russian Orthodox Christian** who believes "God called on Russia" to fight the LGBT rights movement. Yakunin's Foundation Saint Andrew the First-Called also **initially mentioned** the involvement of Lawrence Jacobs and Don Feder before scrubbing it to obfuscate the involvement of the World Congress of Families in the conference, while the **report of the World Congress of Families** called its October 2015 conference the World Congress of Families IX, confirming that the "Large Family and Future of Humanity" international forum of September 2014 was the 8th conference of the World Congress of Families.]

A month later, after the adoption of the law against "gay propaganda" and "offending religious feelings" in Russia, a delegation of French anti-gay activists, **joined by** the National Organization for Marriage's and the World Congress of Families' president Brian Brown, **spoke to the State Duma** on the 13th of June 2013 on the invitation of the Duma's Committee on Family, Women and Children, whose chairperson Elena Mizulina was then a State Duma MP for the A Just Russia party. Mizulina, who had previously called abortion a "national threat", compared surrogate parenthood to nuclear weapons, and was the author of the homophobic law, had **participated** in anti-LGBT roundtable talks together with French anti-LGBT activists in early June in Paris hosted by the Institute of Democracy and Cooperation, itself **headed by far-right Russian politician and former State Duma MP for the fascist Rodina party, Natalia Narochnitskaya**. The delegation included:

- Aymeric Chauprade, then an advisor to Marine Le Pen and member of the French National Front before leaving it in 2015. Chauprade had participated in the "Large Family and Future of Humanity" conference in 2014
- Fabrice Sorlin, **president of Dies Irae**, a traditionalist Roman Catholic and far-right nationalist organization named for a hymn about the Last Judgement. Sorlin led the delegation
- François Légrier, a former National Front candidate for the legislative elections and **president** of the Catholic Movement of Families
- Odile Téqui
- Hugues Revel, who **leads the far-right Catholiques en Campagne**

The same day, Malofeyev's charity **co-organized** a roundtable discussion at the Kremlin together with the State Duma committee on family, women and children, and on "Traditional Values: The Future of the European Peoples", which was **attended by** Malofeyev, the French delegation, Sergey Gavrillov of the KPRF and Elena Mizulina.

[**Note:** Vladimir Yakunin and Natalia Narochnitskaya are both trustees of the Russkiy Mir Foundation, established by Vladimir Putin in 2007.]

In 2014, Malofeyev, as well as the leaders of the far-right party Rodina (which I talk of later), Dmitry Rogozin and Aleksandr Babakov, were instrumental in helping Jean-Marie le Pen and the French National Front obtaining massive loans after Chauprade had introduced Le Pen to

Malofeyev. That same year, Malofeyev organized an anti-LGBT conference in Vienna where the participants included:

- Konstantin Malofeyev himself
- Aleksandr Dugin
- Ilya Glazunov, a far-right Russian nationalist painter
- Marion-Marechal Le Pen from the French National Front
- Aymeric Chauprade
- Prince Sixtus Henry of Bourbon-Parma, the head of the Spanish Carlist monarchist movement
- Serge de Pahlen, the husband of the Fiat fortune heiress Margherita Agnelli de Pahlen
- Heinz-Christian Strache, the chairman of the far-right Austria Freedom Party (FPÖ), which signed a cooperation treaty with Vladimir Putin's United Russia party in 2016
- Johann Gudenus of the FPÖ
- Johann Herzog of the FPÖ
- Volen Siderov, the leader of far-right Bulgarian party Ataka
- Croatian far-right groups
- Georgian nobles
- Russian nobles
- a Catholic priest

Malofeyev is also the Chairman of the board of directors of the Tsargrad group of companies, which in 2015 launched *Tsargrad TV* (Tsargrad being the Slavic name of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire) with the help of Jack Hanick, and which has as ***editor in chief Aleksandr Dugin*** and ***chairman of its supervisory board Leonid Reshetnikov***, who is also on the Supervisory board of *Katehon*, is a member of the Public Council of the Russian Ministry of Defense and of the Scientific Councils of both the Russian Security Council and Ministry of Affairs, and until January 2017 was the director of the Russian Institute of Strategic Studies. *Tsargrad TV*, which provides a platform to fascists such as Aleksandr Dugin and Alex Jones, is “based on Orthodox principles in the same way as *Fox News*” according to Malofeyev, who is a founder and shareholder of the channel and ***was its general producer until November 2017***, having resigned from this position shortly after ***being made a member of the council*** of the Society for the Development of Russian Education: Two-Headed Eagle, a Russian monarchist organization.

[**Note:** Leonid Reshetnikov has blamed the Second World War on an “Anglo-Saxon elite”, which is a position similar to that of Dugin in his essay on red and borderless fascism.]

[**Note:** The World Congress of Families lists the Sanctity of Motherhood Program and the Saint Basil the Great Foundation *as its partners*, and its Russian section lists *Tsargrad TV, Katehon* and the Saint Basil the Great Foundation *among its partners*.]

The Formation of Novorossiia and the Annexation of Crimea

Malofeyev is a former employer of Aleksandr Borodai, who was once a deputy director of the FSB and had also *formerly worked at Zavtra* where he *continues to be published as an “expert”*. Malofeyev is also a former employer of Igor Girkin (more commonly known as Igor Strelkov), a former FSB member who was in charge of Malofeyev’s security when he visited Kiev and Crimea in 2014 and *contributed to Zavtra between 1998 and 2000*. According to investigative newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, Malofeyev drafted the plan for the creation of the so-called Novorossiia statelet which was formed in the Donbass in eastern Ukraine. When the two “People’s Republics” making up Novorossiia were created in 2014, Girkin became the Defense Minister of the Donetsk People’s Republic while Borodai became Prime Minister. Aleksandr Proselkov, the *head of the Rostov branch of Dugin’s International Eurasian Movement*, became *Deputy Foreign Minister of the Donetsk People’s Republic*, and the Deputy Prime Minister was Andrey Purgin, who was himself a member of Donetskaia Respublika, a pro-Russian organization which had been created in response to the 2005 Orange Revolution, and participated in protests with and went to the summer camps of the Eurasian Youth Union (a youth wing of Aleksandr Dugin’s International Eurasianist party formed with the support of the Russian government of Vladimir Putin in reaction to the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, and which received at least 18.5 million rubles in the form of presidential grants from 2013 to 2014). Donetskaia Respublika had also worked with the Russia Bloc, Bravtsovo and the Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine (PSPU), which are all far-right organizations. Bravtsovo’s and the PSPU’s respective leaders, Dmytro Korchynsky and Natalya Vitrenko *are members of the High Council of Dugin’s International Eurasian Movement*.

[**Note:** Natalia Vitrenko’s misleadingly-named PSPU, a far-right party, has *worked with the Ukrainian Communist Party* (which adheres to a Soviet nationalist red-brown politics not unlike that of the KPRF) in 2007, led a delegation to Libya in April 2011 where she *awarded Muammar Gaddafi with an “anti-NATO resistance fighter” title*, and in July 2011 joined the All Russia’s People’s Front founded by Vladimir Putin, who became its leader in 2013. As well as being a member of Dugin’s International Eurasian Movement, Vitrenko is also *a close associate of LaRouche* and promotes his movement, being another close ally of both Dugin and LaRouche.]

Aleksandr Dugin and Aleksandr Prokhanov were both present at the *founding congress of the Novorossiia Party* in late May 2014, which was also attended by Pavel Gubarev (a former member of Barkashov’s neo-Nazi Russian National Unity as well as *former member of Vitrenko’s PSPU*, who was governor of the Donetsk People’s Republic from March to November of that same year) and Valeriy Korovin, a *member of the Izborsky Club* and a leader of the Eurasian Youth Union. In early June 2014, *discussions between Gubarev and Prokhanov took place*, during which it was decided that the Izborsky Club would develop Novorossiia economically and ideologically, and Gubarev was invited to join the Izborsky Club and create a new branch for it in the Donetsk People’s Republic. The next day, the Izborsky Club *announced that it would advise the drafting of a new constitution for Novorossiia* [archive]. In mid-June

2014, a Donetsk branch of the Izborsky Club was created, **with Pavel Gubarev as its chairperson**, and the Izborsky Club itself **reported that Gubarev, Girkin and Borodai had been elected as its members**. After Girkin was dismissed as the Donetsk Republic's Defense Minister in August that year, he was seen accompanying Aleksandr Dugin and Konstantin Malofeyev at the Valaam Monastery in Russian Karelia the next month, and Borodai is presently on **the committee of The Two-Headed Eagle** along with Malofeyev.

The referendum for the accession of the Crimean peninsula to the Russian Federation also saw fascists and neo-Stalinists close or part of the National-Bolshevik network as observers, which is unfortunately not a new phenomenon: already in the late 2000s and early 2010s, a number of elections in Europe and the former Soviet bloc **had been monitored** by the CIS-EMO, which was **founded and headed by Aleksey Kochetkov**, who had been a member of Barkashov's Russian National Unity in the 1990s, and whose experts included Thiriart's associate Luc Michel, Mateusz Piskorski (see below) and **Giulietto Chiesa** (former Moscow correspondent for the Italian Communist newspaper *L'Unità* who has since become a red-brown militant and is on the **Experts Council of the Russian Eurasianist magazine Geopolitika together with Aleksandr Dugin**, and **became a member of the Izborsky Club in 2014** and **supports Aleksandr Dugin's ideas**). The observers of the Crimean referendum had been invited by the Eurasian Observatory for Democracy and Elections, headed by Luc Michel and included:

- Johannes Hubner of the FPÖ
- Johann Gudenus of the FPÖ
- Ewald Johann Stadler, a former member of the FPÖ
- Frank Creyelman of Vlaams Belang
- Luc Michel of the National-European Communitarian Party
- Jan Penris of Vlaams Belang
- Christian Vergoustraete of Vlaams Belang and the Alliance of European National Movements
- Pavel Chernev of Ataka
- Kiril Kolev of Ataka
- Johan Backman, a neo-Stalinist who does not recognize Estonia and Latvia as states
- Aymeric Chaperade of the French National Front
- Hikmat al-Sabty of German left-wing party Die Linke
- Torsten Koplín of Die Linke
- Piotr Luczak of Die Linke and chairperson of the European Centre for Geopolitical Analysis
- Monika Merk of Die Linke and Secretary of the European Centre for Geopolitical Analysis

- Manuel Ochsenreiter
- Charalampos Angourakis, of the Communist Party of Greece, which is known for cooperating with the police and the state, has engaged in anti-refugee actions, and occasionally cooperates with Golden Dawn
- Bela Kovacs of Jobbik and treasurer of the Alliance of European Nationalist Movements
- Lev Malinsky of BenOr Consulting
- Sergey Podrazhansky, the former editor of Israeli right-wing newspaper *Vesti*
- Fabrizio Bertot, of Lega Italia
- Claudio D'Amico of Lega Nord
- Valerio Cignetti, of the Tricolour Flame and General Secretary of the Alliance of European National Movements
- Miroslavs Mitrofanovs of the Latvian Russian Union
- Tatjana Zdanoka of the Latvian Russian Union
- Adam Krysztof of the Polish social-democratic party Democratic Left Alliance
- Mateusz Piskorski of the Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland. Piskorski was a member of Polish fascist group Niklot, a **leader of far-right Polish party Zmiana**, is an associate of Aleksandr Dugin, and **vice-director of the German Center for Eurasian Studies**
- Andrzej Romanek of Solidary Poland
- Milenko Baborak of the Dveri Movement
- Nenad Popovic of the Democratic Party of Serbia
- Zoran Radojicic
- Oleg Denisenko of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF)
- Pedro Mourino of the Partido Popular
- Enrique Ravello, former member of CEDADE and Terre et Peuple, and present member of Plataforma per Catalunya
- Srda Trifkovic, an Islamophobe and anti-Semite who has worked with the Serbian Radical Party, is a **supporter of Radovan Karadzic**, defended Karadzic in during the latter's trial and **denies the Srebrenica genocide**. Trifkovic is the **Foreign Affairs Editor** of the **openly far-right Chronicles Magazine** and a **contributing editor** to neo-fascist platform *The Alternate Right* run by Richard Spencer.

[**Note:** The European Centre for Geopolitical Analysis was founded by Mateusz Piskorski, himself a *participant* of Thierry Meyssan's Axis for Peace conference (see below) and the *vice director of the German Center for Eurasian Studies*, whose president is Manuel Ochsenreiter. Ochsenreiter was formerly a host on Russian state-owned channel RT, where he was presented as an "expert" on German and Middle-Eastern Affairs (he has *regularly discussed Ukraine, Crimea and the war in Syria* on RT) before being outed as the editor of *Zuerst!*, a neo-Nazi German magazine which glorifies Hitler. In 2014, Yakunin's Foundation of Saint Andrew the First-Called and Center of National Glory organized an "anti-fascist conference" in Saint Petersburg concerning the crisis in Ukraine, among whose participants was National Bolshevik Mateusz Piskorski.]

The Anti-Orange Committee

One of Dugin's close collaborators was Geydar Dzhemal (who died in 2016), who was a member of the Golovin Circle alongside Dugin and later of Pamyat together with Dugin before being both expelled from it together, Dzhemal later theorizing his own fascist ideas based on Islamist theory and founding his own fascist think tank called the Florian Geyer Club. The attendants of the Florian Geyer Club's *various seminars* included Aleksandr Dugin, Claudio Mutti (see below), Israel Shamir (see below), Nadezhda Kevorkova (a *contributor to RT since 2010*) and fascists Maksim Shevchenko and Mikhail Leontyev. Shevchenko had already cooperated with Dzhemal in 2010 when, together with Sergey Markov from Vladimir Putin's United Russia party, they were part of a Russian delegation at a conference organized by the FPÖ concerning Color Revolutions, which was a year after he had invited Dugin to Vienna in 2009 and introduced him to the leaders of the FPÖ.

In 2012, Dugin, Leontyev, Shevchenko, Prokhanov and Nikolai Starikov joined the Anti-Orange Committee founded by Sergey Kurginyan, a former left-wing opponent of Yeltsin who has moved to the nationalist Right after the events of 1993, *supports an alliance between the Left and the Right*, and now leads the Essence of Time movement, which *describes itself as left-patriotic* and aims to create a "USSR 2.0", a movement which Anton Shekhovtsov says is National Bolshevik. The Anti-Orange Committee was *founded in opposition to the anti-Putin Bolotnaya Square protests of 2011*, whose speakers ironically included Yevgeny Kopyshv from the KPRF, nationalist Konstantin Krylov (see below), and representatives of the Left Front Stalinist opposition group (see below), and Dugin's former associate Limonov had participated in demonstrations with the protesters earlier that same day in Moscow's Revolution Square. The Committee adhered to a conspiratorial worldview where it perceived the protests against Putin to be the result of a Western conspiracy in cooperation with fascists who support WWII era war criminal and Nazi collaborationist Stepan Bandera. The name of the Committee itself as well as this conspiracy were both based on how Russian nationalist circles interpreted the 2005 Orange Revolution in Ukraine as a "CIA conspiracy" or a "fascist Banderist plot" concocted by the West (though there are very valid critiques from the Left of American policies in Ukraine) due to the marginal presence of Ukrainian nationalists in the Orange Revolution and the involvement of some Ukrainian emigres such as Kateryna Chumachenko, the wife of Orange Revolution leader and later President Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, who grew up in the North American Ukrainian diaspora in the 70s and 80s, when it was dominated by supporters of Ukrainian fascist, WWII war criminal and Nazi collaborationist Stepan Bandera. The Kremlin's conspiracists used it

as a pretext to smear the whole Ukrainian and Russian democracy movements as a supposed crypto-fascist “Orange plague”, which they as well as a large number of fascists also repeated in the context of the Euromaidan and the Arab Spring.

[**Note:** Maksim Shevchenko was member of the Civil Chamber of the Russian Federation from 2008 to 2012 and has been a member of the Russian Federation’s Presidential Council for Civil Society and Human Rights since 2012, and is part of its provisional body in charge of civil society and human rights in Crimea. Shevchenko is a *member of the Izborsky Club* together with Starikov and Leontyev. In 2017, Shevchenko joined the Left Front.]

Boris Kagarlitsky

Among the participants of the Florian Geyer Club’s September 2011 seminar was **Boris Kagarlitsky**, a former left-wing Soviet dissident who presents himself as a left-wing critic of Vladimir Putin but writes articles supporting Vladimir Putin and **Donald Trump**, and *associates with fascists* such as Aleksey Belyaev-Gintovt (a *member of Dugin’s Eurasian Youth Union*), Yevgeniy Zhilin (the leader of the fascist organization Oplot), Konstantin Krylov (leader of the right-wing Russian Social Movement and one time member of the fascist party Rodina – see below), and Yegor Kholmogorov. According researcher Anton Shkehovtsov, Russian investigative journalists say Kagarlitsky has been working with the Kremlin from at least 2005 to control the section of the Russian Left independent of the KPRF and clamp down on the left-wing opposition to Vladimir Putin, and in 2005 he wrote a report which called the KPRF the most corrupt party of Russia while not investigating the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and United Russia, due to which Kagarlitsky was successfully sued by Gennady Zyuganov and was forced to apologize. Kagarlitsky’s organization, the Institute for Global Research and Social Movements, has received state funding in the form of presidential grants.

In early June 2014, Kagarlitsky was present through Skype at the founding conference of the “Solidarity with the Antifascist Resistance in Ukraine”, which was also attended by Richard Brenner from Workers’ Power (a British Trotskyist group which was dissolved and merged into the Labour Party in September 2015), Lindsey German from Counterfire, Alan Woods from Socialist Appeal and the International Marxist Tendency, and Sergey Kirchuk from Borotba (see below). In August 2014, Kagarlitsky was hosted by the UK-based Stop The War Coalition together with Tariq Ali and Lindsey German.

Kagarlitsky’s position on the war in Ukraine has been to support the Novorossiyan forces and whitewash its fascist leaders, and as result in June 2014 itself Denis Denisov, a Crimean left-wing activist from the Left Opposition, ended his collaboration with Kagarlitsky. Following Kagarlitsky’s reply that Denisov should reconsider his views and suggestion he should support the “self-organizing movement of solidarity with Novorossiya” instead, Volodymyr Zadyraka of the Autonomous Workers’ Union wrote a scathing criticism of Kagarlitsky’s pseudo-dissidence which in reality serves the Russian establishment and its imperialist policies, and which appeals to Western leftists whose politics are centered around geopolitics rather than concern for the lives of Syrians and Ukrainians.

In July 2014, Kagarlitsky’s Institute for Global Research and Social Movements co-organized a conference titled “The World Crisis and the Confrontation in Ukraine” in Yalta, Crimea together with Osnovaniye and the Center of Coordination and Support for Novaya Rus, both *headed* by

Aleksey Anpilogov (a *regular contributor* for *Zavtra*). Among the attendees of the conference were:

- Boris Kagarlitsky himself
- Aleksey Anpilogov
- Vasiliy Koltashov, who heads Kagarlitsky’s Institute for Global Research and Social Movements, wrote articles in support of Marine Le Pen for Angilopov’s now defunct Novaya Rus website, and **presented a deeply homophobic report at the conference**
- Maksim Shevchenko
- Alan Freeman, a former member of Socialist Action, a British Trotskyist group, and co-director of the Geopolitical Economy Research Group
- Richard Brenner of Workers’ Power
- Tord Björk, an organizer for the European Social Forum and a member of the EU Committee of Friends of the Earth
- Roger Annis, a left-wing blogger, editor-in-chief of *The New Cold War*, supporter of Borotba (see below), who spoke at a conference moderated by Radhika Desai along Duginist Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya, and coordinator of the Solidarity with Antifascist Resistance in Ukraine
- Kai Ehlers
- Hermann Dworzak, of the Austrian section of the Fourth International
- Jeff Sommers, from the University of Wisconsin
- Radhika Desai, a Marxist who advocates for “multipolarity” (strangely a central theme of Dugin’s ideology), and co-director of the Geopolitical Economy Research Group who moderated a conference whose speakers included Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya, a Duginist (see below)
- Stefan Huth, an editor of Die Linke’s paper *Junge Welte*.
- Vladimir Rogov, the **leader of the Slavic Guards** (which promotes a militarist form of Soviet nationalism), chairman of the Central Council of the International Saint George’s Union which is under the authority of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate), **Chairman of the State Construction Committee of Novorossiia**, and representative of the Union Parliament of Novorossiia. In 2012, Rogov, together with Yuri Kofner’s Duginist “Young Eurasia” movement (see below) and a representative of the Young Guard of United Russia (the youth wing of United Russia), had **participated in roundtable talks about Ukraine-Russia relations in Donetsk**. Later that year, Rogov, *RIA Novosti* and Young Eurasia **participated in the launching of the Eurasian Information League**, whose stated aim is to shape public opinion concerning the creation of an Eurasian Union.

- Petr Getsko, the self-proclaimed Prime Minister of the self-declared and unrecognized “Republic of Transcarpathian Rus”, who **signed an agreement** with Vladimir Rogov for cooperation between the Republic of Transcarpathian Rus and Novorossiia
- Anastasia Pyaterikova, a **former member of the PSPU** and present chairperson of the Lugansk Guards
- A representative of the Mothers of Ukraine association, whose only known member is Galina Zaporozhtseva (see below)
- Aleksey Albu of Borotba (see below)
- The Kharkiv People’s Unity (a front for Borotba)

[**Note:** Radhika Desai, Alan Freeman, Boris Kagarlitsky and Dimitris Konstantakopoulos (who was a member of SYRIZA until 2015) are members of the Editorial Board of Defend Democracy Press, the website of the Delphi Initiative, founded in 2015 and whose ostensible aim appears to be a positive cause: opposing the destructive neoliberal policies of the European Union. However the list of signatories of the Delphi Initiative’s declaration is an odd querfront consisting of leftists such as Alan Freeman, Lindsey German, Samir Amin (see below), John Rees (a member of Counterfire and co-founder of the Stop the War Coalition – in late 2015, Rees prevented Syrian democratic activists from speaking at at Stop the War demonstration), Jeffrey St Clair (editor of *CounterPunch*), Dimitris Konstantakopoulos, as well as fascists such as Paul Craig Roberts (see below), James Petras (see below), Massimo Artini (an Italian MP for the Five Star Movement, founded by former members of the Movimento Sociale Italiano), Vasiliy Koltashov, and Giulietto Chiesa. The Delphi Initiative itself is supported by Boris Kagarlitsky’s Institute for Global Research and Social Movement and Desai’s and Freeman’s Geopolitical Economy Research Group, and a speech by Sergey Glazyev **was screened** [[archive](#)] at the conference which served as prelude to the Delphi Initiative.

In April 2013, Aleksandr Dugin had been invited by Nikos Kotzias, who has served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of Alexis Tsipras since 2015, to give a lecture on “**International Politics and the Eurasianist Vision**” at the University of Piraeus, and that same day he gave a lecture “**The Geopolitics of Russia**” at the Panteion University, hosted by the University’s Director of Research at the Institute of International Relations Konstantinos Filis. Dimitris Konstantakopoulos, who is a **regular contributor to *Katehon*** and **to the *Voltaire Network*** (see below), **interviewed Aleksandr Dugin** and was himself **interviewed by Dugin** during Dugin’s visit. In May 2013, Kotzias conducted a public opinion survey concerning the Greeks’ opinion on Russia, with the results showing a pro-Russian attitude, and in September 2013 Konstantakopoulos sent Dugin a document concerning the establishment of a “Movement of Resistance and Subversion ‘Free State’” in response to a “ruthless war” by the “International of the Finance” and the emerging “Totalitarian Empire of Globalization”.

In December 2014, Dugin wrote a paper titled “Countries and persons, where there are grounds to create an elite club and/or a group of informational influence through the line of “Russia Today” where he listed a number of international personalities, among whom the names of Dimitris Konstantakopoulos and Alexis Tsipras (though there is no evidence of any direct or indirect contact between Dugin and Tsipras) are present, who could potentially be part of a pro-Russian international initiative by consolidating a pro-Kremlin support network for his Eurasianist project.]

Aleksandr Prokhanov, whose fascist newspaper *Zavtra* **reported the conference** noted that Prokhanov himself met with the attendees and that a meeting had taken place between the participants of the conference and members of the Izborsky Club, which was strangely also holding a conference in Yalta at the same time. A number of these attendees signed a manifesto adopted by the conference and drafted by Maksim Shevchenko.

In August 2014, another conference was organized, again by Angipilov's Novaya Rus, in Yalta, called "Russia, Novorossiya, Ukraine: Global Problems and Challenges", and which Darya Mitina (who **headed the Moscow branch of the Foreign Ministry of the Donetsk People's Republic** and is a **member of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party and Secretary of its Central Committee for International Relations**) **described as the successor to the July conference. Among** the participants were:

- Frank Creyelman of Vlaams Belang
- Luc Michel of the National-European Communitarian Party
- Pavel Chernev of Ataka
- Angel Dzhabazki of the Bulgarian National Movement
- Johan Backman
- Márton Gyöngyösi of Jobbik
- Giovanni Maria Camillacci of Forza Nuova
- Roberto Fiore of Forza Nuova
- Mateusz Piskorski, as representative of the Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland
- Konrad Rękas, from the Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland
- Bartosz Bekier of Falanga. Bekier was also **named vice-president of Piskorski's Zmiana** the following year, in 2015
- Nick Griffin of the British National Party
- Sergey Glazyev
- Maksim Shevchenko
- Aleksey Anpilogov
- Yegor Kholmogorov
- Petr Getsko
- Yegor Kvasnyuk
- Andrey Kovalenko, the **head of the Moscow branch of the Eurasian Youth Union**
- Israel Shamir

- Yuri Kofner (see below)
- Aleksandr Borodai
- Igor Girkin
- members of the Izborsk and Zinovyev clubs

[**Note:** Andrey Kovalenko is the *founder and chairman of the National Course party*, the political wing of the National Liberation Movement headed by Yevgeny Fyodorov, himself a State Duma member for Vladimir Putin’s United Russia party, who strangely believes rock music is “US-instigated sabotage”, and of whom *Kovalenko is the assistant*. The National Liberation Movement adheres to a conspiratorial view according to which the collapse of the Soviet Union meant that Russia lost its sovereignty and was turned into a colony of the United States, and sees Vladimir Putin as the leader of a “national liberation movement” supposedly “fighting against foreign influence”. National Course works with Nikolai Starikov’s Great Fatherland party, and has expanded in Sevastopol, Crimea. Like the “Anti-Orange Committee”, it appears to have been created in reaction to the Bolotnaya Square Protests of 2011.]

