

**ANTIFA / ANTI-ANTIFA
FIGHTING IN THE
STREETS**

ROCIC SPECIAL RESEARCH REPORT



Recent political events have thrust opposing groups of extremists to the forefront, of particular concern to law enforcement since their tactics often lead to violence, bodily harm, property destruction and attacks against police. These groups go way beyond any peaceful demonstrators or protesters; in fact, they often convert peaceful, lawful protest into violent confrontations.

On Sat., April 8, 2017, a small group of protesters identifying as the Alt-Right gathered in front of the White House to vocally oppose the bombing of Syria by American military forces. Counter-protesters began an equally vocal, but peaceful, shouting match with the group, which was led by the well-known white supremacist Richard Spencer. Members of Antifa, one wearing a red mask, moved in quickly, hitting members of a film crew with a rolled up banner and shouting, “No Nazis, no KKK, no fascist USA.” Other Antifa carried communist flags and signs that read “the future is feminist.”

Antifa (short for anti-fascist) is an alliance between anarchists and communists to confront and defeat fascists and white supremacists by whatever means necessary.

Scuffling ensued between the two groups, requiring the police to create a barrier to keep the two groups apart. Obscenities were hurled between the groups of protesters. “F-ck you, Nazi” evoked the response, “Get a job, Commie!”

On Inauguration Day in Washington, D.C., Antifas infiltrated peaceful protests to inflict violence, destruct property, and erect barricades to disrupt flow of traffic. On Feb. 1, 2017, approximately 150 Antifas practicing black bloc tactics stormed police barricades in Berkeley, Calif., launched fireworks and torched a portable police spotlight as they successfully disrupted a campus speech by Alt-



White Nationalist and Supremacist Richard Spencer

Right celebrity Milo Yiannopoulos.

Speeches by white supremacist Spencer at Texas A&M on Dec. 6, 2016 and at Auburn (Ala.) University on April 18, 2017 were met by hundreds of protestors, including Antifa supporters. Three people were arrested in Auburn, where police required masked protesters to remove their masks under a state law originally enacted to prevent Ku Klux Klan members from hiding their identities. At Texas A&M police in riot gear forcibly removed a mob of protestors from the student union. Two arrests were made. A separate “silent protest” was also held in the school’s Rudder Plaza. One protester, a college student, told the local press: “Last time Nazis took over in the world there wasn’t all this love and hugs that got rid of them, it was the communists. It was the anti-fascist fighters.”

Antifa (short for anti-fascist) is an alliance between anarchists and communists to confront and defeat fascists and white supremacists by whatever means necessary. It is the most aggressive and militant response to the 2016 national elections. The Antifas claim they are opposed to fascism in all its



Demonstrators in Berkeley, California.

forms — sexism, racism, homophobia, government corruption, and Islamophobia.

As organizers from anti-fascist research and news site *Antifa NYC* told leftist *The Nation* magazine: “Antifa combines radical left-wing and anarchist politics, revulsion at racists, sexists, homophobes, anti-Semites, and Islamophobes, with the international anti-fascist culture of taking the streets and physically confronting the brownshirts of white supremacy, whoever they may be.”

This Antifa coalition has existed for as long as fascism has — the Italian Arditi del Popolo (People’s Squads) rose to fight Mussolini in 1921, even when the Socialist and Communist Parties refused to support them. In 1924, anarchist lumberjacks allied with the Industrial Workers of the World waged a “drawn battle” with a Ku Klux Klan recruitment drive in Greenville, Maine. Antifas have been opposing and counter-protesting white supremacist

and neo-Nazi extremists for years, sometimes resulting in violence and attacks on police, but the presidential campaign and election of 2016 ramped up the rhetoric and the purposefulness of the so-called Antifas, who now see the object of their scorn occupying the highest level of government. Much of the confrontations are carried out over Internet chat sites and social media. A popular meme online is to “bash the fash (fascist).”

Opposing the Antifa are the Anti-Antifa, a loose collection of white supremacists, neo-Nazis, white nationalists, Ku Klux Klanners, white identity groups, and a group called the Alt-Right. The Alt-Right is short for alternative right-wing. Basically, Alt-Right refers to extreme right-wingers who reject traditional conservatism in favor of a white or European national identity hostile to non-whites and Jews in particular. In foreign policy and relations, they tend to be isolationists. One



Black bloc demonstrators at the Inauguration in Washington, D.C.

of the basic tenets of Alt-Right politics is to label traditional conservatives as emasculated or effeminate. See page 9 for a detailed explanation of Alt-Right groups.

