# Smashing Whiteness: Race, Class, Punk Culture, and Anarchist Anti-Fascism[1]

Spencer Beswick*

> "What is the most damage I can do, given my biography, abilities, and commitments, to the racial order and rule of capital?"
>
> — Joel Olson

"Our biggest obstacle is that Love and Rage is still culturally very white….Smashing this culture of whiteness is a major task in becoming the kind of truly inclusive organization we are committed to building."[2] Thus argued a 1997 editorial that sparked controversy in the newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. The editorial intervened in an ongoing debate: should the predominantly white federation attempt to become multi-racial, or should it accept its whiteness and try to work in coalitions with people of color? These debates exposed the internal contradictions of Love and Rage. Love and Rage (1989-1998), which was the most prominent US anarchist organization in the 1990s, was embedded in the largely white punk world even as its members attempted to move beyond it.[3] Although punk had helped keep anarchism alive during the post-1960s neoliberal counterrevolution, particularly during Ronald Reagan's presidency, members worried that punk's white subcultural affinities excluded people of color and thus held back the federation's revolutionary potential. Yet despite its contradictions and shortcomings, Love and Rage transformed the discourse and practice of anti-racism in the US anarchist movement. Influenced by a new generation of Black anarchists, they advocated militant anti-racism and "race traitor" politics that sought to abolish whiteness to build

---

* Spencer Beswick holds a PhD in History from Cornell University. His writing on anarchist history and theory has appeared in Anarchist Studies, Radical History Review, Coils of the Serpent, Left History, Perspectives on Anarchist Theory, Hard Crackers, It's Going Down, DOPE Magazine, Truthout, and The Washington Post.

revolution. Following this analysis, they were active in struggles against white supremacy and fascism, including by working with the leading anti-fascist organization of the period, Anti-Racist Action.

This article begins by situating Love and Rage within the history of race and anarchism in the United States. Despite a rich tradition of anti-authoritarianism among people of color, American anarchism is typically thought of as a white phenomenon. But in the 1980s, imprisoned ex-Black Panthers began to theorize a new form of Black Anarchism that reverberated through the anarchist world. Love and Rage drew on this tradition along with the analysis of white skin privilege advanced by the Sojourner Truth Organization (1969-1986) to identify whiteness (or white skin privilege) as a major barrier to revolutionary politics. Given its focus on race, the federation was keenly aware of its own racial demographics. Co-founder Chris Day argued that the group's social base was the newly "reproletarianized" children of the white middle class who often came to anarchist politics through the punk scene. I employ political theorist AK Thompson's notion of white middle class "ontological politics"—a political approach focused primarily on finding new ways of living or of being in the world—to analyze how punk culture provided new forms of life and politics for white "reproles." The white middle class, Thompson argues, is drawn towards a form of politics that is focused more on changing their experience of being in the world than on seizing the means of production. The punk scene provided a refuge for young dissidents in which to live their anarchist politics.

Anarchist punks practiced a form of white race traitor politics: they sought to actively repudiate their privilege to break up the "white club" that upholds the US racial hierarchy. But the individual, primarily aesthetic approach that many punks took to race treason failed to challenge the system of white supremacy. Love and Rage recognized this failure and were critical of those anarchists who were content to remain within punk subculture. The federation consciously attempted to move beyond white subculture to build revolutionary coalitions with non-punks, particularly people of color.

This article ends by evaluating Love and Rage's anti-racist practice as they worked with Anti-Racist Action to fight fascism and white supremacy. Contemporary US antifa dates to the late 1980s when punks, anarchists, and other young radicals in Anti-Racist Action (ARA) developed a revitalized strategy of militant anti-fascism to combat the growing power of the far right.[4] Although ARA never adopted a formal political line, anarchist ideology and organizational principles predominated within it, and a small number of Love and Rage members played an important role. Centering the contributions of anarchism in our historical analysis reveals how ARA sought to both fight fascists and provide a radical alternative to the far right's war against the state. The article ends by analyzing how Love and Rage helped build ARA as a national network and contributed to organizational and ideological debates within ARA. Love and Rage did not relate to ARA as a "mass organization" that they would lead behind the scenes. They were committed to maintaining ARA's decentralized political character even as they argued for anarchist politics within it. For Love and Rage and Anti-Racist Action, anti-racism and anti-fascism could not simply mean the defense of the liberal democratic state against fascism, but rather necessitated its revolutionary overthrow and the construction of a libertarian socialist society.

## Part One: Anarchism, Race, and Punk

### *Anarchism and Race in US history*

Love and Rage's intervention into anarchist theory and practice is underscored by contextualizing it within the race-evasive history of American anarchism. The heyday of American anarchism around the turn of the twentieth century was dominated by European immigrants who, although racialized by mainstream society, were predominantly "white" by later twentieth-century categories.[5] The number of self-identified Black anarchists was vanishingly small; even the most prominent Black anarchist in US history, Lucy Parsons, denied her own racial ancestry.[6] The reason for Parsons's repudiation of her Blackness was complex, but it took place in the context of what we would today criticize as the colorblindness of classical anarchism. Anarchists rejected all forms of racism on principle, and the anarchist-influenced Industrial Workers of the World was one of the first

unions to organize across racial lines. Most anarchists, however, felt that addressing race directly only served to reify it and divide the working class. This produced a familiar result: in their dedication to universality, anarchists offered little to the problems particular to African Americans. This contributed to the decline of American anarchism and the corresponding rise of competing leftist tendencies that supported revolutionary forms of Black Nationalism, including the Communist Party in the 1930s.[7] Although anarchists contributed to both the post-World War II Civil Rights Movement and the social movements of the 1960s, anarchism as such remained marginal. As Love and Rager Joel Olson later reflected, most white anarchists in the late twentieth century—including prominent figures like Murray Bookchin, Bob Black, and Hakim Bey—inherited the racial blindness of their predecessors.[8]

This account of anarchism's whiteness and its historical decline has become common sense among activists and historians alike. Yet the extent of US anarchism's whiteness is often overstated; indeed, we can trace an alternative trajectory of anarchists of color who theorized and practiced anarchism in the face of white supremacy. In the 1910s, for instance, Mexican and US anarchists worked together in the southern border region to aid and spread the Mexican revolution. Latino anarchists in Los Angeles supported Ricardo Flores Magón's anarchist *Partido Liberal Mexicano* [Mexican Liberal Party] and helped organize a radical multi-racial workers' movement that included the Industrial Workers of the World.[9] In the 1930s, Civil Rights leader Ella Baker helped lead an anarchist-inspired organization of Black cooperatives and taught Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* in her classes on cooperative economics.[10] Recent work on African American history has also emphasized the anarchistic qualities of Black life and revolt, from Saidiya Hartman's *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments* (2019) to William C. Anderson's *The Nation on No Map: Black Anarchism and Abolition* (2021). Insisting on anarchism's whiteness can contribute to the marginalization of anarchists of color. Yet despite this alternative tradition of US anarchism, race as such was not central to anarchist praxis until the late twentieth century.