In September that year, the Izborsky Club *organized roundtable talks* whose participants were:

- Aleksandr Nagorny, the secretary of the Isborsky Club
- Aleksey Angilopov
- Vladimir Rogov
- Galina Zaporozhtseva, chairperson of an organization called “Mothers of Ukraine”, and *curiously also a Zavtra contributor*
- Pavel Gubarev
- Anton Guryanov, the chairman of the Council of People’s Deputies of the Kharkiv People Republic
- Darya Mitina
- Yegor Kvasnyuk
- Sergey Chernyakhovsky of the Izborsky Club
- Ekaterina Abbasova of Lugansk
- Said Gafurov, the husband of Darya Mitina
- Aleksey Belozersky, the deputy chairman of Aleksay Angolopov’s Novaya Rus

Election Observers from the Far-Right

In November 2014, observers for elections in Novorossiya were organized by Luc Michel's Eurasian Observatory of Democracy and Elections, Mateusz Piskorski's European Centre for Geopolitical Analysis, and the Agency for Security and Cooperation in Europe of Austrian far-right politician Ewald Stadler, and included:

- Frank Abernathy from the US-based EFS Investment Partners LLC
- Fabrice Beaur from the Eurasian Observatory of Democracy and Elections and the National-European Communitarian Party
- Alessandro Bertoldi from Forza Nuova
- Fabrizio Bertot from Forza Nuova
- Tamaz Bestayev
- Anatoly Bibilov, then *Speaker of the Parliament for the Republic of South Ossetia*
- Branislav Blažić from the misleadingly named right-wing Serbian Progressive Party
- Aleksandr Brod
- Mikhail Bryachak from A Just Russia
- Frank Creyelman of Vlaams Belang
- Stevica Dedanski of the Center for Development of International Cooperation. He is also a state secretary at the Serbian Ministry of Mining and Energy, where his profile also lists him as leader of Nikita Tolstoy (a Serbian-Russian Friendship Association) and a Serbian Italian friendship association named Gabriele D'Annunzio, after one of the precursors of Italian fascism
- Felipe Delgado of the Mediasiete Corporation
- Aleksey Didenko from the far-right Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
- Vladimir Djukanovic of the Serbian Progressive Party
- Jaroslav Doubrava from Severočešci.cz
- Márton Gyöngyösi from Jobbik
- Gábor Gyóni from the Eötvös Loránd University
- Sasha Klein from Israel
- Nikolay Kolomeytsev from the KPRF
- Vladimir Krsljanin from the far-right Movement for Serbia

- Georgios Lambroulis from the Communist Party of Greece
- Renato A. Landeira from the Mediesiete Corporation
- Viliam Longauer from the “Union of Fighters Against Fascism”
- Max Lurie from Israeli Russian language news site *Cursor Info*
- Lucio Malan from Forza Italia
- Alessandro Musolino from Forza Italia
- Manuel Ochsenreiter
- Oleg Pakholkov from A Just Russia
- Vladimir Rodin from the KPRF
- Aleksandr Ronkin from Israeli Russian language newspaper *Ekho*
- Slobodan Samardjiza
- Jean-Luc Schaffhauser from the French far-right Rassemblement Bleu Marine
- Georgi Sengalevich from Ataka
- Leonid Slutskiy from the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
- Ewald Stadler from Die Reformkonservativen
- Adrienn Szaniszló from Jobbik
- Magdalena Tasheva from Ataka
- Dragana Trifkovic from the Belgrade Center for Strategic Research, a former member of the Presidency of the right-wing Democratic Party of Serbia ***from which she was expelled*** in 2016. Trifkovic has ***collaborated with Manuel Ochsenreiter and written for his Zuerst! neo-Nazi magazine***
- Srđa Trifković
- Evgeni Velkov
- Galina Yartseva
- Aleksandr Yushchenko from the KPRF
- Sotirios Zarianopoulos from the Communist Party of Greece
- Ladislav Zemánek from No to Brussels – Popular Democracy
- Aleksey Zhuravlyov, the chairman of the Rodina party

Rodina

In 2003 Sergey Glazyev, Sergey Baburin (who had previously been a leader of the National Salvation Front), Dmitry Rogozin and other Russian politicians formed the Rodina bloc, a coalition which Dugin temporarily joined before disagreements over the group's leadership, especially due to Dugin being disappointed by the party abandoning its initial National Bolshevik character in favor of what he saw as "crude nationalism" and *his aversion to the monarchism of Rogozin*, caused him to leave. Rodina combines xenophobic, anti-LGBT, anti-abortion and ultra-conservative positions with opposition to oligarchs and the financial sector while adhering to a chauvinistic foreign policy and worshipping the Russian state in both its Tsarist and Stalinist forms, being effectively a fascist party.

In January 2005 a group of State Duma members including from Rodina and the KPRF, evoking anti-Semitic conspiracy theories by claiming that the world was "under the monetary and political control of international Judaism", signed a petition to the prosecutor-general demanding the ban of all Jewish organizations in Russia on the same day Vladimir Putin was participating in the commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz during WWII. Putin expressed shame over the petition, and while Rogozin had not signed the petition, he refused to condemn the Rodina members who had signed it. After this, frictions increased between Rogozin and Putin, and at the end of the same year Rodina came under investigation for running racist TV ads inciting racial hatred against migrants from the Caucasus and was barred from Moscow Duma elections in consequence.

Rodina has been described as a Kremlin project whose aim was to draw voters away from the National-Bolsheviks or from KPRF and liberals, eventually however becoming a force of its own, leading the Kremlin to oust its leader Dmitry Rogozin in 2006 and send him as ambassador to NATO to Brussels to rein the party in after Rogozin's nationalist rhetoric led it to become too popular especially among opponents of Vladimir Putin, thus leading to fears it could overtake Putin's United Russia in popularity, and Rodina itself was soon after merged into the A Just Russia opposition party in October that year. However Rodina was reinstated in 2012, with its chairman being Aleksey Zhuravlyov, a member of Vladimir Putin's United Russia party who himself called the party "the President's (Putin's) black-ops force", though control of the party would still be de facto in the hands of Rogozin, who has himself been Deputy Prime Minister and responsible of the Military-Industrial Commission for Putin's administration since 2011.

In 2015, Rodina organized the "International Russian Conservative Forum" (IRCF), an attempt at forming a coalition of far-right parties. The conference was presided by Rodina's chairman Zhuravlyov and was *attended by*:

- Ataka
- The Lombardy-Russia Cultural Association, itself founded by the far-right Lega Nord
- Jared Taylor of the American Renaissance
- The British Unity Party
- The Alliance for Peace and Freedom
- Igor Morozov, a member of the Federation Council of the Ryazan Oblast

- Euro-Rus, a far-right group *whose own page* suggests both National Bolshevik and LaRouche influences

The far-right Freedom Party of Austria and Serbian Radical Party were also scheduled to participate in the conference before dropping out of it.

The Alliance for Peace and Freedom itself includes:

- Forza Nuova
- The National Democratic Party of Germany
- Party of the Swedes
- Golden Dawn
- National Democracy
- Nation
- The Danish Party

Later that same year, Rodina and the Russian Imperial Movement, another Russian far-right party, organized the founding conference of the World National-Conservative Movement (WNCM), which Alexander Reid Ross calls an attempt at creating a fascist internationale (Ross should know better than publishing this on the red-brown cesspool that *CounterPunch* is though). The chairman of the WNCM was Yuriy Lyubomirskiy, a member of Rodina. According to Anton Shekhovtsov, the WNCM was an outgrowth of the IRCF which had also been organized by Rodina that same year. An early warning sign of this attempt by Rodina to form a fascist internationale, according to Ross, was a conference organized in 2014 by the Anti-Globalization Movement of Russia (which I explore below in the post), which is itself close to Rodina.

The participants of the WNCM included:

- The Alliance for Peace of Freedom
- The UK Life League, close to Britain First
- Britain First, from the United Kingdom
- The British Unity Party, from the United Kingdom
- Jeune Nation, from France
- Jobbik, from Hungary
- The Slovak National Party, from Slovakia
- The Congress of the New Right, from Poland
- The Network Carpatho-Russian Movement, from Ukraine
- The All-Polish Youth, from Poland

- Falanga, from Poland
- Blue Poland, from Poland
- Serbian Action, from Serbia
- Euro-Rus, from Belgium
- The Polish National Convention, from Poland
- The Center for Research of Orthodox Monarchism, from Serbia
- The National Popular Front (ELAM), from Cyprus
- Die Russlanddeutschen Konservativen, from Germany
- Mișcarea Conservatoare, from Romania
- Mișcarea Național, from Romania
- The Nordic Resistance (which includes the Swedish Resistance and the Finnish Resistance)
- Noua Dreaptă, from Romania
- The Traditionalist Communion, from Spain
- Action Française, from France
- Renouveau Français, from France
- Unité Continentale, from France, which has sent volunteers to fight alongside the Novorossiyan forces
- Generace Identity, from the Czech Republic
- Nordic Youth, from Sweden
- Slovak Brotherhood, from Slovakia
- The Finns Party, from Finland
- Suomen Sisu, from Finland
- Indentitarian Action, from China
- Issuy-Kai, from Japan
- Dayaar Mongol, from Mongolia
- The New Political Party, from Thailand
- The National Alliance for Democracy, from Thailand
- The Worker's Party of Social Justice, from the Czech Republic

- Front Nasionaal, from South Africa
- The National Movement, from Poland
- National Democracy, from the Czech Republic
- The Bulgarian National Union, from Bulgaria
- The Traditionalist Youth Network (TYN), a Third Positionist neo-Nazi organization in the United States whose political wing is the Traditionalist Worker Party (TWP). The TYN/TWP is part of the American neo-fascist movement known as the “Alt-Right“, and has been actively working to network fascist groups in the United States, and in 2016 joined the fascist coalition named the Aryan Nationalist Alliance and later that year founded the Nationalist Front, a coalition of far-right groups in the United States
- Millennium, also known as the Italian Communitarian Party, an Eurasianist organization who shares an ideology close to that of Aleksandr Dugin’s neo-Eurasianism and has been cooperating with Dugin for years. Millennium has sent “anti-fascist” volunteers to eastern Ukraine to support Novorossiya
- The League of the South, a ***member of the TWP’s Nationalist Front***
- The American Freedom Party
- The American Renaissance, part of the American neo-fascist movement known as the “Alt-Right“
- The British National Party
- Tomislav Sunic
- David Duke, the former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan
- Kevin McDonald
- The Serbian Radical Party
- Sam Dickson, a former lawyer for the Ku Klux Klan
- The Russian National Cultural Center
- Rodina
- The Russian Imperial Movement
- The Syrian Social Nationalist Party, a Syrian fascist party which I explore in the next part of this post

Which leads us to the war in Syria, where the fascist right has supported the Damascus regime, with the far-right all around the world rallying around Assad. It might be surprising at first, unless one is aware of the ties between the Ba'ath regime and the far-right going back to the days of the Cold War, when Hafez al-Assad sheltered Alois Brunner, the assistant of Adolf Eichmann. Brunner would help Assad restructure the Ba'athist state's secret services on a model based on the Gestapo and the Waffen-SS. Another important link between the Syrian regime and fascists worldwide is the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

The Syrian Social Nationalist Party

The Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) is a fascist organization founded in 1932 by Antun Saadeh, an admirer of Hitler who was well-acquainted in Nazism, and is described as a “Levantine clone of the Nazi party in almost every aspect”, being extremely anti-Semitic from its onset (which was about a decade before the ethnic cleansing of Palestine and the creation of the colonial Israeli state), adopting a reversed swastika as party symbol and singing the party’s anthem to the tune of *Deutschland über Alles*, the national anthem by the Nazi regime. Saadeh would later however come to openly deny his organization was fascist after an attempt by the SSNP to obtain assistance in the form of military training from Nazi Germany was rejected by the then German consul to Syria, though his party never ceased to be a fascist organization in practice, as evidenced by how it describes its enemies as “*internal Jews*” and by *a reactionary diatribe on the Facebook page of its Iraqi branch in 2017 railing against “Cultural Marxism”, political correctness and feminism.*

The SSNP’s *ideology seeks the establishment of a “Greater Syria”* which would include the modern states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, Cyprus and the Sinai, corresponding roughly to the borders of the ancient neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian Empires, and it differs from Nazi ideology in that rejects racialist conception of a Syrian nation and bases it instead on geographical and cultural terms, thus making the SSNP’s ideology closer to that of Francis Yockey and the European New Right.

In 1949, a series of three coups happened in Syria, the first overthrowing Syria’s first president and the third leading to Adib Shishakli, a military officer from the SSNP, seizing power and imposing military rule under which newspapers were banned and all political parties dissolved. Far from being an enemy of Israel, Shishakli’s regime accepted funding from the US in exchange of settling Palestinian refugees in Syria and giving them Syrian citizenship as part of the imperialist erasure of the Palestinian people while still supported by the SSNP. Shishakli would later be overthrown in a coup by the Syrian Communist Party and the Ba’ath Party in 1954 and the SSNP was banned in Syria in 1955 after a SSNP member assassinated Adnan al-Malki, an army officer from the Ba’ath Party.

Following Hafez al-Assad coming to power and the Lebanese Civil War during which the Lebanese branch of the SSNP allied with the Palestine Liberation Organization, Hezbollah and the Syrian army, the SSNP and the Syrian regime moved closer since Assad saw the SSNP as a useful proxy in Lebanon while the SSNP saw Assad as one way through which their project of a Greater Syria could be established due to Assad’s attempts to gain hegemony on Lebanon and Palestine. Thus the SSNP was slowly tolerated under Hafez’s dictatorship and under his son Bashar, the SSNP was allowed to join the Ba’ath led ruling coalition, and was legalized in 2005. When the crisis in Syria started in 2011, the SSNP threw its weight behind Bashar al-Assad, participating in pro-government demonstrations and fighting on the side of the state forces, and while the SSNP had joined the Syrian parliamentary opposition coalition in 2012, it withdrew from the coalition in 2014 because unlike its other members it supported the re-election of Bashar al-Assad.

The SSNP, Fascists and Syria

Before the outbreak of the Syrian Revolution, Issa el-Ayoubi, the *Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs of the SSNP* who is *presently the vice-president of the Voltaire Network*, attended the Axis for Peace conference by conspiracist Thierry Meyssan in 2005 (see below). *The SSNP and the Lebanese branch of the Baath Party appear to have contributed interviews to an edition of Eurasianist magazine Geopolitica in 2007 to which Claudio Mutti, Tiberio Graziani and Webster Tarpley also contributed to.* The unsurprising result was that since the people's uprising started in Syria, Russian, Iranian and Hezbollah media consistently ran a number of conspiracy theorists more or less close to the fascist network including *William Engdahl, Webster Tarpley* (who *was in Syria in 2011*), *Chossudovsky, Thierry Meyssan* and *Kevin Barrett* who immediately branded the uprising as a Western plot.

Conspiracy Theorists

F. William Engdahl and Webster Tarpley

William Engdahl and Webster Tarpley are “former” members of the LaRouche Movement, who are now professional conspiracy theorists associated with larger fascist circles where they promote conspiracies with a distinctly LaRouchite flavor.

While Engdahl claims to no longer be associated with far-right or conspiracist groups, he has *been involved in 2011 discussions concerning the creation of a Eurasian Union with Aleksandr Dugin*. Wikileaks employee, *long-time (from 2000 until now) Zavtra contributor* and Holocaust denier Israel Shamir, who had handed unredacted cables to Belarusian President Aleksandr Lukashenko a year before, attended these discussions.

Engdahl is presently on the *Advisory Board of Veterans Today*, a virulently anti-Semitic website which *promotes Holocaust denial extensively* and lists Ernst Zundel on its Editorial Board's *In Memoriam* section. In the introduction on Engdahl's own website which carefully omits his involvement with LaRouche, he is *listed as a Research Associate for the Centre for Research on Globalization*, a conspiracist website which describes itself as “a major source on the New World Order”. Engdahl is on the scientific committee of the Eurasianist journal *Geopolitica*, whose editor is Tiberio Graziani, himself a *member of the High Council* of Aleksandr Dugin's International Eurasian Movement. Engdahl and Dugin are also both on the board of *Eurasia*, an Eurasianist journal headed by Claudio Mutti.

[**Note:** Aymeric Chauprade is on the Scientific Committee of *Geopolitica*.]

Engdahl also contributes to the New Eastern Outlook, a journal published by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which strangely *lists Engdahl's website and the Holocaust denying Veterans Today as media partners*. Content found on the *New Eastern Outlook* includes *Islamophobic conspiracy theories, Soros conspiracy theories, “globalist” conspiracy theories, “Rothschild” conspiracy theories, and anti-Semitic conspiracy*

theories about the Russian Revolution. Webster Tarpley, on the other hand, **wrote around 110 articles for the Voltaire Network of Thierry Meyssan between 2009 and 2016** and since then appears to have **founded his own conspiracist outlet** named *The American System Network*.

When the Arab Spring started, RT hosted Engdahl, who claimed

- *that the wave of protests across the Middle-East were part of a massive “Color Revolution” protest created by the US,*
- *that the Arab Spring was a US plot to control Eurasia and decrease Russian and Chinese influence*
- *that the instability in the Middle-East was part of a NATO plot to gain the control of oil,*
- *that Washington was exporting revolutions and created the Arab Spring,*
- *that the use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime in Syria were fake allegations part of a US plot*
- *that Da’esh is the product of a “dirty war” by CIA and NATO*
- *that Da’esh is a US project to destabilize the Middle-East and Europe filled with subtle xenophobic rhetoric*
- *that US expansion in former Warsaw Pact states is part of an agenda to establish a “New World Order”.*

RT hosted Tarpley too, where he claimed that:

- *the mass movement across the Middle-East and North Africa was a US plot by Hillary Clinton*
- *that the capture and killing of Osama bin Laden by the US military was a manufactured event part of a US plot to demonize Pakistan while also claiming al-Qaeda was a US proxy used to destabilize Syria and Libya*
- *that the Arab Spring was a “US plot via social media”*
- *that the protest movement in Syria a “color revolution”*
- *that the situation in Syria was the result of destabilization by the CIA, Mossad and MI5*
- *that the only way forward in Syria was to keep Assad in power since the only alternative to him was chaos and rule by al-Qaeda [archive]*

Kevin Barrett

A PhD holder in Islamic Studies, Kevin Barrett is a conspiracy theorist who regularly blames “Zionists” and Mossad for various crises in a way that, far from being legitimate leftist critiques of Zionism and the Israeli state, are in fact rooted in anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. About Barrett, Matthew Lyons of Political Research Associates says that “when someone like Barrett talks about ‘Zionism,’ he’s not really talking about the movement of Jewish nationalism that created and supports the state of Israel, he’s talking about Jews — the demonic scapegoat mythical version of the Jews.”

Barrett happens to be *a member of the Editorial Board of Veterans Today* along with Engdahl, and contributes to the *No Lies Radio*, a conspiracist channel devoted mainly to 9/11 conspiracy theories and claiming the War on Terror is itself part of an elaborate conspiracy where jihadists are a tool for the US to create a “New World Order”, and to the *American Free Press*, a white nationalist and anti-Semitic publication which is also the successor of the *Spotlight* newspaper published by Willis Carto’s *Liberty Lobby*.

RT hosted Barrett multiple times, where he claimed that:

- *the Darayya massacre of 2012 was a “false flag” whose aim was to seek Western intervention in Syria and partition the country*
- *claimed al-Qaeda is a creation by the West to serve Israel’s interests and that a US intervention in Syria meant that the US was “al-Qaeda’s air force”*
- *that Israel pushing Washington to take a harder line against Assad would lead to a World War*
- *that Israel and Saudi Arabia did 9/11, were behind “false flags” and were destabilizing Syria*
- *that the War on Terror was part of a US plan to establish the “New World Order”.*

Thierry Meyssan and the Voltaire Network

In a trajectory paralleling that of Lyndon LaRouche, Thierry Meyssan started as a leftist in the 90s as a member of the French left-wing Parti Radical de Gauche, and founded the *Voltaire Network* as a source of investigations into the far-right and in support of secularism before moving into the milieu of conspiracy theories in the 2000s by publishing *9/11: The Big Lie* and *Pentagate*, two conspiracist books alleging the 9/11 attacks had been done by the US military-industrial complex to find a pretext for a supposedly long-planned war on Afghanistan, and which were among the prime vehicles for 9/11 conspiracy theories worldwide.

The following years were marked by increasing anti-Semitism on the *Voltaire Network*, with former members testifying administrators were speaking of “Jewish lobbies” and branded Jewish members of the Network involved in Palestinian solidarity as “Zionists” due to the influence of red-brown militants advocating for querfronts against Western imperialism, and Meyssan seeking to obtain financing from various authoritarian states. In 2005, Meyssan admitted Claude Karnoouh, a Holocaust denier, to the administrative council of the *Voltaire Network* during a general assembly where an anti-Semitic movie by Dieudonné Mbala Mbala was played.

[**Note:** Dieudonné Mbala Mbala, more commonly known as simply Dieudonné, started as a left-wing anti-racist activist opposed to the French National Front in the 90s before moving to the far-right in the 2000s, associating with neo-fascist Alain Soral and allying to Jean-Marie Le Pen (who became the godfather of Dieudonné's daughter), platforming Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson and disparaging Holocaust memorial in 2008, and wishing atrocities committed during the Holocaust on a Jewish celebrity in 2013, following which his shows were banned.]

In 2005, Meyssan organized the Axis for Peace Colloquium, whose theme was that 9/11 was an inside job, and that al-Qaeda is a proxy of the CIA and the MI5 against Syria and Iran, something *LaRouche had also asserted two years prior*. This *conference was attended by, among others:*

- Helga Zepp-LaRouche
- Russian general Leonid Ivashov, a close associate of Dugin who is also a *member of the Izborsky Club* and *who claims that international terrorism is a plot by the US which aims to impose a "New World Order" and sought another pole against America*, which is central to Dugin's ideology
- James Petras, who spoke against a "unipolar world", again a theme of Aleksandr Dugin's ideology
- Webster Tarpley
- Christine Bierre, the *Editor in Chief of the French edition of LaRouche's New Solidarity*
- Phillip Berg, the former Attorney General of the US state of Pennsylvania who became a 9/11 conspiracy theorist and a supporter of the conspiracy theory that Barack Obama was born in Kenya
- David Shayler, another 9/11 conspiracy theorist who claims to be the Son of God and is an associate of Davic Icke
- Andreas von Bülow, a former German SPD minister who later became a 9/11 conspiracy theorist
- Subhi Toma, the founder and leader of the Arab National Congress, who denied the existence of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, claiming that Zarqawi was a fabrication of the US to delegitimize the Iraqi insurgency, which he considered a resistance movement
- Aram Aharonian, who that same year became a co-founder of Venezuela-based left-wing channel *TeleSUR* sponsored by leftist Latin American states, and was its director general until 2013
- Ray McGovern (see below)

-
Dieudonné Mbala Mbala

- Jhanette Madriz Sotil of the High Council of Venezuela’s Bolivarian movement
- Issa el-Ayoubi, the SSNP’s Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, who acted as Vice-President for the Axis for Peace and who is now the Vice-President of the *Voltaire Network*
- Mateusz Piskorski, presently listed by Meyssan’s *Voltaire Network* as one of its collaborators
- Bruno Drweski
- Michel Collon
- Jean Bricmont
- Christopher Bollyn, *from the white nationalist American Free Press*
- Annie Lacroix-Riz

In 2006, Meyssan visited Syria along with Dieudonné, Alain Soral and Frederic Chatillon, who organized their visit, and toured Syria with Manaff Tlass, the son of Mustafa Tlass, the former Syrian Minister of Defense and the head of the Syrian secret services under Hafez al-Assad. Mustafa Tlass had himself been trained by Alois Brunner, a Nazi war criminal and assistant of Adolf Eichmann who participated in the Holocaust before fleeing to Syria after WWII and helping Hafez al-Assad restructure the Syrian secret services on a model inspired by the Gestapo and the Waffen-SS.

[**Note:** Frédéric Chatillon is a former president of the far-right Groupe Union Défence (GUD) and presently an advisor to Marine Le Pen. Chatillon owns Riwal, a company which works with the Syrian Ministry of Tourism, and was an associate of Mustafa Tlass. When the popular protest movement started in Syria in 2011, Chatillon immediately blamed it on the “Zionist lobby”, and in November 2014 Chatillon’s GUD **organized an “Awakening of Nations” conference** whose participants included fascist groups like CasaPound, the Republican Social Movement, Liga Joven, ELAM, Nation, the Mouvement D’Action Sociale, and Synthèse Nationale.]

[**Note:** Alain Soral is a former French Marxist who was involved in the French Communist Party in the early to mid-90s before advocating for a red-brown alliance between the far-right and the far-left against capitalism and “global Zionism” in the late 90s and later joining the National Front. Soral became a friend of Marine le Pen and was an advisor of Jean-Marie le Pen during the latter’s presidential campaign of 2007 and **integrated the Central Committee of the National Front**. He created his own neo-fascist organization, Égalité et Réconciliation, that same year with Dieudonné and former GUD members Jildaz Mahé O’Chinal and Philippe Péninque, and supported by Frédéric Chatillon. Soral left the National Front in 2009 and has written the foreword of Aleksandr Dugin’s book *The Fourth Political Theory*. Soral is also **in charge of** far-right publishing house Kontre Kulture (whose name is reminiscent of the position of the National Bolshevik Party in the post-Soviet Russian counter-culture, and of the European New Right’s metapolitical approach for cultural hegemony, a rhetoric which is also present within the US reactionary movement) which has published, among others, *Mein Kampf* and Alain de Benoist.]

[**Note:** Another collaborator of Dieudonne and **Soral**, Kemi Seba, who is the ideologue of a fascist form of Kemetism and Pan-Africanism inspired by the Nation of Islam, of which he

was a member in the early 2000s. Organizations led by Seba engaged in openly anti-Semitic activity and were been banned in France as result, and in 2009 he founded the *Mouvement des Damnés de l'Impérialisme* (*Movement of the Wretched of Imperialism*, abbreviated MDI) which, despite its name harking back to revolutionary Franz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, is in fact a fascist organization which **describes itself as being "ethnopluralist"**, promotes Holocaust denier Ginnette Skandrani (see below) and whose membership **included** Holocaust denier and Cambodian Genocide denier Serge Thion. Seba **collaborates with Hezbollah**, was **received by Mahmud Ahmadinejad in 2015**, and more recently **was invited and welcomed to Moscow by Aleksandr Dugin** in December 2017 **with the aim of forming an alliance to create a "multipolar world"** after he was deported from Senegal to France earlier that same year.

Close to this group is Yahia Gouasmi, who had once collaborated with Iranian intelligence in an assassination attempt against an Iranian dissident. Gouasmi **founded and runs the Zahra Center**, which in 2008 organized a Quds Day rally (an initiative which was itself started by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini), **attended by** Dieudonne, Kemi Seba's MDI, and Holocaust denier Ginnette Skandrani. In 2009, Gouasmi started the "Anti-Zionist Party" which, despite its name is not merely anti-Zionist and does not only oppose the Israeli state, but is outright anti-Semitic, its party program **claiming France is controlled by a "Zionist lobby" and that "power needs to be given to France and French people again"**, and its **candidates** for the European elections of 2009 including fascists Dieudonne and Alain Soral, Emannelle Grilli (former member of the far-right *Renouveau Français* and member of the national-socialist *Parti Solidaire Français*) and Holocaust deniers Maria Poumier and Ginnette Skandrani. Gouasmi appears to have met Hassan Nasrallah and been interviewed by Iranian state tv network *SAHAR* **according to** the website of another organization run by Gouasmi, the Shiite Federation of France (**note:** one must bear in mind that Gouasmi's organization is not representative of Shi'a Islam and does not represent French Shiites either. Principled radical anti-racism requires fighting against anti-Shi'a sectarianism).]

In 2008, Meyssan would **declare** he is willing to work with everyone from the far-right to the far-left against imperialism, effectively echoing both LaRouche and the European New Right, while also announcing he works with *al-Manar*, the official channel of Hezbollah, and with Iranian state media, as well as allowing Iranian authorities to publish his work. Therefore, conspiracist Meyssan unsurprisingly declared that the 2009 protests in Iran against electoral fraud was **a "Color Revolution" plotted by the United States and especially Hillary Clinton**, a position similar to **LaRouche's who blamed the protest movement on the British**. Meyssan's conspiracy theories based on anti-American geopolitics appear to be influenced by both LaRouche and the European New Right, while his support for Hugo Chavez is something he shares only with the latter movement as LaRouche believes Chavez is a puppet of the British.

Meyssan's website **publishes William Engdahl** (quoting his **conspiracy theories about the Arab Spring in 2011 itself**), who himself **quotes Meyssan** (whom he called a *Damascus-based French Middle-Eastern Expert*) in his own articles. Meyssan **is himself a Katehon contributor**. Meyssan's website is **listed by Soral's Égalité et Réconciliation as a friendly website**, publishes Leonid Savin **of Dugin's International Eurasianist Movement**, and **Mikhail Leontyev**, who himself **references Meyssan in his articles**. Meyssan has been hosted on *RT* too concerning **the war in Syria and Libya**.

Michel Chossudovsky and Global Research

Meysan's website is also an associate of *The Center for Research on Globalization* (more commonly known as *Global Research*), founded, edited and directed by Michel Chossudovsky, a former left-wing economist involved in the anti-globalization movement and Professor emeritus at the University of Ottawa who has since then ***moved towards Milosevic apologia and promoting the same idea as Meysan and LaRouche that 9/11 was a CIA false flag plot whose aim is to usher the "New World Order"***.

Global Research called the Voltaire Network its "partner media group" in 2011, has been republishing Meysan as from 2002 and has been quoted by Meysan concerning Syria in September 2011 itself (Chossudovsky himself was a Voltaire Network contributor from 2009 to 2011). Global Research has been quoted by LaRouche, and Global Research reshared articles by LaRouche and by Aleksandr Dugin.

Among *Global Research's former and present* "Research Associates" are ***William Engdahl*** and ***Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya***. Engdahl, Nazemroaya and Chossudovsky all happen to be on the scientific committee of the Eurasianist journal *Geopolitica*, whose editor is Tiberio Graziani, a ***member of the High Council*** of Aleksandr Dugin's International Eurasian Movement. Another "Research Associate" of *Global Research* is James Petras, an anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist who ***claims the United States is controlled by "Jewish power", blames Israel for 9/11*** (while there are valid criticisms of the Israeli state and its policies, this is clearly an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory) and the ***2008 financial crisis*** on something called the "Zionist Power Configuration", which appears to be another formulation of the neo-Nazi "Zionist Occupation Government" anti-Semitic conspiracy theory, and has been criticized by leftist writers for this). Petras ***is a regular*** on Holocaust denier Kevin Barrett's show.

Chossudovsky is also a member of the Perdana Global Peace Foundation founded by former Malaysian Prime Minister and virulent anti-Semite Mahathir Mahamad, and ***collaborated with the Perdana Global Peace Foundation***. Chossudovsky spoke at a conference on the "New World Order" by the Perdana Global Peace Foundation in 2015.