So it's the anarchists versus the nationalists, the communists versus the Nazis, the left-wing extremists versus the right-wing extremists, and the confrontations are becoming more violent and destructive.

"American anti-fascists have been fighting a mostly quiet conflict with domestic Nazis at punk rock venues and small white-nationalist gatherings

for decades, but, as fascists have snuck their collective jackboot into the curved door of the Oval Office, the struggle has reached the mainstream," according to an article in *Pacific Standard* magazine.

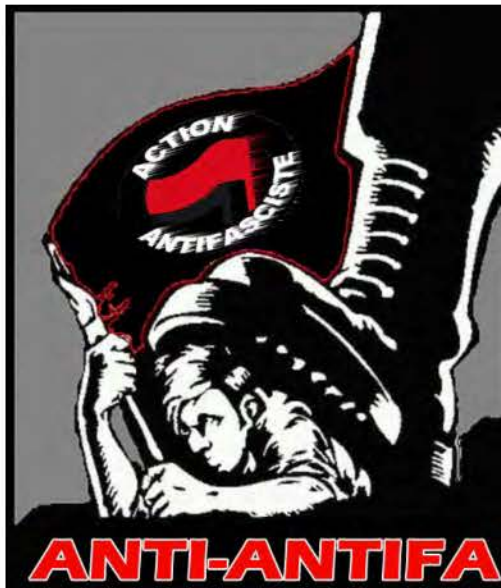
The colors, signs, and symbols of Antifa and Anti-Antifa (see pages 5-6 and 10-15) are similar and sometimes based on the other side's, which can lead to confusion if details are not scrutinized. The anarchists wave a black flag, while the communists prefer the red flag. Antifas combine the two.

Antifas and Anti-Antifas each try to use social
(Continued on Page 7)



**Antifa-Left Wing
Anarchists**





ANTI-ANTIFA



Anti-Antifa-Right Wing Anarchists





(Continued from Page 4)

media to their advantage. During an on-camera interview at the inauguration, Alt-Right leader Richard Spencer was punched in the face by an Antifa agitator and the resulting Antifa propaganda video went viral, with a video game created for virtual punchers.

The “Good Night White Pride” mantra stems from a 1998 incident in Ann Arbor, Mich. in which an 18-year-old anti-racist kicked a KKK protester in the head, a violent moment caught by a news photographer. The photo has been used in logos, posters, banners, and other Antifa graphics.

Both sides also participate in doxing, the Internet-based practice of researching and broadcasting private or identifiable information (especially personally identifiable information) about an individual or organization. (See ROCIC Special Research Reports “CyberTrends” and also “Phishing: Don’t Take the Bait.”) The methods employed to acquire this information include searching publicly available databases and social media websites (such as Facebook), hacking, and social engineering.

Antifas often employ black bloc tactics during their protests. A perfect example of successful Antifa black bloc attacks occurred at the Berkeley protest when right-winger Milos Yiannopoulos was slated to speak at the University of California (site of the free speech movement of the 1960s). Yiannopoulos is a gay Jewish provocateur and a controversial *Breitbart News* editor. In a previous talk at University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, Yiannopoulos mocked a transgender student, and California administrators had warned that he might use the Berkeley appearance to target individual undocumented students in hopes of getting them deported.

On Feb. 1, 2017, hours before Yiannopoulos was about to speak, approximately 150 marchers gathered off campus where Antifa told them to meet. They dressed in all black outfits, with many wrapping T-shirts around their faces, leaving slits for the eyes. Some wear black between layers of “civilian” clothes so they can slip in and out of their protester ensembles. They often carry gear that is defensive (masks to protect against tear gas),

offensive (Molotov cocktails), or both (a placard that can double as a shield). A person with a megaphone told the group the route they’d be marching, and they set off toward campus, many carrying banners and flags and projectiles. Along the way, they chanted, “No borders, no nations, f-ck deportation.”