Anarchist racial politics were transformed with the theorization of Black Anarchism as a distinct tendency in the 1980s. Ex-Black Panthers who were imprisoned for revolutionary activity—most notably Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, Ashanti Alston, and Kuwasi Balagoon—theorized what they variously called Black Anarchism or New Afrikan Anarchism. They upheld the Black Panthers as the leading organization of the 1960s but critiqued the party's authoritarian and patriarchal tendencies. Black anarchists synthesized anarchism with Black Nationalism and advocated national self-determination through non-hierarchical federations of Black communes rather than nation-states.[11] This analysis inspired the birth of a generation of Black and people of color anarchist organizations, including the Federation of Black Community Partisans and Anarchist People of Color. Despite the profound contributions of these revolutionaries, however, they remained little known outside of a small number of activists. Love and Rage contributed to the popularization of Black Anarchism in the 1990s in several ways, including by featuring Black Anarchist writing in the federation's newspaper and organizing a speaking tour for Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin.

Love and Rage rejected the colorblindness of classical American anarchism and drew on other political traditions for their racial politics. Following Black anarchists, they believed that white supremacy and capitalism were intertwined and that revolutionaries therefore needed to fight both at once. Another source of inspiration was the experience of white anti-imperialists of the 1960s and 1970s, particularly the Weather Underground and Sojourner Truth Organization (STO). Drawing on their experience organizing in factories, members of STO argued that white people receive material benefits from their whiteness that discourage them from recognizing common interests with workers of color.[12] This "white skin privilege" must be addressed for white workers to contribute to the revolutionary movement. Noel Ignatiev, a co-founder of STO, went on to join Love and Rage and further theorize white race abolitionist politics in the journal *Race Traitor*. Love and Rage drew on this tradition alongside Black Anarchism to formulate revolutionary anarchist politics that centered the fight against white supremacy.

Love and Rage emerged from a process of national rapprochement in the 1980s that established better coordination within the fragmented anarchist movement. During the 1970s and 1980s, anarchists operated primarily through decentralized groups including networks in the punk scene, Food Not Bombs, anarcha-feminist collectives, food co-ops, and small newspapers. These projects complemented participation in the anti-nuclear, environmental, and Central American solidarity movements.[13] These solidarity movements convinced many anarchists of the need to establish a nation-wide organization rather than participating solely as individuals and small groups. Anarchists held a series of annual conferences that revitalized the movement and led to the formation of Love and Rage. The first gathering met in Chicago in 1986 to mark the 100-year anniversary of the Haymarket Affair. Several hundred young anarchists, mostly white and around two-thirds men, traveled from across North America to attend a weekend of workshops, panel discussions, music, art, and demonstrations.[14] This was followed by convergences in Minneapolis, Toronto, and San Francisco that connected radicals and spread new ideas across the continent.[15]

In these years, a core group of pro-organization anarchists launched a small newsletter that went on to become the *Love and Rage* newspaper, which ran until the organization's demise in 1998. The Love and Rage group used the newspaper to build the structure and capacity for a national organization—and in so doing, convince other anarchists of the utility of sustained organization. The newspaper birthed the Love and Rage Network, which voted in a contentious 1993 conference to constitute itself as a membership-based federation. With strong chapters in New York City, Minneapolis, and Mexico City, as well as smaller chapters and affiliated groups across the continent, Love and Rage became the lodestone of the anarchist movement in the 1990s.

Love and Rage sought to reimagine revolutionary anarchism for the new era. The organization's political statement, printed at the beginning of each newspaper, explains that "we support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid."[16] In this statement,

they decry the authoritarianism and injustice of the state, capitalism, white supremacy, imperialism, and patriarchy. They also express support for the struggles of lesbians, bisexuals, gay people, and youth. Love and Rage was one of the few anarchist organizations to explicitly support national liberation struggles, which many people within the milieu dismissed as hopelessly statist. They also foregrounded feminism, anti-racism, and anti-fascism. In their articulation of these intertwined struggles, Love and Rage formulated an intersectional anarchist communism that helped lay the basis for the revolutionary projects of the twenty-first century.[17]

The federation based its revolutionary strategy on building grassroots dual power. They rejected the eclectic "anything-goes" individualism of much of the anarchist movement and stressed the need to develop a coherent strategy. In a 1998 article on the Mexican Zapatistas, federation co-founder Chris Day laid out a vision for building anarchist dual power in the United States. Although dual power is normally associated with the Leninist tradition of the Russian Revolution—in which workers' soviets established parallel power structures that would become a new socialist state—Day reimagined it through a Zapatista-tinted grassroots anarchism. Building anarchist dual power means establishing non-hierarchical institutions and organizations that combat and eventually supplant the state and capitalism.[18] This approach drew on the Industrial Workers of the World's attempt to "build the new world in the shell of the old": this nascent world would contest the political and cultural dominance of the state without attempting to conquer it.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Love and Rage's political analysis was its focus on the central role of racism and white supremacy in the United States. The *Love and Rage* newspaper printed frequent discussions about race, whiteness, and the Black Freedom Struggle. Although the organization was majority white, many members embraced race traitor politics that sought to undermine white privilege with the goal of abolishing whiteness as a social category. This initially drew the support of some anarchists of color. As Black Anarchist theorist Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin put it in a 1993 letter to *Love and Rage*:

> This is the best revolutionary anarchist publication I have ever seen.…What I especially like is that contrary to most anarchists of the 1970s and 80's, when my revolutionary pamphlets "Anarchism and the Black Revolution" [were] published, your group seems to understand the dynamics of white supremacy and why it must be fought. You can't imagine the kind of "cop-out" racist capitualtionism [*sic*] that…most anarchist groups were guilty of then.[19]

Love and Rage organized a speaking tour for the new edition of Ervin's book *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* in 1993. Yet Ervin soon grew disillusioned with Love and Rage for resisting the changes he thought were necessary to transform it into a multi-racial revolutionary organization. What went wrong? Answering this question requires investigating the interplay of race, class, and punk culture within Love and Rage.