The *Global Research* website reflects its owner's present membership within fascist circles, ***extensively publishing 9/11 conspiracy theories*** as well as a large number of other far-right conspiracist material presented as left-wing analysis (a phenomenon termed Confusionnism by French anti-fascists) such as:

- ***anti-vaxxer conspiracy theories***
- ***global warming denial***
- ***Bosnian genocide denial***
- ***Rwandan genocide denial***
- ***Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism disguised as anti-Zionism***
- ***chemtrail conspiracy theories***
- ***HAARP conspiracy theories***
- ***Planet Nibiru/Planet X conspiracy theories***

- *The Irish slave myth*, a historical revisionist myth popular within the far-right
- *articles by Holocaust denier Kevin Barrett*
- *articles by Holocaust denier and Kevin Barrett's associate Anthony Hall* (who was himself hosted by Chossudovsky on *Global Research TV* according to dead links on the website)
- *Freemason conspiracy theories*
- *articles by Mark Taliano*, who has been *hosted by Kevin Barrett*, follows Barrett on Twitter, *promotes Barrett in his articles* and *"likes" Barrett's tweets*. *Global Research published Taliano's book* *Voices From Syria*
- *"Ebola is a US plot" conspiracy theories*
- The *"globalists"*
- And, of course, the *Illuminati*

Global Research also reshares *posts* from *InfoWars* and *Global Research* is *itself reshared* by *Infowars*. Chossudovsky himself *has been hosted by Alex Jones as well and by The Corbett Report*, another conspiracist outlet rambling about the *"New World Order"* and the *"globalists"* and hosts far-right figures such as *Stefan Molyneux*. James Corbett, who runs *The Corbett Report*, is himself *the Film Director and Producer for Global Research TV and has been hosted on RT*.

[**Note:** The *staff* of *Newsbud*, an outlet whose founder, editor and publisher is self-proclaimed whistleblower Sibel Edmonds, includes William Engdahl as Senior Analyst and Producer, James Corbett as Contributing Producer and Commentator, James Petras as Contributing Author and Analyst, and Kurt Nimmo (who was a lead editor and writer for *Infowars*) as writer, editor, producer and researcher. *Newsbud* itself posts *Bilderberg conspiracy theories, controlled mass migration conspiracy theories, New World Order conspiracy theories, "deep state" conspiracy theories, and support for conspiracy theories.*]

As early as 2007 and 2009, the Centre was publishing conspiracies concerning Syria and oil pipelines *by Nazemroaya and Engdahl*, and as soon as the Syrian protest movement started in 2011, Chossudovsky the conspiracist *himself advanced it was an imperialist plot to destabilize Syria*. Chossudovsky, who was *already a guest of RT since at least 2010*, would be then given a platform on Russia Today, now known as *RT, to voice out [archive] these conspiracies on multiple occasions*.

The SSNP's Networking

These are the recorded cases of the SSNP's activity with the participation of other far-right groups I was able to find following the outbreak of the Syrian Revolution:

2011

Already in November 2011, Stefano Bonilauri of Claudio Mutti's *Stato e Potenza* (see further below in the section about Kiyul Chung) visited the Assad regime on the behalf of the Coordination of the Eurasia Project, **a Duginist organization** (of which he is the director and signed **an open letter** to the European Parliament in support of Muammar Gaddafi in March of that year). Ouday Ramadan, the SSNP's Italian representative and then an editor of *Stato e Potenza*'s website, was photographed together with Bonilauri in Damascus.

2012

In April 2012, members of the Italian far-right Zenit Cultural Association (which lists **Mutti's Eurasia journal on its blog**, and whose leader Matteo Caponetti also **founded the European Solidarity Front for Kosovo**) and Controtempo groups **organized** a conference with Jamal Abo Abbas of the Syrian Community in Italy organization and Matteo Bernabei, editor of the far-right newspaper *Rinascita*. Some weeks later, Abo Abbas and Bernabei led a delegation to Syria which included Filippo Fortunato Pilato, an **Italian fascist from Forza Nuova**.

In June 2012, Ouday Ramadan, the SSNP's Italian representative and councillor of the Italian municipality of Cascina for the Party of Italian Communists (which would later rename itself as the Communist Party of Italy and then as the Italian Communist Party), and Filippo Fortunato Pilato, organized a protest in support of Assad whose participants included:

- Udo Gaudenzi, a former member of Lotta di Popoli and editor of *Rinascita*
- Fulvio Grimaldi and Marinella Correggia
- Guiseppe "Joe" Fallisi, a singer and self-proclaimed Anarchist whose support for Gaddafi and Assad led him to associate with fascists
- Hilarion Capucci
- Jamal Abo Abbas
- Giulietto Chiesa
- Zenit
- The European Social Movement
- Stato e Potenza

In **September 2012**, *Syrian Free Press*, a pro-Assad website **ran by Ramadan and Pilato**, and the Syrian Community in Italy association, **organized a conference where the speakers included:**

- Ouday Ramadan
- Hilarion Capucci

- Ugo Gaudenzi
- Fernando Rossi
- Souaid Sbai
- Mimmo Srour
- Stefano Bonilauri
- Joe Fallisi
- Ernesto Ferrante
- Alessandro Catalano

Another delegation led by Ouday Ramadan and including Stefano de Simone and Giovanni Feola, the founders of CasaPound, visited Syria shortly after the chemical attacks that same year.

2013

In June 2013, Ramadan and Pilato led the visit of a delegation to the Assad regime by the European Solidarity Front for Syria (ESFS), a coalition of various fascist organizations united in support for the Assad regime and *whose coordinator and responsible is Matteo Caponetti*. The delegation's participants included:

- the former Italian Communist Party senator Fernando Rossi
- Stefano de Simone and Giovanni Feola, the founders of CasaPound
- Fernando Rossi, a former senator for the Party of Italian Communists
- Cristiano Perro of Stato e Potenza

In June 2013, a delegation including Bartosz Bekier, the leader of Falanga who had taken part in a pro-Assad demonstration at the invitation of the Syrian embassy in Poland the previous year, Frank Creyelman and Filip Dewinter of Vlaams Belang, Nick Griffin, Roberto Fiore, Luc Michel and Mateusz Piskorski visited Lebanon *and met* with the head of the SSNP's youth branch, Wissam Samia, and members of Hezbollah before visiting Syria where it met the Syrian Prime Minister Wail al-Halki and the Deputy Prime Minister Faisal Mokdad.

In July 2013, the Greek Strasserist group Black Lily, which is part of the ESFS and *shares actions of the ESFS on its blogs, claimed to have sent volunteers in Syria to fight on the side of the Assad regime and Hezbollah*.

In September 2013, the ESFS *led another delegation* to Syria which was received in the Syrian parliament. Its participants were SSNP member Ouday Ramadan (described as "the ideologue of the Front" in a report), Fernando Rossi, Cristiano Piero of Stato o Potenza, Davide di Stefano and Giovanni Feola of CasaPound. *Videos* uploaded on Sol.ID's channel show that Jamal Abo Abbas was also part of the delegation, which was received by high ranking members of the Syrian government.

In November 2013, the Jornadas *de la Disidencia* were organized by the Republican Social Movement (MSR), a Spanish Third Positionist fascist group. Again, the SSNP was among the participants which included:

- Alexandre Gabriac from Jeunes Nations
- Jens Puhse from the NPD
- **Pedro Cantero López** from the National-Syndicalist group Authentic Falange
- Tomislav Sunic
- Hassan Sakr, the SSNP's Head of Foreign Affairs
- Valentin Rusov
- Aleksandr Dugin
- The Antigones
- Ernst Zundel

2014

In 2014, the SSNP received a "*fact finding mission*" from the European Solidarity Front for Syria again, the visit being published on *Syrian state media*.

In 2014, Ouday Ramadan and Claudio Mutti worked together on an *Italian translation of Antun Saadeh's book*

2015

In 2015, the SSNP was one of the various far-right parties who were present at the founding of the World National-Conservative Movement, an attempt at forming an international coalition of fascist organizations.

In June 2015, Hassan Sakr was *welcomed* at the European Parliament by the Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF), and Hassan Sakr *spoke at a conference organized* by the APF.

In July 2015, the European Solidarity Front for Syria's members *met with Golden Dawn MEPs at the initiative of Jamal Abo Abbas*.

The APF sent a "*fact-finding committee*" to Syria in 2015 where they met with members of the Ba'ath Party and the SSNP.

In September 2015, a *delegation of the ESFS and the Blocco Studentesco (CasaPound's youth wing) visited Syria and attended an International Youth Conference organized in Damascus from the 20th to the 24th of September*.

In September 2015, CasaPound's affiliate Sol.ID organised a "Mediterranean Solidarity" conference in Rome, with the sponsors being Al-Manar (for whom Thierry Meyssan works) and the Syrian Ministry of Tourism (with which Frédéric Chatillon has worked). Among the participants were the following:

- Rima Fakhri, from the political council of Hezbollah

- **Sayyed Ammar al-Moussaw**, the head of Hezbollah’s foreign affairs
- Alberto Palladino, a CasaPound member who had been convicted for attacking left-wing activists
- Franco Nerozzi
- Giovanni Feoli from CasaPound and the responsible of the Italian branch of the European Solidarity Front for Syria
- Luca Bertoni of the Lombardy-Russia Cultural Association
- Ouday Ramadan, the Italian representative of the SSNP
- Hassan Sakr, the SSNP’s Head of Foreign Affairs
- Mother Agnes Mariam of the Cross

[**Note:** To seek to appeal to far-right and the far-left alike and forming querfronts, the organizers of the conference also sent an invitation to Maher al-Taher of the Political Bureau of the Popular Front for Palestinian Liberation who rejected the invitation after investigating the organizations and participants of the conference and finding out they were fascists, and condemned its organizers’ misuse and appropriation of the PFLP and of Maher al-Taher’s name.]

[**Note:** The Syrian Ministry of Tourism has worked with Riwal, a company owned by Frédéric Chatillon, an advisor to Marine Le Pen, former president of the French far-right Groupe Union Defense and an associate of Mustafa Tlass, who headed the Syrian secret services (the same ones reorganized under Hafez al-Assad by Alois Brunner, who trained Tlass – not a coincidence, Tlass has published anti-Semitic blood libel conspiracy theories).]

In November 2015, Sol.ID organized an event where Giovanni Feola of CasaPound, Carlomanno Adinolfi of Primato Nazionale and Jamal Abo Abbas (whom the Italy-based Observatory of Repression notes describes himself as a Syrian fascist) were scheduled to speak. A similar event in Portogruaro has been cancelled after popular mobilization against the fascists.

2016

In February 2016, a delegation by the ESFS led by Giovanni Feola was **received by the Syrian Minister of Tourism** and **visited Hama**.

In 2016, the APF **sent a delegation to Syria, meeting with both the Lebanese and Syrian branches of the SSNP, which it called its “sister party”**, asserting that their “practical plans really developed”, with future events being planned.

2017

In February 2017, members of Primato Nazionale visited Syria as **part of a delegation by Sol.ID and the ESFS to Syria**

In 2017, the Arab American Community Center for Economic and Social Services (AACCESS), whose executive director Bassam Khawam is a member of the SSNP, organized the fact-finding committee of US Representative Tulsi Gabbard and traveled with her to Syria where she met

with Bashar al-Assad. Tulsi Gabbard herself has ties to Steve Bannon, the editor of US far-right publication *Breitbart News*, and is a supporter of India's far-right Prime Minister Narendra Modi (Gabbard criticized the revocation of Modi's visa to the US following the anti-Muslim pogroms in the Indian state of Gujarat of which Modi was chief minister in 2002) and his ruling far-right Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and in 2013 Gabbard was hosted at a gala dinner by the India Foundation, a far-right think tank affiliated to the BJP. The BJP is a political wing of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a fascist organization which supported the Axis powers during the Second World War, has been behind increasing violence against Muslims and Christians in India, and which recently moved closer to the regime of Bashar al-Assad while obtaining support from Assad concerning India's brutal occupation of Kashmir. Among those who accompanied Gabbard to Syria were Elie Khawam, the brother of Bassam and **a high-ranking member of the SSNP's politburo**, and Dennis Kucinich, whose multiple visits to Syria and meetings with Bashar al-Assad had been arranged by Khawam, who has donated to the campaign of Dennis Kucinich. Kucinich is also on the **advisory board** of the right-wing Libertarian Ron Paul Institute and has **strangely been hosted by Chossudovsky previously**.

The trend among these fascist organizations has been to describe Syria as a secular, sovereign country under attack by an "international Jewish plot" which uses jihadists as footsoldiers, a conspiratorial rhetoric which strangely is echoed among certain sections of the Left today, with some leftists presenting the war in Syria as a "struggle of the legitimate Syrian government" against a "CIA-Mossad plot" or a "US-backed rebellion". Despite multiple attempts to explain the far-right's support for Assad over the past years, most of them appear to have focused on the association between Hafez al-Assad and Alois Brunner rather than the role of the SSNP and of the network associated to Thierry Meyssan, from which the initial impulse to reach out to fascists internationally came.

There is also the question of how to approach Hezbollah. Many on the Left rightly supported it as a force of liberation following its brave resistance against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2006, however nearly a decade later the nature of Hezbollah has changed, going from resistance movement to mercenary for a fascist regime, and its channel (which hosts the likes of **Thierry Meyssan**, David Duke collaborator **Ken O'Keefe**, **Kevin Barrett**) sponsoring conferences of Cas-a-Pound.

Mussalaha and Mother Agnes Mariam of the Cross

Another organization part of this network of fascists is Mussalaha, which claims to be a "community-based non-violent popular stemming from within the Syrian civil society", yet is effectively a creation of the Syrian state and is under the authority of the Ministry of Reconciliation, which is occupied by Ali Haidar, the leader of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party, thus being a front for both the Assad regime and for the same SSNP which is cultivating ties with many fascist organizations all across Europe.

Mussalaha's representative is Mother Agnes Mariam of the Cross, a Carmelite nun who had previously **worked with and is close friends with Jocelyne Khoueir**, a member of Kataeb (Lebanese Phalangists) who were allied to the Israeli forces and responsible for the Sabra and Shatila massacre during the Lebanese Civil War (Hillary Clinton campaign aide Peter Daou **was a member of Kataeb during the war**). Mother Agnes Mariam has been described as an instrument

of Assad's regime by Father Paolo Dall'Oglio, a Jesuit priest who worked with the non-sectarian grassroots opposition to the Assad regime.

Mother Agnes' promoters include the Rassemblement pour la Syrie, a French organization whose activities include:

- **protests organized** by Institut Civitas, a far-right fundamentalist Catholic group close to Jean-Marie Le Pen
- a **delegation** to the APF in the European Parliament
- participation at a **conference** organized by Civitas and the APF, where Mother Agnes Mariam of the Cross shared a platform with Jean-Marie Le Pen and Roberto Fiore

Mother Agnes-Mariam herself has been **hosted** by Civitas (on whose channel are featured interviews by fascist **Alain Soral** and "**Freemason plot**" **conspiracy theories**) and by **TV Libertes**, a far-right confusionnist French channel founded by former French National Front members and by Phillipe Miliou, a former member of Alain De Benoist's GRECE and former member of the Bloc Identitaire, a far-right European New Right organization.

[**Note:** Civitas has **worked with** Kataeb and SOS Chrétiens d'Orient, a far-right Catholic fundamentalist group close to the National Front which was responsible for arranging the delegation of far-right French politicians to Syria in 2016, led by Thierry Mariani, co-founder of The Popular Right (the hard right wing of Les Républicains) and which included Julien Rochedy, the former national director of the French National Front's youth wing.]

Among the events Mother Agnes participated in are a conference **promoted by Dieudonne's and Alain Soral's Egalite et Reconciliation fascist party and attended by John Laughland (the Director of Studies of the Institute of Democracy and Cooperation of Natalia Narochnitskaya)** and **conferences by Laughland's and Narochnitskaya's think tank**. Both Laughland and Narochnitskaya are on the Scientific Committee of *Geopolitica* together with Chossudovsky, Chauprade, Engdahl and Nazemroaya (Narochnitskaya is also a **member of the Izborsky Club**).

Thierry Meyssan has **interviewed** and **published Mother Agnes Mariam on his website as early as May 2011 itself**, around two months after the start of the protest movement in Syria, which makes it not surprising at all that Mother Agnes Mariam then claimed the Ghouta chemical attacks were "false flag" attacks, even as Syrian activist Razan Zaitouneh, who was present in Ghouta, documented them to be real and done by the Assad regime.

Global Research has **platformed** her **after republishing an article quoting Mother Agnes Mariam by Marie-Ange Patrizio**, a "journalist" of *Meyssan's Voltaire Network*.

Mother Agnes has also **been interviewed by the LaRouche Movement** twice in 2013, and **by the UK Column**, another confusionnist media platform which posts **Soros conspiracy theories, Rothschild conspiracy theories**, and **rails about the "globalists"** and is **affiliated to the British Constitutional Group**, a right-wing anti-EU organization headed by Roger Hayes, himself a former UKIP member. In 2015, Mother Agnes also spoke at a conference by CasaPound.

These associations and the nature of Mussalaha as I explored in the above sections clearly position Mother Agnes-Mariam as a member of the far-right with fascist connections, so how did she manage to mislead peace activists involved in laudable causes into supporting a fascistic regime?

The answer lies in a certain Alan Lonergan, who is apparently involved in Irish-Palestinian solidarity and is on the board of Sadaka, the Irish Palestinian Alliance. However Lonergan is also the **European Media Representative of the Perdana Global Peace Foundation** of Mahathir Mohamad who is a virulent anti-Semite (Lonergan's Twitter account unsurprisingly reveals a fondness for conspiracist media, especially *Global Research*), and of which Michel Chossudovsky is also a member. Lonergan arranged for Mother Agnes Mariam **to meet Susan Dirgham and for her to visit Ireland** in 2012, where she met Mairead Maguire. In Ireland, Mother Agnes Mariam was received by Sinn Fein deputy Sean Crowe at the Leinster House, an event attended by a certain "Philipo Pilato", called an Italian journalist though this is strangely the name of the same Forza Nuova member who organized pro-Assad protests and delegations and **of whom a blog post was reshared by Global Research** while the blog of Pilato's own fascist Catholic fundamentalist Group for the Liberation of the Holy Land organization **features the interview of Mother Agnes Mariam by Thierry Meyssan** – Pilato appears to have also been a **signatory of a petition by Lonergan's organization**.

[**Note:** I might be stating the obvious here by saying that we must be firm in our commitment to stand in solidarity with the Palestinian people against the colonial Israeli state (I myself support the One-State Solution proposed by Ahmad Sa'adat, the Secretary General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), while also being wary of attempts by fascists and anti-Semites who try infiltrating our movements and fighting these reactionaries. A struggle rooted in principled anti-racism fights against the nationalist and colonialist ideology of Zionism and against anti-Semitism, and against both imperialism and fascism.]

Mother Agnes Mariam of the Cross thus led a Mussalaha "peace" delegation to Syria in 2013 including Maguire, Paul Larudee, Michael Maloof (senior writer for far-right website *World Net Daily*), Tim King (editor of *Salem-News*, a **conspiracist, Holocaust denying and virulently anti-Semitic website**), and Marinella Correggia (an Italian journalist who **runs Sibialiria**, a pro-Assad website promoting **Mother Agnes Mariam** and **her Mussalaha** since at least 2012, and linking to conspiracist websites such as *Apophenia*, the French format of *Global Research*, *NSNBC*, and *WhoWhatWhy*; Correggia herself had been present to far-right demonstrations in support of Assad the previous year).

[**Note:** Paul Larudee's report whitewashes Maloof's and King's backgrounds while mentioning that Mussalaha's president is Hassan Yaacoub, a member of the Free Patriotic Movement party headed by Michel Aoun, itself allied to Hezbollah. This alliance, known as the March 8 Alliance, also includes the Lebanese branch of the SSNP and the Lebanese branch of the Syrian Ba'ath Party.]

Mother Agnes Mariam was scheduled to speak at the International Antiwar Conference by the Stop The War Coalition in November 2013, but withdrew after Owen Jones and Jeremy Scahill refused to speak at the conference if Mother Agnes Mariam were to be present. Coincidence or not, Declan Hayes, a **contributor to Katehon**, posted pictures on **his blog** of him meeting Jeremy Corbyn, with Mother Agnes Mariam present at the event (while Corbyn himself should not be blamed for the actions of a fascist entryist, this is nevertheless still legitimately worrying). The next year, Hayes and Mother Agnes Mariam **welcomed a visit by Mairead Maguire to Syria** sponsored by the Unified Union of United Ummah, an Iranian NGO.

In 2015, Mairead Maguire led another delegation to Syria, on the invitation of Mother Agnes Mariam, Patriarch Gregorios III and Sheikh Sharif al-Martini, a member of the Mussalaha. Among the other members of the delegation were Sharmine Narwani (a "journalist" who works with

Holocaust deniers – see below), Feroze Mithiborwala (a *9/11 Truther*, who *believes the 2008 Mumbai attacks were a CIA-FBI-Mossad conspiracy* and *claims that Osama bin Laden has been dead since 2001* – Mithiborwala unsurprisingly *uses Engdahl as source in his writing*), Maria Monomenova (a *collaborator of the KPRF and of Leonid Ivashov who has worked at his Academy of Geopolitical Problems* and writes for the Russian Folk Line, which openly advocates for Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality (the state ideology of the Tsar Nicholas I) – Russian Folk Line’s *editor-in-chief Anatoly Stepanov* is also the *Deputy Chairman of the Saint Petersburg branch of the Izborsk Club*). Alan Lonergan was also listed as a delegate but could not go to Syria and instead acted as Press Officer for the delegation in Beirut.

[**Note:** this is not an attack on Máiread Maguire’s work for peace in Ireland. This is a critique on how activists with a good history of genuine activism were misled by a fascist entryist posing as a peace activist due to campist politics within the Left, where the war in Syria is one of the most contentious issues, with various leftists from various tendencies taking various positions on the war, going from uncritically supporting all opposition to Assad to uncritically supporting Assad himself, with more principled leftists who oppose both Assad and the reactionary elements of the opposition being stuck in between.]

Some Strange Stalinist Parties

The Workers World Party (WWP)

The Workers World Party is a small Stalinist party formed out of a faction led by Sam Marcy which split in 1958 from the Socialist Workers Party, a US Trotskyist party, due to disagreements between Marcy's faction's support for the Chinese revolution and the Soviet crushing of the Hungarian revolution, which was at odds with the positions of the SWP.

The WWP adheres to a crude form of "anti-imperialism" whereby it does not only oppose the United States' imperialism, but instead dogmatically aligns itself with and offers absolute uncritical support for any entity opposed, at least nominally, to the US no matter how oppressive and reactionary that entity might be, while a more principled radical would instead agree that the United States is indeed an oppressive reactionary capitalist, settler-colonial, racist and imperialist entity which must be opposed, but that many of its opponents are also reactionary and oppressive forces, and that one can stand against US warmongering and against these governments and states. This is a tendency whose adherents are commonly labelled as "campists", "tankies" or "anti-imps" within leftist jargon, and another of their distinctive features is that they disingenuously claim all those who criticize them and the Soviet Union are anti-Communists, liberals or even right-wing; while it is true that social democrats, liberals, conservatives and fascists have been strident anti-Communists who denounce the "crimes of Communism", often through outright historical revisionism and negationism, many Marxist and Anarchist Communist tendencies instead criticize the Soviet Union for oppressing the working class and similarly criticize campists and "tankies" for betraying internationalism by supporting states and governments instead of people.

The WWP hence went to the lengths of supporting the Tiananmen Square massacre and later denying it, defending the Khmer Rouge until 2000, Idi Amin, Slobodan Milosevic multiple times (more here) as well as Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic and denying the Bosnian genocide, supporting Serbian nationalists while they were massacring Albanians in Kosovo, glorifying Saddam Hussein and denying the Kurdish genocide and the Halabja massacre committed by him (with US support) instead of merely opposing the invasion of Iraq by the US, uncritically supporting the sectarian insurgency (which included elements which later evolved into Da'esh and the Nusra Front) in Iraq even as it was killing Sufis and Shi'a and attacking leftists, and calling it the "Iraqi resistance" while Iraqi leftists were opposing both the US occupation and the insurgency. Far from stopping war, these grotesque positions of the WWP weakened the US anti-war movement by splitting it and provided the propagandists for the invasion of Iraq, such as former Trotskyist turned neoconservative Christopher Hitchens, with ammunition to attack the whole of the anti-war movement.

The WWP sent members to support Milosevic during the Yugoslav War and later sent a delegate to a grouping of Stalinist parties supporting the "Iraqi resistance" organized by Subhi Toma, ***an associate of neo-fascist Thierry Meyssan.***

The WWP has been quoting Michel Chossudovsky since the 90s to defend Milosevic and is on record for using William Engdahl's book *A Century of War: Anglo-American Politics and the*

New World Order, whose title betrays an obvious LaRouchite ideological underpinning, as source concerning Myanmar, which might also explain why its publications in the wake of Bush's invasion of Afghanistan were no different from *Engdahl's conspiracies based about oil and geopolitics*.

This might also explain why the WWP dismissed the 2009 election fraud allegations in Iran and subsequent protests even as *Global Research* was **publishing similar conspiracies by anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist James Petras** also **published by Petras on neo-fascist Thierry Meyssan's Voltaire Network**.

These doctrinaire positions of the WWP, as well as its authoritarian tendencies, opportunist strategies, willingness to cooperate with the police and tendency to attempt to control the coalitions it is part through authoritarian and undemocratic methods means it needs to resort to front groups. One such front group was Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (abbreviated as A.N.S.W.E.R. or the ANSWER Coalition) and when the WWP experienced a split which resulted in the formation of the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) in 2004, the ANSWER Coalition became an affiliate of the PSL.

The WWP, Ramsey Clark and LaRouche

Another such front group of the WWP is the International Action Center (IAC), founded by the former US attorney Ramsey Clark and which he co-directs with WWP leader Sara Flounders. Ramsey Clark is a strange figure, having served as Attorney General under the administration of US president Lyndon Johnson, during which he was responsible for the creation of the Interdivisional Information Unit to coordinate the FBI's COINTELPRO and the CIA's Operation MHCHAOS (under which leftist groups like the Black Panther Party, the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, army deserters and the anti-war press were targeted) and indicted Benjamin Spock for advocating draft resistance during the Vietnam War. Clark retired from the political arena after Johnson dropped out of the Presidential elections in 1968, and adopted a policy of supporting, advising and defending war criminals and fascists opposed to the US such as:

- Bernard and Phyllis Coard who overthrew and assassinated Grenadian revolutionary Maurice Bishop,
- Nazi concentration camp guard Karl Linnas (such a shame)
- Radovan Karadzic
- Elizaphan Ntakirutimana (a pastor who helped Hutu militias murder Tutsi families during the Rwandan genocide)
- Slobodan Milosevic (with Clark being on the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic)
- Saddam Hussein
- and finally Lyndon LaRouche himself, with Clark claiming the trial against LaRouche was an outgrowth of COINTELPRO (Clark himself had participated in COINTELPRO), thus echoing LaRouche's position.

Following the trial of LaRouche, Clark went from being mere legal representative to full supporter of LaRouche, and the Schiller Institute flew him to a conference organized by LaRouche's movement in Copenhagen in 1990 where he *gave a speech in support of LaRouche painting him as a victim of vilification by the US government because he was supposedly a "danger to the system"*. Around this same time, Clark remained silent about the LaRouchites' use of his name to insert themselves in the mobilization against the Gulf War, thus enabling LaRouche's infiltration of the anti-war movement.

Clark traveled with WWP delegations to support Milosevic during the Yugoslav War, attended Milosevic's funeral in 2006 together with General Leonid Ivashov, Gennady Zyuganov and Sergey Baburin (then a co-leader of Rodina), *co-signed an open letter together with Baburin* in March 2009 in opposition to the independence of Kosovo before attending a pro-Milosevic rally by Serbian ultra-nationalists in April of that same year. Clark presently co-chairs of the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic together with fascist Baburin, who is himself also on the Scientific Committee of Eurasianist journal *Geopolitica* together with Chauprade, Engdahl, Chossudovsky, Narochnitskaya and Nazemroaya, and on the Scientific Committee of *Eurasia* with Engdahl and Dugin..

