



INVASION OF UKRAINE APRIL 2022 - REPORT ON FASCIST REACTIONS AND REALIGNMENT

How have fascists reacted to the war in Ukraine?

The answer is that the majority of open fascists in the English-speaking media have strengthened their pre-existing pro-Russian alignment. This report will give examples, list exceptions, and provide recommendations for US-based anti-fascists.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2020, our group was targeted for assassination by a Neo-Nazi organization called "The Base" for exposing a US Hitlerite named Ryan Burchfield, who later went to Ukraine to fight for a pro-Ukrainian fascist militia. At the time, The Base was led by a rich, former US military contractor who lives in St. Petersburg and was provided tacit political shelter by the Russian state. Because of that episode and other international fascist connections, we follow developments in the region closely.

The first video we created in this series was released in mid-February to give context on a possible further invasion of Ukraine. At the time, many English language sources argued that such an invasion was impossible. We made no predictions, but we took the threat seriously. This report follows up from our initial video.



Invasion Map circa March 2022



Photo from the bombing of the Mariupol maternity hospital

BREAKDOWN OF RIGHT-WING POSITIONS

There are three basic positions regarding the war: pro-Russia, pro-Ukraine, and neutral. In the case of the conspiratorial right wing, "neutral" is not necessarily true neutrality, and includes fringe beliefs such as the war being a fictional "staged event".

The stances of US-based right-wing subgroups are informed by their prior beliefs and future goals:

- neoconservatives and traditional (pre-Trump) Republicans
- populist Republicans and paleoconservatives
- the "America First/Groyper" movement led by Nick Fuentes
- QAnon and the conspiratorial right
- Accelerationist Neo-Nazis
- Red-Brown groups (Grayzone, "Patriotic Socialists")

Neoconservatives have broken strongly for Ukraine. Neo-Nazis are split. All of the other groups are now strongly pro-Russia.



Lez LuTHOR
@LezLuthor

Illusion Warfare Report:
The Road to Ukraine.

-Join me as i LARP my way onto the Hollywood movie set we know as Ukraine.

Will the matrix allow me to peak behind the curtains of a manufactured and manipulated world staged event?



1:26 PM · Mar 5, 2022 · Twitter for Android

4,052 Retweets 1,931 Quote Tweets 6,525 Likes

A popular example of one conspiratorial right-wing position: that the entire war is fictional



PRO-UKRAINE POSITIONS 1

Neoconservatives and mainstream Republicans support the Ukrainian state based on prior ideological commitments and current economic incentives, which includes funding by the military industrial complex. The US state has a traditional enmity with the Russian sphere of influence from the Cold War, and is not as dependent on Russian oil and gas as European countries are.

Some Republican politicians such as Josh Hawley and Lindsey Graham have attacked their Democratic party enemies by claiming they are "soft on Russia".

This contingent of the right is well-funded and powerful, but they no longer have the popular support that they had during the Iraq War. Most do not advocate for direct US military involvement, but for weapons to Ukraine and for sanctions against Russia. They face an energized and young populist opposition from within their party, which argues for total non-intervention and against sanctions on Russia.



Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell with US President Joe Biden



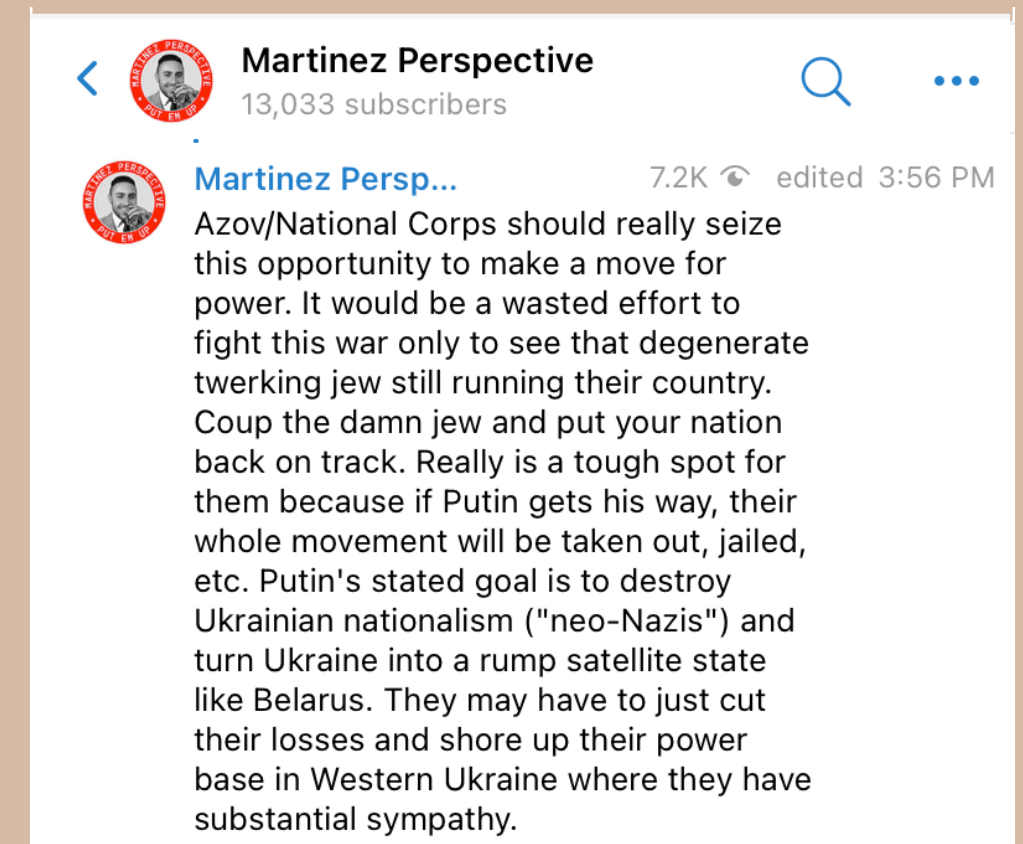
Tucker Carlson - a media leader of the populist, paleoconservative Republican wing - defends Putin.