About one thousand protesters shouted “Shut it down” at the student union, site of the Yiannopoulos speech, when the black bloc arrived. The Antifas quickly and efficiently stormed the multi-layered police barricades that kept the crowd away from the entrances of student union. Sequined pink flags were revealed to be mounted on fireworks, which were launched at the building. Others smashed windows with the disassembled police barricades. A portable police spotlight was toppled, graffitied, and eventually torched. They clashed with the police and Yiannopoulos supporters. They set fires, threw Molotov cocktails and smashed windows. One of them pepper-sprayed a woman as a reporter interviewed her. Off campus, they vandalized shops and halted traffic. At around 9 pm, the university canceled the event, but the demonstrations continued for several hours, until those dressed in black slipped into the night. Campus police made just one arrest.

The Antifas attack storefronts and clash with police in a “hit and run” style, wrote University of San Francisco associate professor Jeffrey Paris. There is no formal network of people and no set principles, just a belief that demonstrating peacefully doesn’t accomplish nearly as much as a flash of rage.

The German press coined the term black bloc in the 1980s, when activists in that country demonstrated for squatters’ rights and other causes. In 1987, the *New York Times* described a German black bloc as “a radical and embittered fringe” that burned cars, smashed windows and hurled bottles and firecrackers. Activists went on to use the black bloc strategy in Canada, Brazil, the United Kingdom, Italy, Switzerland and, during the Arab Spring, in Egypt. In the early 1990s, it appeared in the United States during protests against the Gulf War, and in 1999 it gained traction during the famous World Trade Organization conference in Seattle, when activists used sledgehammers, eggs filled with glass-



etching solution, and other equipment.

“The rulebook has been thrown out,” said one of the protesters at Berkeley. “It’s absolutely acceptable to use violence. They are 100 percent certain to use it against us.”

“This was a group of agitators who were masked up, throwing rocks, commercial-grade fireworks, and Molotov cocktails at officers,” said U.C.-Berkeley Police Sgt. Sabrina Reich in a news report.

The physical violence may have been directed at police officers, stated the conservative *Washington Times*, but the mob of Antifa terrorists that violently attacked the [student union ...] were as much declaring war on the ideology of the man for whom the building is named and its citizens. America’s left was sending a message: Violence is the answer.

Some argue the meaning of “violence.” An anonymous Antifa online post argues that destruction of property and vandalism is not violence, but things such as not having healthcare and poverty are violence.

“Our side is growing and also prepared to be more politically militant and support more militant struggle,” Yvette Felarca, a leader of the Antifa terrorist organization, By Any Means Necessary, told *Al Jazeera*. “If the movement continues building as large and as powerfully in this direction, we can defeat Trump, his entire racist agenda, and get him out without waiting for the next election.”

Black-clad Antifa activists in Sacramento, California, made national headlines in June 2016 when they faced off against a white nationalist group, the Traditionalist Workers Party, in a melee at the state capitol that sent 10 people to the hospital.

“We see folks employ the black bloc tactics en masse like that basically anywhere where you have either a conservative cause, such as what we had with the Milo event in Berkeley, or any time you have a guaranteed media presence, such as political conventions, G-8 summits,” said Kory Flowers, a

police sergeant in Greensboro, North Carolina, and an expert on extremist groups. “Half of these folks don’t know the particulars about the cause.”

Stephen Zunes, a University of San Francisco professor who has studied social movements, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* something similar in 2003. “They’re basically hoodlums looking for a mass rally to ride the coattails of. They don’t have a political agenda. And the worst thing is that they don’t have any leaders you can negotiate with.”

According to an article in *The Blaze*:

“The anti-fascist group at Clemson University has been openly promoting violence and destruction on campus against what they are calling ‘fascists,’ and ‘Nazis,’ causing many students to worry for their own safety.

“According to Campus Reform, an Antifa group calling itself ‘Upstate Antifa’ had posted Clemson University campus in South Carolina with fliers bearing a picture of a fist punching a swastika, with the message ‘Fighting fascism is a social duty, not an anti-social crime.’

“Below the image, written by hand appear the words ‘Support your local Antifa group, and take a stand against racism, misogyny, and xenophobia! Unite!’ It then gives the address for the group’s Facebook page. Before that, a similar poster was spotted on a park bench near a church that read ‘Fascism is not to be debated. It is to be smashed.’”

A recent demonstration of force in Phoenix, Arizona, was so unsettling it left liberal *Phoenix New Times* columnist Stephen Lemons wondering if “bloodshed is on the horizon.”