Clark is still associated with the WWP while also simultaneously maintaining his ties to the LaRouche network, having spoken to multiple LaRouche events in **2014**, and in September 2016, the Schiller Institute held a "Securing World Peace Through Embracing the Common Aims of Mankind" conference whose speakers included:

- Helga Zepp-LaRouche
- Jeffrey Steinberg
- **Ramsey Clark**
- Richard Black, a State Senator for the US state of Virginia
- **Bashar Jaafari**, the Syrian Ambassador to the United Nations
- US Congressman Walter Jones

Cynthia McKinney

Another crypto-fascist the WWP has worked with is Cynthia McKinney, a former US Congressperson for the Democratic Party with a history of 9/11 conspiracism and outright anti-Semitism. McKinney has been close *to the vice-president of the LaRouche Movement's Schiller Institute Amelia Boynton Robinson* since 2005, and in 2009 she wrote an article *blaming George Soros of plotting to install a "one-world government"* (another form of far-right "New World Order" conspiracy theories) before later blaming the "Zionists" for her electoral failure after she ran for the 2008 US Presidential elections as candidate for the US Green Party (which was endorsed by the WWP).

In 2009 itself, McKinney attended a conference by the Perdana foundation of Mahamad Mahathir, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia (whose advisor Matthias Chang she had quoted in her Soros conspiracy article). Cynthia McKinney praised Mahathir on the website of the Green

Party and was photographed in company of Holocaust deniers David Pidcock and Michele Renouf.

In 2011, McKinney led a delegation to Libya which included Ramsey Clark and conspiracy theorist Wayne Madsen where she spoke on Libyan state television, and which was **broadcast on Chossudovsky's Global Research TV**. Neo-fascists Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya and Thierry Meyssan (who **was a contributor to Eurasia**, a journal whose editor is neo-fascist Claudio Mutti, a close associate of Dugin and the founder of the pro-Gaddafi Italian-Libyan Friendship Society) and RT journalist Lizzie Phelan were **all present in Libya that same year**.

Following the delegation, **McKinney worked together with Michel Chossudovsky, conspiracist Wayne Madsen, Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya (who was present in Libya together with Thierry Meyssan that same year) on a speaking tour** at the same time **the WWP's International Action Center** and the PSL's ANSWER coalition were organizing her tour whose participants included Ramsey Clark, former member of the WWP and co-founder and leader of the PSL Brian Becker and representatives of the Nation of Islam (which was one of the many far-right groups funded by Gaddafi, had worked with LaRouche in the 90s and was already moving close to the Church of Scientology at that time), including Louis Farrakhan. This prompted a number of Palestinian activists to condemn her position and the ANSWER Coalition prevented Libyans from attending her speaking tour because they opposed McKinney's pro-Gaddafi positions.

Sara Flounders and Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya later **both contributed to McKinney's book on Libya**, published by *Clarity Press*, a publisher which lists *Global Research as its partner website, features books from multiple conspiracy theorists* such as James Petras and Paul Craig Roberts and **published Nazemroaya's book *The Globalization of NATO***, prefaced by Dennis Halliday, a former United Nations official who **presently works with Mahathir's foundation**. **The board of Clarity Press includes Chandra Muzaffar, another associate of Mahathir's foundation.**

In November 2012, McKinney **as well as Michel Chossudovsky, spoke at a conference, opened by conspiracist James Corbett**, by Mahathir's foundation again, where she framed the war in Syria in the context of anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories. The next month McKinney and Sara Flounders were both part of a delegation to Pakistan.

More recent anti-Semitic incidents by McKinney include her **promoting** and **meeting** Dieudonné, **promoting the "Dancing Israelis" 9/11 conspiracy theory** and **posting a Global Research article full of anti-Semitic "Rothschild" conspiracy theories on her Facebook**. She has also openly voiced out conspiracy theories concerning the **Boston Marathon bombings**.

The expected result of McKinney's flirtations with Holocaust deniers, National Bolsheviks and associates of LaRouche has been that she took on the label of "Alt Left" and allied with Robert David Steele, a former CIA official who openly describes himself as a member of the so-called "Alt-Right" neo-fascist movement, with the aim of fighting the "deep state" in support of Donald Trump, a red-brown initiative named "Unrig" **which she promoted on the show of Holocaust denier Kevin Barrett** (on **whose show she had already been hosted previously in 2014**).

The impact of Cynthia McKinney on the US Green Party has been lastingly negative, with its 2016 Presidential candidate Jill Stein sharing the oil pipeline conspiracy theory on Twitter and being hosted by live on RT by Vladimir Putin (a move which was condemned by Russian Green activists) under whom Russian human rights activists, anti-fascists and Anarchists have faced persecution (something which even members of the red-brown Stalinist opposition groups have

experienced), and Jill Stein's vice-presidential candidate Ajamu Baraka being *hosted by Kevin Barrett*.

While the claims of American liberals that Stein is a "Russian asset" are clearly conspiracy mongering meant to deflect from Hillary Clinton's electoral loss due to her own mediocrity as a neoliberal candidate by scapegoating third party voters, Stein's and Baraka's actions do beg the question of what kind of Left does the Green Party represent: one which opposes American war-mongering while also being internationalists who oppose oppression all around the world, or one which exists in opposition to the American establishment only and is willing to be lenient towards other human rights abusers and oppressors if they are opposed to the US? After all, as writes Russian Marxist Ilya Matveev, the very idea that the Russian government of Vladimir Putin might be anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist is pure propaganda with no basis in reality since it is itself thoroughly neoliberal. What is required from leftists around the world is neither support for the Russian right-wing capitalist government *nor to give in to Russophobic hate* as is nowadays being promoted by liberals who seem to have become clones of Louise Mensch who see "Russian agents" everywhere, but instead solidarity with the Russian people on an internationalist basis.

The Party For Socialism And Liberation (PSL)

The Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) is an offshoot of the Workers World Party formed in 2004 by former leaders of the WWP (the reason of the split is itself unknown) who nevertheless still defend Sam Marcy, his ideology and the WWP. The PSL therefore maintains a similar a reactionary campist worldview and the same analysis as its parent organization on the Tiananmen Square massacre, Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic and Yugoslavia, going as far as to condemn Iraqi Communists for not supporting the same sectarian insurgency the WWP supported. Like the WWP, the PSL's website also often quotes *Global Research* as source.

Despite the PSL being nominally a separate party from the WWP, it appears to have been working extensively enough with the WWP, especially as of 2011, that one might suspect the PSL could be acting as another WWP front. Already in 2005, ANSWER's anti-war rally featured Ramsey Clark and Brian Becker as speakers, and ANSWER's 2010 rally against Islamophobia featured Cynthia McKinney and Ramsey Clark as speakers, and Clark was again hosted by the PSL at one of their talks later that same year. In 2011 the WWP's International Action Center and the PSL's ANSWER sponsored Cynthia McKinney's and Ramsey Clark's tour, and in 2012 the PSL's teach-in for the anniversary of the Iraq War hosted Ramsey Clark and the PSL's Ben Becker was present at the WWP's talks on Syria. In September 2013, the IAC and ANSWER Coalition organized protests together. In May 2017 the PSL's ANSWER Coalition hosted the screening of a documentary about the life on Ramsey Clark, and in November that year commemorations for the hundredth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution at the WWP's headquarters featured Larry Holmes of the WWP, Ben Becker of the PSL.

The Strange Case Of Sputnik Radio

Brian Becker, the aforementioned co-founder and co-leader of the PSL and National Coordinator for the ANSWER Coalition happens to have a show, called *Loud & Clear on Sputnik* (whose French branch openly collaborates with far-right members in the orbit of the National Front and GRECE), which premiered in December 2015. Becker's fellow PSL member Walter Smolarek is a

producer for the show, former CIA officer (whose mission involved spying on Communists and nowadays *appears on Infowars*) John Kiriakou has been co-hosting *Loud & Clear* with Becker from September 2017. Despite Becker being a self-proclaimed socialist, individuals associated to the far-right or conspiracists who appear on his show include:

- William Binney, a NSA whistleblower, which is in itself a laudable thing. Binney's politics however happen to *fall in conspiracy theory territory, him speaking at a 2014 conference* by an organization which *believes chemtrails are a tool of mind control*. Binney is *also a 9/11 Truther*, close to *LaRouche*, a Trump supporter who believes the 2016 Democratic National Committee (DNC) email leaks were an inside job (a position *endorsed by LaRouche*) and a regular guest of *Fox News*. Becker hosted Binney on *the 30th of December 2015, the 25th of February 2016, the 31st of March 2016, the 14th of June 2016, the 24th of June 2016, the 19th of August 2016, the 6th of October 2016, the 18th of November 2016, the 14th of December 2016, the 5th of January 2017, the 7th of March 2017, the 24th of March 2017, the 26th of April 2017, the 11th of May 2017, the 16th of May 2017, the 20th of June 2017, the 29th of June 2017, the 27th of October 2017, the 10th of November 2017, the 1st of December 2017*
- George Galloway, former MP of the British Labour Party and staunch supporter of Saddam Hussein, who happens to be close to and has *defended* and *platformed* anti-Semite Gilad Atzmon, who has himself been condemned for his anti-Semitism by Palestinian activists. Becker hosted Galloway on *the 31st of December 2015, the 18th of February 2016, the 21st of April 2016, the 17th of May 2016, the 28th of June 2015, the 31st of August 2016, the 13th of January 2017, the 3rd of February 2017, the 10th of March 2017, the 2nd of September 2017, the 1st of December 2017*
- Ray McGovern, a former CIA analyst turned peace activist, and co-founder of Veterans Intelligence Professionals for Sanity with William Binney, turned 9/11 Truther, *participant of Meyssan's Axis for Peace, long-time Infowars contributor, spoke at a conference organized by two organizations* headed by Alison Weir. McGovern has been hosted *by the David Icke-affiliated Richie Allen Show, hosted by the Geopolitics and Empire podcast which also hosts conspiracy theorists like William Engdahl and Paul Craig Roberts*, and was *recently hosted by LaRouche*. Becker hosted McGovern on *the 4th of January 2016, the 12th of January 2016, the 11th of February 2016, the 22nd of March 2016, the 1st of April 2016, the 12th of April 2016, the 21st of April 2016, 26th of May 2016, the 6th of July 2016, the 2nd of September 2016, the 19th of September 2016, the 29th of September 2016, the 19th of October 2016, the 26th of October 2016, the 21st of November 2016, the 7th of December 2016, the 13th of December 2016, the 4th of January 2017, the 12th of January 2017, the 26th of January 2017, the 28th of March 2017, the 10th of April 2017, the 26th of April 2017, the 17th of May 2017, the 7th of June 2017, the 16th of June 2017, the 20th of June 2017, the 24th of June 2017, the 8th of July 2017, the 13th of September 2017*
- Stewart Rhodes, the founder of the Oath Keepers, a far-right militia group, was hosted by Becker on *the 5th of January 2016, the 11th of March 2016*

- Larry Pratt, the executive director of Gun Owners of America, who is also the founder of xenophobic group US Border Control and of English First, a right wing group which aims to impose English as only official language in the US, who is also close to the Oath Keepers. Becker hosted Pratt on *the 6th of January 2016*
- Daniel McAdams, the Executive Director of the Ron Paul Institute. McAdams was formerly associated with the British Helsinki Human Rights Group, whose trustee was John Laughland, the **Director of Studies** of fascist politician Natalia Narochnitskaya's Institute of Democracy and Cooperation, a member of the Scientific Committee of Duginist publication *Geopolitica* together with Narochnitskaya, Chossudovsky, Chauprade, Engdahl and Nazemroaya, and who is now a member of the Academic Board of the Ron Paul Institute. Daniel McAdams was hosted by Becker on *the 3rd of February 2016, the 5th of February 2016, the 18th of February 2016, the 29th of February 2016, the 9th of March 2016, the 29th of March 2016, the 28th of April 2016, the 18th of May 2016, the 7th of June 2016, the 22nd of June 2016, the 7th of July 2016, the 8th of July 2016, the 4th of August 2016, the 23rd of August 2016, the 22nd of September 2016, the 14th of October 2016*
- Nomi Prins, a former financial analyst who worked for a number of Wall Street big banks before dropping out and joining the Occupy Wall Street movement, which is in itself a positive move I support. More worrying however is how her support for reinstating the Glass-Steagall Act has led her to **become close to the LaRouche movement lately**, which also **advocates for a similar policy**. Becker hosted Prins on *the 4th of February 2016*
- Gregory Elich, a Milosevic apologist who blames the West for the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Elich was hosted by Becker on *the 12th of February 2016, the 9th of March 2016, the 4th of January 2017, the 9th of August 2017, the 12th of September 2017*
- Steven Sahiounie, a writer at the **American Herald Tribune** (a **conspiracist** and **anti-Semitic** website **whose Editor-in-Chief is Anthony Hall**, a conspiracy theorist and **an associate** of Holocaust denier Kevin Barrett), **The Duran** and **Mint Press News**, two other conspiracist websites I will explore below in this post. Becker hosted Sahiounie on the *26th of February 2016*
- Christopher Black, a former candidate of the Canadian Communist Party (who is still supported by the Canadian Communist Party and participates in its events), is a **Rwandan genocide denier who associates with conspiracy theorists** and defends Slobodan Milosevic (Black is a member of the board of the International Committee for the Defence of Slobodan Milosevic), **Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic** and Vojislav Seselj, the founder of the Serbian Radical Party. Christopher Black was hosted by Becker on *the 10th of March 2016, the 19th of August 2016, the 3rd of November 2016, the 23rd of August 2017, the 14th of September 2017, the 19th of September 2017, the 30th of September 2017, the 5th of October 2017, the 28th of October 2017, the 23rd of November 2016, the 30th of November 2017, the 7th of December 2017, the 19th of December 2017*
- Tim Anderson, a "Marxist" strangely close to white nationalists, neo-Nazis, LaRouchites and Duginists about whom I talk below in this post. Becker hosted Anderson on the *15th of March 2016*

- Pepe Escobar, a long time contributor for conspiracist websites like *Infowars*, *SOTT.net*, *Global Research*, and *The Corbett Report* whose “analyses” appear to be based on *LaRouche’s* and *Engdahl’s* conspiracies, and who appears to be one of the sources of the Syria oil pipeline conspiracy theory. Escobar was hosted by Becker on *the 18th of March 2016*. Escobar was hosted by Becker on *the 18th of March 2016*, the *14th of April 2016*, the *25th of April 2016*, the *11th of May 2016*, the *30th of August 2016*, the *28th of October 2016*, the *18th of November 2016*, the *16th of February 2017*, the *22nd of September 2017*
- Steve Rambam, the founder and CEO of a private investigation agency. Becker hosted Rambam on the *22nd of March 2016*, the *25th of March 2016*, the *28th of April 2016*
- Zafar Bangash, the *director of the Institute of Contemporary Islamic Thought, which publishes*, among others, Cynthia McKinney (about whom I speak below in this post), Kevin Barrett (a Holocaust denier and anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist), Catherine Shakdam (about whom I speak later in this post), Eva Bartlett (about whom I write later in this post), Eric Walberg (who appears to have the aberrant belief that al-Qaeda and Da’esh are comparable to Marxist revolutionaries of the 20th century and *has contributed to the Duginist Journal of Eurasian Affairs*) and Imran Hossein (an Islamic scholar with *ties to Aleksandr Dugin and Alain Soral*). Bangash has *been on Barrett’s radio show* and contributed to his book while his Institute’s YouTube channel reshares *Barrett’s show regularly*. Becker hosted Bangash on the *7th of April 2016*, the *15th of March 2016*, the *11th of May 2016*, the *9th of June 2016*, the *27th of June 2016*, the *3rd of August 2016*, the *22nd of August 2016*
- Issa Chaer of the Syrian Social Club, who *animated a panel together with Thierry Meyssan* at the Third New Horizons conference in Iran. Chaer was hosted by Becker on the *14th of April 2016*, the *26th of April 2016*
- Mark Sleboda, an *associate of Aleksandr Dugin* who has *translated his books in English*. Sleboda was hosted by Becker on the *15th of March 2016*, the *12th of May 2016*, the *20th of May 2016*, the *27th of May 2016*, the *15th of June 2016*, the *1st of July 2016*, the *8th of July 2016*, the *14th of July 2016*, the *26th of July 2016*, the *9th of August 2016*, the *6th of September 2016*, the *7th of September 2016*, the *13th of October 2016*, the *19th of October 2016*, the *26th of October 2016*, the *17th of November 2016*, the *20th of December 2016*, the *13th of January 2017*, the *31st of January 2017*, the *7th of February 2017*, the *16th of February 2017*, the *22nd of February 2017*, the *3rd of March 2017*, the *10th of March 2017*, the *20th of March 2017*, the *30th of March 2017*, the *4th of April 2017*, the *10th of April 2017*, the *20th of April 2017*, the *9th of May 2017*, the *31st of May 2017*, the *15th of June 2017*, the *21st of June 2017*, the *6th of July 2017*, the *1st of August 2017*, the *18th of August 2017*, the *15th of September 2017*, the *11th of October 2017*, the *26th of October 2017*, the *4th of November 2017*, the *9th of November 2017*, the *22nd of November 2017* [archive], the *29th of November 2017*, the *5th of December 2017*, the *12th of December 2017*, the *21st of December 2017*, the *27th of December 2017*
- Pierre Sprey, a defense analyst who worked with the US Department of Defense. Becker hosted Sprey on the *26th of April 2016*, the *7th of November 2016*, the *20th of July 2017*

- Sorayah Sepahpour-Ulrich, an “independent journalist” who believes in *9/11 conspiracy theories*, shares *conspiracist material* on her Facebook page, and is a contributor to websites such as *Veterans News Now*, a Holocaust denial website, and *Foreign Policy Journal*, a website full of conspiracies about *the “globalists”* and *the “New World Order”* with a distinctly red-brown and pro-Russia and pro-China National Bolshevik flavor to them. Becker hosted Sepahpour-Ulrich on the *3rd of June 2016*, the *9th of August 2016*
- Kevin Kamps of the Beyond Nuclear Foundation, whose founding president is Helen Caldicott. While I also support anti-nuclear activism, Caldicott’s advocacy appears to be based on non-factual sources and she herself is *a member* of the *Perdana foundation* of former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mahamad. Becker hosted Kamp on the *9th of June 2016*, the *4th of July 2016*, the *9th of August 2016*, the *12th of October 2017*, the *20th of October 2017*, the *24th of October 2017*, the *1st of November 2016*, the *21st of November 2017*
- Cassandra Fairbanks, a former participant of the Occupy Wall Street movement turned police informant and member of the “Deplorable” neo-fascist movement. Becker hosted Fairbanks on the *14th of June 2016*, the *28th of September 2016*
- Russ Baker, the Editor-in-Chief of *WhoWhatWhy*, a conspiracist website publishing *9/11 conspiracy theories*, *“deep state”*, *“globalist”* and *“New World Order”* conspiracy theories, *Boston bombing* conspiracy theories. Baker himself regularly contributes to *Coast to Coast AM*, a *conspiracist radio* show. Becker hosted Baker on the *16th of June 2016*
- Alexander Mercouris, the Editor-in-Chief of *The Duran*, a far-right outlet which *promotes Marine Le Pen*, *“globalist”* and *Soros conspiracy theories* and *supports Alex Jones*. Becker hosted Mercouris on the *30th of June 2016*, the *7th of July 2016*, the *12th of July 2016*, the *7th of September 2016*, the *13th of October 2016*, the *24th of October 2016*, the *2nd of November 2016*, the *14th of December 2016*, the *22nd of December 2016*, the *10th of January 2017*, the *23rd of January 2017*, the *26th of January 2017*, the *10th of February 2017*, the *22nd of February 2017*, the *27th of February 2017*, the *3rd of March 2017*, the *9th of March 2017*, the *29th of March 2017*, the *12th of April 2017*, the *26th of April 2017*, the *4th of May 2017*, the *25th of May 2017*, the *6th of June 2016*, the *26th of June 2016*, the *7th of July 2017*, the *2nd of August 2016*, the *10th of August 2017*, the *24th of August 2017*, the *19th of September 2017*, the *21st of September 2017*, the *27th of September 2017*, the *5th of October 2017*, the *13th of October 2017*, the *21st of October 2017*, the *25th of October 2017*, the *1st of November 2017*, the *21st of November 2017*, the *25th of November 2017*, the *30th of November 2017*, the *6th of December 2017*, the *13th of December 2017*, the *23rd of December 2017*
- Kevork Almassian, a *member of the German Center for Eurasian Studies* which, as its name obviously suggests, is a *think tank adhering to the neo-fascist ideology of Aleksandr Dugin*, and whose *director is Manuel Ochsенreiter*. Becker hosted Almassian on the *19th of August 2016*, the *25th of August 2016*, the *20th of September 2016*, the *6th of October 2016*, the *19th of October 2016*, the *17th of November 2016*, the *30th of November 2016*, the *8th of December 2016*

- Don DeBar, who has in the past worked with *conspiracy theorist Pepe Escobar* and *with neo-fascist Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya*. Becker hosted DeBar on the *9th of September 2016*, the *3rd of March 2017*
- Alaa Ebrahim, a “journalist” who works *for Duginist Almassian’s Syria Analysis*. Becker hosted Ebrahim on the *25th of August 2016*, the *13th of September 2016*, the *25th of October 2016*, the *2nd of February 2017*
- Marwa Osman, a “journalist” who appears on far-right and conspiracist outlets such as the *American Herald Tribune*, the *YouTube show of Ryan Dawson*, a Holocaust denier, and on *21st Century Wire*, about which I talk below in this post. Osman also recently *contributed to the Journal of Eurasian Affairs of Aleksandr Dugin’s International Eurasian Movement*. Becker hosted Osman on the *28th of September 2016*, the *30th of September 2016*, the *4th of January 2017*, the *23rd of January 2017*, the *15th of March 2017*, the *24th of March 2017*, the *28th of June 2017*, the *8th of November 2017*, the *23rd of November 2017*
- Alex Christoforou, *writer and President of The Duran* who himself writes “globalist” conspiracy theories. Becker hosted Christoforou on the *13th of October 2016*
- Catherine Shakdam, a writer for *Mint Press News*, *The Duran*, *American Herald Tribune*, *Foreign Policy Journal*, the *New Eastern Outlook journal*, all far-right conspiracist websites, and a *sample* of her writing there reveals a fondness for quoting fascists and conspiracy theorists such as Kevin Barrett, James Fetzer, Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya and Michel Chossudovsky. Shakdam is a *Katehon contributor*, *has been hosted on Holocaust denier Kevin Barrett’s show more than once* and *has contributed to Barrett’s book*. Shakdam was hosted by Becker on the *25th of October 2016*, the *28th of October 2016*, the *3rd of November 2016*, the *7th of December 2016*, the *20th of December 2016*, the *4th of January 2017*, the *23rd of January 2017*, the *27th of January 2017*, the *7th of February 2017*, the *28th of February 2017*, the *10th of March 2017*, the *22nd of March 2017*, the *29th of March 2017*, the *6th of April 2017*, the *7th of April 2017*, the *13th of April 2017*, the *2nd of May 2017*, the *19th of May 2017*, the *1st of June 2017*, the *23rd of June 2017*, the *6th of July 2017*, the *20th of September 2017*, the *28th of September 2017*, the *5th of October 2017*, the *12th of October 2017*, the *17th of October 2017*, the *25th of October 2017*, the *12th of December 2017*, the *22nd of December 2017*, the *29th of December 2017*
- Eva Bartlett, a conspiracy theorist who writes for a number of far-right and conspiracist outlets and associates with Holocaust deniers about whom I’ve written below in this post. Becker hosted Bartlett on the *16th of December 2016*, the *27th of December 2016*
- Sharmine Narwani, a former Huffington Post blogger who was fired for arguing that the casualties by the Syrian state should not be publicized. She can be seen on conspiracist media like the *Corbett Report*, *Mint Press* and *Global Research TV* or *hosted* by anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist Jeff Rense, and is a featured writer *for Veterans Today* and writes for *The American Conservative*, a far-right paleoconservative outlet which hosts, among others, *Pat Buchanan*, *Daniel Larison of the League of the South* (who is a *senior*

editor for The American Conservative), and where one can find *extreme xenophobia, support for Trump, opposition to anti-fascism, virulent transphobia*. Narwani was hosted by Becker on the **19th of December 2016**

- Abby Martin, a former host of RT with a *long history of associating with and promoting the Zeitgeist Movement*, based on a series of conspiratorial films with a LaRouchite and Infowars-type approach. Becker hosted Martin on the **10th of January 2017**, the **14th of December 2017**
- Rick Sterling, a retired engineer who writes primarily for *The Duran* and *Dissident Voice*, a formerly progressive website which now *heavily promotes querfront politics* and publishes *Gilad Atzmon, defenses of the anti-Semitic forgery The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, defenses of Holocaust denial*. Becker hosted Sterling on the **15th of April 2017**, the **28th of June 2016**, the **21st of July 2017**, the **25th of August 2017**, the **12th of September 2017**, the **15th of September 2017**, the **21st of September 2017**, the **14th of October 2017**, the **28th of October 2017**, the **25th of November 2017**, the **12th of December 2017**
- Jim Jatras, a former US diplomat whose Twitter account shows *openly far-right, xenophobic positions* and is an *open supporter of Donald Trump*. Jatras, who testified in favor of Slobodan Milosevic at the Hague Tribunal in 2004 and *writes for* the far-right *Chronicles Magazine* and *for Katehon*. Jatras was the Deputy Director of the *American Institute in Ukraine*, whose Executive director was Anthony Salvia, who also *writes for Chronicles Magazine* (Jatras and Salvia are both directors of the Global Strategies Communications Group, which registered to lobby for Rodina in 2005) – Jatras is also the *director* of the American Council for Kosovo, on whose *Advisory Board* is Islamophobe Robert Spencer, and whose secretary Darren Spinck is the Managing Partner of Global Strategies Communications Group. Becker hosted Jatras on the **21st of June 2017**, **19th of September 2017**, the **7th of November 2017**, the **22nd of November 2017**
- Lionel, who is a *Trump supporter, promotes Soros conspiracy theories*. Becker hosted Lionel on the **11th of August 2017**, the **30th of November 2017**
- Peter Ford, the former UK Ambassador to Syria who is also a co-director of the British Syrian Society run by Bashar al-Assad's father-in-law Fawaz Akhras. Becker hosted Ford on the **14th of September 2016**, the **31st of October 2017**, the **3rd of November 2017**, the **8th of November 2017**, the **22nd of November 2017**, the **30th of November 2017**, the **13th of December 2017**, the **28th of December 2017**
- Robert Carter, a writer for the *American Herald Tribune* and *Veterans Today* who also *appears on Kevin Barrett's radio show*. Becker hosted Carter on the **27th of September 2017**, the **7th of October 2017**, the **11th of October 2017**, the **21st of November 2017**
- Garland Nixon, a progressive liberal who co-hosts the *Fault Lines* show on *Sputnik* together with Lee Stranahan, a former journalist for the far-right *Breitbart News*, which is representative of *Sputnik's* policy of promoting querfronts. Becker hosted Nixon on the **14th of December 2017**

[**Addendum:** Twitter user dotcommunism also wrote a Medium post concerning Brian Becker's guests, which I strongly encourage reading.]

[**Note:** Ryan Dawson, the Holocaust denier, has also been platformed as expert on *RT* concerning *Syria* and *Ukraine*.]

[**Note:** McGovern and Kiriakou were also the co-signatories of an open letter denying the Syrian government's responsibility for the 2013 Ghouta chemical attacks. Among the other signatories was Philip Giraldi, who adheres to the *anti-Semitic conspiracy theory claiming that Jews "drive America's wars"*].

The positions of most of these guests consists mainly of support for Novorossiya, Brexit, Vladimir Putin, Donald Trump (this is not an attempt to deliberate on "RussiaGate", with respect to which I take no position) and the regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria, whom they see as the opponent of a "Jewish plot" to create the "New World Order", and opposition to Hillary Clinton which is rooted in anti-Semitic conspiracy theories painting her as the tool of "George Soros" or "globalists" rather than in radical anti-capitalism (reminiscent of conspiracy theories circulated by both *conspiracist outlets* and the Russian government concerning the 2011 Bolotnaya Square Protests as well as with those of William Engdahl, Webster Tarpley, *John Laughland* and Thierry Meyssan about the causes of the Arab Spring). Which begs the question: why do Becker and Smolarek platform fascists and reactionaries on their show when there are many radical leftists with very valid criticisms of Hillary Clinton and American war mongering and imperialism? Is it because most leftists not affiliated to the PSL's brand of reactionary anti-imperialism have more nuanced positions than active support for reactionary oppressive states and governments?

It also raises serious questions concerning left-wing journalists who recently joined *RT*, a channel which has consistently platformed all sorts of fascists since its inception. *Sameera Khan*, a former surrogate for Bernie Sanders who recently became a *RT* correspondent, for example, is also *a columnist* for the *Holocaust-denying American Herald Tribune* (which was also listed in her Twitter account's bio at one point).