*Making Punk a Threat Again*

Punk helped keep anarchism alive during the counterrevolutionary period of the late 1970s-1990s. The punk scene inculcated rebellion, alternative culture, and radical politics in a generation of disaffected young people. After the early stylistic rebellion of groups like the Sex Pistols, the scene developed in a more explicitly political direction in the 1980s. Bands like Crass, Nausea, and Reagan Youth featured anarchist lyrics, interspersed songs with political speeches, and distributed radical literature at shows. Punk's DIY (do-it-yourself) ethos was in many ways inherently anarchist.[20] Unlike the mainstream music world, underground punk was self-organized and operated without corporate record labels. Bands recorded and distributed their own music, booked their own shows, and slept on living room floors at collective houses. At its best, punk functioned as what anarchist theorist Jesse Cohn calls an "anarchist resistance culture" that "*prefigure[d]* a world of freedom and equality" in the face of "a world from which [anarchists] are *fundamentally alienated*."[21] But despite its liberatory potential, Afro-Punk founder James Spooner stresses that punk in the United States was "very, very white;" exceptions like Bad

Brains and Los Crudos only proved the rule.[22] And of course, not all punk was anarchist; its expression of anger and alienation attracted people of all kinds, including apolitical youth and Nazi skinheads.

Against these apolitical and reactionary currents, anarchists cultivated the radical form and content of the punk world. The Minneapolis-based zine *Profane Existence* played a key role in revitalizing political punk in the late 1980s and 1990s. In a piece called "Anarchy, Punk, and Utopia," the editorial collective explained that "we fully believe the punk ethic of Do-It-Yourself is a revolutionary ethic. If you want a free society, you have to DIY." This meant forming collectives "that are voluntary, nonhierarchical, egalitarian, directly democratic, encourage the full participation of all collective members, and engage in acts of mutual aid with other revolutionary collectives."[23] *Profane Existence* editor Pissed drummer and future Love and Rager Joel Olson encouraged punks to embrace revolutionary politics and build coalitions with oppressed people. Olson's "A New Punk Manifesto," published in *Profane Existence* in 1992, was a seminal document in the development of anarchist punk politics. He opened the manifesto by describing how the growth of punk "out of the waste heap of middle class values" had "allowed us to survive the postindustrial world while at the same time salvaging some semblance of our independence, freedom, creativity, and human integrity."[24] Punks prefigured a future non-commodified world by building radical DIY networks and making individual efforts towards anti-racism, anti-sexism, and animal liberation.

But Olson argued that building a thriving punk subculture is not enough. Punks should not be content eking out an existence on the margins of a society that they hate. Instead, punk needed to enter a "new phase" and move from "shocking society" to changing it. This necessitated building coalitions outside the punk scene and "organizing with other revolutionary elements in our society."[25] Punks should embed themselves in local communities and organize with people outside of their own subculture, particularly the most oppressed people. But punks need not abandon their identity, for "we're punks and we will change the world as punks…even though we're white and largely middle class and male."[26] When Olson joined Love and

Rage around 1993, he brought his revolutionary vision of punk to the federation, but with a reinvigorated political focus. As his future comrade George Ciccariello-Maher put it:

> while insisting in his 1992 "Manifesto" that, "We're punks and we will change the world as punks," Olson's political center of gravity would soon shift from the punk scene toward anarchist movements. As though following his own imperative from the "New Punk Manifesto," Olson and a few others left *Profane Existence*, moving beyond the limits of the punk milieu to form the Agitator Index collective and publish *The Blast!*, an explicitly anarchist political magazine named after Alexander Berkman's newspaper. When the Agitator Index Collective integrated into Love and Rage…Olson once again played a significant role in writing, imagining, and arguing about the future of the organization.[27]

Olson's trajectory was emblematic of the broader development of Love and Rage, which turned away from punk subculture towards what they saw as more serious revolutionary politics. Olson also played a critical role in popularizing race traitor politics within Love and Rage. To understand how this took place, we turn to Love and Rage's "reprole thesis" which attempted to explain their social and political base.

*The Ontological Politics of Reproletarianized White Punks*

Love and Rage was shaped by its social base of reproletarianized white punks. In a 1994 position paper called "Love and Rage in the New World Order," co-founder and leading theorist Chris Day argued that while most members were the children of the middle class, this did not necessarily reflect their economic reality. According to Day, they were undergoing a process of "reproletarianization" driven by changes in the global capitalist system.[28] Proletarianization is a Marxist concept used to describe the birth of the modern working class through primitive accumulation: separating peasants from

land to turn them into wage laborers.[29] Day adapted this concept to explain the effects of post-Fordist economic restructuring. Although white people in the United States had made a deal with capital to become middle class in exchange for labor docility and anti-Blackness, this compact broke down in the late twentieth century as neoliberalism produced a generation of downwardly mobile youth. Reproles were what we today might call the precariat: a class defined by its inability to find steady, good paying jobs. They were predominantly white because of the particular historical interplay in the United States between race and class. Because of their reproletarianization, many young white people came to anarchism through the punk scene rather than the labor movement.

As AK Thompson argues about a similar milieu within the anti-globalization movement, this race and class constellation produced a form of ontological politics that sought a new way of being in the world rather than solely changing the mode of production. This entailed a total rejection of the mainstream world and a commitment to radically reshaping everyday life. Unlike many people of color, these white rebels felt that they had no alternative cultural tradition to draw upon—indeed, their families were the beneficiaries of white supremacy. But the material benefits of white skin did not necessarily lead to happiness. Their middle-class white experience was alienating in a particular way that produced a fear of not being truly "in" the world. As Thompson puts it, these anxieties yielded the "nervous injunctions regularly issued by the army of white middle class dissidents striving to *really* live."[30] This type of politics was expressed as "dissidence," which Thompson explains is a form of "cultivated distance," a "state of being set apart from others by a sense that something feels wrong."[31] Young dissidents found a natural home in the punk scene.

Punk offered an intertwined radical lifestyle and politics that appealed to the everyday political orientation of white reproles. Subcultural identity was a way to live one's politics as a total break from the prevailing order. It is no coincidence that anarchist punks drew heavily on the Situationists, who advocated a "revolution of everyday life": punks sought to *live* anarchism. But Thompson cautions that politics based on the ontological void of white middle-class existence do not

have universal appeal—certainly not to an oppressed and exploited multi-racial working class. This problem lies at the core of the contradictions of whiteness and revolutionary politics for the white middle class. Love and Rage recognized the danger in remaining trapped within the dissident ontological politics of white punk subculture. The newspaper's editorial committee recognized that "our biggest obstacle is that Love and Rage is still culturally very white.…Smashing this culture of whiteness is a major task in becoming the kind of truly inclusive organization we are committed to building."[32] They attempted to break out of this white subcultural bind by becoming "traitors" to the system of white supremacy and organizing in coalition with people of color to build a revolutionary movement.

*Race Traitors and the Abolition of Whiteness*

> "Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity."
> — *Race Traitor* slogan.

