

# White Feminism

White women are not, nor have ever been, innocent.

Today, 50% of new recruits into the white nationalist movement are white women. One can assume they are “going against their own interests,” when in reality they are expanding their power. White nationalist sexism in anti-racist and anti-fascist organizations. For women are mobilizing power and challenging the

example, when Christian Identity women’s groups use knitting circles to recruit and normalize white nationalist ideology, many dismiss or minimize these organizing strategies. They discount the networking, infrastructure building, and intergenerational

practices. These women are critical, effective and movement development woven into daily cultural strategic, not simply victims of patriarch and/or abuse survivors. And don’t discount their activism as “internalized sexism.” In fact, many of these women seamlessly weave together their identity as white nationalists and feminists, seeing no inherent contradiction. Anti-fascist organizing asks white

women, in no uncertain terms, to refuse to allow their bodies and safety to 1) legitimate and uphold state sanctioned violence; and 2) to be used to recruit, normalize and expand white nationalist activist and

ideology.

## Three Way Fight

It is often assumed white nationalists exist because of inequities of the State—they are a product of the racist State, an effect. Under this logic, it follows that by fixing (or smashing) the State, and focusing on policy and institutionalized inequality, white nationalists will go away. However, white nationalists also assume if they reform (or smash) the State, “the Left” will go away. White nationalists don’t see the State as fully representing their interests and, in fact, see themselves as victims whose rights and access to power have been taken away. While it is important to fight against institutionalized forms of oppression and everyday racial violence, it is also imperative to keep the white nationalist movement in our purview. If the focus is only on transforming (or smashing) policies and formal institutional structures, there is a risk of ignoring and minimizing the effective grassroots base-building and cultural organizing white nationalists are successfully doing.

At the heart of anti-fascist organizing is a commitment to the Three Way Fight and to creating multiple ways of saying “no. NOT EVER.” to white nationalism in every context.

## Disrupt

We disrupt white nationalism by separating the movement’s leaders from their bases of support by sabotaging and discrediting white nationalist organizations and logics; and by exposing their agendas, decoding their rhetoric and countering their

mainstreaming tactics.

(See Nakagawa, Scot and Tarso Luis Ramos, “What Time Is It? Why We Can’t Ignore the Momentum of the Right.” Political Research Associates, July 14, 2016. [politicalresearch.org](http://politicalresearch.org).)

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We defuse the power of white nationalist messaging and recruitment by building broad coalitions that understand links, intersections, and the need to work in solidarity with each other, even though our strategies might be different or even contradictory.

## Defuse

## Who’s a Nazi?

Let’s play a game. Close your eyes and imagine a typical “white nationalist.”

Where do they work? What clothes do they wear? What kind of music do they like? Where do they live? Are they college educated? What is their class identity? What do they do for fun? What is their gender identity? Are they religious? Do they watch cat videos? Are they vegan? Are they against GMOs? Do they shop locally? Do they have tables at the farmer’s market? Do they hate multinational corporations? Are they anti-capitalist? What kind of tattoos do they have?

Avoid the dangerous stereotype: A white nationalist is an uneducated, angry, rural, ignorant, poor or working class straight white man, with tattoos and a shaved head. Unfortunately, this concept informs community responses. If it’s just a few idiotic, bonehead extremists, even if they’re wearing a suit and tie, then it’s understandable that people believe no response is needed. In fact, the logic often follows that responding gives them power and takes away resources, away from “real work.”

White nationalism is a social movement and will not be “ignored away.” This fact cannot be overstated.

## Compete

## White Nationalism

White nationalism is a social movement that strives (in many ways) to secure and normalize institutional, cultural, social, and economic dominance for white, heteronormative, Christian, property-owning men. White nationalism reproduces the ideology of white supremacy while simultaneously denying its racist and xenophobic roots to claim “white victimhood.” Further, white nationalists are working to continually redefine whiteness in contemporary contexts. The definition of “whiteness,” while static in some ways, is being leveraged in white nationalist struggles to define “who is an American” and “what America should look like.”

The definition of “white nationalism” recognizes the inextricable ways white supremacy is embedded in and gives meaning through other categories of social difference, including gender, sexuality, class, and religion. This calls for the need to frame anti-fascist organizing as intersectional and understand whiteness more broadly, as a contested category white nationalists are organizing through to mainstream and normalize their ideology.

We must contest whiteness in order to smash it.

(See Nakagawa, Scot and Tarso Luis Ramos, “What Time Is It? Why We Can’t Ignore the Momentum of the Right.” Political Research Associates, July 14, 2016. [politicalresearch.org](http://politicalresearch.org).)

Compete for white nationalists’ target constituencies and provide alternatives to white nationalism. Anti-racist white groups listen up. Competing means prioritizing base-building with people who you wouldn’t necessarily imagine collaborating with. This is not about changing “the hearts and minds” of white nationalists - remember, they are organized and intentional. Focus your efforts on reaching out to people who could potentially be swayed by the white nationalist movement. Don’t be missionaries.

Decide in advance how to effectively compete, and when to cut ties.