And there is Rania Khalek, with whose Palestine solidarity work I sympathize, but who went from supporting the civil resistance in Syria to being scheduled to speak at NGOs owned by Bashar al-Assad's father-in-law, *defending the SSNP* "because of its secularism" (the New Atheist movement comes to mind as another secular reactionary ideology) even as it has been linking up with fascists all over Europe for nearly a decade now, and *mocking Syrian Marxists on Twitter because "her friends laughed at his work"* (while Lebanese leftist groups agree with said Syrian Marxist's positions). Khalek furthermore works for *Redfish*, an outlet initially presenting itself as a "grassroots initiative" which was recently exposed as a subsidiary of *Ruptly*, *RT's video on demand agency*, and is *headed by Elizabeth Cocker* (more commonly known as Lizzie Phelan), a former correspondent for *RT* and the Iranian state-owned television channel *PressTV*, who *was together with Thierry Meyssan and Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya in Tripoli in 2011*, has previously quoted *Voltaire Network* conspiracies as source on Syria (the *Voltaire Network* itself *features a contact form* to get in touch with Cocker through its website).

Benjamin Norton, former writer for American liberal outlet *Salon*, also comes to mind, having deleted his past criticisms of Assad and now chitchatting with *National Bolsheviks* and *the associates of Holocaust deniers* on *Sputnik* while *slandering Syrian Communists online*. Then there is Max Blumenthal, who resigned from *al-Akhbar* to protest its support for the Assad

regime but has recently been accused of plagiarizing the work of a conspiracy theorist concerning the White Helmets (Syrian Christian activists have condemned Blumenthal for this).

How can we trust these journalists who work for and defend an outlet which has been promoting conspiracy theories, Holocaust deniers, National Bolsheviks and white nationalists from its inception? RT's own pathetic defense after an obscure and shady anonymous group leveled accusations of "Russian propaganda" at certain outlets included pulling a stunt "grilling" **Paul Craig Roberts** who himself believes that **Russia is "resisting globalism"** (Roberts has repeated these conspiracies on the **Richie Allen Show**, and is himself a **regular RT contributor** who writes for **Katehon**, believes in **9/11 conspiracy theories**, **Soros conspiracy theories**, the **"white genocide" conspiracy theory**, and **defends conspiracy theories claiming America is "controlled by Jews"**)?

[**Note:** Other regular guests on Becker's show, especially concerning American internal politics, include mostly members of his own party, such as Sarah Sloan, John Beecham and Nino Brown of the PSL-affiliated ANSWER Coalition, Brian Becker's brother and PSL co-founder Richard Becker, the PSL's 2016 presidential candidate for the 2016 US Presidential elections Gloria La Riva, Mike Prysner, who also produces and co-writes Abby Martin's *Empire Files* show for left wing channel *TeleSUR* (and disapproved of Jeremy Scahill's refusal to share a platform with Mother Agnes Mariam). Eugene Puryear, the PSL's vice presidential nominee for the 2008 and 2016 US Presidential elections, is a regular guest on Becker's show and himself also has a show on *Sputnik* called *By Any Means Necessary*. The implication is that Becker's show is not only a platform for open fascists, but also one to promote his own party, which is consistent with its history of opportunism which included sabotaging socialists by helping place Roseanne Barr on the Presidential ballot for the Peace and Freedom Party (a move which, according to the PSL itself, was due to their differences with other socialists concerning the Syrian uprising).]

Red-brown behavior is not limited to the PSL's leadership, as the online activities of its members show a disturbing streak of far-right conspiracism. This includes linking to the ***Boulevard Voltaire*** (a far-right website which publishes ***Alain de Benoist***, ***support for Marine Le Pen*** and ***promotes Soros conspiracy theories***), ***South Front*** (an openly far-right website which publishes ***Rothschild conspiracy theories***, ***supports Infowars***, shares articles by ***Aleksandr Dugin*** and ***Israel Shamir*** and is affiliated to the Holocaust-denying ***Veterans Today*** and to ***New Eastern Outlook***) ***repeatedly***. Also prevalent among the PSL's members and affiliates is the belief that the People's Protection Units (YPG) is an ***imperialist Zionist proxy ethnically cleansing Arabs*** supposedly "cooperating with Da'esh" to serve the aim of creating a "Greater Kurdistan" for American interests, which is also a point pushed by ***William Engdahl***, ***Thierry Meyssan***, and ***by Duginists***.

[**Note:** The İşçi Partisi (Workers' Party), later rebranded as the Vatan Partisi (Patriotic Party), is a Turkish party which adheres to an idiosyncratic mixture of Maoism and Kemalism. The Vatan Partisi ***denies the Armenian Genocide and claims it is an "imperialist lie"***, and believes the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) has been controlled by the United States since the Gulf War and ***claims it is a proxy by which the US seeks to create a "second Israel" in the form of a "Greater Kurdistan"***, and ***believes the PYD and the YPG are "tools of the US" who supposedly "collaborate with Da'esh against Syria"***. Its leader, Doğu Perinçek, ***joined the Supreme Council of Aleksandr Dugin's International Eurasian Movement in 2003*** and is ***openly sympathetic to Eurasianism***.

While the Vatan Partisi was an enemy of Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) for years and considered the Islamists as puppets of the imperialist West, there has been a rapprochement between the AKP and the Vatan Partisi parties more recently, and Ismail Hakki Pekin, the *Deputy Chairman* and *Chairman of the Bureau of International Relations* of the Vatan Partisi has been involved in back channel diplomacy between Ankara and Damascus. After Turkey shot down a Russian war plane in 2015, Pekin was part of a group of members from the Vatan Partisi who, on unofficial request from the AKP, flew to Moscow in December 2015 and participated in talks with Russian officers and Konstantin Malofeyev organized by Dugin to defuse the situation, something which Dugin himself also asserts. During the meeting with Malofeyev, him and Dugin warned of a coup attempt in Russia, and Dugin himself had given an interview to Turkish state-run TRT Haber supporting Recep Tayyip Erdogan's decision to mend ties with Russia mere hours before the start of the failed coup attempt of July 2016, which Dugin claimed was an attempt by the US and "globalists" to prevent Russia's rapprochement with Turkey. On the 2nd of October 2016, a delegation including Hasan Cengiz (president and advisor of the Eurasian Local Authorities Union and and Ahmet Tunc, the advisor of the Mayor of Ankara, participated in a meeting in Moscow with Aleksandr Dugin, who claimed he had saved Turkey from the coup by warning the authorities of suspicious activity in the army (something Doğu Perinçek asserts too). In November 2016, Dugin arranged for a delegation led by Cengiz including Tunc, Ibrahim Erilli (a representative of Ergodan) and Erdogan's cousin and assistant Mehmet Mutlu to visit Crimea.

In January 2018, the Russian Embassy's *propaganda became openly anti-YPG* shortly before Turkey invaded the Kurdish canton of Afrin in north-west Syria. The Russian military withdrew from Afrin in coordination with Turkey, with the operation effectively meaning that Russia and Turkey traded Afrin for Idlib and Eastern Ghouta.

Fascist conspiracist outlet *Infowars* has also *aired conspiracy theories about supposed links between the YPG and Da'esh* and, by extension, *formulated conspiracy theories attempting to smear anti-fascists as Da'esh collaborators*, and "Alt-Right" neo-fascist Jack Posobiec *has repeated these conspiracies to attempt smearing anti-fascists as Da'esh collaborationists* as well. The *Voltaire Network* has *published similar conspiracy theories and attempted to present the radical leftists supporting the YPG in Syria as a "CIA plot".*]

One ludicrous incident happened when the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) published a statement of solidarity with the Syrian Revolution. Although the statement explicitly called for supporting the Local Coordination Committees (LCC), local councils which, as Palestinian Anarchist Budour Hassan and Syrian Anarchist Leila al-Shami have extensively explained, had been created by members of the Syrian popular movement based on a template by Omar Aziz (an Anarchist who was previously a member of the Syrian Democratic People's Party and was tortured to death by the Assad regime) and which have been involved in organizing popular protests against al-Nusra in Syria (LCC activist and co-founder Razan Zaitouneh was kidnapped in 2013, with Saudi-backed jihadist group Jaysh al-Islam as main suspect), the response on social media to the statement of solidarity was met with kneejerk responses from members of the *PSL accusing the DSA of supporting al-Nusra* (the irony being that in 2004 the PSL had condemned Iraqi Communists for not supporting the very jihadists who later became Da'esh and al-Nusra while actual Syrian revolutionaries denounce al-Nusra as a counter-revolutionary reactionary force), thus echoing the fascists their party's founders associate with.

Even more ridiculous incidents followed the outbreak of protests in Iran in late December 2017, where Iranian Communists and Anarchists advocated for supporting the protests while the PSL issued a statement delegitimizing them, and Twitter users primarily affiliated to the PSL could be seen characterizing the protests as “*regime change operations*”, “*color revolutions*” and other similar *ludicrous conspiracy theories* one could find within *various conspiracist, far-right and neo-fascist* media outlets.

The Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO)

The FRSO started as a Marxist-Leninist tendency within a former Marxist organization also called the Freedom Road Socialist Organization, which split in 1999, with two splinter groups both taking on the FRSO name, one group having a Stalinist position with a website at frso.org, while the non-Stalinist FRSO website is (freedomroad.org).

The FRSO splinter group I analyze here is the frso.org group, which maintains similar positions as the WWP and the PSL on the Tiananmen Square Massacre, Yugoslavia and Milosevic, Saddam Hussein, simultaneously denied and attempted to justify the Anfal genocide by Saddam Hussein on Iraqi Kurds and also uncritically supported the “Iraqi resistance”. The logical implication of these reactionary doctrinaire positions is that that the FRSO gravitated towards the WWP and the PSL and cooperates with them, including on the topic of Syria. In 2014, Dustin Ponder from the FRSO was a participant of the IAC’s teach-in on the “New Cold War” which featured Ramsey Clark, Larry Holmes and Sara Flounders from the WWP, and conspiracy theorist Ray McGovern. More recently, FRSO member Michela Martinazzi spoke at the commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Russian Revolution organized by the Workers World Party, which also included Brian Becker of the PSL and Larry Holmes of the WWP as speakers.

In June 2014, a delegation which included, among others, Joe Iosbaker of the FRSO, Scott Williams of the IAC, and Paul Larudee of the Syria Solidarity Movement (see later in this post), traveled to Syria to act as election observers. They were hosted by the International Union of Unified Ummah, an Iranian NGO which appears to be the same “Unified Union of Unified Ummah” which sponsored Mairead Maguire’s visit to Syria that same year. The manager of the International Union of Unified Ummah is Salim Ghafouri, who in 2016 became director of the *Sima Documentary Network* of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB), appointed by Morteza Mirbagheri, the Vice President of the IRIB and head of the Social Commission of the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution. This proximity of Ghafouri to the Iranian establishment raises questions about whether his organization could be a Government-Organized Non-Governmental Organization (GONGO) instead.

The Workers' Party of Belgium

Out of the student movement of the 1960s was born the Workers' Party of Belgium (PTB-PVDA), initially led by former Flemish nationalist Ludo Martens and organized around a publication named *Alle macht aan de arbeiders* ("All Power to the Workers") during which it adhered to a crude form of "Mao-Stalinism", supported the Khmer Rouge and the Angolan UNITA movement (which was supported by China, North Korea, apartheid South Africa and the United States during the Angolan Civil War against the MPLA supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba), and had an anti-union policy according to which it called on workers to leave unions and join autonomous red workers' groups instead. This was only the start of a number of ideological zigzags the PTB-PVDA went through; after Mao's death, it tried to transform into a more "mainstream" communist party and in 1979 it held its first congress where it adopted a program oriented towards Maoism, changed its name to The Workers' Party of Belgium, adopted more flexible policies, especially towards unions, while denouncing the Soviet Union's social imperialism and calling Cuba a "fifth column". This changed when the PTB-PVDA threw its support behind Romania's National-Communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu and supported the crushing of the Tiananmen Square protests, and later supported Radovan Karadzic. Martens, who was chairman of the PTB-PVDA from 1971 until he fell ill in 2008, and was ideologue of the party until his death in 2011, was a major Stalin apologist and wrote *Another View of Stalin*, meant to rehabilitate Stalin, and founded the International Communist Seminar (annually attended by the FRSO and occasionally by the WWP) in 1992 with the intention of uniting what he considered to be the four tendencies (pro-Soviet, pro-China, pro-Cuba, pro-Albania) of the Marxist-Leninist movement. In 1994 Martens met Kim Il-Sung, the PTB-PVDA back then bragging about Martens being the last foreigner to have met Kim il-Sung.

Another prominent member of the PTB-PVDA is Michel Collon, whose position on the War in Yugoslavia was not limited to mere opposition to NATO's bombing but instead went to the extent of denying the crimes of Serbian nationalists in the Yugoslav War and **working with the WWP to defend Milosevic** (after which the WWP has regularly **associated** with Collon). Collon seems to have become a member of the red-brown network from then on, **attending Thierry Meyssan's Axis For Peace conference in 2005** while claiming to be a member of the Consultative Council of *TeleSUR* (a claim by him that cannot be independently verified). Collon's own website, *Investig'Action*, claims to fight against disinformation by the mainstream media while in fact being a confusionist and conspiracist outlet which counts on its **List of Authors** some left-wing personalities (including figures like Sara Flounders and the Workers World Party, and Bosnian Genocide denier Michael Parenti) as well as a large number of far-right and conspiracist authors such as *21st Century Wire* (see below), *Le Cercle des Volontaires*, **Gilad Atzmon**, Tony Cartalucci, Leonid Ivashov, Alison Weir, Michel Chossudovsky, Thierry Meyssan, Veterans Intelligence Professionals for Sanity, William Engdahl, Whitney Webb (a writer for *Mint Press News* who promotes anti-Semitic conspiracy theories), *South Front*, and James Petras, among others, and Collon himself **promotes** *Le Cercle des Volontaires* on Twitter.

In 2011, Collon's website *promoted pro-Gaddafi protests organized by* the Entre le Marteau et l'Enclume organization run by Maria Poumier (a Holocaust denier and an associate of Dieudonné and *of Israel Shamir*), and La Pierre et l'Olivier, *whose president is Ginnette Skandrani* (a former member of the French Green Party from which she was expelled because of her proximity to Holocaust deniers and fascists – Skandrani is a close associate of Dieudonné). Collon's website was at one point listed as a friendly site by Soral's and Dieudonné's Egalite et Réconciliation, and while Collon publicly maintains a certain distance from Soral, he has himself *defended Soral's associate Dieudonné*, was hosted by *Croah.fr* administrated by anti-Semitic cartoonist Joe Le Corbeau (who is also close to Dieudonné and Soral) and *called for a debate with Soral after the latter verbally attacked Collon and his associate Jean Bricmont in 2011*.

In February 2012, a conference at the Paris Labor Council where Michel Collon was scheduled to speak was cancelled after mobilization by local anti-fascists.

On the 31st of March 2012, Collon *participated [archive]* in a conference on Syria organized by Le Collectif Pour la Syrie, the Afamia association (its president is Ayssar Midani), L'Appel Franco-Arabe and the French-Near East Association. The honorary chairman of Le Collectif Pour la Syrie, Michel Raimbaud, is a former French ambassador and has more recently *spoken at a conference by LaRouche in July 2016*, and one of its delegate administrators is Michel Lelong (see below). The conference was attended Ginnette Skandrani, by members of the Syrian shabiha, members of the Comité Valmy (see below), and members of Égalité et Réconciliation, and its participants included:

- Michel Collon
- Samir Amin (see below)
- Jean Bricmont, an associate of Collon and anti-imperialist leftist turned red-brown activist who *participated in Meyssan's Axis for Peace*, more recently *defended Gilad Atzmon and wrote a preface for the French translation of his book*, was an *initial endorser* and signatory (*together with a large number of fascists*) of a petition in support of Holocaust denier Vincent Reynouard, and attended protests on the 30th of October 2012 in support for Assad together with Ginnette Skandrani, Edouard Klein of the GUD, Yahia Gouasmi and members of his "Antizionist" Party, and Frédéric Chatillon
- Bahar Kimyongür (see below)
- Michel Lelong, a Catholic priest who has expressed public support for Roger Garaudy, supports a reconciliation between the Catholic Church and Lefebvrist fundamentalists (a far-right Roman Catholic sect founded by Archbishop Michel Lefebvre, who was a disciple of a supporter of Charles Maurras and a supporter of the Vichy regime, Francisco Franco, António Salazar, Jorge Videla, Augusto Pinochet and Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front), participated in a protest in support of Bashar al-Assad by Civitas, has *been hosted on Alain Soral's Bistrot Flash [archive]*, and supports Maurice Papon, a Vichy regime official who was condemned for Crimes Against Humanity for his participation in the deportation of French Jews during the Nazi occupation of France

- Bruno Drweski, a former member of the French Communist Party who was expelled from the *Recherches Internationales* journal of which he was the editor for being a **collaborator of Holocaust denier Claude Karnoouh**, and participated in Meyssan's Axis for Peace. Drweski is also a member of the editorial team of sovereignist publication *Ruptures* of Pierre Lévy, ex-member of the French Communist Party, and whose staff includes Laurent Dauré of the right-wing Union Populaire Républicaine (see below)
- Komnen Becirovic, a friend of Collon, **contributor to BI, formerly Balkans Info**, a defunct **far-right pro-Milosevic outlet ran by former Trotskyist militant Louis Delmas**)
- Ayssar Midani, who animated the conference and is collaborates with the **Cercle des Volontaires, submits regular reports to Eveil France TV** (a conspiracist YouTube channel **promoting Bilderberg conspiracy theories**), has given **interviews to** and was **hosted by Soral's Egalite et Reconciliation**, and in February 2013 was present at an "anti-imperialist" manifestation by fascist Serge Ayoub's Troisième Voie and Jeunesse Nationaliste Révolutionnaire (which was banned in 2014 after its members were involved in the murder of an anti-fascist activist) notorious for its participants brandishing the portraits of Bashar al-Assad, Aleksand Lukashenko, Hugo Chavez, Vladimir Putin and Draga Mihailović.
- As noted by anti-fascist media, one of the "surprise" participants of the conference was Julien Teil, a **contributor to the Voltaire Network**, who was present in Libya in 2011 **as member of the Voltaire Network's team, together with Mahdi Nazemroaya and Thierry Meyssan**, and later **gave a conference with Nazemroaya**. Teil once ran *Mecanopolis*, a now defunct far-right website, and he has unsurprisingly appeared on *Global Research*, the *Corbett Report* and **regularly on RT**

Two weeks before, the Collectif Pour la Syrie and Afamia had **organized another event in support of Bashar al-Assad**, where the main speaker was Julien Teil.

This proximity to red-brown networks by Collon reflects itself in **his defense of RT** and in how sympathetic to Bashar al-Assad the coverage of the war in Syria by the Workers' Party of Belgium is, despite the PTB-PVDA's attempt at rebranding as a less sectarian and more open party since 2008. And as result, in 2013 anti-fascists in the French city of Lille called to mobilize against an event hosting Collon organized by the Communist Coordination, affiliated to the Stalinist Rassemblement des Cercles Communistes, and by the Left Front, the left-wing nationalist coalition headed by Jean-Luc Mélenchon.

Bahar Kimyongür

Among Collon's other collaborators figures Bahar Kimyongür, also a favorite source of the WWP. Despite having faced persecution from the Republic of Turkey for being a militant of the Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi-Cephesi (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front, abbreviated as the DHKP-C), a Turkish Marxist-Leninist party, Kimyongür collaborates with fascists in support of Bashar al-Assad. Kimyongür's red-brown politics shows itself through his association with Collon (**Collon prefaced Kimyongür's book *Syriana***), his participation in a 2009 conference by the Swiss branch of Soral's fascist organization, him **writing for *Investig'Action***, his participation in the conference animated by Ayssar Midani which Collon attended, and his

association with Mother Agnes Mariam. In May 2015, Kimyongür participated in a protest in Brussels, ostensibly against the war in Yemen. The participants in that protest, however, included Jean Bricmont, Omran al-Khatib (the leader of the Rassemblement pour la Syrie), Elie Hatem (a monarchist, *member of the Directing Committee of Action Francaise*, later *candidate for Civitas* for the 2017 French legislative elections, and advisor of Jean-Marie Le Pen).

Comité Valmy

The Comité Valmy is a group which *promotes both French nationalism and Marxism*, with an *emphasis on the nationalism*, and the opening sentence of its *manifesto* is “Since the collapse of the USSR, we live in a *unipolar world* under the hegemony of only one super power, the United States of America”, suggests a Duginist influence. The National-Communist nature of this party can be confirmed by the list of its members, which *includes both Communists and Gaullist nationalists* (which includes Pierre Lévy), its *publishing of interviews by Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy*, and *its endorsement of the UPR* in the 2015 French regional elections, and its regular sharing of articles from *Thierry Meyssan’s conspiracist website*, which itself at one point *shared the Comité Valmy’s articles*.

[**Note:** The Union Populaire Républicaine (UPR) is a French sovereignist party which has openly announced being open to discussing with Égalité et Réconciliation, the LaRouchites, the Pole of Communist Revival of France and all other French sovereignist groups irrespective of their position on the political spectrum. The UPR has a homophobic and xenophobic program, its leader openly speaks of France in perennial terms typical of the far-right, and has a long history of associating with the French far-right and conspiracists.]

The Pole of Communist Revival in France

Among Collon's close associates are Annie Lacroix-Riz, a Stalin apologist *who promotes the Synarchism* conspiracy theory according to which the world is ruled by a secret elite, contributes to *Investig'Action*, and is a militant of the Pole of Communist Revival in France (PRCF), a sovereignist Marxist-Leninist party in France. Lacroix-Riz was present at the Axis for Peace Conference, *contributes to Meyssan's Voltaire Network* as well as *to Collon's Investig'Action*, has *spoken at conferences by the LaRouche Movement's French branch*, and *participated in protests in support of Muammar Gaddafi alongside Ginette Skandrani*. Annie Lacroix-Riz has also *participated, together with John Laughland, in roundtable talks of the Autumn University of the UPR*.

Another example of a red-brown PRCF member is Gearóid Ó Colmáin, *a member of the PRCF who openly voices out the vilest anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, considers the IMF to be a "tool of Zionism" (which is an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory) and praises Hungarian far-right Prime Minister Viktor Orbán as anti-imperialist bulwark against it, believes in fascist conspiracy theories claiming the Arab Spring is a plot to flood Europe with refugees, is virulently homophobic, and promotes conspiracy theories about the 2016 Nice attacks*. In one of his *conspiratorial ramblings against the Nuit Debout movement*, Ó Colmáin claims that the United States adopted the tactic of "color revolutions" from Leon Trotsky, and at the same time promotes *MetaTV* (which is in the ideological orbit of Alain Soral), the *Cercle des Volontaires*, the *Voltaire Network (for which he writes)*, the reactionary royalist Sylvain Baron, the URCF, the Stalinist Organisation des Communistes en France and the right-wing UPR, and accuses anti-fascists who don't buy into conspiracy theories of "being the real fascists" (Where did I hear similar rhetoric again? *Right*, on actual *fascist-owned outlets*). Ó Colmáin regularly appears on *the Richie Allen show*, *has been on Kevin Barrett's Truth Jihad*, and has of course been *featured* and *quoted* as expert on RT *regularly*.

Syrian Resistance

Within Syria, a curious organization is the Syrian Resistance, led by Mihraç Ural, who was previously the last leader of a group called the THKP-C (Acilciler), a nominally defunct organization in whose name Ural had been attempting to agitate for support for Bashar al-Assad on a sectarian basis in 2012. The THKP-C was formed in the 1970s as one of the many successor groups of the Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Partisi-Cephesi (the People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey, abbreviated as THKP-C) after the THKP-C's dissolution. According to Engin Erkiner, a former leading member of the THKP-C (Acilciler), Ural has closely collaborated with the Ba'athist state's intelligence and is suspected of being an agent of Syrian intelligence implanted in the THKP-C (Acilciler) to serve the interests of the Ba'ath regime, with Turkish-born Ural quickly receiving Syrian citizenship six months after his arrival in Syria (where he was known as Ali Kayyali), under the orders of Jamil al-Assad, an uncle of Bashar al-Assad.

Within Syria, Ural has led the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Sanjak of Iskandarun, an ostensibly Marxist-Leninist group whose aim was to liberate the Hatay province from the Republic of Turkey and integrate it into the Syrian state instead (following the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the First World War, the Hatay province was assigned to Syria, then under French mandate, in the Treaties of Sevres and Lausanne and became an autonomous region until its incorporation in the Republic of Turkey in 1939 following a referendum supported by France but denounced by Syria, who has claimed Hatay as part of its territory since then), though analyst Aymenn Jawad al-Tamimi says its ostensible Marxist image hides its true nature of being a religious sectarian organization (however one must bear in mind that this sectarian nature is specific to this organization, which should not be conflated with the larger Alawite community against whom the sectarian sections of the Syrian opposition have committed numerous hate crimes since the beginning of the crisis in Syria). With the outbreak of the crisis in Syria, Ural's organization has rebranded itself as The Syrian Resistance and has been fighting on the side of the Assad regime, and is the prime suspect as responsible for the Baniyas Massacre (Ural was recorded advocating for a massacre in Baniyas) where hundreds of civilians were killed. Ural's willingness to work with fascist entities shows itself not only by him massacring civilians for the Assad regime, but also in how the Syrian Resistance held joint celebrations with the SSNP in August 2015 and its leader posts pictures of him together with Ali Haidar, the leader of the Syrian branch of the SSNP, on social media.

The WWP and Fascists

The RKRK

The reactionary positions of the WWP include the party forging ties with hardline Russian Stalinist parties in the 90s, the most prominent one being the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRK) as notes Kevin Coogan. The WWP's newspaper ran an article by Victor Tyulkin, the RKRK's leader and Secretary of its Central Committee on September 3, 1992. Tyulkin and Victor Anpilov, another RKRK member as well as member of the executive committee of the Working Russia group, sent birthday wishes to Sam Marcy which were republished on the WWP's newspaper in 1996. The WWP even contrasted the RKRK more favorably to the KPRF on its publication.

The RKRK however is a "left fascist" organization of the same Red-Brown tendency as the KPRF, being extremely homophobic, anti-Semitic and anti-Black, and being described by the International Solidarity with Workers in Russia as a "pseudo-Communist anti-Semitic organization", due to which the RKRK's invitation to take part in 2001 protests in Genoa by alter-globalization movement ATTAC was revoked after Russian labor activists informed the organizers of the RKRK's fascist nature. Victor Anpilov, who had himself taken part in the red-brown debacle against Yeltsin as an ally of the National Salvation Front in front of the Russian White House in 1993, later left the RKRK and his Labor Russia party allied with the National Bolshevik Party of Eduard Limonov in a voting bloc in 1997, yet kept on being praised by the WWP's paper until at least 2002 in an article where National Bolshevik Party leader Eduard Limonov is also described as one of many anti-capitalist political prisoners, and Kevin Coogan suggests why the WWP did not devote more extensive coverage of the RKRK was because it would alienate the WWP's rank and file members.

Tyulkin went on to merge his RKRK with the Russian Communist Party/Revolutionary Party of Communists (RPK) in 2001, forming the RKRK-RPK, which in 2012 became the Russian Communist Workers' Party of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (RKRK-CPSU). The RKRK-CPSU became one of the constituents of the Russian United Labor Front (ROT Front), with Tyulkin as ***First Secretary of the Central Committee of the ROT Front***. In 2011, the ROT Front joined with a number of red-brown Stalinist parties and The Other Russia (the National-Bolshevik party formed in 2010 by Eduard Limonov after the dissolution of the coalition with Garry Kasparov of the same name) in an alliance that its participants intended to be a new National Salvation Front. I could not find out whether Tyulkin's ROT Front and the WWP have any sort of collaboration, though it received coverage from the WWP during the 2016 Russian elections, and before this in 2014 along with the RKRK and the Left Front (see below) in the context of the crisis in Ukraine, weeks after the WWP posted on its website a joint statement by the RKRK, Limonov's The Other Russia, Kagarlitsky's Institute of Globalization and Social Movements, the Vanguard of the Red Youth and the Left Front. WWP member Greg Butterfield posted the translation of a declaration of Tyulkin on his *Red Star Over Donbass* blog in 2017, and the *Fuck Yeah Marxism-Leninism* blog

run by Butterfield reshapes interviews given by Anpilov to the WWP in the 1990s, and posts pictures of rallies of the ROT Front and the United Communist Party until up to January 2018.

Borotba

More recently, the WWP has been involved as of at least 2014 with the organization Borotba, a Stalinist organization formed by a former member of the RKRП and Sergey Kirchuk, from various Ukrainian Stalinist groups. Borotba has been on record for trying to cannibalize direct action by Anarchists and attacking anti-authoritarian leftists by falsely labeling them as members of far-right group Right Sector while having itself worked with far-right groups associated with Right Sector before the Euromaidan protests, after which it *aligned itself with Novorossiya*.