Although not all members of Love and Rage completely agreed with the preceding analysis, Love and Rage attempted to practice a form of race traitor politics meant to undermine white supremacy. To understand this phenomenon, we turn to co-founder of the *Race Traitor* journal Noel Ignatiev, who was a key proponent of race traitor politics during his short time as a member of Love and Rage. Ignatiev, a veteran of the Communist Party and the Sojourner Truth Organization, called for the abolition of the white race as a social category to enable multi-racial working-class rebellion. The abolition of whiteness, he maintained, would begin with the dissident acts of race traitors. Race traitor acts were meant to materially break away from the "white club" and force people and institutions to treat the race traitor differently than they would a "normal" white person. For Ignatiev, this could mean everything from talking back to cops to listening to hip-hop to standing up to a racist boss. Ignatiev believed that if enough white people collectively engaged in these "traitorous" acts, even if only a small minority, it would destabilize the dominant position of whiteness. Police and other institutions that uphold the racial hierarchy would not know how to treat someone with white skin and thus the privileged "white club" would fall apart.[33] Under-

mining white supremacy would force white workers to recognize their shared class interests with workers of color. This was supported by Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, who called for white people to "abolish the white identity entirely" through both "class suicide and race treachery."[34] This approach was influential in Love and Rage; Ignatiev himself was briefly a member of the federation, and Joel Olson and Chris Day both contributed to the *Race Traitor* journal.

White anarchist punks practiced a form of race traitor politics that exemplified both the merits and shortcomings of this political approach. Punks attempted to force the major institutions of white society to treat them as antagonists. The punk writer and academic Maxwell Tremblay explains that "the more one identified as 'punk,' the more one was expected, as part of a larger political project, to reject one's inherited whiteness…through *treason*."[35] In a 2000 article in the radical *Clamor Magazine*, anarchist punk Amanda Luker argued that punks choose to "dress in a way that tells the White businessman they pass downtown that they are not cut from the same cloth, and would never choose to be," which prevents the "inherent privilege of bonding…as a 'normal' White person."[36] Acting in this way was thought to mean actively working against the privilege of one's white skin. As Luker said, "many of us understand deeply what it means to give up privileges by choosing to look the way we do, and we're doing it for that exact reason."[37]

Yet this begs the question: do white punks really give up their privilege by dressing and acting in an oppositional manner? Even if punks are sometimes treated differently than "normal" white people, they can always return to the fold of the white club—unlike, for instance, members of other oppositional (sub)cultures like Black hip-hop. Here we begin to see the problem of an individual approach to race traitor politics.

There is danger in a performative rejection of whiteness that nonetheless maintains white privilege. All too often, white people championed any ostensible race traitor act without recognizing its real impacts. As Tremblay points out, rejecting whiteness "didn't change the still-sizable degree of privilege Whites derived in mainstream and

punk culture as a result of their skin color, language, and so forth."[38] In some ways, performative rejection and learning to mouth the correct phrases actually helped to maintain what the zinester Mimi Nguyen termed the "whitestraightboy hegemony [that] organizes punk."[39] We must insist on a difference between aesthetic rebellion and collective action. Love and Ragers recognized this distinction and sought to move beyond individual, aesthetic punk politics into revolutionary movement building. The following section explores how Love and Rage put these politics into practice in the anti-fascist movement. Collective organizing and action were ultimately more treasonous to white supremacy than individual aesthetic rebellion.

**Part Two: Anti-Fascism: Smashing Whiteness in Practice**
*Fascists Declare War*

During the 1980s, leading elements of the fascist and white power movements declared revolutionary war on the US government. While Reagan led a conservative counterrevolution that won state power for the New Right, the fascist far right embraced anti-systemic armed struggle. Instead of using violence to uphold the status quo's racial order (as the KKK had traditionally done), neo-Nazis and Klansmen united to fight for a "white revolution" against what they deemed the "Zionist Occupied Government" (ZOG).[40] As anti-fascist historian Matthew Lyons puts it, fascists in this era became "system-disloyal" rather than "system-loyal."[41] Many were inspired by the vision of revolutionary struggle laid out by the leader of the National Alliance, William Luther Pierce, in his novel *The Turner Diaries* (1978). In the novel, which quickly became an underground classic, a Neo-Nazi organization called The Order formed the vanguard of the white race and engaged in terrorist activity to overthrow the state (and the "Jewish" bourgeoisie) and forge a new white nation—having murdered all non-whites at home and worldwide. The novel inspired a real-life group called The Order which engaged in violent activity including armed robberies and the murder of the liberal Jewish talk show host Alan Berg in 1984.

Fascists offered a radical program to white people who felt betrayed by the government's grudging acceptance of Black civil rights and its defeat by communists in Vietnam. They followed the general form of Robert Paxton's classic definition of fascism, but with more focus on small group terrorism rather than mass activity. Paxton argues that:

> Fascism may be defined as a form of political behavior marked by obsessive preoccupation with community decline, humiliation, or victimhood and by compensatory cults of unity, energy, and purity, in which a mass-based party of committed nationalist militants, working in uneasy but effective collaboration with traditional elites, abandons democratic liberties and pursues with redemptive violence and without ethical or legal restraints goals of internal cleansing and external expansion.[42]

Economic disruption combined with the racial challenge of decolonization and attendant mass immigration created an explosive situation. The state was seen as either powerless to change any of this or indeed was guilty of facilitating it. Rather than blaming capitalism, fascists denounced the "Jewish" bourgeoisie that they believed controlled the government (a "Zionist Occupied Government," even under President Reagan) and were attempting to destroy the white race. Given this, a growing number of fascists and white power activists saw no future in the current order. They began propagating the Fourteen Words, a slogan coined in 1984 by David Lane (himself a founder of The Order): "we must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children." For this new generation of fascists, the only way to secure this white future was through revolutionary violence to purify society.

Importantly for this piece, many disaffected young white people turned towards punk subculture. Many punks gravitated towards anarchist or other leftist politics, but a significant minority turned to fascism and white power—particularly a subset of Neo-Nazi skinheads. Some Neo-Nazis and Klansmen of an older generation, most notably Tom Metzger of the White Aryan Resistance (WAR), at-

tempted to harness this force, recruiting followers through punk, and encouraging them towards violence. They organized with the KKK, Aryan Nations, and other white supremacists and fascists to build a "white revolution." But a new generation of anti-fascists rose up to meet them—often with masked faces and baseball bats in hand.