PRO-UKRAINE POSITIONS 2

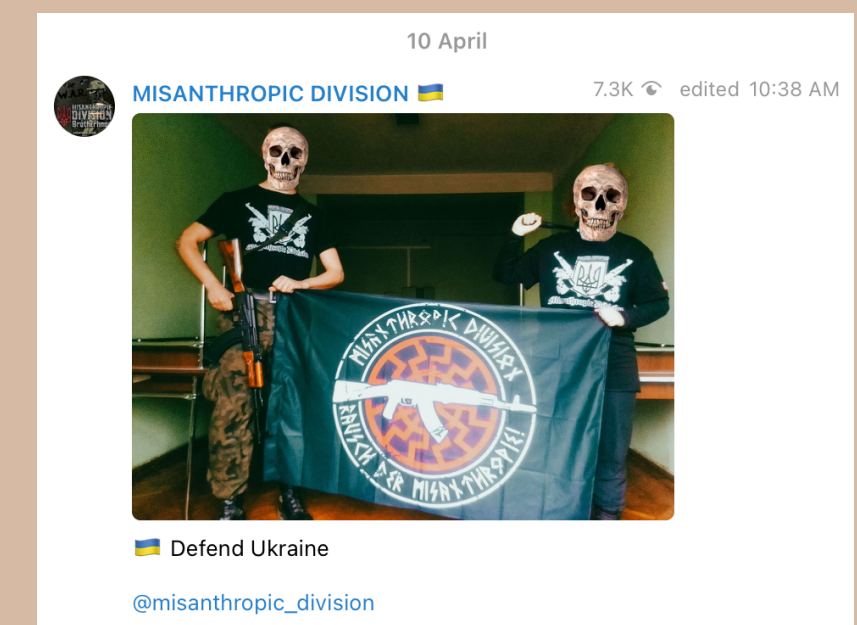
The Neoconservative and traditional Republican support for Ukraine as a state is based on obsolete Cold War narratives. They tend to simply ignore actual fascist groups present in Ukraine.

There are, however, open fascists in the US who support Ukraine for different reasons: they support fascist and ultranationalist groups while criticizing the Ukrainian state, which they see as corrupted by liberalism and Jewish influence.

Since 2014, Ukrainian native fascists focused heavily on international propaganda, involving everything from social media to t-shirt sales. These efforts won them cultural influence in the international far right. But when the Ukrainian state began to fold militias into the National Guard, Azov leadership chose an assimilationist path, removing some Nazi symbolism and claiming to simply be "patriots" and "nationalists". This choice reduced their credibility among the international extreme right, even as it bought them increased recruits within Ukraine.



Example of a popular US anti-Russian Neo-Nazi channel critically supporting Azov.



Recent English-language propaganda from Misanthropic Division, an Azov-linked Ukrainian Neo-Nazi org



PRO-UKRAINE POSITIONS 3

Pro-Ukraine fascism is popular among Central and Eastern European countries, so US-based fascists with connections to those countries have gravitated to this position. Fascists in Poland and Finland, for example, have little reason to believe that Russia has their best interests at heart, so they have resisted the pro-Russian realignment. Instead, countries closer to Russia have experienced an opposite effect: a realignment toward Ukraine based on an anti-Russia position.

For example, All Polish Youth, a hundred-year-old fascist and antisemitic group in Poland, released a statement welcoming Ukrainian refugees (with the strong implication that only white Christian Ukrainian refugees should be welcomed) while attacking Russian ally Belarus for channeling non-white refugees to Polish borders.

It is beyond the scope of this presentation to survey European fascist realignments, but fascist debates about European border issues have historically had an outsize effect on domestic US fascism and are important to follow.



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WSZECHPOLSKA

ABOUT US 3 ACTIONS 3 JOIN

Statement of the Main Board of the Navy
on support for Ukraine in the war with
the Russian Federation