Like the RKRП, Borotba has been extremely racist, homophobic and associates with far-right groups like Slavic Unity and Rodina. Borotba routinely publishes anti-Semitic imagery and its leadership is close to anti-Semite Israel Shamir while its ranks include Aleksey Bluminov, who had worked with Svoboda and the PSPU. Borotba has itself cooperated with the PSPU and far-right anti-Semitic group Oplot while attacking left-wing members of the Maidan (note that the Maidan itself was a heterogeneous movement – Anton Shekhovtsov has explained how phony “Antifascist” organizations set up by allies of Viktor Yanukovych have slandered it by falsely labeling the whole of the movement as fascist for the purpose of propaganda, though other Ukrainian revolutionary leftists who advocated for participation in demonstrations against the curtailing of civil rights by Yanukovych’s government discouraged participation in the Euromaidan itself), leading many members of the Ukrainian Left (which has condemned the far-right elements within the Maidan protests) to openly condemn it.

Aleksey Albu, a member of Borotba, fled to Crimea in 2014 and *set up a “Committee for the Liberation of Odessa”* with *Vadim Savenko* and *Aleksandr Vasilyev* of Rodina and and *Dmitry Odinov* of neo-Nazi organization Slavic Unity, itself a branch of Barkashov’s Russian National Unity of which Gubarev was once a member, and which has cooperated with Dugin’s Eurasian Movement. That same year, representatives of Borotba were present at a *pro-Donbass rally in Moscow which was also attended by representatives of The Other Russia* (Limonov *became a supporter of Putin after the 2014 crisis in Ukraine and Russia’s involvement in the war Syria*). In December 2014, the International Action Center wrote an open letter to the Novorossiyan authorities in support of Borotba members, and *among the signatories* were Cynthia McKinney, Greg Butterfield from the WWP and Joe Lombardo from the United Anti-War Coalition, while Die Linke distanced itself from Borotba after its fascist nature was revealed that same year.

Another example of Stalinists working with fascism is when Antiimperialistische Aktion, a German “anti-imp” group, collaborated with an organization which calls itself the “International Anti-Fascist Committee” to organize “International Anti-Fascist Conferences”. A closer look at the website of the “International Anti-Fascist Committee’s website (which features a Saint George’s ribbon, a military award during the Russian Empire under the Tsar) shows *Soros conspiracy theories and support for Donald Trump* as well as *claims the West wants to balkanize Syria quoting Michel Chossudovsky*, which clearly establishes this organization was not anti-fascist, but instead is a fascist organization of the red-brown type which weaponizes phony “anti-fascist” rhetoric in the service of fascism in the same fashion as Dugin does.

The participants of the International “Anti-Fascist Conference” included:

- Anti-Imperialist Action
- Borotba
- the Communist Youth of Poland (Komunistyczna Młodzież Polski, abbreviated as KMP), which was formerly associated to the Communist Party of Poland (KPP) until the KPP broke ties with the KMP due to the KMP’s fascistic activities. The KMP posts explicit racist, anti-Semitic *material online*, and in November 2014 caused a violent incident at an anti-fascist march before *participating in a rally by Falanga three days later*. In February 2015, the KMP helped *Mateusz Piskorski form Zmiana*, of which the KMP’s Ludmiła Dobrzyniecka *is the treasurer*.
- the Swedish Donbass Group
- the KPRF
- the Leninist Komsomol of the Russian Federation, the youth organization of the KPRF
- the Vanguard of Red Youth of Labour Russia (AKM), which was part of Eduard Limonov’s and Garry Kasparov’s Other Russia coalition, and is part of the Left Front coalition formed in 2008 together with National Bolsheviks, Geydar Dzhemal’s Islamic Committee, and red-brown Stalinist parties including Anpilov’s Labor Russia. The Left Front became one of the constituents of the ROT Front, formed in 2010 and registered in 2012, and which also included Tyulkin’s RKRK-CPSU
- the Communists of Russia
- the United Communist Party
- the International Anti-Fascist Committee
- the Young Communist League of Canada, an organization close to the Communist Party of Canada with which it shares overlapping membership
- the Center for Continental Cooperation, an *Islamophobic Eurasianist organization following Dugin’s ideology*. Its slogan is “From Lisbon to Vladivostok”, corresponding to Dugin’s ideology of a Eurasian state. Its president, *Yuri Kofner*, is a member of the *Organizing Committee* of the Anti-Fascist Conference and *a leader of the Eurasian Movement of the Russian Federation*. Kofner is also the president of *Young Eurasia* to which *belongs Tanai Cholkhanov*, an imam who has been fighting on the side of Novorossiia and has been trying to *undermine the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People*, the highest representative body of Crimea’s indigenous Crimean Tatar people, which opposed to the Russian annexation of Crimea and whose subsequent banning as part of repressive measures against opponents of the annexation is part of larger policies of discrimination Crimean Tatars have been facing since 2014

- The Community for Qaddafi and his People, an organization close to the Anti-Globalization Movement of Russia (which I explored below in this post). Its activists Pyotr Rybakov and Elena Gromova **visited Syria in solidarity with Bashar al-Assad in November 2011** and **participated in a ceremony at the Syrian Embassy in Moscow in December 2011** together with activists from *Planet Antiglob* (the Anti-Globalization Movement of Russia's newspaper) at the invitation of the Syrian Ambassador. Elena Gromova and Sergey Dondo, the editor-in-chief of *Planet Antiglob*, **gave an interview on Jamhariyya Radio in December 2011**. In December 2011, Elena Gromova, Pyotr Rybakov, Sergey Dondo and Aleksandr Ionov, then a representative of the Anti-Globalization Movement (Ionov was once a campaigner for The Community for Qaddafi and his People), **took part in a rally in support of Bashar al-Assad together with members of Anpilov's Labor Russia**. The organization participated in a pro-Putin rally in 2011 and a **pro-Donbass rally in 2014 which was also attended by representatives of Eduard Limonov's The Other Russia and of Borotba**.

Videos of their conference show that Pavel Gubarev was present at the conference, and Greg Butterfield from the Workers World Party **participated in one of their conferences in 2016**.

Antiimperialistische Aktion has also collaborated with Italian ska-punk band Banda Bassotti (which has organized numerous "Anti-fascist Caravans" in support of Novorossiya) and the Trade Union of the Lugansk Republic (which had been forcibly taken over in 2014 by the rebels) to **organize events as well in 2017**.

Novorossiya

It is not surprising then that the Workers World Party has supported Russia's annexation of Crimea and the fascist-approved referendum used to legitimize it (even as Crimean left-wing antifascist activists opposed to the Russian occupation have been imprisoned by the Russian state on false charges of belonging to Right Sector), and openly aligned itself with Novorossiya, published translations of Aleksey Albu in 2016 and quoted the Committee for the Liberation of Odessa on its website while repeating Russian state media narrative of a "Kiev putsch junta" opposed to "anti-fascists in the Donbass", even as Anarchists in Ukraine opposed to the US-supported Poroshenko government paint a different picture, fighting against Nazis in Kiev, condemning the leaders of Novorossiya as Russian fascists whose fake calls to fight fascism echo those of Dugin and Limonov and condemning the right-wing elements of Euromaidan, the Kiev government's alliance with fascists and the fascist Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics (a position also expressed by Russian Anarchists, who condemned the war in the Donbass as being fought by fascists on both sides and a way for Putin to divert attention from the economic crisis in Russia). Which means that it is not a surprise either then that SSNP flags and Saint George's ribbons are appearing at protests organized by groups like the WWP and Code Pink. This is not isolated to American Stalinists, with some Spanish leftists having claimed to have fought side by side with Nazis for Russia in Ukraine.

Multiple Workers World Party articles have quoted *Fort Russ* (example 1, example 2, example 3, example 4, example 5), a pro-Novorossiya website on whose front page are links to multiple National Bolshevik websites and, listed on the "Fraternal Sites" section, **are linked** Aleksandr

Dugin's think tank *Arktogaia* and *Open Revolt*, the website of National-Bolshevik and Eurasianist group New Resistance.

Chossudovsky

The WWP has been quoting Michel Chossudovsky since the 90s to defend Milosevic, and acknowledged being reshared by the Centre of Research on Globalization, and ***Chossudovsky worked together with the WWP to defend Slobodan Milosevic***. Sara Flounders (who is also a member of the International Committee for the Defence of Slobodan Milosevic) was ***listed by the Centre as one of its writers***. Chossudovsky himself was one of the signatories of the founding charter of the ANSWER coalition when it was initially founded by the WWP. In 2013, Chossudovsky was a speaker at a conference in North Korea which included Ramsey Clark, Brian Becker and former WWP member Kiyul Chung.

Kiyul Chung

Kiyul Chung, who was formerly associated with the WWP and has participated in the WWP's protests, is a visiting professor at the state-owned Tsinghua University in the People's Republic of China and is Editor in Chief of the *4th Media*, a confusionist media outlet on whose board are:

- Michel Chossudovsky as chairman
- Abiyomi Azikiwe, a WWP organizer who himself operates a blog named *Pan-African News Wire* which quotes and reshares conspiracist *Global Research* articles regularly
- Anis Bajrectarevic, who is on the Scientific Committee of Duginist publication *Geopolitica*
- Christoff Lehman, the ***founder and editor*** of *NSNBC*. *NSNBC* publishes ***9/11 conspiracy theories, FEMA concentration camps conspiracy theories, Bilderberg conspiracy theories, Rothschild conspiracy theories, anti-vaxxer conspiracy theories, and fluoridation conspiracy theories***. Christof Lehmann is also a ***member*** of the Advisory Board of the Duginist Journal of Eurasian Affairs, edited by Leonid Savin, together with Aleksandr Dugin and Mateusz Piskorski.
- Tim Beal

4th Media itself regularly shares material by ***Engdahl*** (who is a visiting professor at the Beijing University of Chemical Technology and ***Meyssan***, as well as ***conspiracies*** in line with ***LaRouche's*** and ***Dugin's*** ideologies. Chung was awarded with a honorary degree for his "information service" by North Korea in 2014 as result.

[**Note:** Some former functionaries from the German Democratic Republic who were in contact with Democratic People's Republic of Korea before the end of the Cold War have, after the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc, embraced fascism while still continuing to admiring the North Korean regime, which they believe exemplifies their Strasserist fascist ideology. These fascists have been described as "trying to sell brown ideas masked in red ideology".

Among these former German Communists who have switched to fascism is Michael Koth who, between 1999 and 2008, was the leader of the neo-Nazi Kampfband Deutscher Sozialisten together with Thomas Brehl, a collaborator of Michael Kühnen. In the 90s, Michael Koth was the chairman of the Society for the Study and Spreading of Juche Ideology in Germany (German-Korean Friendship Association), closely linked to the Strasserist Party of German Workers. Koth has links with neo-Nazis while at the same time trying to appeal to Communists and other leftists, and he now animates the “Anti-Imperialist Platform”, a National Bolshevik group which adheres to the same type of campist “anti-imperialism” as Meyssan’s and Serge Ayoub’s as well as various Stalinist parties (the WWP and the PSL included) by supporting the authoritarian regimes of Belarus, Syria, North Korea, and Iran. *Posts* on the website of the “Anti-Imperialist Platform” include records of collaboration between the Embassy of North Korea and Koth’s neo-Nazi organization.]

Chung, along with Narochnitskaya, Chauprade, Laughland, Chossudovsky, Engdahl and Nazemroaya, is on the Scientific Committee of *Geopolitica*, whose editor is Tiberio Graziani, a **member of the High Council** of Aleksandr Dugin’s International Eurasian Union, and who **has worked with representatives of the Italian embassy of the People’s Republic of China.**

[**Note:** Graziani has also worked with Eurasianist magazine *Eurasia*, edited by Claudio Mutti, and on whose Scientific Committee are William Engdahl and Aleksandr Dugin. Mutti is also associated with *Stato e Potenza*, a Third Positionist group funded by the Economic Club of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Italy-Mongolia Association, the International Academy for Mongolian Studies, the Italy-North Korea Friendship Association, the Belorussian State Economic University. *Stato e Potenza*’s now defunct website listed the SSNP and the Italian branch of the IRIB among its partners and in 2011 Ouday Ramadan was one of the editors of its website. Stefano Vernole, the vice-director of *Eurasia*, had **attended the Beijing Forum of Human Rights** in 2015. Another group Mutti is involved with is the Centre for Mediterranean and Eurasian Studies, which is partnered to Leonid Ivashov’s *Academy of Geopolitical Problems*, *Dugin’s Journal of Eurasian Affairs* and *Mutti’s Eurasia*, and **promotes the New Silk Road initiative** supported by both the *Duginists* and *LaRouche*.

Helga Zepp-LaRouche herself was present at the roundtable talks at the Lanzhou University organized by the China Song Ching Ling Foundation concerning the New Silk Road, presumably at the invitation of Vladimir Yakunin, who had previously worked with the China Soong Ching Ling Foundation in 2012 and later in 2017 through his WPFDC. Yakunin’s WPFDC has published Zepp-LaRouche in 2004 and on its board of experts are Cynthia McKinney, Christopher Black, Chandra Muzaffar, John Laughland and Samir Amin.]

Chung is also **the Editor in Chief of The 21st Century, which appears to be an offshoot 4th Media** (is it a coincidence that one of LaRouche’s fronts was named *21st Century Science and Technology?*), and which lists among its “**specialists**” numerous regulars of confusionist media and of Russian and Iranian state media: fascists and reactionaries such as William Engdahl, James Petras, Thierry Meyssan, Mahdi Darius Nazamroaya and Paul Craig Roberts, as well as WWP members and affiliates such as Sara Flounders, Margaret Kimberley of the *Black Agenda Report*, Abayomi Azikiwe, and Brian Becker.

The presence of WWP members and associates in organizations tied to the network of conspiratorial fascists including Lyndon LaRouche, Aleksandr Dugin and Thierry Meyssan might explain the WWP’s recent stance on the Rohingya genocide in Myanmar, blaming the crisis on US and Saudi attempts to oppose Chinese investment, which echoes Thierry Meyssan’s claims

(published a few days before the WWP's) ***that the West was arming jihadists in Myanmar*** and ***Sputnik's similar claims blaming George Soros for it*** (sourcing a member of the same Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Institute of Sciences which publishes the Engdahl-affiliated *New Eastern Outlook* journal). Similar ***material appears on Katehon too***, and around this same time *Global Research* posted similar articles by ***the New Eastern Outlook journal***, the ***Land Destroyer Report*** (a ***conspiracist blog with far-right leanings affiliated to the New Eastern Outlook and linking to Webster Tarpley's and William Engdahl's websites***) and ***by Mint Press News***

[**Note:** *Mint Press News* is a confusionnist website publishing ***Holocaust denier Anthony Hall, National Bolshevik Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya*** and the ***fascist New Eastern Outlook, Rothschild conspiracy theories, Soros conspiracy theories, HAARP conspiracy theories, 9/11 Trutherism, anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories which quote white nationalist Breitbart, conspiracists also published by the Voltaire Network and the American Herald Tribune***, among others, while attempting to brand itself as a progressive news outlet, and its list of staff members and contributors is itself a strange ***red-brown list of fascists and leftists.***]

Caleb Maupin

Another strange WWP member is Caleb Maupin, who has been involved with Webster Tarpley's Tax Wall Street Party ***more than once***. He has ***been writing since June 2014 for the New Eastern Outlook*** affiliated to Tarpley's colleague Engdahl, and ***spoke*** at the Third International New Horizons conference in Tehran. ***Among the attendants and speakers*** of the conference were leftists like CodePink founder Medea Benjamin, and Cambodian genocide denier Gareth Porter as well as fascists (most of whom were ***invited by Hamed Ghasghavi***, a contributor to many far-right websites like *Veterans Today*, *Cercle des Volontaires* and *Katehon*) such as:

- Kevin Barrett
- Wayne Madsen
- Kenneth O'Keefe, a former anti-war activist who became an anti-Semite and associate of David Duke and Gilad Atzmon
- Thierry Meyssan
- Gilles Munier, the leader of the pro-Saddam Hussein French-Iraqi Friendship Association, who is also close to Dieudonné's and Soral's *Égalité et Réconciliation*
- Claudio Mutti
- Claudio Moffa, a Holocaust denier, member of the Scientific Committee of Claudio Mutti's *Eurasia*, and associate of French Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson
- Mateusz Piskorski
- Imran Hosein

- Leonid Savin, **member** of the Duginist International Eurasian Movement, chairman of the Ukrainian Eurasian Youth, former chief editor of *Katehon*, and editor of *Geopolitica.ru*, a Duginist journal, who once attempted to infiltrate the leftist anti-globalization People's Global Action
- Manuel Ochsенreiter
- Anthony Hall
- Raphael Berland, who runs the *Cercle des Volontaires*

Members of the Iranian establishment such as Alireza Panahian, Saeed Jalili, Alaeddin Boroujerdi, Mohammad-Javad Larijani and Hassan Rahimpour Azghadi also participated in the conference.

[**Note:** News outlets associated to the Iranian state have hosted a number of fascists, including **Aleksandr Dugin, Holocaust denier Ken O'Keefe, National Bolshevik Manuel Ochsенreiter, "former" LaRouchite Webster Tarpley, confusionnist Thierry Meyssan, and especially conspiracy theorist Kevin Barrett.** Maupin himself **regularly contributes to PressTV.**]

It is with no surprise then that in 2016 Maupin wrote a book called ***Satan at the Fountainhead: The Israeli Lobby and the Financial Crisis***, a book which blames the 2008 financial crisis on the Israeli lobby, which closer to the coded anti-Semitism of the likes of Kevin Barrett and LaRouche than a legitimate criticism of Israeli policies or a Marxist analysis of the crisis.

Maupin left the WWP that very same year, in 2016, and **his present website features Lionel and lists the white nationalist American Free Press as part of its network, and lists Infowars and Mint Press News among the outlets he contributes to.**

Syria

The WWP appears to have had a working relationship with the Syrian regime before the beginning of the Arab Spring, with its newspaper reporting in 2008 that WWP articles were translated and published on *Tishreen*, a newspaper owned by the Syrian state, and *al-Ba'ath*, a newspaper published by the Ba'ath Party in Syria.

When the protest movement first started in 2011, WWP therefore used *Global Research* conspiracies claiming the Syrian protest movement was the result of an "organized insurrection of armed gangs", and has since used *Global Research* as source on Syria while WWP members' articles have been posted on *Global Research*. The WWP had also previously quoted neo-fascists Thierry Meyssan's and Mahdi Nazemroaya's "reporting" for *Global Research* as source on the 2011 war in Libya. The WWP's 2012 discussion concerning Syria was co-chaired by Sara Flounders and involved Ramsey Clark and Lizzie Phelan, all three of whom have worked with fascists, as well as Ben Becker of the ANSWER Coalition.

The *Taylor Report*, a radio show by an employee of Ramsey Clark and which once provided a platform to war criminal Charles Taylor, has hosted crypto-fascist McKinney and fascist Nazemroaya since 2011 and Clark and Nazemroaya were hosted together on the *Taylor Report* in July 2013. Predictably, it was the same Clark who has numerous fascist ties who arranged for the WWP's first delegation to Syria two months later, which included:

- Ramsey Clark himself
- Cynthia McKinney
- Dedon Kamathi of the All African People's Revolutionary Party
- Johnny Achi of Arab Americans 4 Syria
- John Parker of the IAC
- Sara Flounders

Ramsey Clark led a 2015 delegation to the Assad regime, along with Sara Flounders, as well as Cynthia McKinney (who had publicized her meeting with Dieudonné the previous year), Lamont Lilly from the WWP's youth organization FIST (Fight Imperialism, Stand Together) and Eva Bartlett (who had been on the show of Holocaust denier Kevin Barrett the previous year). Their report, also curiously *published on Dissident Voice*, praises the Syrian Grand Mufti Ahmad Badreddin Hassoun, *who met with David Duke in 2005*, and Bouthaina Shaaban, the advisor to Bashar al-Assad, who *herself addressed the Schiller Institute in June 2016* at the invitation of Helga Zepp-LaRouche, a year after a *LaRouche delegation had gone to Syria and met her and Prime Minister Wail al-Halki*.

The Anti-Imperialist Camp

Curiously, the IAC and WWP have also been involved from 2002 until now with the Anti-Imperialist Camp, an obscure organization formed in 2000 which according to its own documents, traces its origins to the International Leninist Current, a now defunct Trotskyist international about which I wasn't able to find out more, with regular reports from the Anti-Imperialist Camp appearing on the WWP's website.

While ostensibly socialist, the Anti-Imperialist camp's dogmatic campist positions (which include defending Slobodan Milosevic and denial of the Bosnian genocide) has however meant a proximity to fascists, participating in demonstrations against the Iraq War in 2003 together with Claudio Mutti and his associates. One its collaborators, Costanzo Preve, is a *contributor to Eurasianist journal Geopolitica* and is *an associate of Aleksandr Dugin*, and another of its collaborators *who was defending Preve from accusations of fascism in 2003, Claudio Moffa*, is a Holocaust denier. Another fascist collaborator of the Anti-Imperialist Camp is the group "Anti Globalist Resistance" movement based in Russia.

Querfronts

The “Anti-Globalist Resistance”/”Anti-Globalisation Movement of Russia”

The “Anti-Globalist Resistance” (AGR) is itself an obscure organization whose website contains *multiple reports from the Anti-Imperialist Camp until at least 2007* as well as a *rough chronology [archive]* of the group’s development from 2002 until 2009:

In *2002 and 2003* the AGR organized:

- protests against the invasion of Iraq
- protests in support of Slobodan Milosevic
- a “Vectors of Anti-Globalism” conference attended by the leader of the Moscow branch of the Communist Party (KPRF), Serguey Baburin of the Narodnaya Volya party (and a leader of Rodina), Aleksandr Zinovyev, representatives of women’s organizations, Christian organizations and left-wing groups.

In *2004*, the AGR:

- organized the “Day of the Anti-Globalist Resistance” in Moscow to protest against US policy and the “New World Order” as well as to support the struggle of Iraqis and condemn the tribunal for the war crimes in Yugoslavia
- organized a meeting in support of Slobodan Milosevic
- participated in a meeting in support of the Iraqi people organized by Viktor Anpilov’s Labor Russia. They protested against the arrest of Anti-Imperialist Camp members
- participated in the May Day manifestation of the KPRF
- participated in the Victory Day manifestation of the KPRF, with groups of activists of the Orthodox Church being noted as part of the AGR’s representatives
- participated in a protest against the Hague Tribunal for the war crimes in Yugoslavia, attended by representatives of Communist, religious and youth organizations
- organized a “Globalisation Today” conference, with “experts” speaking on methods used by “those behind the New World Order”
- participated in a manifestation by the KPRF commemorating the October Revolution

- were offered a center for co-ordination by the KPRF, the Orthodox Church and Women's Union of Moscow's Pushniko district
- organized a protest against certain policies by the Russian government, with communists supported by Orthodox Church activists being noted as "young anti-globalists"

In **2005** the AGR:

- held the "All-Russian Anti-Globalist Forum", with communists and Orthodox Church members attending it
- Named Hugo Chavez as "Anti-Globalist of the Year 2005", gave Belarussian President Aleksandr Lukashenko a positive mention and awarded author Serguey Kara-Murza for his book on the "New World Order"

In **2006**, the AGR:

- held discussions on the "New World Order"
- named Slobodan Milosevic the "Anti-Globalist of the Year 2006", also praising Belorussian President Aleksandr Lukashenko and Ukrainian politician Nataliya Vitrenko

In **2007**, the AGR:

- participated in a rally in support of Belarus organized by the KPRF
- met with Gordana Pop Lazic and Jadranka Sesel, leaders of the Serbian Radical Party
- organized a "Yugoslavia is in our hearts" along with the Committee for commemoration of Slobodan Milosevic, attended by Jole Stanisic, Elena Gromova, A. Krylov, A. Belyaev, and Duma member Natalia Narochnitskaya (a member of the Rodina bloc)
- participated in a conference organized by the KPRF and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
- organized a "Five years of globalisation and globalism" conference held at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow
- organized a protest, with the participants described as "mostly Christians", planned to coincide on the celebration of the Nativity of Mary and on the anniversary of the Russian Empire over the Tatars at Kulikovo
- participated in a KPRF protest against US army maneuvers in Russia

In **2008** the AGR:

- organized the third "All-Russia Anti-Globalist Forum", attended by Orthodox Church groups, and with greetings from Lyndon LaRouche and the Anti-Imperialist Camp
- organized protests including communists as well as youth and women's organizations in Moscow against the independence of Kosovo

- attended a conference for the second death anniversary of Slobodan Milosevic attended by Sergey Baburin, Jorje Marti Martines, Borislav Milosevic, M. Kuznetsov, Yole Stanisic
- protests against the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and against the independence of Kosovo, attended by the AGR, the KPRF, the AKM communist group, right-wing groups like RONS and NS, Orthodox Church members and Serbian nationalists
- anti-US protests attended by members of four Communist parties, including the KPRF and Orthodox Church activists

In **2009**:

- protests together with the KPRF

Also present on the AGR's website is *an expression of support for the creation of a "Bolivarian Camp" inspired by Hugo Chavez* and an invitation to a *conference* on "The Ways of Reintegration of the Soviet Union" held at the Philosophy Institute of the Russia Academy of Science and organized by the Marxist seminar of the Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Science, the KPRF, the RKRP-RPK, the RKP-KPSS and the "Anti-Globalist Resistance". I was not able to find out if this has anything to do with the later Eurasian Economic Union project of the Russian state and supported by Dugin and LaRouche.

The website of the AGR is also full of numerous posts quoting Lyndon LaRouche, such as an *online conference between LaRouche and the coordinator of the "Anti-Globalist Resistance"* and a *speech by LaRouche to be presented to a "Anti-Globalist Conference"* as well as **many posts** where criticisms of imperialism are **mixed with conspiracy theories** about globalism and the "New World Order", in Third Positionist fashion made to appeal to both the far-right and the far-left (note the use of the fascist dogwhistle "globalist" rather than "globalization"), **articles written** by anti-semitic conspiracy theorist James Petras claiming the US was preparing a war against Iran, Syria and Hezbollah, and finally **anti-semitic conspiracy theories about the Arab Spring protest wave, which is described as another "colour revolution"**, a position also found among LaRouche circles as well as repeated on Russian state media such as RT and Sputnik.

In 2009, the AGR *organized a conference* where the participants included:

- Sergey Baburin, former leader of Rodina
- Nataliya Vitrenko, leader of the Ukrainian PSPU party and member of the LaRouche Movement and of Aleksandr Dugin's International Eurasian Movement
- Samir Amin, a Marxian economist who has expressed views concerning *rejecting Atlantism and choosing an "Eurasian option" and "building a multipolar world"* which align closely to those of Aleksandr Dugin's neo-Eurasianism
- Lyndon LaRouche
- Helga Zepp-LaRouche
- Israel Shamir

- Borislav Milosevic, the elder brother of Slobodan Milosevic
- Jürgen Elsässer, an ex-leftist and editor of Compact, the mouthpiece of the German far-right party Alternative für Deutschland
- Tomislav Sunić, a neo-fascist who heads the far-right American Freedom Party organization
- Leonid Savin, of Dugin’s International Eurasian Movement
- Maria Poumier, a Holocaust denier and an associate of Dieudonné and of Israel Shamir
- Leonid Ivashov, a former Soviet and Russian military official and a collaborator of Aleksandr Dugin
- S. A. Stroeve of the KPRF

Somewhere between 2011 and 2014, the “Anti-Globalist Resistance” rebranded as the “Anti-Globalisation Movement of Russia” (AGMR), with Aleksandr Ionov, who *appears* on the previous website of the organization as a reporter, as head of the movement. Aleksandr Ionov himself *spoke* at an event organized by the Italian Communitarian Party, Millennium, in December 2013, where other speakers included Aleksandr Dugin and Andrey Kovalenko.

As Matthew Lyons notes, while it is difficult to assert for certain the exact ties of the AGMR with the Duginists, the AGMR has worked with the Duginist Eurasian Youth Union for homophobic protests as well as *round-table discussions concerning the war in Syria organized by the AGMR* and Leonid Savin, a prominent Duginist, was present at the 2009 conference. Lyons however notices that the AGMR’s gives a shout out to the LaRouche Network on one of its web pages, which is not surprising given LaRouche’s association with the AGMR as detailed above.