“In hindsight, it occurs to me that if a left-wing militia and a right-wing militia ... cross paths at a future demonstration, there very easily could be bloodshed,” Lemons wrote. “Both sides are loaded for bear. And I get the feeling both sides can rationalize their behavior after the fact, even if it comes down to killing someone.”



Alt-Right or Alternative Right Stresses White Supremacy

People who identify with the Alt-Right regard mainstream or traditional conservatives as weak and impotent, largely because they do not sufficiently support racism and anti-Semitism. Alt-Righters frequently disparage the conservative movement by using the derogatory term “cuckservative,” a combination of “conservative” and “cuckold.” This term is used by white supremacists to describe a white Christian conservative who promotes the interests of Jews and non-whites over those of whites. However, not every person who identifies with the Alt-Right is a white supremacist.

White supremacist Richard Spencer, who runs the National Policy Institute think tank, coined the term “Alternative Right” for an online publication that debuted in 2010. The online publication changed hands in 2013 when Spencer shut it down. It was soon relaunched by Colin Liddell and Andy Nowicki, who were former writers for *Alternative Right*. Spencer went on to found another online journal, *Radix*. Both *Alternative Right* and *Radix* act as forums for racists, anti-Semites, and others who identify with the Alt-Right.

Alt-Right adherents identify with a range of different ideologies that put white identity at their centers. Many claim themselves as Identitarians, a term that originated in France with the founding of the Bloc Identitaire movement and its youth counterpart, Generation Identitaire. Identitarians espouse racism and intolerance under the guise of preserving the ethnic and cultural origins of their respective countries. American Identitarians such as Richard Spencer claim to want to preserve European-American (i.e., white) culture in the U.S. As Michael McGregor, a writer and editor for *Radix*, wrote, Identitarians want “the preservation of our identity—the cultural and genetic heritage that makes us who we are.” Identitarians reject multiculturalism or pluralism in any form.

Others in the Alt-Right identify as so-called radical traditionalists, people who want to preserve what they claim are traditional Christian values but from a uniquely white supremacist perspective. The Traditionalist Youth Network is a group that espouses a white supremacist form of Christianity and promotes “family and folk” and separation of the races.

There are people with other beliefs who fall under the umbrella of the Alt-Right but all share a fixation on white identity as central to their ideology. However they

define themselves, Alt-Righters reject egalitarianism, democracy, universalism, and multiculturalism.

A number of Alt-Righters are also blatantly anti-Semitic and blame Jews for allegedly promoting anti-white policies such as immigration and diversity.

The Alt-Right is an extremely loose movement, made up of different strands of people connected to white supremacy. One body of adherents is the ostensibly “intellectual” racists who create many of the doctrines and principles of the white supremacist movement. They seek to attract young educated whites to the movement by highlighting the achievements and alleged intellectual and cultural superiority of whites. They run a number of small white supremacist enterprises that include think tanks, online publications, and publishing houses. These include *Radix* and Washington Summit Publishers, both run by Richard Spencer; Counter Currents Publishing, run by Greg Johnson; American Renaissance, run by Jared Taylor; and The Right Stuff, a political and social blog with a number of contributors. Another strand of the Alt-Right consists of younger racists savvy with social media and Internet communications.

Alt-Righters like to use terms such as “culture” as substitutes for more lightning-rod terms such as “race,” or promote “Western Civilization” as code for white culture or identity. They do not make explicit references to white supremacy such as the “14 words,” a slogan used by neo-Nazis and other hardcore white supremacists. The “14 words” refers to the expression, “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.” Even though Alt-Righters share the sentiment behind the “14 words,” they’re more inclined to talk about preserving European-American identity.

Though the Alt-Right is not a movement, per se, the number of people who identify with it is growing. It includes a number of young people who espouse racist and anti-Semitic beliefs. It has a loud presence online. The intellectual racists who identify as part of the Alt-Right also run a growing number of publications and publishing houses that promote white supremacist ideas. Their goal is to influence mainstream whites by exposing them to the concept of white identity and racial consciousness.

Source: Anti-Defamation League CEO Jonathan Greenblatt

Antifa and Anti-Antifa emblems initially appear similar. Anti-Antifa groups have appropriated some of Antifa's symbolism for several reasons: displaying openly Nazi symbols is illegal in many countries; to ridicule what the symbols represent; and to mimic the success of left-wing movements. Antifa and Anti-Antifa symbols appear as logos, flags, tattoos, patches, graffiti, signs, stickers, and on clothing. Logos are similar so it can be easy to misinterpret which group individuals are affiliated with.