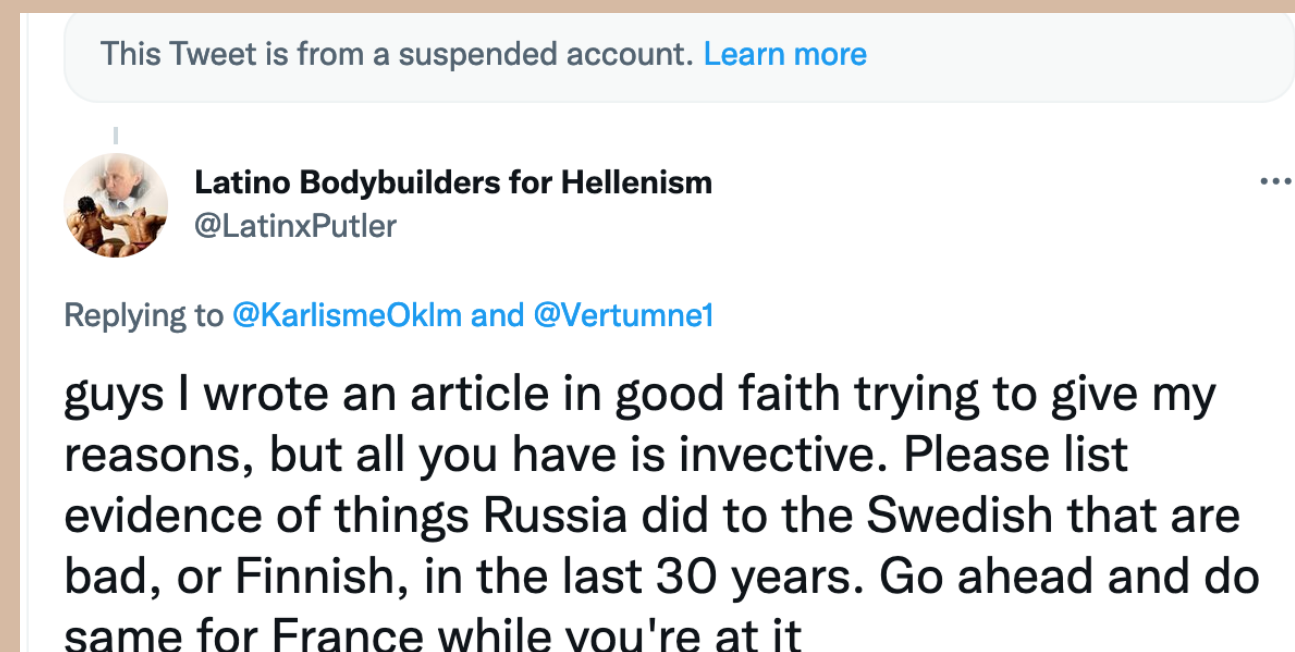
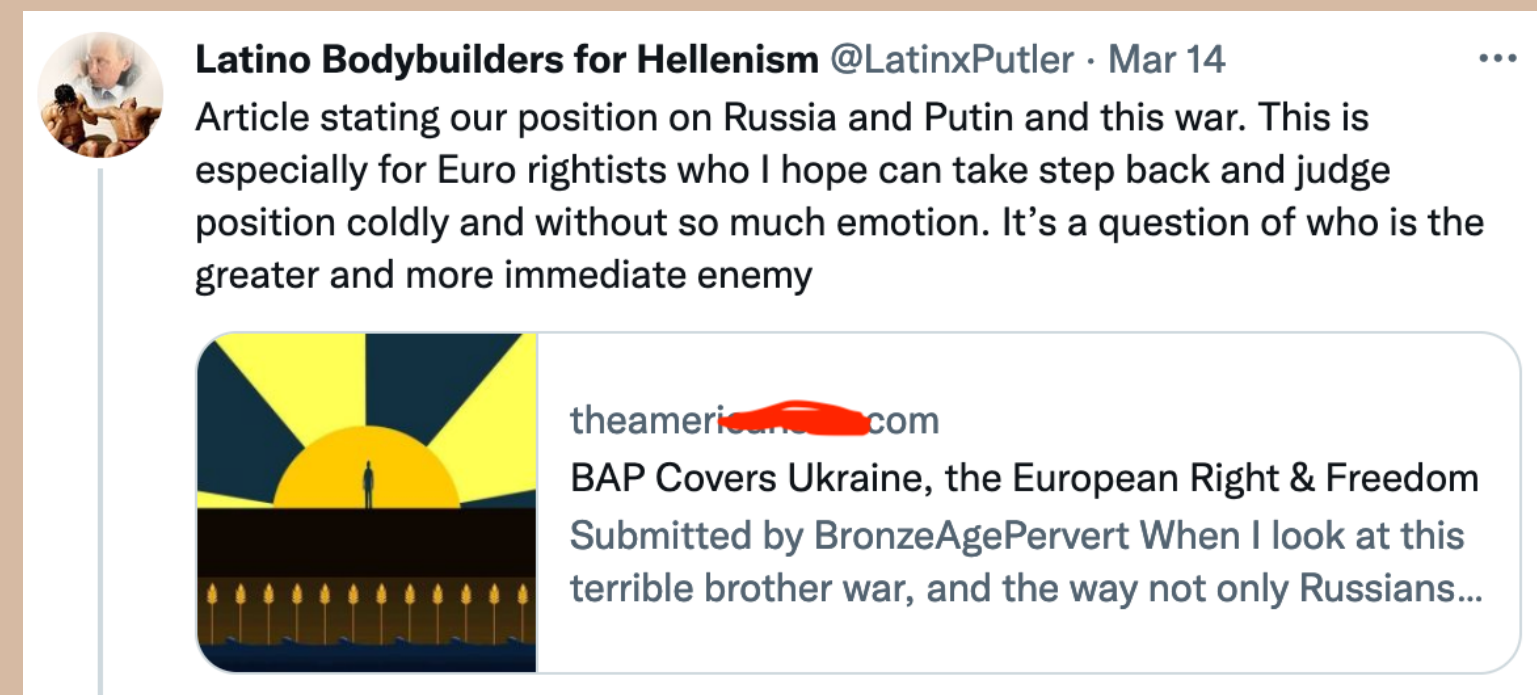
The fascist All Polish Youth expresses support for Ukraine while attacking both Polish antiracist enemies and the Belarusian state. Other Polish fascist groups such as Zadruga Circle are exceptions and maintain a pro-Russia position.



PRO-UKRAINE POSITIONS 4

An example of pro-Russian realignment and resistance to it: the writer known as "Bronze Age Pervert", a Romanian-American whose real name is Costin Alamariu, is one of the most influential figures on the US and international far right. His combination of kitschy masculinism, fad diets, and sly Hitler worship has already influenced the mainstream right via figures like Tucker Carlson.