Western Stalinists Allied With Fascists

At some point after the founding of the Anti-Imperialist Camp, the International Action Center and the AGMR seem to have come in contact with each other, **with the IAC being mentioned on the “Anti-Globalist Resistance”’s website as “US anti-globalists”**, though I was not able to find out whether it was through the Anti-Imperialist Camp or LaRouche (which is likely, given Ramsey Clark’s association with the IAC and LaRouche, his trips to Syria, and LaRouchites’ use of Clark’s name to infiltrate anti-war groups during the Gulf War) or the RKRP. The AGMR organized a “Right of Peoples to Self-Determination and Building a Multipolar World” in Moscow in December 2014. The WWP-affiliated United Anti-War Coalition (UNAC), on whose board are Sara Flounders and Abayomi Azikiwe, and the IAC sent five representatives as delegates to the conference:

- Margaret Kimberley, member of UNAC’s board and Senior Editor of *Black Agenda Report*
- Joe Iosbaker of the FRSO
- Maureen Hannah, a women’s rights activist
- Bill Dores of the International Action Center
- Joe Lombardo, member of UNAC’s board and Co-Coordinator UNAC

All the UNAC and IAC delegates signed a joint statement, whose other signatories include:

- Joe Lombardo of UNAC
- Margaret Kimberley of the Black Is Back Coalition (whose **chairman is Omali Yeshitela** of the Uhuru Movement) and UNAC
- Marina Dudanova, a member of both the AGMR and of the Boston chapter of UNAC
- Joe Iosbaker of UNAC
- Bill Dores of the IAC and UNAC
- Maureen Hannah
- Orazio Maria Gnerre, the leader of Millennium, the Italian Communitarian Party. Gnerre was **featured on RT to comment on the death of Fidel Castro**
- Maksim Shevchenko
- Fedor Biryukov from the Rodina party

- Oleg Tsarev, the speaker of the Unity Parliament of Novorossiya
- Aleksandr Kofman, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Donetsk People's Republic
- Andrew Korybko, a *Sputnik* columnist and regular contributor to the ***Duginist journal Geopolitica [archive] and to Katehon***
- Andrey Kovalenko, the ***head of the Moscow branch of the Eurasian Youth Union***
- Aleksandr Ionov of the Anti-Globalization Movement of Russia

[**Note:** The ***chairman*** of the Black Is Back Coalition is Omali Yeshitela of the Uhuru Movement, which later sent delegations in 2015 and 2016 to Moscow, organized by the AGMR.

Margaret Kimberley was a speaker for the Black Is Back Coalition's 2016 Annual Conference and has defended Ajamu Baraka, himself presently listed as a speaker for its Annual Conference, after his ties to Kevin Barrett were revealed. Baraka is himself an editor and columnist for the *Black Agenda Report* of which Margaret Kimberley is the senior editor.

Kimberley herself as well as Lamont Lilly from the WWP are members of the Coordinating Committee of the Black Alliance for Peace, of which Ajamu Baraka is the National Organizer and National Spokesperson.

Glen Ford, the Executive Editor of the Black Agenda Report, was a speaker at both the 2016 and 2018 conferences and is a regular guest of Brian Becker's show on Sputnik.]

[**Note:** Maksim Shevchenko, one of the participants of this conference and signatories of its joint statement, more recently in 2017 praised the Confederate States of America and Robert E. Lee after the 2017 far-right rally in the US town of Charlottesville.]

The issue with this event, and which UNAC and the IAC omitted from their reports, is that its discussions leaned heavily towards Dugin's ideology and its other participants included openly fascist individuals and groups, such as the National Bolshevik Italian Communitarian Party, the Texas Nationalist Movement, and the neo-Confederate League of the South. Israel Shamir, who was present there, is described as "a leading anti-Zionist writer from Israel" by the UNAC report, which omits that he is in fact a notorious anti-semite who believes in blood libels and a Holocaust denier.

[**Note:** Alison Weir (who ***believes in the anti-Semitic blood libel myth***) has been hosted in 2016 by the WWP and Gilad Atzmon has been quoted in their publications. Which raises the question of why does the WWP fraternize with people whose antisemitism meant that the Palestine solidarity movement itself has condemned and disavowed them?]

The UNAC, WWP and FRSO however painted this conference in a purely positive light and sent another delegation including WWP member Tom Michalak and FRSO member Joe Iosbaker to the AGMR in 2015, and hoped for further ties with the AGMR. The FRSO furthermore ran a series of articles by the AGMR in 2015 with ostensibly leftist content except for one which calls the Arab Spring an American plot and supports Russian imperialism.

When the UNAC was contacted concerning the AGMR's reactionary positions, Joe Lombardo simply denied its homophobic positions and its racism, and in 2016 three UNAC members, Bruce Gagnon, Phil Wilayto (who is on UNAC's board) and Regis Tremblay visited Odessa with the help of the AGMR, which was ***coordinated with Joe Lombardo***. This delegation and Victoria Machulko (see below) met with a committee at the European Parliament in May 2016. Phil Wilayto happens to be the coordinator of the Odessa Solidarity Campaign, on whose board are:

- Victoria Machulko. Machulko and Elena Radzikhovskaya, the only known members of an organization called the “Council of Mothers of Odessa” who, earlier in 2016, were the participants of a “UN Conference” **publicized by Russian state media**. The issue is that the **conference was presided by Xavier Moreau, a consultant for the far-right TV Libertes**. The conference itself was held by the Human Rights Agency, a **NGO which lists no information about its internal organization and membership**, has previously **organized conferences hosting Michel Collon** and **publishes material by Bahar Kimyongür**.
- Ana Edwards
- Bruce Gagnon
- Margaret Kimberley, one of UNAC’s delegates to the Moscow conference
- Joe Lombardo, one of the UNAC’s delegates to the Moscow conference
- Ray McGovern, the same former CIA official and conspiracist Infowars contributor regularly hosted by the PSL’s Becker on *Sputnik*

Among the AGMR’s other activities are:

- meeting in July 2015, in coordination with Rodina members, self-proclaimed leader of the Cherokee Nation, **Mashu White Feather**. The Cherokee Nation however traced his ancestry and found no Native American ancestry.
- an online conference in July 2015 with **a representative of the Uhuru Movement**
- organized for delegations of the Uhuru Movement **to visit Moscow in May and September of either 2015 or 2016**
- organized for **Cynthia McKinney to visit Russia in 2015**
- supported **Louis Marinelli, a supporter of Californian independence**
- talks with representatives of **Sinn Fein in July 2017**

In 2015, the AGMR organized another conference, with funding through a state grant. Among the supporters of the event was the Eurasian Youth Union. Its participants included:

- Sinn Féin
- the Catalan Solidarity for Independence party
- Millenium
- Omali Yeshitela, the leader of the Uhuru Movement
- Ramón Nenadic, of Puerto Rican group Boriken
- Larry Sinkin, a representative of self-proclaimed King Silva of Hawaii

- Fedor Biryukov of Rodina
- Ali Mohamed Salem of the Polisario Front
- Antonio Grego, an Italian fascist and copy editor for Claudio Mutti's *Eurasia*. Claudio Mutti wrote a foreword for one of his books
- Giacomo Matacotta, an Italian fascist and supporter of Grego
- Louis Marinelli, the Californian independentist
- Nate Smith of the Texas Nationalist Movement

[**Note:** Antonio Grego, Maksim Shevchenko, Leonid Savin, Israel Shamir and Mark Sleboda were among *the experts* of the Global Revolutionary Alliance (GRA), a National Bolshevik organization appropriating leftist rhetoric and aesthetics for a fascist cause whose manifesto calls the United States a “country of absolute evil” and a “giant golem, controlled by oligarchy” and calls for an alliance against the “blood-sucking American oligarchic liberal scum”, which is based in fascist anti-Semitism rather than in leftist analysis. The GRA *described itself* as being united with the Eurasianist Movement by “uncompromising hatred toward the main enemy — the global liberal oligarchy and New World Order” (the co-host of GRAnews, Natella Speranskaja, is also the head of the Moscow Network Headquarters of the Eurasian Youth Union) in an interview with *Open Revolt*. The *participants* of the first conference of the Global Revolutionary Alliance, held in 2011, included Aleksandr Dugin, Claudio Mutti, Geydar Dzhemal, Valeriy Korovin and Israel Shamir.]

There appears to be a close collaboration between the AGMR and Rodina, as Ionov *has been hosted by Fedor Biryukov of Rodina on TV* and *was part of discussions involving the chairman of Rodina, Aleksey Zhuravlyov, and Fedor Biryukov*. Ionov also used to be the co-chair of the Committee for Solidarity with the peoples of Libya and Syria, headed by former Rodina leader Sergey Baburin (and *of which Israel Shamir is a member*) and has *participated in its conferences together with Shamir, a member of the Coordinating Council of the Anti-Maidan Movement* whose co-chairs include *Dmitry Sablin* from Vladimir Putin's United Russia party and *Nikolai Starikov* who had once been in the Anti-Orange Committee, and was *member of the Presidium of the Officers of Russia* along with general Leonid Ivashov.

Ionov is also a member of the Public Council of the Central District branch of the Moscow City Police, a member of Moscow's Public Supervisory Commission, a Deputy Director for International Cooperation for the Institute of Problems of Security and Stable Development, and the Head of the Subcommittee for the Development of International Cooperation of the International Congress of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (a bourgeois organization supporting the interests of capitalists from states formerly part of the Soviet Union and founded by the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, a lobbying group promoting business interests). As a member of the latter, he has been *promoting Russian business interests in Syria* in the event of a post-war reconstruction, and as the founder and CEO of Ionov Transcontinental he has been offering security services in Syria and has himself fought on the side of the Assad regime.

[**Note:** Among other Russian mercenaries fighting for the Assad regime in Syria are Kirill Ananyev (a member of Eduard Limonov's National Bolshevik Party and The Other Russia party), Aleksey Ladygin and Igor Kosoturov, all three of whom had fought on the side of the

Novorossiyan forces previously and were members of the PMC Wagner mercenary company led by mercenary and admirer of Nazi Germany Dmitry Utkin.]

[**Note:** it is mentioned the AGMR's office contained portraits of Fidel Castro, Hafez al-Assad, Bashar al-Assad, Kim Il-Sung, Muammar Gaddafi, Hugo Chávez, Che Guevara and Omar Torrijos, which aligns with the European New Right's position of supporting Third World struggles]

On the AGMR's website is also a post declaring it *is an endorser* of a Unity & Solidarity Call initiated by American leftists, which clearly indicates that the proximity and willingness of Stalinists to collaborate with fascists is allowing the latter to infiltrate the Left. On the same page is a call to support a "**Multipolar World Against War**" declaration, among whose signatories are Cynthia McKinney and Aleksandr Ionov, and which was initiated by the Coop Anti-War Cafe, which claims to be anti-war but whose page *links to various conspiracist and 9/11 Truther websites*. The "Multipolar World Against War" declaration's website strongly suggests it is a sibling initiative to the Hands Off Syria Coalition.

The Hands Off Syria Coalition

Curiously, in the steering committee of the Hands Off Syria Coalition are:

- Margaret Kimberley, one of the UNAC delegates to the AGMR's conference
- Joe Lombardo, another of the UNAC's delegates to the AGMR's conference
- Bahman Azad
- Mark Burton
- Gerry Condon
- Sara Flounders
- Issa Chaer, from the Syrian Social Club, UK and the Board of the Syria Solidarity Movement, the latter of which I will explore in the next section of my post.

Margaret Kimberley herself participated, together with Sara Founders, at conferences by the coalition where conspiracy theorists Eva Bartlett and Vanessa Beeley spoke. Margaret Kimberley has since then denied crimes of the Russian state by claiming they are all imperial propaganda and blamed all the deaths of the Syrian war on Saudi Arabia (even though the Ba'ath regime is responsible for the majority of civilian deaths in Syria), and painted the Syrian crisis as a "regime change plot" and erased the popular opposition movement which started with the Arab Spring, thus repeating the National-Bolsheviks she works with and conspiracists hosted by Russian state media.

Kimberley's own *Black Agenda Report* attacked *The Intercept* following the publication of a (somewhat simplistic) article about white nationalists' support for Bashar al-Assad, claiming Alexander Reid Ross, one of the article's sources, doesn't write about imperialism (really?), trying to blame Efraim Zuroff for Paul Kagame's crimes (while Zuroff's support for the Israeli state and refusal to call the Srebrenica massacre a genocide are indeed reprehensible and indefensible, his role in Rwanda was as advisor for the prosecution of the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide, a genocide the *Black Agenda [archive] Report* has denied – note that the *Black Agenda Report* still defends Slobodan Milosevic and denies the Bosnian Genocide). Note that the Syrian Ba'ath regime's sheltering of Alois Brunner has also been confirmed by journalists who interviewed Brunner's bodyguards. The *Black Agenda Report* noting the People's Republic of China's support for Assad is ironic, as it doesn't mention that China is investing in Syria **as part of its New Silk Road project** (supported by both National Bolsheviks and LaRouchites as I noted before), or that China has been a long-time ally of American hegemony who supported the US-backed Augusto Pinochet, Yahya Khan of Pakistan when the Pakistani state was committing genocide during the Bangladesh Liberation War, and the genocidal Khmer Rouge and that China attacked

Communist Vietnam as retaliation for the latter's Soviet-supported overthrowing of the Khmer Rouge and together with the US and its allies supported Pol Pot at the United Nations after 1979.

The *Black Agenda Report's* painting of Assad himself as a figure of resistance against American hegemony and Zionism is largely a position reminiscent of LaRouche's distortions concerning Panamanian dictator Noriega and *closer to that of the National Bolsheviks* and conspiracy theorists the *Black Agenda Report's* senior editor *fraternizes* with before denying war crimes and sanitizing fascists who were openly war-mongering and are now beating the war drums and engaging in ethnic cleansing, while genuine revolutionaries were advocating for more nuanced anti-fascist positions. The reality is more different: in the second half of the 1960s, Salah Jadid from the left wing of the Ba'ath Party was the leader of Syria and implemented radical socialist policies while aligning Syria with the Soviet Union against Israel. When the Black September conflict opposing the Palestinian Liberation Organization to the American-aligned Jordanian monarchy erupted in 1970, Jadid sent tanks to support the PLO side while Hafez al-Assad, then minister of defense, refused to provide air cover for the Syrian troops, leading to the defeat of the PLO and the Syrian army. The result was a coup d'état where Hafez al-Assad overthrew Jadid, moved rightwards and undid many of Jadid's socialist policies: privatizations allowed a national bourgeoisie close to the Assad clan to control Syria's private capital, independent unions were dissolved and replaced by state-controlled ones, and various communist and leftist parties were given the choice between joining the Ba'ath dominated ruling coalition and operating only under the regime's control or face persecution by the state: thus, Assad tethered them to a capitalist, kleptocratic party under the control of the Syrian national bourgeoisie. In reaction, the Syrian Communist Party's more radical elements left it in 1973 and formed the opposition Syrian Communist Party (Political Bureau), which opposed the Syrian Communist Party's decision to join the Ba'ath-controlled coalition and its subsequent support for Hafez al-Assad's entry in the Lebanese Civil War on the side of right-wing forces – the Syrian Communist Party (Political Bureau) in 2005 became the Syrian Democratic People's Party of which Omar Aziz was once a member of.

Hafez al-Assad's subsequent policy towards the PLO similarly has been one of attempting to control it and prevent it from being an independent force, which is why he initially entered the Lebanese Civil War on the invitation of Lebanon's then right-wing government (before later coming in conflict with them) against Lebanese leftists and Palestinians (a move welcomed by Israel) and, allied to right-wing Lebanese militias, took part in the Tel al-Zaatar massacre where thousands of Palestinians were killed. During the Gulf War, Hafez al-Assad cooperated with the American coalition even as sanctions which caused thousands of civilian deaths were imposed on Iraq. This was accompanied by a policy of him maintaining peace with Israel, which was continued by his son Bashar. Bashar al-Assad has been no different, implementing extensive neoliberal policies, participating in peace negotiations with Israel, starting a slow detente between Damascus and Washington while cooperating with the CIA torture program of George W. Bush during his "War on Terror" while simultaneously helping jihadists in Iraq and strangely denying the existence of al-Qaeda at the same time (strangely, echoes of this are found in both Meyssan's and the WWP's support for the "Iraqi resistance" and denial that it was made up of jihadists). And in 2011, during the NATO bombing of Libya, the Syrian regime provided French intelligence with information which led to the murder of Muammar Gaddafi in exchange of a period of grace and less pressure on Assad and his regime even as he was cracking down with extreme brutality on the protest movement in Syria. Far from being an anti-imperialist force, the Assad clan has been a consistent ally of American and Israeli imperialism, and leftist participants of the Syrian rev-

olutionary movement such as Marxist Jihad Asa'ad Muhammad, and the Syrian Revolutionary Youth, a radical socialist movement which stood in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and also faced persecution from the regime.

After suggesting using fascist conspiracy theorists Eva Bartlett and Vanessa Beeley (about whom I talk below) instead of Syrian leftists as source, the *Black Agenda Report* article speaks of the “wide net of support given to terrorists by the US and its imperial allies”. The issue, as the *Black Agenda Report*'s own sources suggest, is that the American direct support to the rebels was marginal and the US was voicing frustration at its own Qatari and Saudi allies supporting hardline Islamists and jihadists (both because the US has always feared a jihadist takeover in Syria – the American “War on Terror” never ended), and the CIA train-and-equip program to support the rebels, which was designed against Da'esh rather than the Assad regime, was terminated after being barely implemented. The actual CIA program to train anti-Assad rebels on the other hand was very limited and also barely implemented and meant to produce a stalemate between the government and the opposition which would lead to a political transition, and was terminated soon after the Russian intervention in Syria, and meanwhile the CIA has been working to prevent the rebellion from acquiring anti-aircraft and anti-tank weapons since 2012. The American goal, after the initial platitudes of “Assad must go” of Washington during the early Arab Spring, has not been to seek “regime change” but to instead find an arrangement between the US-supported sections of the bourgeois parts of the opposition and the Ba'ath government for a transition of power which would preserve the capitalist regime which has been prevailing in Syria under the Assad dynasty, whereas the Gulf monarchies have been supporting the most sectarian groups fighting against Assad to turn the crisis in Syria into a sectarian war because they fear the success of a secular revolution in Syria would lead to eventual unrest within the Gulf itself which could topple their own dictatorships, both of which go against the aims of the non-sectarian and anti-imperialist grassroots opposition.

The actual American military intervention in Syria since 2014 itself has, since the rise of Da'esh, been a War on Terror policy concerned primarily with fighting against Da'esh: the limited program to train rebels was explicitly aimed at fighting against Da'esh (which these rebels labeled as Obama's “de facto alliance with Assad”), the cooperation with Rojava is aimed at explicitly fighting against Da'esh, the military and financial support to Iraq (an ally of Bashar al-Assad) is aimed at fighting against Da'esh and includes support for militias associated with the Popular Mobilization Units, the same Iraqi state-supported militias who support Bashar al-Assad and participated in the Ba'ath regime's capture of Aleppo. As early as 2013, after the Ghouta chemical attacks, Obama decided to ask Congress permission before taking any military move on Syria (something he didn't do for Libya) and accepted the chemical deal brokered with Russia through Israel, and had moreover been proposing to Vladimir Putin a coordination plan against the al-Nusra Front in 2016. Bashar al-Assad in 2017 even welcomed a potential United States intervention in Syria to cooperate with his government's side of the war against “terrorists” (note that the Assad regime released jihadists from jail in 2011 at the same time as it was brutally cracking down on democratic and secular forces of the popular opposition movement precisely to subvert the uprising and turn it into a violent rebellion and that the regime's tactic has since been to smear all of the opposition indiscriminately as “terrorists”), and American strikes against the Syrian regime have been exceptions rather than the norm. Similarly, Israeli involvement and airstrikes in Syria against the Syrian state have been exceptions rather than the norm, and have instead been primarily directed at Iranian and Hezbollah targets.

Of course, acknowledging this reality is *neither* support for these jihadists *nor* support of American foreign policy in the same way that acknowledging the realities of the War on Terror was *neither* support for the Taliban or al-Qaeda *nor* support for American wars, despite George W. Bush's fake binary of "Either you're with us or with the terrorists" and the disingenuous accusations of support for terrorism leveled by neoconservatives at opponents of Bush's wars back then. Strangely though, while the Western Left was able to reject this obviously false dichotomy in the 2000s, in the 2010s it repeats similar positions and which echo the fascists platformed on Russian state media by claiming that the only choice in Syria is between either the Assad regime or jihadists. Meanwhile, the secular grassroots opposition which stands against both the Ba'athist regime and the jihadists is ignored or conflated with the very jihadists it opposes, and Western social chauvinists castigate the few leftist media platforms who dare to provide a platform to the Syrians who do not adhere to this crude and reactionary binary instead of Western white leftists from Brooklyn, NYC. Instead the Western Left prefers a solipsistic, and even narcissistic, saviorism where it repeats the same soundbites about preventing another Iraq while refueling itself with the "regime change" conspiracies peddled by fascists and state-owned media of right-wing regimes, strangely refusing to grasp the difference between opposing an imperialist invasion of Iraq by the United States which the majority of Iraqis never asked for and listening to the concerns of the thousands of rank-and-file Syrians who rose against one of the most authoritarian and brutal regimes. A regime which has been accused by the United Nations of carrying out a state policy of extermination, moreover.

Two Shady Books

Despite Hands Off Syria's stated purpose being to oppose American intervention in Syria, on its website are featured two books claiming the war in Syria are nothing more than an imperialist plot against an enemy of American and Israeli hegemony: Tim Anderson's *The Dirty War on Syria* and Stephen Gowans' *Washington's Long War on Syria*.

Stephen Gowans

A book listed on Hands Off Syria's website is *Washington's Long War on Syria*, written by Stephen Gowans, a Stalinist with a history of defending Milosevic (and writing for the Slobodan Milosevic International Committee) and *Karadzic*, as well as denying the Bosnian genocide, itself part of a larger propensity to deny multiple genocides by him, yet he is still hosted by the Canadian Communist Party (which appears to have erased all mentions of its support for Milosevic on its website). Gowans' book was published by *Baraka books*, a publisher whose president is Robin Philpot, a Rwandan genocide denier.

Among the people on the blogroll on Gowans' website are:

- *Baraka books*
- Eva Bartlett, the Nazi sympathizer
- Christopher Black's *page on the New Eastern Outlook*
- Gregory Elich's website

- the Hamilton Coalition to Stop the War, an “anti-war” organization which denies the Rwandan Genocide, and blames both the killing fields of the Khmer Rouge and the destruction of Yugoslavia on the US
- the *Taylor Report*, which promotes Robin Philpot’s book denying the Rwandan genocide and where Gowans has been hosted many times together with Philpot
- Tim Beal’s website, which links to articles by **William Engdahl**, and **Global Research**

Stephen Gowans’ defense of the Syrian Ba’ath regime also included an attempt to claim no revolutionary movement ever existed in Syria while also attacking the Anarchistic movement in Syrian Kurdistan by comparing it to Labor Zionism even as its ideologue Abdullah Ocalan supports the Palestinian cause (Ocalan has fought on the side of the Palestinian resistance against Israel’s 1982 invasion of Lebanon, and US intelligence helped Turkey arrest him) and explicitly rejects nationalism, and despite numerous Syrian Anarchists and Marxists having given evidence of a Syrian revolution’s existence. Effectively, Gowans’ positions are close to those of the fascists his associates are close to.

Gowans was hosted by UNAC in July 2017, in an event where Syrian activists were physically assaulted and expelled from the conference after questioning Gowans’ positions. One of the WWP members who ejected the Syrian activists was Taryn Fivek, who was outed as denying people were starving in Syria. While Fivek tried defending herself by claiming her account had been hacked, a quick search shows that she associated with a strange group of Twitter users espousing Marxism nominally while espousing outlandish conspiratorial beliefs one such as 9/11 Trutherism, anti-vaxxer conspiracies, claiming the Charlie Hebdo attacks were a false flag, **writing for Infowars**, Soros conspiracy theories, and claiming the Syrian revolution is an imperialist plot, and Fivek herself physically accompanied one of this group’s members at Left Forum, which severely weakens Fivek’s defense of herself.

Tim Anderson

An ostensible Marxist and professor of economics at the University of Sydney in Australia, Tim Anderson visited Syria as part of the delegation of Julian Assange’s Wikileaks Party, on whose website there are many **posts about Syria** [[archive](#)] by **conspiracy theorists Thierry Meyssan** and **Michel Chossudovsky** and **Israel Shamir**, the Holocaust denying neo-fascist employed by Wikileaks who handed unredacted cables to Belorussian President Aleksandr Lukashenko (Wikileaks itself has voiced out **fascistic positions** since then).

Anderson wrote *The Dirty War on Syria*, a book ostensibly meant to be a source on the war in Syria, which was published by the conspiracist *Global Research*. Anderson himself is regularly published by *Global Research* and is hosted on numerous conspiracist media platforms, such as **The Corbett Report**, and **BattleNolaRadio**, a far-right channel dedicated to material such as the **Illuminati**, **9/11 Trutherism**, and... **interviews with David Duke**.

Anderson moreover attended in December 2015 (which is about half a year before his book was published by the Centre in August 2016) the commemoration for recently murdered Russian ambassador Andrey Karlov, which was itself attended by:

- Jim Saleam, the chairman of the Australia First Party (AFP), a white nationalist organization described as Australia’s largest neo-fascist group by Anti-Fascist Action Sydney

- Iggy Gavrilidis, the founder and leader of the Australian branch of Golden Dawn
- Nathan Sykes of the Daily Stormer
- Simeon Boikov from the far-right Zabaikal Cossack Society of Australia

In October 2016, Anderson participated in a **conference** organized by the far-right German organization Gesellschaft für Internationale Friedenspolitik, whose **members** include Nikolai Starikov, Friederike Beck (**who believes in the neo-fascist conspiracy that NGOs, the United Nations and the European Union are part of a plot to destroy Europe through mass migration**), and Wolfgang Effenberger (a conspiracy theorist who **blamed the protests in Iran in 2009 on George Soros**). The participants of the conference included:

- Kevork Almassian
- Tim Anderson
- Charles Bausman, the editor of *Russia Insider*, a far-right outlet which, in addition to being **funded by the US-based ostensibly left wing Consortium for Independent Journalism (more commonly known as Consortium News)**, also sought funding from Konstantin Malofeyev. *Russia Insider* publishes, among others, **William Engdahl**, the **Voltaire Network**, **Soros conspiracy theories**, **outright anti-Semitism**, **Israel Shamir**, **Aleksandr Dugin** and **Gordon Duff** (the chairman of the Holocaust denying *Veterans Today*)
- Sister Hatune Dogan
- Wolfgang Effenberger
- Dr. Salem El-Hamid
- F. William Engdahl
- Beate Himmelstoß
- Karin Leukefeld
- Seyed Hedayatollah Shahrokny
- Willy Wimmer
- Maram Susli

[**Note:** Maram Susli is more commonly known by the pseudonyms of Syrian Girl Partisan or Partisangirl. Susli has a YouTube channel dedicated to “exposing the New World Order”, has been **hosted by David Duke** many times, is a regular **guest** and **contributor** on Infowars, has been published in the Duginist *Journal of Eurasian Affairs* and is a **supporter of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party**.]

Susli was the source of Theodore Postol’s claims the Syrian government was not responsible for the Khan Shaykhun chemical attacks, and has **appeared together with Postol on the**

show of Holocaust denier Ryan Dawson (Postol had also been hosted by Dawson before. Postol himself was the source used by Noam Chomsky on Democracy Now! concerning the Khan Shaykhun attacks.)

In November 2016, Anderson *attended the Leura Forum*, a white nationalist event organized by a group named Defend Our Heritage chaired by AFP member James Sternhill. Among the participants of the panel were:

- Tim Anderson
- Keith Windschuttle, a denier of atrocities committed on Indigenous Australians and Tasmanians during colonization and an apologist for the forcible removal of Indigenous children from their parents by the Australian state
- Dr Amy McGrath
- John Marae
- Jim Saleam

Tim Anderson, the “Marxist” who associates with fascists, *was defended by the AFP’s Facebook page* and Anderson himself *repeats fascist Soros conspiracy theories*, has been *used as source by RT* too.

Anderson is also the founder and director of the *Center for Counter Hegemonic Studies*, which in April 2017 *hosted a conference* on the war in Syria in April 2017. The participants included:

- Tim Anderson
- Maram Susli
- Paul Antonopoulos
- Marwa Osman
- Drew Cottle

Paul Antonopoulos was once the Deputy Editor of *al-Masdar News*, a pro-Assad outlet where he has published, among others, *multiple articles in support of Golden Dawn* before he was found out to be a member of fascist forum *Stormfront*. Despite his claims of not being a fascist, he has openly *contributed to the Center for Syncretic Studies*, a *National Bolshevik think tank*, before his suspension from al-Masdar and is now a fellow at the Center for Syncretic Studies. Antonopoulos is also an *editor at the Duginist Fort Russ*, which he has *promoted together with other fascistic and conspiracist media on al-Masdar*. *Al-Masdar’s* use of fascists is not an isolated case, as Robert Inlakesh, *another of its reporters, contributes to the American Herald Tribune*, has been *hosted by Holocaust denier Ryan Dawson* and on the *Richie Allen show*. Andrew Illingworth, *another writer for al-Masdar*, has also been a *guest of Holocaust denier Ryan Dawson*.