## Boundaries

The reactive component of anti-fascist boundary setting consists of having the skill and capacity to respond in the moment. A boundary might look like asking a white nationalist to leave your meeting, or having a conversation about a patch, symbol, tattoo, pamphlet, or language choice to figure out if they are a white nationalist or have connections to the social movement. Reactive boundary setting demands clear decisive boundary setting in the moment.

Anti-fascist boundaries are both proactive and reactive. The proactive component is understanding that there needs to be a formalized, collective commitment to cut a line against white nationalism: kick them out! This boundary means consistently refusing, in every way, to give white nationalists a platform and, further, making any platform they attempt to hold inhospitable. Organizers need to develop proactive boundaries that assume and anticipate white nationalists organizing efforts in every space possible and to understand how white nationalists are intentionally co-opting the discourses and strategies of liberalism in their organizing.

## Everything is Research

You don't need to be a highly trained academic expert, or to provide empirical evidence and data or statistics, to be a researcher. This is only one form and style of research, not the only way. Because white nationalists are constantly trying to co-opt a variety of public, institutional, and cultural spaces, anti-fascist organizing needs all kinds of research.

If You Don't They Will defines research as:

- Stories (fiction and non-fiction), art, music, theatre, dance, and poetry
- Cultural artifacts: films, lyrics, newsletters, records, and zines
- Observations, feelings, patterns, missing patterns
- What is there and what isn't there anymore
- Historical memories
- Empirical data, statistics, profiles
- Legal documents

We need research and to see ourselves as researchers because it helps us understand a given context and powerfully informs our anti-fascist strategies. Anybody can be a researcher; everybody is a researcher.

## Not up for debate

The assumption that the "Left" can sway white nationalists from their values and beliefs is not only false but dangerous. Indeed, many progressive groups have been intentionally destroyed by white nationalist organizers after inviting them to a meeting or debate in the hopes of changing their minds, "showing them the truth," and/or as an attempt to "out" debate" and discredit them. In fact, the opportunity to debate is a strategic movement building tactic whereby a willingness to engage in a formal, logical conversation lends credibility and legitimacy to white nationalist ideology, and allows their "experts" to gain a foothold in mainstream political discussions. For instance, one of the primary objectives of academic Holocaust deniers is to first be allowed into a historical debate about the Holocaust. Once permitted to debate, their "experts" use "science," "logic," and "facts" to argue against historical realities. Debate allows them to slowly chip away and reframe the truth, shape-shifting the facts into seemingly mutable details in order to present the Holocaust simultaneously downplays the atrocities of the fascistism. This distinction, created by the platform of debate, allows white nationalists to re-narrate and distance their relationship to the Holocaust, making their politics easier for some to digest. Debate also offers Holocaust deniers, in particular, and white nationalists, in general, a credibility that, with repetition, normalizes their position as legitimate and allows their "side of the debate" into the mainstream.

## Don't fight it with "Free Speech"

Many organizers do not know how to say NO to white nationalist claims for free speech rights. White nationalists are acutely aware of this and use "free speech" as an effective strategy to test a space to see how hospitable it is for their recruitment and organizing. Do not engage with the "free speech" trap.

Simply refuse the "free speech" argument and the logic that comes with it. For example, businesses can refuse to sell white nationalist records and literature, easily.

If you are observing a use of "free speech" that allows white nationalists a platform, be aware of collateral damages and consequences. "Free speech" does not occur in an ahistorical vacuum, free from hierarchical power structures. Under the logic of "free speech," speech rights are taken away from anyone who doesn't support or benefit from white nationalism. This confusion leads to the amplification of white nationalism and strengthens their recruitment at everyone else's expense.

There are so many different ways to say "no. NOT EVER." to white nationalism. These "NO's" are imperative to supporting social justice struggles.

## Cultural Organizing

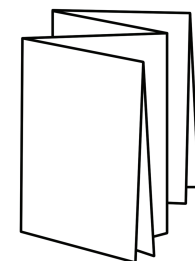
Cultural organizing situates organizing and social change in the environment of the moment, the everyday of a particular time, place, and community; it is about world making and identity shaping. Cultural organizing does not try to create one particular response. It's about creating waves within a cultural context that impacts people and communities and shifts landscapes irreversibly. All social movements use cultural organizing, including white nationalism.

## You censor all the time.

Another way white nationalists assert their victimization is through claims of censorship. It's important to understand how to respond to this. Think about it: we censor all the time. We prioritize, we delineate, we separate, we ignore intentionally. We invite certain speakers to our events, we sell specific merchandise in our stores, we choose particular vendors, and we center specific perspectives. The idea we are censoring when we do not allow a white nationalist to play a venue, to join a panel on race at an academic conference, or to attend planning meetings, is an overt strategy white nationalists use to access spaces in which they can further organize, and therefore, needs to be cut off immediately.

White nationalists are also activists and community organizers and are intentionally attending shows, picnics, dinner parties, and other events in an effort to identify organizing opportunities. This is akin to us finding a new club or bar that we felt comfortable in and invited our friends to. If we are not clearly inhospitable in these environments, we are supporting their efforts.

Neutrality is a myth.



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no.  
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**EVER.**