Alamariu is a strong supporter of Putin, who he calls "Putler" in a move of ironic reclamation. In March, he published a piece directed at persuading European far right and fascist groups to provide critical support for Putin despite misgivings. The piece was generally met with agreement by US fascists but strong pushback from European fascists.



BAP/Alamariu receives pushback



FASCIST CONFLICT AND COMMONALITY

Since fascism has no positive vision of the future, only the retreat to an idealized past, different ultranationalist visions of this idealized past will always get in the way of international fascist solidarity. Commonality is only established through hatred of marginalized minorities. The same debate sparked by BAP is often replayed along the following axes of hate:

	PRO-UKRAINE FASCISTS	PRO-RUSSIAN FASCISTS
GENDER	Affirmations of the masculinity of fascist groups in Ukraine using tropes of underdogs and martyrdoms	Atacks on Ukrainian masculinity ("Ukraine is the country of gay pride parades"), affirmations of Russian masculinity, sexual imperialism and open rape fantasies
RACE	Invocations of "West vs. East". Attacks on the multiethnic, multiracial, and multi-religious character of the invading Russian Federation forces (especially against the Central Asians and Caucasians used as cannon fodder by the mostly Slavic Russian elite)	Ethnic stereotypes of culturally and genetically inferior Ukrainians combined with arguments that by turning to the EU, Ukraine has opened itself to immigration and "Great Replacement" by non-white "hordes"
ANTISEMITISM	Arguments that Putin is secretly Jewish	Arguments that Zelenskyy is literally Jewish.



PRO-RUSSIA POSITIONS 1

Gender politics are a huge and under-discussed driver of pro-Russian fascism. There are two coinages that are incredibly popular among the US far right: "globohomo" and "GAE", which stands for the "Globalist American Empire" and is of course pronounced "gay". Both these words encapsulate the argument that the US "deep state" is a tool of an elite international cabal (almost always rooted in antisemitic tropes) which aims to destroy native masculinity.

Russian state propaganda over the last decade has focused on a defensive masculinity complex and has marshaled homophobia and transphobia in support of Russian imperialist goals. This has created a mutually reinforcing feedback loop with US fascists who are engaged in a similar project. The refrain that Ukraine has become corrupted by gayness is constantly repeated among the US far right.

The recent phenomenon of US far right religious conversion to pro-Russian Orthodox Christianity (e.g. Matthew Heimbach, the Legion of St. Ambrose, etc.) has also fueled this movement.

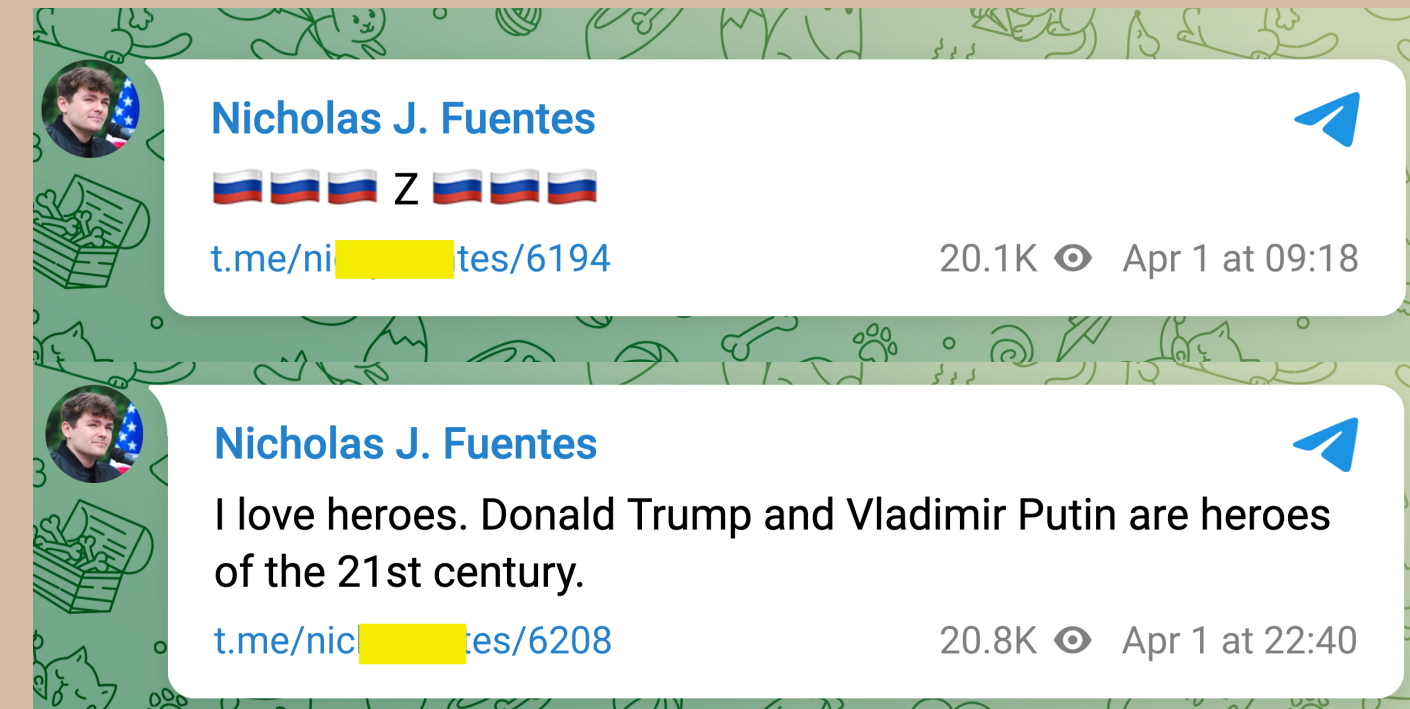


Patriarch Kirill, the leader of the Russian Orthodox Church and key Putin ally, links the war to defensive masculinity

PRO-RUSSIA POSITIONS 2

The America First movement forms another ideological/cultural bridge between far right white nationalists and the center right. There are two different formations, a more generalized paleoconservative and populist right movement which enjoys the support of Tucker Carlson and many younger Republican politicians, and a more explicitly fascist and antisemitic formation centered around the America First PAC led by Nick Fuentes. Both formations are heavily pro-Trump and pro-Russia.