Antifa Symbols



The Antifa emblem consists of a black circle with red and black flags in the center. Distinguishing attributes include the words Antifa or Antifascist Action (in various languages) written on the black circle. Sometimes the name or specific location of a specific group is written. The positions of the black and red flags can differ. The origin of the symbol is the 1932 German communist paramilitary movement Antifaschistische Aktion logo that depicted the circle and the flags facing right in red. Three arrows in a circle is another popular Antifa symbol and sometimes appears on the flag. The symbol of three arrows pointing southwest (to the lower left) inside a circle originated with the German 1930's antifascist group Iron Front. It was designed to easily cover Nazi swastikas. The Antifa international website claims that the arrows currently stand for equality, fraternity, and solidarity.

Anti-Antifa Symbols



Anti-Antifa emblems consist of a black circle with red and black flags in the center that are identical to the Antifa logo. Distinguishing attributes include variations of the words and symbols on the flags. Anti-Antifa groups replace the words Antifa Action with expressions such as Anti-Antifa Action and the names and/or geographic locations of their group. The Celtic Cross is often depicted on the black flag and the swastika on the red flag. Anti-Antifa graphics have included the No symbol (a circle with a red diagonal line through it) encircling the Antifa symbol and other popular white supremacist symbols. The swastika is the symbol of the Nazi Party in Germany. It is the most identifiable symbol of white supremacy in the world. The Celtic Cross (equal armed version) is one of the most common white supremacist symbols in use. It signifies white racial purity.

Source: Symbol Intelligence Group LLC, 2017, www.symbolintelligence.com, Officer Awareness Bulletin, March 15, 2017.

Antifa and Anti-Antifa Good Night Symbols

The Good Night White Pride, aka GNWP logo, originated from an actual incident in Ann Arbor, Mich. On May 9, 1998, the KKK rallied and clashed with anti-racist counter-protesters. A photo of Harlon Jones, 18, an anti-racist kicking a KKK member in the head, became the iconic silhouette image of the logo. Good Night symbols appear as logos, flags, tattoos, patches, graffiti, signs, stickers, and on clothing. There are many significant variations, and sometimes affiliations can be confusing.

Antifa: Left-Wing Anarchists

White Pride signifies white nationalist ideology. The symbol on the victim is usually a swastika or other white supremacist emblem to indicate who is losing the fight. Variations include multiple offenders and attack positions. Variations include Good Night Alt-Right and Good Night Right Side.

Anti-Antifa: Right-Wing Nationalists

Red Side signifies socialist, communist, and left-wing ideologies. The symbol on the victim is usually a five-pointed red star or identifier of an Antifa group. Image variations include multiple offenders and attack positions. Text variations include Good Night Anti-White, Good Night Left Side, aka GNLS, and Good Night Antifa Scum.



Source: Symbol Intelligence Group LLC, 2017, www.symbolintelligence.com, Officer Awareness Bulletin, March 15, 2017.

Antifa Symbols



New York City



Philadelphia



Berkeley, CA



Portland, OR



Fort Pierce, FL



Philadelphia



Knoxville, TN



Bay Area, CA



1930s Logo



Sydney, Australia



Catalan Countries



Brittany, France



Norway



London, England



Sicily, Italy



France



Anti-Sexist



Anti-Speciesism



Anonymous



Anti-Homophobia



Support Antifa Prisoners



Queer Antifa



Antifa Torch Network



Basque Vegan

Source: Symbol Intelligence Group LLC, 2017, www.symbolintelligence.com, Officer Awareness Bulletin, March 15, 2017.

Anti-Antifa - Autonomous Nationalists (AN)

The Autonomous Nationalists (AN) are a new generation of primarily German neo-Nazis who have adopted the far left's organizational concept of autonomous activism, black bloc tactics and symbolism as part of a "Third Position" ideology and as a method to appeal to nationalist youth by mirroring the subculture of global justice movements. In addition to the Antifa logo, the AN has appropriated some of the most popular left-wing symbols including the iconic image of Che Guevara and the Palestinian keffiyeh scarf. Their emblems include variations of the Antifa logo, typically with the words Autonomous Nationalists (in local languages) and the name of the city or region. A common symbol of AN is the red crossed hammer and sword which originated with the 1930 group the Black Front, which advocated a more radical anti-capitalist and worker-based form of Nazism, a precursor of Third Position politics. AN is active in Anti-Antifa actions. They are extremely violent and have targeted Antifa protestors.