Drew Cottle, who is also on the board of the Center for Counter Hegemonic Studies, has contributed to the *Journal of Eurasian Affairs together with Antonopoulos*.

[**Note:** The *President and Director* of the Center for Syncretic Studies, Joaquin Flores, is also the Editor in Chief of Fort Russ and the *Corrector* for the *Journal of Eurasian Affairs*, whose editor is Leonid Savin and on whose Advisory Board is Aleksandr Dugin. The US Political Advisor and Marketing Director of the Center is James Porazzo, the leader of the US-based National Bolshevik organization, New Resistance.

The *Advisory Board* of the *Journal of Eurasian Affairs* also includes Mateusz Piskorski and Jamal Wakim, a professor of International Relations at the Lebanese International University, where Marwa Osman is also a lecturer.]

The Syria Solidarity Movement

Which leads us precisely to the Syria Solidarity Movement, a coalition ostensibly opposed to American intervention in Syria, yet which is effectively supportive of Assad, is full of false flag conspiracy theories, shares **William Engdahl**, **Webster Tarpley**, **Thierry Meyssan's Voltaire Network**, **Kevin Barrett**, and whose links section includes **multiple conspiracist websites** such as *Dissident Voice*, *Global Research*, the *New Eastern Outlook* journal, the *Strategic Culture Foundation*, *WhoWhatWhy* and *NSNBC*.

According to the Syria Solidarity Movement's own About Us section, the Syria Solidarity Movement started as two groups: firstly of Mother Agnes-Mariam of the Cross as representative of the Mussalaha organization along with Mairead Maguire (which I have already explored), and the second one of activists around a list serve created by Eva Bartlett and who met at the very same Anti-Imperialist Camp in Assisi with which the "Anti-Globalist Resistance" and the IAC and WWP were involved and sent at least two delegations to Syria. These two groups then united as the Syria Solidarity Movement in 2013.

Among the members of the steering committee of the Syria Solidarity Movement are:

- Sara Flounders from the Workers World Party
- Richard Becker from the Party for Socialism and Liberation and a regional coordinator for its ANSWER Coalition (and brother of Brian Becker)
- Paul Larudee
- Ali Mallah
- Ken Stone, the treasurer of the Hamilton Coalition to Stop the War, who also **blames the US for the disintegration of Yugoslavia**
- Rick Sterling
- Issa Chaer, who **animated a panel together with Thierry Meyssan** at the Third New Horizons conference in Iran.
- Navid Nasr, described as a former member of various leftist organizations. Yet his profile on BalkansPost, of which he is the editor in chief, **describes him as a contributor for Katehon**, and Nasr himself in an interview with Manuel Ochsenreiter **admits having given up on any pretense of leftism to instead support "Eurasianism" (Dugin's ideology) against "Atlanticism"**
- Vanessa Beeley was on the Steering Committee of the Syria Solidarity Movement until January 2017 at the very least. Beeley seems to have stepped down from the steering committee shortly after the publication of this investigation on her.

- Eva Bartlett was on the Steering Committee of the Syria Solidarity Movement until January 2017 at the very least and is one of its founding members. Bartlett seems to have stepped down from the steering committee shortly after the publication of this investigation on her.
- Susan Dirgham, the National Coordinator of “Australians for Mussalaha (Reconciliation)”, which is itself part of the International Support Team for the Mussalaha (Reconciliation) in Syria, which I have already explored previously

Eva Bartlett

Eva Bartlett, who went viral last year, is a *reporter* and *Editor at SOTT.net*. SOTT.net is *owned* by the Quantum Future Group, *which has Arkadiusz Jadczyk as President and Laura Knight-Jadczyk as Vice President*. Unfamiliar with Laura Knight-Jadczyk? Laura Knight-Jadczyk is into various conspiracy theories such as *9/11 Trutherism* (note her using Chossudovsky as source), *Denver Airport conspiracy theories*, *New World Order conspiracy theories*, *HAARP and UFO conspiracy theories*.

Bartlett’s own writing *quotes conspiracy theorists extensively* and she has reshared anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist Brandon Martinez’s *assertion that 9/11 was a false flag on her blog* as well as conspiracy theories *claiming Assad is resisting “the Rothschilds”*. Among her other associations one can find:

- *going on the show* of Holocaust denier Kevin Barrett in 2014
- *going on the show of Richie Allen*, an associate of David Icke
- going on the *show of Holocaust denier Ryan Dawson twice*
- *being hosted by Apophenia*, a YouTube channel whose *main content consists of material by and interviews with Gilad Atzmon*

This did not however stop the *Black Agenda Report* from using her as source, Ajamu Baraka from hosting her or progressive liberal (and 9/11 Truther) Jimmy Dore from promoting her. Jimmy Dore had himself previously quoted an article from conspiracy theorist Robert F. Kennedy Jr. to “explain” what is happening in Syria and later quoted Theodore Postol (whose source is an Infowars contributor and associate of David Duke) concerning the Khan Shaykhun attacks. It appears that the Western Left would rather host Western conspiracy theorists and fascists rather than speak to Syrian leftists who know more about the situation in Syria, just like how Michael Moore preferred repeating the WWP’s line by calling what would eventually devolve into Da’esh a “revolution” in 2004.

Vanessa Beeley

Vanessa Beeley is listed as an Associate Editor of *21st Century Wire* on its *About* section (which also lists Andrew Korybko and Marwa Osman as special contributors). *21st Century Wire* (again, note what may or may not be a coincidental similarity to LaRouche’s *21st Century Science and*

Technology?) claims to be an “independent hyper blog offering bold news”. However, its features editor and founder is Patrick Henningsen, who used to be an *InfoWars Associate Editor*, and still associates with the far-right, such as the white nationalist *Red Ice TV* and the David Icke-affiliated *Richie Allen Show* (Henningsen has himself *been a long [archive] time RT contributor*). Other special contributors to this conspiracist fascist outlet include Nazi sympathizer Marwa Osman, Duginist Andrew Korybko, Andre Vltchek (a *Khmer Rouge apologist* and *Cambodian Genocide denier* whose own website *lists him* as a writer for the *New Eastern Outlook*, *Investig’Action* and *Global Research*), *Tim Anderson* (about whom I have already written) and Tim Hayward (a *Professor of Environmental Political Theory at the Edinburgh University*).

Patrick Henningsen is also *part of the staff* of Alternate Current Radio, which hosts the podcast of the British Constitutional Group-affiliated *UK Column* as well as *a radio show by Henningsen himself [archive]* and *archives of 21st Century Wire’s podcast*. Another podcast hosted by Alternate Current Radio is *The Boiler Room*, an *openly Alt-Right show* whose hosts include Andy Nowicki (who runs an obviously fascist blog called *The Alt-Right Novelist*) and Jay Dryer (a 21st Century Wire special contributor who *promotes Illuminati conspiracy theories* and is *sympathetic to Aleksandr Dugin [archive]*).

21st Century Wire of course is rife with conspiracies about the “*New World Order*”, with *even a post quoting Aleksandr Dugin favorably, anti-Semitic “Rothschild” conspiracy theories, the “globalists” [archive]*, neo-fascist and Holocaust denier *David Icke, Partisangirl, Lyndon LaRouche, Holocaust denial, calling the Charlie Hebdo attacks a false flag, blaming anti-Trump protests on George Soros and “globalists”*. Engdahl is of course *present on 21st Century Wire* and is *hosted on its podcast*, 21st Century Wire also shares *material by Thierry Meyssan* and hosts *Gearoid o Colmain*.

21st Century Wire’s position on the war in Syria as of 2011 itself has been that it is *a “regime change” plot by the “globalists” and by George Soros, and that Da’esh is a CIA creation* used as a tool to *establish the “New World Order”*. Beeley appears to be *the source of conspiracies surrounding the White Helmets which were then aired by Russian state media*.

On Vanessa Beeley’s blog are featured:

- *Gilad Atzmon* is republished on Beeley’s blog
- *multiple defenses of Dieudonne*.
- *Soros conspiracy theories*
- *William Engdahl* is republished *and used as source* on Beeley’s blog

The material Beeley herself writes for 21st Century Wire includes *praising the xenophobic policies of Viktor Orban* and *hosting Gilad Atzmon*, and she can also be found *being hosted by Willem Felderhorf*, a self-proclaimed Anarchist *whose channel posts xenophobic and Islamophobic material, anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories and denial of the Bosnian genocide*. Beeley has also been hosted *by Ron Paul* and *by the British Constitutional Group*. In 2014, Beeley *spoke* at a conference hosted by Dieudonné and Belgian Holocaust denier Laurent Louis, and in 2017 she spoke at an event by the conspiracist Union Populaire Républicaine.

Despite her *criticisms of NGOs grounded in conspiracy theory rather than legitimate leftist analysis*, Beeley nevertheless went to Syria as part of a delegation by the US Peace Coun-

cil, the US branch of the World Peace Council, a **NGO member of the United Nations which defends Slobodan Milosevic.**

This same Vanessa Beeley, a fascist, was hosted in Birmingham, UK, by the Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist) (abbreviated as the CPGB-ML), the Socialist Labour Party (SLP), the Indian Workers Association (GB), and the UK branches of the People's Liberation Front (JVP) and the Awami Workers Party.

[**Note:** the CPGB-ML is a hardline Stalinist party whose chairperson, Harpal Brar, is also the chair of the Stalin Society which glorifies Josef Stalin and denies the **Great Purge**, the **Katyn massacre**, and the **Holodomor** (which was first acknowledged in 1987 by Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine). The Stalin Society also shares so many members with the CPGB-ML and the SLP to the extent that they overlap. More recently, the CPGB-ML whitewashed and defended the French National Front]

[**Note:** The present Indian Workers Association (GB) is the result of a split led by Prem Singh from a former organization also called the Indian Workers Association (GB) due to Singh's support for the Communist Party of India (Marxist), a class collaborationist organization which supported the suppression by the Indian state of the peasant uprising of Naxalbari and expelled all its members who supported the uprising (these members went on to form the Maoist rebel movement called the Naxalites).]

Vanessa Beeley is also an Associate Editor for *The Indicter*, an outlet affiliated to the NGO named Swedish Doctors for Human Rights, whose chairperson is Marcello Ferrada de Noli, who was previously a member of the Chilean Marxist-Leninist group Revolutionary Left Movement and has since become a supporter of Julian Assange and moved close to the far-right. *The Indicter's* staff includes:

- Marcello Ferrada de Noli
- John Goss
- Nozomi Hayase, a writer for *Dissident Voice* and *Global Research*
- Andrew Krieg, a lawyer with a fondness for JFK assassination, RFK assassination and 9/11 Truther, "globalist" conspiracy theories and support for fascists like Le Pen and Trump
- Lena Oske
- Armando Popa
- Anders Romelsjö
- Sven Ruin
- Maj Wechselmann

The Indicter's Associate Editors consist of:

- Eva Bartlett
- Vanessa Beeley

- Celia Farber, an AIDS denialist who *happens to love 9/11 conspiracy theories*
- Andrew Krieg
- Gilbert Mercier
- Erik Sandberg

The Indicter's channel itself *shows strong support for Donald Trump*. Strange for a purported leftist outlet.

Conclusion

The steering committee of the Syria Solidarity Movement is a querfront uniting Stalinists and various fascists in a red-brown alliance, and its fascist nature raises serious questions about why Eva Bartlett and Vanessa Beeley might have stepped down from its steering committee (whose page listed their involvement with fascist milieus) only after their connections with fascists became public knowledge. The Syria Solidarity Movement is itself one of the initial signatories of the points of unity statement of the Hands Off Syria Coalition together with the ANSWER Coalition, the Black Is Back Coalition, UNAC, Issa Chaer's Syrian Social Club, Abayomi Azikiwe, Vanessa Beeley, Ramsey Clark, Bruce Gagnon, Margaret Kimberley, John Kiriakou, Ray McGovern, Navid Nasr, and Omali Yeshitela. The sequence of events appears to be that the WWP's fascist contacts through Ramsey Clark, the Anti-Imperialist Camp and Cynthia McKinney allowed for the formation of the Syria Solidarity Movement in collaboration with Mussalaha (itself a front for the SSNP) 2013, itself a prelude to the 2014 delegation of the UNAC and the IAC to the AGMR conference which helped Dugin find participants within the US Left for his pro-Eurasianist support network and set the stage for the collaboration between the PSL and Russian state media and the subsequent creation of the Hands Off Syria Coalition (as an ostensibly "leftist" front for the fascist Syria Solidarity Movement) and of the Odessa Solidarity Movement, all of which are projects which align with the goals of the fascist networks which include Lyndon LaRouche and Aleksandr Dugin.

Not surprising then that Sara Flounders and Joe Iosbaker are the signatories of a petition initiated by Hamed Ghashghavi and whose other signatories *are overwhelmingly fascists* in a what appears to be a carefully curated list of signatories. *Another petition*, drafted by an Iranian NGO the *WWP has been working with since at least 2010*, similarly features as initial endorsers Ramsey Clark, Dennis Halliday, Michel Chossudovsky, Mairead Maguire, James Petras, Sara Flounders, Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya, Michel Collon, Paul Larudee, Philip Giraldi, Michel Collon, Eric Walberg, Manuel Ochseneiter, Silvia Cattori, Pepe Escobar and Joe Lombardo. Strange (and strangely very recurrent among confusionist outlets) Red-Brown list, isn't it?

The trend with the WWP and the PSL and their affiliates is that, having been hardline uncritical campists throughout the Cold War, they then latched on to the Red-Brown fascism which came out of the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia and adopted a similar Manichean position for the majority of the crises which happened after the end of the Cold War. The proximity of their leaderships to these Red-Brown fascists and with the likes of Lyndon LaRouche as well as their campism are where the impulse for the WWP and the PSL and their affiliates to support

Bashar al-Assad appears to have come from, paralleling how the Party of Italian Communists' prominent members were also part of the SSNP.

The PSL was recently involved in sponsoring an initiative called the People's Congress of Resistance (with one of its initial conveners being Akbar Muhammad from the far-right Nation of Islam), and the Workers World Party and one of its front groups have been involved in a No Platform for Fascism initiative together with local Anarchists and socialists from New York City, ostensibly to oppose the rise of fascism in the United States. However of what value is such an initiative to the anti-fascist struggle when the leaders of the PSL and the WWP have been working with open fascists for years and the online activity of their rank and file membership suggests these parties are acting as incubators for fascism and future Strasserists, LaRouchites and National Bolsheviks? What contribution can the participation of the genocide denying, crypto-fascist and confusionnist WWP and the PSL and their satellites in the anti-fascist struggle be when they work with "former" CIA members, collaborate with groups creating international fascist networks and their prominent members sit together with Infowars contributors, Third Positionists, National Bolsheviks, LaRouchites and associates of Holocaust deniers on the steering committees of solidarity movements which support primarily fascist causes? After all, Caleb Maupin, one of the products of the WWP's reactionary nature, himself works with fascists and ***promotes LaRouche-like conspiracy theories*** but recently pulled a publicity stunt ***by posing as a leftist to debate*** with white nationalist Augustus Invictus organized by a right-wing student group, which is evidence of the dangerous nature of these parties in facilitating right-wing entryism within radical movements. Far from being anti-fascist, the PSL and the WWP have knowingly worked to enable fascist entryism and done the same thing which LaRouche's fascist allies praised him for in 1981 by "confusing, disorienting, and disunifying" the Left.

A Major Leftist Publication And Fascist Entryists

Gilbert Doctorow is a contributor for *Russia Insider* (where his writing includes **Soros conspiracy theories**) and *Consortium News* (where he writes material such as support for National Bolshevik Mateusz Piskorski) with **positions which align with those of paleoconservatives and fascists**. Doctorow was involved in launching the American Committee for East-West Accord (ACEWA) in June 2014, whose stated mission is to prevent a new Cold War between the United States and Russia.

In September of that year, Doctorow and Edward Lozansky (a lobbyist for the Russian government who had been involved in Cold War anti-Communist activities of the US government and has extensive ties to the Republican Party and the American far-right) **moderated** roundtable talks concerning a proposal to establish a Committee for East-West Accord attended by conspiracist Ray McGovern, Duginist Andrew Korybko, and William Murray (a **member of the Advisory Board** of Jim Jatras' American Council for Kosovo, and the Chairman of the Religious Freedom Coalition, a **Christian Right anti-abortion and homophobic organization**). These talks were organized by the American University in Moscow, an obscure think tank headed by Lozansky and whose "**fellows**" include regular guests of Brian Becker's show on *Sputnik* such as Jim Jatras, Anthony Salvia, Darren Spincks, Daniel McAdams, Alexander Mercouris and Mark Sleboda.

Lozansky, who has been a central figure in building bridges between the American and Russian far-right, had hosted Aleksandr Dugin in **2004** and **2005**, with the 2005 event being also attended by Geydar Dzhemal, Sergey Kurginyan, Aleksandr Zinovyev, Aleksandr Prokhanov, and Tony Blankley (the editor of *The Washington Times*, a right-wing outlet founded by cult-leader Sun Myong Moon and owned by Moon's cult, the Unification Church). In 2005, Lozansky **also hosted a conference** opened by Dmitry Rogozin and Republican Congressman and co-founder of the Duma-Congress Study Group Curt Weldon. In September **2008**, Lozansky participated in a conference attended by Dugin, Alain de Benoist, Kurginyan, Maksim Shevchenko, Borislav Milosevic, Dzhemal, Valeriy Korovin, Israel Shamir and Israeli fascist Avigdor Eskin, before **appearing on a TV show** together with Dugin, Kurginyan and Dzhemal later that same month. In April 2014, Lozansky **participated in a conference** on the "New Cold War" together with central figures of red-brown networks such as Dugin, Gennady Zyuganov, Nikolai Starikov, Leonid Ivashov and Yevgeny Fyodorov, and over the course of 2016 to 2017 Lozansky and Doctorow went on to write several articles in the *Washington Times* supporting an alliance between the United States and Russia.

In December of that year, an European branch of the ACEWA was launched by Doctorow following roundtable talks including Miroslav Ramsdorf and Gabriela Zimmer, two MEPs for the European United Left-Nordic Green, and Aymeric Chauprade, then a National Front MEP.

Edward Lozansky is the President of an obscure organization called the Russia House, as well as the founder and president of the annual held World Russia Forum (which features mostly hard right figures of the GOP and is regularly held at the Hart Senate Office Building due to his proximity to the Republican Party), and the participants of the April 2015 conference of the World Russia Forum included:

- Gilbert Doctorow
- Ray McGovern the conspiracist
- Robert Parry, the founder and editor of *Consortium News*
- Charles Bausman, the editor of *Russia Insider*
- Katrina vanden Heuven, the editor and publisher of left-wing magazine *The Nation*
- Stephen Cohen, a member of the ACEWA, contributing editor of *The Nation*, and husband of Katrina vanden Heuvel, whose father William vanden Heuvel is also a member of the ACEWA. Cohen and vanden Heuvel had participated in **discussions in Brussels** animated by Doctorow the previous month. A week after the launching of the ACEWA, Cohen had been hosted by Lozansky's World Russia Forum and **shared a panel with Lozansky**
- Dana Rohrabacher, a Congressman for the Republican Party who supported the Russian annexation of Crimea, supported Russia in the 2008 war opposing it to Georgia, and **is supportive of the idea of Alaska joining Russia**. Rohrabacher himself has far-right positions and connections.
- Sergey Kislyak, then Russian Ambassador to the United States

While *The Nation* is obviously not far-right, its attempts to embrace views seen as alternative or non-mainstream or, in the words of its editor vanden Heuvel, “‘heretical’ only to see them championed as conventional wisdom later”, means it has allowed for fringe views which align with the far-right networks close to Russian fascists to be platformed on its website, such as supporting Russian involvement in Syria, supporting and defending Vladimir Putin, and painting Trump as a less hawkish presidential candidate who would mend American ties with Russia.

Following a report on these far-right ties and attempts at forming querfronts by Alexander Reid Ross on the Southern Poverty Law Center (and which I used as source for this section), *Russia Insider* responded with **an article** by Doctorow with a foreword by its editor Charles Bausman attempting to “expose” the SPLC by linking to **SPLCexposed**, a hard right website whose supporting partners include the National Organization for Marriage, the American Family Association, the American Freedom Law Center, ACT for America, and the Family Research Council.

[**Note:** Tony Perkins, the head of the Family Research Council, was in 2014 the Vice-President of the Council for National Policy, a secretive group networking influential figures of mainstream conservatism and the far-right in the United States, and which strongly supported Donald Trump's election. The board of governors of the Council for National Policy includes Michael Peroutka (a former member of the neo-Confederate League of the South), Joseph Farah (the editor in chief of the same *World Net Daily* whose Michael Maloof was part of Mairead Maguire's 2013 delegation to Syria), Jerome Corsi (a conspiracist who was a senior staff reporter for Farah's *World Net*

Daily until January 2017 and has since become **the Washington Bureau Chief for Infowars**), Brian Brown (the president of the National Organization for Marriage), and Jon Basil Utley (the **publisher** of *The American Conservative*). Among the members of the Council for National Policy are Tim Wildmont (the head of the American Family Association), and Steve Bannon (the editor and executive chairman of *Breitbart News*, and Senior Counselor and White House Strategist for the Trump administration for the first half of 2017 – in 2014, Bannon gave a speech supporting Julius Evola’s and Dugin’s ideology at a **conference** by the Dignitis Humanitae Institute at the Vatican which also saw the participation of the World Congress of Families).

One of the co-founders of the Council for National Policy was Paul Weyrich, who also co-founded the Heritage Foundation, which is closely linked to the far-right Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation. Weyrich also founded the anti-socialist Free Congress Foundation, which became active in Eastern European politics after the end of the Cold War, with one of its prominent figures being Laszlo Pasztor, a member of the fascist and Nazi collaborationist Arrow Cross Party who established the ethnic-outreach arm of the Republican National Committee. One of the divisions of the Free Congress Foundation was the Kriebel Institute, founded by right-wing millionaire Robert Kriebel (who held many high-ranking positions in the Heritage Foundation from the 1970s until his death) and which worked to undermine the Soviet Union through right wing pro-capitalist propaganda. Weyrich and Kriebel helped Edward Lozansky launch his Russia House in 1991, and Lozansky is himself close to the Council for National Policy while his American University of Moscow shares the same floor as the Heritage Foundation.

A member of the Council for National Policy is Robert Mercer, a hedge-fund manager who is also a stakeholder of *Breitbart News* and its main funder, and who interfered in the Brexit referendum by offering his help to Nigel Farage and the Leave.EU campaign for free. Steve Bannon, a month after becoming the executive chairman of *Breitbart News* following the death of its founder Andrew Breitbart, set up a far-right anti-Clinton think tank, the Government Accountability Institute, itself funded by Mercer and by the Koch brothers, closely linked to *Breitbart News*, and which counted on its board Rebekah Mercer, the daughter of Robert Mercer. Rebekah Mercer was also part of the executive committee of Trump’s transition team, which was heavily involved with the Heritage Foundation.]

The Crisis of the Left

Many of these same figures belonging to these red-brown networks regularly appear on Russian and Iranian state media, as well as on obscure and not-so-obscure websites which present themselves as “alternative” and “independent” media but are effectively purveyors and vehicles of crypto-fascist political confusion aiming to appeal to both the far-right and the far-left, especially through a form “anti-imperialism” which appeals to both Third Positionists and campist Stalinists, with the result being that one can find certain **campist groups** echoing **fascists**. In some other cases, these crypto-fascists infiltrate unprincipled left-wing media, such as with *CounterPunch* in a case where it decided to self-investigate for once, after **allowing fascists such as Israel Shamir to use its platform for years**. As leftists, we are rightfully skeptical and critical of corporate and state media such as CNN and the BBC, and we need to apply this critical approach and skepticism towards other platforms such as these so-called “independent” and “alternative” media outlets which promote fascism and conspiracism as well.

This situation was rightly described by revolutionary Marxist and member of Solidarność, Zbigniew Kowalewski: *“On the international left, almost nobody knows Russian, and even less Ukrainian; so when the left wants to know what is happening in Ukraine, it finds itself in a catastrophic situation. So as not to depend on the Western media, it is condemned to have recourse to the English-language propaganda of the Putin regime and to that of the so-called “anti-imperialist networks” which are pro-Russian (often “red-brown” or downright brown)”*.

Alexander Reid Ross also writes on the Southern Poverty Law Center that *“...the conduits of “geopolitical” ideology from Russian media to pro-Russian sites and the U.S. mainstream can serve as a Trojan horse for fascist tendencies and sympathies. Pro-Putin networks like RT and Sputnik, which have played host to far-right commentators like Dugin, Richard Spencer and German neo-Eurasianist Manuel Ochsenschläger serve as vehicles for far-right ideologies laundered into US news and commentary sites under the auspices of geopolitical commentary. Unfortunately, the Left has not launched a serious effort to disconnect from collaborations with far-right groups in the context of networks that support and are often supported by Putin’s Russia. This situation has caused influential bodies like the ACEWA to facilitate the growth of transnational, far-right politics and, more specifically, the fascist neo-Eurasianist movement.”*

And, rightly so, French anti-fascists warn that political confusion is dangerous as it serves as recruitment for fascism, which is obvious in how certain hacks such as Caitlin Johnstone **call for an “anti-establishment” alliance between the Left and fascists** and are **embraced with open arms by the unholy alliance of Cynthia McKinney and Robert Steele**, in how the dangerous American neo-fascist movement which collaborates with the American state is explicitly aiming to attract leftists by using anti-capitalist rhetoric (a strategy which the European far-right is unfortunately exploiting successfully even as fascism is experiencing a worrying and murderous resurgence in Italy), and how sections of the so-called “anti-imperialist Left” repeat the same positions as fascists, for example concerning Syria, Libya and Ukraine, while remaining in denial about this fact and labeling all criticism of their reactionary positions as “McCarthyism”. This is

something which Martin A. Lee was already warning of in a report for the Southern Poverty Law Center in 2000, where he writes of the possibility of a resurgence of fascism under hidden forms, especially in the context where fascist critiques overlap with genuine left-wing radical critiques of globalization.

What we are seeing here is not a principled anti-imperialism on an internationalist basis which opposes all imperialist states and all oppressive regimes, but instead a crude, kneejerk and vulgar geopolitical alignment inherited from Cold War campism, and which goes beyond rightfully opposing American imperialism to instead supporting oppressive states which commit war crimes or are themselves imperialist if they stand on the other side of the US on a geopolitical issue. Under the American Clinton and Bush administrations, this led to alliances of certain sections of the US Left with isolationist paleoconservatives and libertarians, and presently this dovetails with the reactionary form of fascist “anti-imperialism” of Strasserists, LaRouchites and National Bolsheviks. At the very least, this enables fascist entryism within the Left, and at most it results in an embrace of fascism and conspiracism within certain sections of the Left, and historical examples of alliances between the Right and the Left have always shown themselves to benefit reactionaries rather than leftists.

As radical leftist anti-fascists, anti-racists, anti-colonialists, and anti-capitalists struggling for liberation, we can fight against imperialism, against racism, and against fascism at the same time, and we can oppose the American war machine and oppose colonialism without siding with reactionary and oppressive entities. We can support liberation in Palestine, Bahrain, India, Venezuela and everywhere else where people are struggling against oppression without allying to fascists and/or liberals or allowing them to try co-opting our movements. We need to act on legitimately internationalist principles and oppose fascism, state power, capital and liberalism, based on the principles of Karl Liebknecht when he wrote “*This enemy at home must be fought... in a political struggle, cooperating with the proletariat of other countries whose struggle is against their own imperialists*” and “*Everything for the International Proletariat,... and Downtrodden Humanity*“. Unfortunately sections of the radical movement have failed or have been purposely misled by crypto-fascists. Having started writing this post on the centenary of the Russian Revolution and initially published it exactly 99 years since the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht by counter-revolutionary forces within the so-called “Left”, even as protests are rocking Tunisia on the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the Arab Spring and Syrians are pleading to the world to stop the atrocities being committed in Syria, I have only one thing to say: we badly need to do better, comrades.

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Vagabond
An Investigation into Red-Brown Alliances
Third Positionism, Russia, Ukraine, Syria, and the Western Left
15 January 2018

Retrieved on 7th June 2021 from ravingsofaradicalvagabond.noblogs.org
This is an investigation of fascist attempts to infiltrate leftist spaces and of contradictory alliances between fascists and certain specific leftists, and is **not** an attempt at supporting the disingenuous “horseshoe theory”, and should **not** be used to cast blanked judgements or denigrate the whole of the Left and leftism.

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