The America First position is based on the perception of shared enemies and consumption of Russian state propaganda. For example, in a speech on March 16, 2022, white nationalist, America First populist and Georgia representative Marjorie Taylor Greene claimed that the Euromaidan uprising was a coup directly sponsored by then US President Obama.



Nicke Fuentes at the 2022 AFPAC conference leading cheers for Russia and chants of "Putin, Putin". Marjorie Taylor Greene was in attendance.

PRO-RUSSIA POSITIONS 3

One conspiratorial right wing position already covered is the idea that the entire war is fictional and staged. This position, while seemingly neutral, has strong interplay with Russian state propaganda, which is often geared not to necessarily push an explicitly pro-Russian position, but to push audiences into distrusting anything on the media and therefore disengaging from the issue entirely. War crime denialism in Syria involving claims of crisis actors was pushed heavily by Russian state media, and many of the same tactics have now been used to deny Russian war crimes in Ukraine.

The other trend on the conspiratorial right is to take the opposite tack and instead of believing nothing, believe everything. One QAnon linked news site has been pumping out articles explaining that the invasion is actually a shadow war in which Trump and Putin are the protagonists who have allied to fight child trafficking rings and destroy fanciful bioweapons. Bombing sites are explained as biolabs developing biological weapons to target ethnic Russians on the genetic level.

Putin Bombs Biden-Owned Villa in Ukraine while Hammering Biolabs & Pedophile Rings

By Michael Baxter - March 2, 2022

104096 1233



A popular and widely read QAnon-linked conspiracy site syncretizing Russian and US conspiracy theories



PRO-RUSSIA POSITIONS 4

Due to the influence of RT America, there has been substantial pro-Russian fascist entryism on the left over the last ten years. While actual Red-Brown leftists are rare on the ground, they have had outsized media representation due to Russian state media giving them a platform.

The most obvious of these are the "patsocs" or "Patriotic Socialists", led by Caleb Maupin. They advance positions based on class reductionism, nationalism, and social conservatism, and support any country that competes with the US (especially Russia) even if that country actively represses leftists.

The Patsocs claim to be on the left, while on the right, Nazbols (a portmanteau of Nazi and Bolshevik) are typically Nazis who advocate for some surface leftist economic positions. Both have increasingly converged in their foreign policy positions since the start of the invasion. And media personalities linked to the Grayzone site, such as Max Blumenthal, have converged with the far right on COVID conspiracism as well as a pro-Russian-imperialist position.



Caleb Maupin rubbing elbows with fascist Third Position Russian theorist Aleksandr Dugin