Source: Symbol Intelligence Group LLC, 2017, www.symbolintelligence.com, Officer Awareness Bulletin, March 15, 2017.

Antifa Hooligans: Left-Wing Ultras

Football hooliganism involves conflict between association football clubs, aka soccer, for the purpose of intimidating and physically attacking supporters of other teams. Certain teams have long-standing rivalries with other clubs. Violence may take place before, during, or after matches and in extreme cases, hooligans, police, and bystanders have been killed. Ultras are similar to hooligans in that they are renowned for ultra-fanatical support. Although the terms are often used interchangeably, the main goal of hooligan clubs is to fight hooligans of other clubs, while the main focus of ultras is generally to support their own team. Ultras are more influenced by political ideas and some embrace extreme political ideologies ranging from white nationalists to anti-fascist. Their political views are evident in their banners, signs, gestures, and graffiti.



Some left-wing radical ultras are commonly referred to as Antifa Ultra or Antifa Hooligans. They display Antifa flags and other socialist and communist symbols, such as Che Guevara, red stars, and red flags in their emblems and banners at stadiums.



Source: Symbol Intelligence Group LLC, 2017, www.symbolintelligence.com, Officer Awareness Bulletin, March 15, 2017.

Anti-Antifa Hooligans: Right-Wing Ultras



Anti-Antifa football clubs openly display white supremacist symbols and neo-Nazi flags during matches. A common expression on banners and signs is "100% Anti-Antifa." Some far-right ultra fans have performed Nazi salutes at soccer games.





ROCIC Can Assist Officers with Investigations

ROCIC Training and Officer Safety Resources

ROCIC Training Department

The ROCIC Training Department offers numerous training opportunities for police officers, including operational planning, social media, civil unrest planning and response, risk avoidance, crime scene management, and others. Training courses can be found at www.rocic.com/training.

ROCIC Publications

Additional training publications can be found on the ROCIC Publications webpage, including topics on fraud, credit card crime, virtual currencies, forged identification, gift card scams, burglaries and thefts, crimes against the elderly, among others. These publications can be accessed by logging into your RISSNET account at <https://rocic.riss.net/publications>.

ROCIC Officer Safety Website

RISS also offers officer safety resources on their Officer Safety Website, including concealment methods, law enforcement threats, gangs, narcotics, domestic terrorism, sovereign citizens, and armed and dangerous subjects. This information can be accessed by logging into your RISSNET account at <https://officersafety.riss.net>.

Other ROCIC Resources

ROCIC Criminal Intelligence Unit

The Intel Specialists with ROCIC's Criminal Intelligence Unit (CIU) can access dozens of research tools, specialized databases, public record information, criminal justice information, and data. They are able to search, retrieve, compile, and provide a consolidated reporting of findings to officers. This assistance helps officers in need of quick, accurate, and complete

information. Information gained by ROCIC can help develop leads, link criminal activity, gain background information on suspects, and quickly obtain driver's license photos.

RISSIntel

The RISS Criminal Intelligence Databases (RISSIntel) provides for a real-time, online federated search of RISS and partner intelligence databases, including state systems. Millions of intelligence records are available via RISSIntel. These records include individuals, organizations, groups, and associates suspected of involvement in criminal activity, as well as locations, vehicles, weapons, and telephone numbers.

ROCIC Law Enforcement Coordinators

The ROCIC Law Enforcement Coordinators have specialized email lists to get your information out as fast as possible to jurisdictions that might be affected by similar cases.

ROCIC Analytical Unit

The Analytical Unit converts complex information into easy-to-understand charts and presentations. The Audio and Video Forensic Department can enhance photos and video surveillance footage. The Computer Forensics Department assists in collecting evidence from electronic devices.

ROCIC Technical Services

The ROCIC Technical Services Unit loans specialized equipment to member agencies at no charge, including surveillance cameras and recording devices.

More information on RISS and ROCIC resources can be found at www.riss.net.



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