*Anarchism and Anti-Racist Action*

Love and Rage practiced race treason primarily through militant anti-fascism. Anarchists identified the growing threat that fascists posed during the 1980s and 1990s and felt a special duty to combat it. They fought the rise of racist skinheads and other fascist groups by drawing on a tradition of militant anti-fascism that advocates deplatforming and neutralizing far right activity.[43] Anti-Racist Action, which unlike Love and Rage was distinctly multi-racial from the beginning, was the premier anti-fascist organization in the late twentieth century United States. It grew out of a youth anti-racist skinhead crew in Minneapolis called the Baldies, which founded ARA in 1987 to expand its organizational capacity. ARA grew quickly across the country and its members became known for their willingness to physically engage fascists in punk spaces, on the streets, and beyond.[44] Although they were best known for physical confrontation, they also conducted extensive campaigns to publicly expose fascists.

Anti-Racist Action was guided by four primary points of unity that distinguished the organization from other anti-fascist currents.[45] First, "we go where they go": anywhere fascists attempted to organize, ARA would confront and disrupt them. Second, "we don't rely on the cops or the courts to do our work for us": they used direct action and self-organization to confront fascists, rather than hoping for intervention from the police or the state. Third, they upheld "non-sectarian defense of other anti-fascists": they were united in tactical opposition to fascism and white supremacy, rather than divided by rigid ideological lines. Fourth, "we support abortion rights and reproductive freedom." Women pushed ARA to recognize the fascist nature of the far-right anti-abortion movement and dedicate their energy to confronting it.[46]

ARA was formed in the anarchist political milieu. In Minneapolis, Back Room Anarchist Books and the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League (two nuclei for what became Love and Rage) helped shape the politics of the Baldies and ARA by providing space for meetings, radical literature, and effective organizing models. Infoshops and anarchist bookstores like Back Room were major distributors of underground information in the pre-internet days. The collective that ran the store was plugged into national and international radical networks. It was through the Back Room that the Baldies encountered anarchist publication from Britain, including accounts of how anti-racist skinheads were organizing with other anti-fascists to fight the far-right National Front. In addition to its range of cheap anarchist books and zines, the bookstore hosted meetings and social events, including a "Sacco and Vanzetti Spaghetti Dinner."[47] It also provided models for effective forms of organization. Rather than just drinking beer and fighting Nazis, the young activists gained experience with what it meant to organize, including basic things like facilitating effective meetings.[48] The Baldies and ARA used the infrastructure provided by Back Room to develop their politics and connect with international networks of anti-fascist and anti-racist punks.

Leading members, including Kieran Frazier, helped build Love and Rage and Anti-Racist Action together. Love and Rage helped keep people in different cities connected and built infrastructure including communications structures and local chapters for both organizations. Membership in a national organization lent direction and significance to local actions, from fighting Nazi punks in Portland, Oregon to confronting the KKK in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Even a very small number of people from an organized group like Love and Rage can have a major impact on the growth of a mass organization like ARA. Back Room Anarchist Books, the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League, and Love and Rage helped cultivate the politics, strategy, and organizational structure of Anti-Racist Action from the very beginning.

Love and Rage played an important role in developing the street tactics and other actions of Anti-Racist Action. Love and Rage helped introduce black bloc tactics to the US, which ARA embraced


**Figure 1** Love and Rage Banner at an anti-fascist demonstration, Chattanooga, Tennessee, 1993.

to maintain anonymity and conduct more daring actions. Love and Rage collaborated with ARA on militant actions including a major 1993 anti-Klan demonstration in Chattanooga, Tennessee (**Fig. 1**)[49]. A local KKK chapter planned a protest of a Gay Pride Parade. Love and Rage helped organize a large counterdemonstration with a range of groups and localities represented. They vowed to run the Klan out of town, by force if necessary. After years of militant action, this promise was backed up by experience. The KKK ended up canceling their own rally to avoid an embarrassing rout.[50]

Many anti-fascists argued that the Christian Right was a constitutive element of contemporary fascism. In the 1980s-1990s, the overwhelmingly white Christian Right waged war on abortion. Anti-abortion activists in Operation Rescue took to the streets to shut down clinics, advancing the slogan "if you believe abortion is murder, act like it's murder." Anarchist anti-fascists mobilized within broad feminist coalitions to protect abortion clinics and defeat the Christian Right in the streets. A major victory came in 1993, when Operation Rescue tried to host a training camp in Minneapolis. Love and Rage helped build an alliance called the Action Coalition for Reproductive Freedom to mobilize against them. Anarchists physically confronted Operation Rescue, blocked them in their church, vandalized their materials, and ran them out of town. An activist named Liza reflect-

ed in *Love and Rage* that "it seems like no matter how hard activists fight, we rarely win. Except this time, we were victorious. We fought against these fascists.…We saw the demise of Operation Rescue in the Twin Cities, partly due to our unprecedented aggressiveness and opposition."[51]

Love and Rage helped cultivate the anarchistic politics and organizational structure of ARA without attempting to take it over. Unlike Marxist-Leninist parties, which often participate in mass organizations with the intention of exercising influence and taking control—whether openly or covertly—Love and Rage members participated in ARA as equals as they helped build the network and organize actions. Love and Rage opposed trying to control ARA, in part because as anarchists they were critical of vanguard parties that they observed trying to take over grassroots movements and mass organizations. For instance, when the ARA network was first forming, a small Trotskyist group tried to create an elected national committee as a formal decision-making body. Many people in ARA denounced this as a power grab and accused the party of wanting power at the leadership level without engaging at the grassroots. More broadly, a leading member of ARA reflected that "we thought that it would stifle what was happening with ARA, which was this sort of organic youth movement against fascism that was growing around the country, if it had this sort of centralized leadership that was outside of the local groups."[52]

Yet despite its lack of formal anarchist politics, Kieran Frazier argued that "ARA had a real anarchist ethos" which stretched beyond Love and Rage. As he describes it:

> Love and Rage was just the most organized component of that. But many people, most, maybe even most of the militants within ARA, sort of the committed people who built groups and went to actions, considered themselves anarchists. And most of them weren't in Love and Rage, even if some of the most important people were, and some of the most important chapters were.[53]

This exemplifies the role that Love and Rage played as a pole of anarchist attraction within social movements. Only a small minority of US anarchists were ever part of Love and Rage, but it played an outsized role in ARA and other grassroots movements because of its strong organization and national newspaper. They helped contribute to the development of ARA's revolutionary anti-fascist analysis. Love and Ragers threw themselves into building ARA and fighting fascists in the streets, but they never collaborated with the state to repress fascists. Rather, they argued that anarchists must present a radical alternative to both fascism and the capitalist system. White supremacy, capitalism, patriarchy, and the state were all entangled and must be fought together. In the end, Love and Rage insisted, only an autonomous revolutionary movement could defeat both fascism and capitalism.