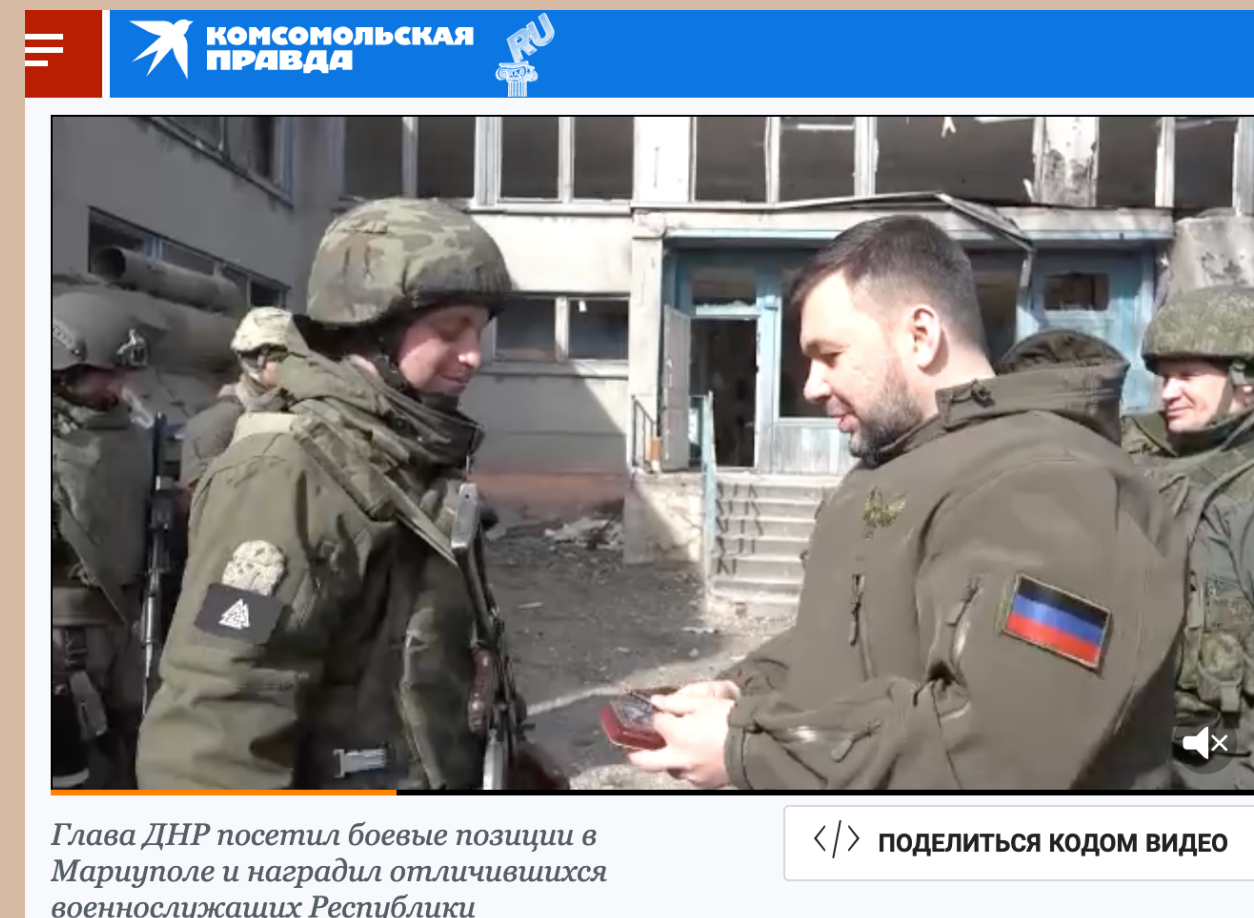


A Maupin-led event on March 12th patriotically celebrating the Russian invasion of Ukraine

PROPAGANDA LANDSCAPE 1

Russian state propaganda has had major successes in terms of associating all Ukrainian people with Azov and Nazism. In reality, as we explained in our first presentation on the situation, the far right in Ukraine has street and some political influence, but is not as powerful as in neighboring countries such as Poland and Hungary. The US has come closer to experiencing a fascist coup than Ukraine, has higher representation of far right politicians, and also has numerous Nazis in its armed forces - we have personally uncovered a number of them. While the danger of downplaying the far right to benefit Ukrainian state narrative is more obvious, dramatically overstating the success of the Ukrainian far right is counterproductive because it helps give them more perceived power.

Because the post-Soviet political and linguistic landscape is often alienating and confusing to English language observers, Russian fascists are not given nearly as much social media attention, and the basic Russian state media line is often accepted. For example, many believe that Ukraine has "outlawed communism" and that Russia has "outlawed Nazism" whereas neither statement is true in any meaningful way.



Denis Pushilin, head of the Donetsk People's Republic, awards a medal for "killing Nazis" to an open Neo-Nazi soldier. The two patches are the Totenkopf used by the 3rd SS Panzer Division pictured and the valknut symbol. Pushilin later deleted this segment of the video from his Telegram, but it was already widely archived on other pro-Russian sites.

PROPAGANDA LANDSCAPE 2

The word "Nazi" has lost nearly all original meaning in the Russian state media context, and is used as a synonym for "anti-Russian". Sheer repetitiveness of the word "Nazi" achieves the desired effect: lack of sympathy and horizontal solidarity for Ukrainians, who are considered contaminated by Nazism. The repetition pushes a narrative that any aid to people in Ukraine is excessive and undeserved and will only fuel the rise of Nazism.

There is also an undesired effect from this propaganda: actual pro-Russia neo-Nazis, who become upset with the anti-Nazi line, need to be reassured that "we don't really mean you". For example, Nazbol-influenced Nazi podcaster Eric Striker recently shared a mainstream article explaining that the Russian state word for "Nazi" no longer means "Nazi", as a means to reassure other neo-Nazis that the Russian state remained still largely on their side.



US white supremacists on the Stormfront website admire Russian soldiers celebrating the birthday of Hitler. The Hitler birthday celebration comes from a far right Russian channel which alternates between praise of Hitler and calls to "kill Ukrainian Nazis".