Although not all anti-fascists saw their activity as an expression of race traitor politics, anti-fascism was arguably the most effective form of race treason in this era. Some race traitors, including Noel Ignatiev, argued that focusing on the small fascist movement distracted from society's broader neoliberal transformation. He insisted that the real enemies were capitalism and the institutions that maintained white supremacy like the police and schools.[54] But most anarchists disagreed with the strategic implications of this assessment. Neo-Nazis and other fascists, including the Christian Right, were a growing existential threat in the punk scene and beyond. They also competed directly with anarchists for influence over disaffected young white people. The impact of anti-fascist political work stretched far beyond the punk world and materially hindered the organizing capacity of Neo-Nazis and white supremacists. Anti-fascism is one of the most important radical legacies of this period, and Love and Rage played a key role in confronting the fascist menace.

*Understanding Fascism and Anti-Fascism: The Three-Way Fight*

In the early 2000s, anti-fascists revised their analysis of fascism based on their experience confronting fascism's resurgence in the 1980s-1990s. Anarchists and unorthodox Marxists in Anti-Racist Action developed an analysis of fascism and anti-fascism that be-

came known as the "three-way fight." They framed it in opposition to the predominant Stalinist and Trotskyist theories of fascism. The old Stalinist/Comintern analysis from the 1920s-1930s argued that fascism was a reactionary capitalist strategy to preserve its power in the face of revolutionary challenges. Any mass support for it came largely from false consciousness rather than from some intrinsic working-class orientation towards fascism. This tendency concentrated on opposing capitalism while essentially ignoring fascism and downplaying its specific threat, at one point even operating in Germany under the slogan of "first Hitler then us."[55] Yet when the communist revolution failed to materialize, Stalinists reversed course and endorsed a broad popular front against fascism in the mid-1930s. Trotskyists disagreed with this analysis and its attendant political line. In "Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It" (1944), Trotsky argued that the class base of fascism was not the capitalist class but rather the petty bourgeoisie, who had no real ideology of their own. If there was a strong working-class movement, the middle class would be pulled towards its leadership. In the absence of a fighting proletarian movement, the middle class would swing towards reaction and common cause with the most retrograde wing of capital.[56] In this analysis, written with the historical knowledge of fascism's rise in Italy and Germany, fascism was a very real threat with a middle-class social base that could not simply be reduced to a capitalist plot. The solution was to build the proletarian movement—including by arming anti-fascist workers' committees to fight fascist street gangs—and build a united front of left-wing and proletarian parties.

The difference between Trotskyist and Stalinist analyses of fascism and anti-fascism helps explain the larger presence of Trotskyists than other Marxist-Leninists in ARA (although the number of Marxists was always relatively small). Yet whatever their strengths, neither of these frameworks acknowledged the central role of anti-Semitism or of race more broadly in constituting fascist politics. In the United States, there was no way to understand fascism without rooting it firmly in white supremacy—especially anti-Blackness, but also anti-Semitism and anti-immigrant sentiment. This is why the activists who formed ARA decided to call themselves Anti-Racist Action rather than Anti-Fascist Action like their European counterparts: they

felt that the former would be more salient to the US situation. But the revision of the traditional Marxist analyses of fascism went beyond race, and beyond the differences between European and US fascism.

The most important theoretical innovation to come out of the ARA milieu was the framing of a "three-way fight" between the left, capitalism and the state, and the fascist right. This analysis insists that fascism cannot be reduced to capitalist reaction but must be understood as its own autonomous radical tradition—including a very real thread of anti-capitalism that goes beyond vulgar anti-Semitism. This analysis came from a confluence of anarchists and unorthodox Marxists. The latter included people like Don Hamerquist, who had been involved in the Sojourner Truth Organization, and J. Sakai, best known for writing *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* (1983). Their meeting point and common point of reference, however, was ARA.

Three-way fight politics were explicitly articulated in a collection called *Confronting Fascism: Discussion Documents for a Militant Movement* (2002). The collection is centered around an essay by Don Hamerquist called "Fascism & Antifascism." Hamerquist argued that, rather than coming "from above" or supported by the capitalist class as a whole, "the emerging fascist movement for which we must prepare, will be rooted in populist nationalist anti-capitalism and will have an intransigent hostility to various state and supra-state institutions."[57] This meant that "the essence of anti-fascist organizing must be the development of a left bloc that can successfully compete with such fascists, presenting a revolutionary option that confronts both fascism and capitalism in the realm of ideas and on the street."[58] The danger was that, as in the earlier popular front period, much of the left may throw its support behind "liberal democratic" anti-fascism—i.e., the present capitalist order—and thus cease to present an alternative from the left. If this were the case, the only "radical" alternative to capitalist democracy would come from the fascist, racist right.

Militant anti-fascists have continued to develop this analysis over the past two decades. The Three-Way Fight blog (which includes former members of ARA) explains why they oppose both liberal anti-fascism and traditional Marxist anti-fascism: "Unlike liberal anti-fascists," they maintain, "we believe that 'defending democracy' is an illusion, as long as that 'democracy' is based on a socio-economic order that exploits and oppresses human beings."[59] Therefore, anti-fascists must also be anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. But what really distinguishes three-way fight analysis from other anti-fascist currents is that they recognize the relative autonomy and anti-systemic political character of the fascist movement:

> unlike many on the revolutionary left, we believe that fascists and other far rightists aren't simply tools of the ruling class. They can also form an autonomous political force that clashes with the established order in real ways, or even seeks to overthrow global capitalism and replace it with a radically different oppressive system. We believe the greatest threat from fascism in this period is its ability to exploit popular grievances and its potential to rally mass support away from any liberatory anti-capitalist vision. Leftists need to confront both the established capitalist order and an insurgent or even revolutionary right, while recognizing that these opponents are also in conflict with each other. The phrase "three-way fight" is short hand for this idea.[60]

Even before the formalization of the three-way fight analysis, Anti-Racist Action sought to both defeat fascists in the streets and offer a revolutionary alternative to capitalism and the state—an alternative that could help break the hold of white supremacy over the United States.

## Part Three: Evaluating Love and Rage's Anti-Racist Practice

One of Love and Rage's great contributions to American anarchism was to center race and white supremacy within its analysis and revolutionary strategy. As always, however, anti-racist commitments were easier to maintain in theory than in practice. While Love and Rage attempted to work in anti-racist coalitions beyond the white punk subculture, including quite successfully in Anti-Racist Action, the federation ultimately failed at its mission to either destabilize the overall system of white supremacy or become a truly multi-racial revolutionary organization. What went wrong?

One of the most critical answers comes from one-time supporter Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, who grew tired of what he called the "total nonsense" of Love and Rage's racial approach. The federation, he maintained, was just another white anarchist organization within what he later began calling the "progressive plantation." Ervin criticized "the idea of white people creating and leading anti-racist movements of other whites."[61] Ervin had argued in his "Proposal For a New Love and Rage Initiative on Race and Color" that the federation should actively recruit people of color and work "towards the creation of a [POC] tendency within its own ranks," because a "lack of diversity in its ranks dictates how serious Love and Rage is as a revolutionary movement."[62] Turning Love and Rage into a truly multi-racial organization would require significant changes, including reworking internal structures and shifting its regional focus to the south. While some members supported these changes, discussions grew mired in ongoing debates around whiteness and anti-racist strategy. Ervin abandoned Love and Rage, disappointed in yet another white anarchist group that "may talk a good game about 'class unity' and 'racial justice,'" but still "ensure that everything is under white control and either discourage people of color from joining, or allow only the token voice of the stray person of color within these groups to be heard and then very softly. They do not want to be challenged or deal forthrightly with matters of race and class."[63] Coming from a prominent Black anarchist, this is a damning critique of the federation's racial politics.

Yet Ervin was perhaps overly critical of Love and Rage, which continued to develop its anti-racist practice after his departure. Love and Rage tried to break out of white punk subculture to organize broad-based coalitions, including with Anti-Racist Action. Some Love and Rage members also dispute Ervin's narrative of his experience with Love and Rage. In Chris Day's response to Ervin's resignation letter, he argued that the people of color caucus that Ervin called for was in fact a caucus of one: Ervin himself, who wanted significant control over an organization that he had only recently joined. Day clarified that he "support[s] unconditionally the creation of a people of color caucus in Love and Rage" but that Ervin's proposal was not viable. He also argued that "for an organization whose US membership is almost all white to embark on a 'recruiting drive' in Black communities, however modest, is in my opinion colonialist." Instead, he contended, Love and Rage should adopt "a policy of developing real working relationships with Black and other activists of color based on support for the struggles coming out of those communities."[64] Love and Rage pursued this policy with renewed vigor after the conflict with Ervin. The organization remained overwhelmingly white besides its chapter in Mexico, but it helped build strong multi-racial coalitions.

Love and Rage's commitment to revolutionary anti-racism defined a new era of anarchist politics. Today, American anarchists widely accept the intertwined nature of capitalism and white supremacy. This change comes from many factors but Love and Rage's political intervention—particularly among white anarchists—should not be overlooked. Nevertheless, the federation was not always able to put its theoretical commitments into practice. The dynamics of Love and Rage's struggle with anti-racism seem familiar today, as white anarchists navigate coalition building in the era of Black Lives Matter. What lessons can we learn from this history?

First, the federation was correct to reject colorblindness and argue that white supremacy is fundamental to American society. The historical anarchist movement's colorblindness was a fatal flaw that contributed to its eclipse by communist organizations during the twentieth century. Directly confronting the problem of whiteness

and identifying concrete solutions will be necessary for any revolutionary project in the United States. Despite its false starts and ultimate failure, Love and Rage attempted to formulate a strategy for white people to undercut white supremacy by building multi-racial coalitions. Second, race treason depends more on collective political action than individual (sub)cultural aesthetics. Although race traitor politics need not be abandoned, they must be critically examined and reworked so that their radical potential may be realized. While punk gives a home to dissident white youths who reject the mainstream white world, its stylistic rebellion does not impact the racial order in any significant way. Aesthetic rejection of white norms does not materially undermine whiteness or substantively reduce one's white skin privilege. Rather, what is needed is concrete political mobilization and collective struggle against white supremacy. Treason must be part of a larger revolutionary project to build dual power from the grassroots. This is in fact closer to Noel Ignatiev's own understanding of the race traitor position, which always sought to unite white workers with workers of color in collective revolutionary politics. Race treason as personal choice should be rejected in favor of a collective, revolutionary orientation against white supremacy, capitalism, and fascism.

Collective race treason necessitates fighting fascists, but also struggling against the broader institutions and structures of white supremacy. The institutions that maintain white supremacy are many and include the police, prisons, schools, housing policy, and the workplace. We must challenge the reproduction of whiteness in these institutions and simultaneously struggle to build our own dual power structures that serve as alternatives and undermine mainstream institutions. What kind of counter-institutions might play this role? Black anarchists point to the example of the Black Panthers, both in their approach to police and their "serve the people" survival programs. They challenged police violence through armed cop-watch patrols and community defense programs. Their free breakfast, alternative schools, and health clinics provided "survival pending revolution" outside of the market economy. Anarchists today can learn from how these programs built power and undermined white capitalist institutions.

Finally, anarchists must resolve the contradictions of subculture and mass politics. This need not require abandoning punk, but it does mean working outside the boundaries of subculture. There is no need to adopt a clean-cut look based on a fetishized conception of the working class, but punks must collaborate and build coalitions with others. "Race isn't just a punk issue," Duncombe and Tremblay emphasize, "and its resolution cannot take place in only a subcultural scene."[65] Remaining within marginal spaces of dissent inherently limits the anarchist vision. Punks can and must work with others to build revolutionary counterculture and anarchist dual power. Some of Love and Rage's most effective political organizing was within the broader context of Anti-Racist Action, which was rooted in punk subculture but stretched beyond it to build a fighting mass movement against fascism, capitalism, patriarchy, and the state.

**Notes**

1 This essay is based on my chapter "Smashing Whiteness: Race, Class, and Punk Culture in the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (1989-98)" in *DIY Or Die!: Do-It-Yourself, Do-It-Together, and Punk Anarchism*, eds. Jim Donaghey, Will Boisseau, and Caroline Kaltefleiter, 2024.

2 Love and Rage, "Editorial: Building a Multi-Racial/Multi-National Revolutionary Anarchist Organization," *Love and Rage* 8, no. 3 (1997), 3.

3 For a fuller history of Love and Rage, see Spencer Beswick, "Love and Rage: Revolutionary Anarchism in the Late Twentieth Century," PhD diss., (Cornell University, 2023).

4 For recent histories of ARA and militant anti-fascism, see Mark Bray, *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook* (2017), Shannon Clay, Lady, Kristin Schartz, and Michael Staudenmaier, *We Go Where They Go: The Story of Anti-Racist Action* (2023) and *It Did Happen Here: An Antifascist People's History,* eds. Moe Bowstern et al (2023).

5 See Kenyon Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State: Yiddish and Italian Anarchism in America* (2015).

6 Jacqueline Jones, *Goddess of Anarchy: The Life and Times of Lucy Parson, American Radical* (2017).

7 See Andrew Cornell, *Unruly Equality: U.S. Anarchism in the Twentieth Century* (2016).

8 Joel Olson, "Between Infoshops and Insurrection: U.S. Anarchism, Movement Building, and the Racial Order" (2009).

9 David M. Struthers, *The World in a City: Multiethnic Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (2019).

10 Irvin J. Hunt, "Planned Failure: George Schuyler, Ella Baker, and the Young Negroes' Cooperative League." *American Quarterly* 72, no 4 (2020), 853-879.