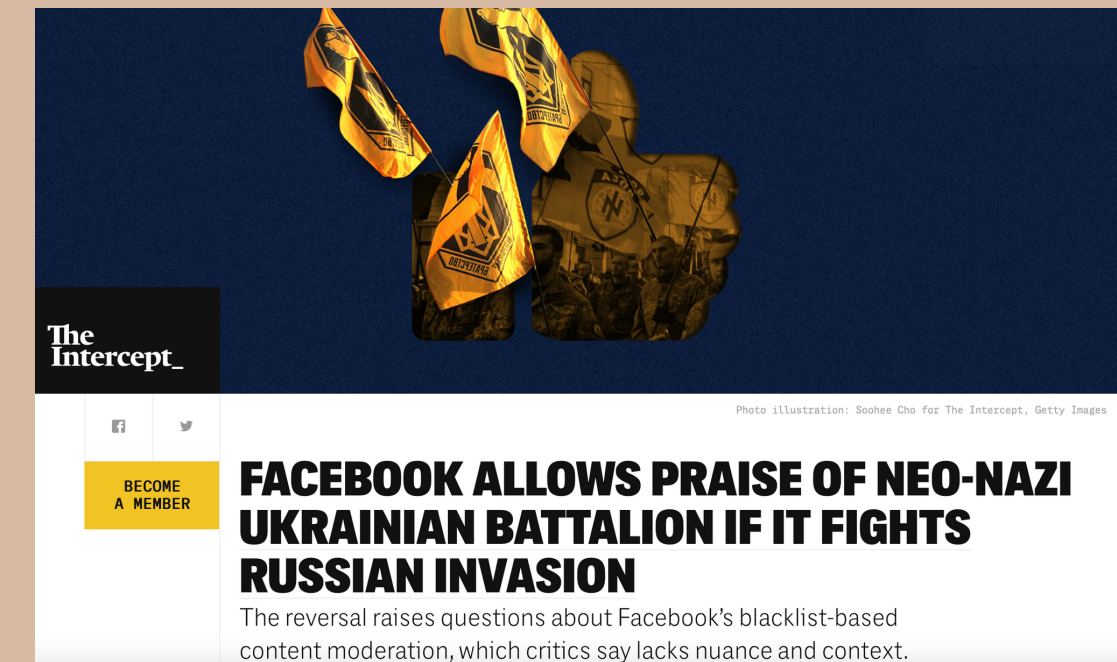


PROPAGANDA LANDSCAPE 3

The early success of the Azov movement was based on far right internationalist outreach. In the last several years, the main Azov movement has pivoted to mainstreaming itself into the Ukrainian state and de-emphasizing its ties to neo-Nazis. The Russian state media attacks on Azov have paradoxically given them greater support within Ukraine, with many reasoning that since Russian state propaganda calls everyone Nazis, it must automatically be untrue that Azov are Nazis, and are simply "patriots".

In reality, as we see with America First in the US, assimilationist fascist movements that create effective bridges to the center right can be more dangerous in the long term than marginalized hardline Nazi far right movements. Therefore, the assimilationist Azov narrative should be countered strongly.

Recently in Lviv, a Misanthropic Division member (a group allied to Azov) attacked a local anarchist who was actively engaged in relief efforts. Ukrainians who are marginalized, especially Roma, are in continuous danger as long as these groups exist, even if war crimes from Russian occupiers pose a greater immediate threat.



Example of US-based social media capitulating to the mainstraming of Azov propaganda.



PROPAGANDA LANDSCAPE 4

Much of the propaganda surrounding the war in Ukraine encourages observers to pick the side of a state and cheer for that state. As we explained in our first video, it is crucial to center analysis and solidarity around people, not states. There is a practical reason for this: as antifascists in the real sense of the word, we need to realize that war historically encourages the growth of fascism on multiple sides. Azov would not have become a battalion without the Russian invasion of Donbas in 2014, for example.

It is equally important to realize that, even if our solidarity is not with states, not every conflict involving states can be viewed as a mutual slaughter whose outcome does not matter. Colonial and imperialist powers can seek not just to overpower a state but to eliminate the people of that state. The Russian imperialist goal is to eliminate Ukrainians *as a people*, both historically and in the current invasion. State media has said exactly as much. Their words have been backed up with clear actions.

English-language observers may not understand this genocidal intent, partly because Russian state media uses surface friendly terms like "brotherly nations" to describe Ukraine. It is important to note a linguistic parallel here: Imperial Japan weaponized the equivalent "brotherly nations" term against Koreans to commit war crimes, attempted cultural genocide and ethnic cleansing.



#Russian state-owned agency RIA Novosti published an article which says that a "De-Ukrainification" is needed:

"The name "#Ukraine" apparently cannot be retained as the title of any fully denazified state entity in territory liberated from the Nazi regime."

Forcible Transfer of Children in Ukraine: An Element of Genocide?

Laurie R. Blank

APRIL 21, 2022 11:09:51 AM

Edited by: Raghu Gagneja |

Symbiosis Law School, IN



Laurie R. Blank, Clinical Professor of Law at Emory University School of Law, discusses the forcible transfer of Ukrainian children to Russia, their illegal adoptions and how, if proven, it might be a strong indicator of possible genocide against the Ukrainian people...

In late March, Ukrainian authorities reported that Russian forces had **forcibly transferred over two thousand children** from the Russian-occupied Donbas region of Eastern Ukraine into Russia. Other reports note that Ukraine's **Human Rights Commissioner asserts** that more than 121,000 Ukrainian children have been forcibly deported to Russia, where the government



FAR RIGHT MILITIAS IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE 1

The situation in Ukraine with the Azov Battalion is not unique, but structurally similar to many other countries. India is included here as a comparative example of a country with a neutral position in the Ukraine war. Groups achieve conditional state protection based on some combination of 1) friendly regional leaders 2) friendly national leaders 4) powerful oligarchs with state connections (a US example would be Erik Prince of Blackwater) 5) state security agency patronage 6) external conditions such as war or major acts of terrorism.

	UKRAINE	RUSSIA	US	INDIA
POLITICAL GROUP IN POWER	Zelenskyy: Servant of the People (partial power)	Putin: United Russia (full power)	Biden: Democrats (partial power)	Modi: BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) (nearly full power)
ARMED GROUPS WITH CONDITIONAL STATE PROTECTION	Azov Battalion	Wagner and Rusich Company Russian Imperial Movement	(pre-January 6, 2021) Oathkeepers Proud Boys independent rightwing militias	RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh)
ARMED GROUPS WITHOUT STATE PROTECTION	Misanthropic Division and other open Neo-Nazis	Independent Neo-Nazis	Accelerationist Neo-Nazis	Abhinav Bharat (has attacked RSS for not being Hindutva enough)



FAR RIGHT MILITIAS IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE 2

Pictured to the right is Olena Semenyaka, one of the leaders of Azov and its associated political grouping National Corps, with far right theoretician Aleksandr Dugin. The two eventually split when Dugin attacked the Euromaidan uprising in Ukraine, but before that point, they were natural allies in promoting ultranationalism and fascism on a global level.