11 Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* (1993). The Anarchist Library version. Ashanti Alston, "Beyond Nationalism, But Not Without It." *Anarchist Panther* 1, no. 1 (1999).

12 See Michael Staudenmaier, *Truth and Revolution: A History of the Sojourner Truth Organization, 1969-1986* (2012).

13 See Spencer Beswick, "From the Ashes of the Old: Anarchism Reborn in a Counterrevolutionary Age (1970s-1990s), *Anarchist Studies* 30, no. 2 (2023).

14 See the 1987 zine *Mob Action Against the State: Haymarket Remembered… An Anarchist Convention*, which collected many accounts of the Chicago gathering. Accessed at Sprout Distro https://www.sproutdistro.com/catalog/zines/history/mob-action-against-the-state/.

15 For a more detailed account of these convergences, see chapter one in

Beswick, "Love and Rage," (2023).
16 "Love and Rage Political Statement," *Love and Rage* 2, no. 4 (1991), 12.
17 For more on Love and Rage's intersectional feminist anarchism, see Spencer Beswick, "'We're Pro-Choice and We Riot!': Anarcha-Feminism in Love and Rage (1989-98)," *Coils of the Serpent* no. 11 (2023), 148-171.
18 Christopher Day, "Love and Rage in the New World Order," in *A New World in our Hearts: Eight Years of Writings from the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation*, ed. Roy San Filippo (Oakland: AK Press, 2003): 17-31.
19 Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, "Letter," *Love and Rage* 4, no. 4 (1993), 12.
20 See CrimethInc., "Music as a Weapon: The Contentious Symbiosis of Punk Rock and Anarchism," (2009). For a recent collection of writing on anarchism and punk, see *Smash the System!: Punk Anarchism as a Culture of Resistance*, eds. Jim Donaghey, Will Boisseau, and Caroline Kaltefleiter (2022).
21 Jesse Cohn, *Underground Passages*, 15-17 (emphasis in original).
22 James Spooner, "Foreword," in *White Riot: Punk Rock and the Politics of Race*, eds. Stephen Duncombe and Maxwell Tremblay: xv.
23 Profane Existence Collective, "Anarchy, Punk, and Utopia," 3.
24 Joel Olson, "A New Punk Manifesto," 6.
25 Ibid., 6.
26 Ibid., 6.
27 George Ciccariello-Maher, "Introduction: Self-Portrait of an American Zealot," *Theory and Event* 17, no. 2 (2014) [online only].
28 Chris Day, "Love and Rage in the New World Order," in *A New World in our Hearts*, ed. Roy San Filippo, (2003 [1994]), 55-64.
29 See Marx's discussion of the "so-called primitive accumulation" in chapter 26 of *Capital Vol 1*.
30 AK Thompson, *Black Bloc, White Riot: Antiglobalization and the Genealogy of Dissent* (2010), 18 (emphasis in original).
31 Ibid., 3.
32 Love and Rage, "Editorial: Building a Multi-Racial/Multi-National Revolutionary Anarchist Organization," *Love and Rage* 8, no. 3 (1997), 3.
33 Noel Ignatiev, "To Advance the Class Struggle, Abolish the White Race," *Love and Rage* 5, no. 4 (1994), 12; see also *Race Traitor*, eds. Noel Ignatiev and John Garvey (New York: Routledge, 1996).
34 Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* (1993). The Anarchist Library version.
35 Stephen Duncombe and Maxwell Tremblay, "White Riot?," in *White Riot: Punk Rock and the Politics of Race* (2011), 9-10 (emphasis in original).
36 Amanda Luker, "Not Just Posing for the Postcard: A Discussion of

Punk and the New Abolition," *Clamor Magazine* 2 (April/May 2000), 39.
37 Ibid., 41.
38 Maxwell Tremblay, "White Riot?," *White Riot*, 11.
39 Mimi Nguyen, "It's (Not) a White World: Looking for Race in Punk," *Punk Planet*, 28 (1998), 80-83.
40 See Kathleen Belew's account of this in *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America.* (2018).
41 Matthew Lyons, *Insurgent Supremacists: The U.S. Far Right's Challenge to State and Empire* (2018).
42 Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (2004), 218.
43 Mark Bray, *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook* (2017).
44 Anti-Racist Action has been the subject of multiple excellent recent books, including Shannon Clay, Lady, Kristin Schartz, and Michael Staudenmaier, *We Go Where They Go: The Story of Anti-Racist Action* (2023) and *It Did Happen Here: An Antifascist People's History*, eds. Moe Bowstern et al. (2023).
45 "Anti-Racist Action Network Four Points of Unity." *Turning the Tide* 24, no. 3 (Jul-Sep 2011), 4.
46 Ibid., 4.
47 Flyer from Christopher Gunderson's personal collection.
48 Kieran Frazier, interview with author, March 12, 2022.
49 John Johnson, "Anti-Fascists Converge on Chattanooga," *Love and Rage* 4, no. 5 (1993), 22.
50 See John Johnson, "Anti-Fascists Converge on Chattanooga."
51 Liza, "Minnesota Not Nice to Operation Rescue," *Love and Rage* 4, no. 4 (1993), 19.
52 Kieran Frazier, interview with author, March 12, 2022.
53 Ibid.
54 Noel Ignatiev, "To Advance the Class Struggle, Abolish the White Race," *Love and Rage* 5, no. 4 (1994), 12.
55 See Don Hamerquist's summary of this history in "Fascism & Anti-Fascism" in *Confronting Fascism: Discussion Documents for a Militant Movement*, 29-36. This summary glosses over some of the twists and turns of the Comintern's strategy, including the infamous 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.
56 Leon Trotsky, "Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It" (1944).
57 Don Hamerquist, "Fascism & Anti-Fascism," 44.
58 Ibid., 44.
59 "About Three Way Fight" (2013).
60 Ibid. For an excellent book-length examination of the history of fascism in the postwar period from one of the leading Three-Way Fight analysts, see

Matthew Lyons, *Insurgent Supremacists* (2018).

61 Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, "The Progressive Plantation: Racism Inside White Radical Social Change Groups" (2011). The Anarchist Library version.

62 Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, "Proposal for a New Love and Rage Initiative on Race and Color," *Disco Bull: The Discussion Bulletin of Love and Rage* (1994), 3-6.

63 Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, "The Progressive Plantation."

64 Chris Day, untitled letter to "Friends and Comrades." (1994). Copy in possession of Christopher Gunderson.

65 Stephen Duncombe and Maxwell Tremblay, *White Riot*, 14.