This is not the only example of friendly relations between pro-Ukrainian fascists and pro-Russian fascists. Throughout Europe, these groups are highly united by hatred for their common targeted victims: Roma, Jewish people, Muslims, LGBTQ+, Global South immigrants. Shared cultural markers such as NSBM (National Socialist Black Metal) also serve to unite fascists across national borders. When these groups fight each other, they often state that they are only doing so to establish a political project (such as Russkiy Mir in the case of Russia or Intermarium in the case of Ukraine) in order to better unite to eliminate common enemies.



ANTIFASCISM 1

Two months after the start of the invasion, a certain degree of apathy among English language observers is clear. Some of this may be a reaction to centrist media coverage that contains serious errors and racist and Islamophobic framing: supporting Ukrainian resistance to the Russian state while condemning Palestinian resistance to the Israeli state, for example.

Disengaging because of these racist double standards does not help anyone. Global fascists will continue to pay close attention and attempt to use the war for their goals, and according to the saying "we go where they go", we cannot afford to ignore their activities. Relying on pre-existing international support for the Ukrainian state is not sufficient. The Ukrainian state by resisting invasion may represent interests of Ukrainian people in not being ethnically cleansed or culturally genocided. However, this state neglects or harms other interests of the people and cannot be relied on to fight fascism in any long-term sense.

As a historical example, Bosnian Muslims received NATO aid during Serbian ethnic cleaning in the early 90s. However, due to lack of real justice for Muslims and rampant war crimes denialism, Serbian ultranationalism is still a powerful force both in Serbia and a generation later helped inspire white supremacists in countries as far off as New Zealand to carry out Islamophobic attacks. Military aid and sympathetic media coverage, while crucial in the short term to help victimized civilians, will never guarantee long-term safety.



**Solidarity banner from
Anarchist Black Cross
Dresden**



ANTIFASCISM 2

Ukraine is a major global exporter of wheat. Because of the Russian invasion causing massive interruption to the farming season and the Russian blockade of Black Sea ports to Ukrainian grain shipments, forecasters predict food inflation and famine all over the Middle East and Africa. Fascist groups in Europe are already gearing up to attack and kill the forecasted wave of Global South refugees created by the oncoming famines caused by the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Costin Alamariu/BAP has been very open about organizing for this effort.

What is happening now in Ukraine will lay the groundwork as to whether our resistance and defense of famine and climate refugees will be isolated and ineffective or coordinated and internationalist. European states have shown they cannot be relied on to fight fascist street groups: only a strong and real antifascist movement can counter them.

Food security

UN warns Russian blockade of Ukraine's grain exports may trigger global famine

Special rapporteur on right to food sees risk of deepening hunger crisis in countries such as Yemen and Ethiopia

A Guardian article forecasting famine, and BAP/Alamariu pushing a genocidal response to African migrants.



Latino Bodybuilders for Hellenism @LatinxPutler · Apr 19

...

Russia is the only hope for salvation for Europe, the only thing that can stop an Afrekan future for Europe. The NATO occupation governments have to be overthrown from the outside, the Europeans have shown they have no will to secure their independence from America...

110

219

813



GENERAL MEDIA RECOMMENDATIONS

A widespread idea among the English-speaking left is that leftists from an imperial core should only criticize the imperialism within their own countries. While well-intentioned, this is deeply counterproductive. As we have seen in this presentation, global fascists have no such compunctions about supporting imperialism only within their own countries.

Another popular narrative is that Russians have no moral agency because Russia was "provoked", and that Russian imperialism should be viewed as some sort of natural force beyond human control, like a hurricane. In this framework, people resisting Russian imperialism in Syria, Ukraine, and other post-Soviet states are judged harshly unless they capitulate or run, and then in the case of Syrians or Roma from Ukraine, they are granted no safe haven anywhere they run. This "force of nature" framework is also damaging to Russian people targeted by the Russian state for resisting oppression, as it presents their resistance as pointless or even counter-productive. If any media narrative treats Russian imperialism as a *fait accompli*, question it and push back.

Finally, 5 million refugees have left Ukraine in the two months of the invasion. These refugees face massive labor and sexual exploitation in the long term but are also treated better (when white and Christian) than non-European refugees. The narrative that these are "exceptional" refugees needs to be strongly countered.



CONCRETE ANTIFASCIST RECOMMENDATIONS

- Support Ukrainian antifascists, anarchists and anti-authoritarian leftists, who are the only ones already positioned and willing to resist both Russian *and* native fascism.
- Support Russian and Belarusian antifascists, anarchists and anti-authoritarian leftists. Given the slide into maximalist totalitarian repression within those countries, some are operating in exile in Ukraine and other neighboring countries.
- Support mutual aid organizations helping racial, ethnic, and religious minorities in the region
- Deplatform red-brown media figures in English-speaking media. A major failing of the antiwar left has been to let conspiratorial cranks accumulate outsized influence by tolerating them for years as the only influential antiwar media.
- Create a multilingual clearinghouse of accurate, up to date information on Azov and seek to deplatform and demonetize their international efforts wherever possible. Key leaders (such as Olena Semenyaka and Andriy Biletsky) should be profiled and their white supremacist and Neo-Nazi beliefs underlined.
- Create a multilingual clearinghouse of Russian fascist groups and carefully track the growing nexus of far right ROCOR Orthodox converts within the US.
- Share tactics, knowledge and skills regarding intervening at global borders to help refugees and migrants.
- Continue monitoring fascist activity on the global level using the framework of the three-way-fight (state vs. insurgent fascism vs. antifascism) instead of a simplistic campist framework.

