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WHAT IS NO PLATFORMING?

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#### **EDITORIAL:**

#### We Are All Anti-Fascist

It's apparently controversial to identify yourself as an anti-fascist in 2018.

Anti-fascists are just as bad as fascists, we're told. Those kids in black masks just want to shut down free speech and break windows. Hell, even the Montreal police hate crimes division, of all things, is focusing its energy on surveilling anti-fascists.

Well, for what it's worth, we at *The Link* are anti-fascist. And you should be, too.

Not even 100 years ago, fascists rose to power for the first time. It's a story with an end we all know—it ends in the mass graves at Treblinka, Bełżec, and Auschwitz. We take the lessons of this story seriously, and vow to make "never again" a reality.

How is it, then, that survivors of the Holocaust are still walking among us, yet we live in a time where fascism is once again on the rise? Fascist terror is occurring across the United States and Canada. A white nationalist walked into a mosque with a gun and murdered six people in Quebec City. In America, one of many neo-nazi groups has been tied to dozens of murders. Fascists march in the streets, and we wring our hands but accept it as the new normal.

As journalists, this presents us with a unique dilemma. We see that the far-

right is growing, and it's an event of public interest. But media coverage can contribute to the rise of the farright and, in fact, it already has. So what can we do?

We choose to make our position explicit. We choose to take sides. And we choose to stand firmly on the side of those resisting racism and fascism.

Fighting fascism is not a free speech issue. The theory that we exist within a "marketplace of ideas" in which the best ideas inevitably win out is a lie. If it were true, we would never have had people like Hitler, Mussolini, or Franco.

Instead, the question of which ideas win is a question of power. Who will build the capacity to make their ideals a reality? Every time fascists attempt to organize—to hold a rally, a speaking event, or even put up stickers—they are building that capacity. It's everyone's job to stop that from happening.

And we do mean everyone. Anti-fascism can't exclusively be the domain of a handful of radicals. There's an important place for that, but for it to be effective it needs to be widespread. And in order to build a broad, popular anti-fascist culture, to defend our society against the appeals of the far-right, we need to talk about what's going on.

We hope that this issue can be our small contribution to the process of popular education that we see going on around us. In it, we attempt to understand the phenomenon of the far-right through many different angles. What groups are active in Quebec? How do fascists recruit on campus? What role can labour unions play in the anti-fascist movement? We can't cover everything, but we hope that the articles within these pages make for a good start.

By putting together and publishing this magazine, we hope to make this complex political issue accessible and understandable for you, our reader. Because we know that, with something this large, it can sometimes be hard to know where to begin. We hope that if you start here, you'll have a good idea of where you can involve yourself in building a society based on freedom, justice, and equality.

It might be controversial to call yourself an anti-fascist in 2018, but we can't shy away from controversy—especially when people's lives across the world are on the line. As journalists, and as members of communities who would be targeted by fascist violence, we refuse to be silent.

When we say "never again," we need to mean it. \*\* \bar{1}

# Concordia's Sexual Violence Problem, Revisited

2009

BY KELSEY LITWIN @KELSEYLITWIN

> Here's a look as to why that is through an overview of the history of response to this alleged culture of sexual violence has been lackluster at best.

was formed. But many say this action is

had been echoing through the university's

sexual violence at Concordia.

too little too late and that Concordia's

A TIMELINE: SEXUAL VIOLENCE AT CONCORDIA AND ITS (MIS)MANAGEMENT halls for years—some say as far back as tigation was launched, and a task force versity's administrators could no longer ignore them. A statement was released; a press conference was held; an invesdecades—finally became so loud that unicordia University was thrown into its The whispers of sexual misconduct that worst public relations nightmare in recent years-one that managed to maintain the attention of mainstream news media for subsequent weeks.

owed do so and that she should not disclose what happened to Concordia's philosophy department. After attempting to report anyone else. She is then bounced around for eight years while the incident, the student is allegedly told that she is not al-2009: A student is sexually harassed by a professor from attempting to have her case heard.

announces its April 2013: Concordia

Resource Centre. plans to open a Sexual Assault

there had been three reported incidents

operates largely through the help

its second paid employee three

years later in 2016.

number increases to 19 by the end of

that academic year.

ster Library. At the time of the incident,

a Concordia spokesperson says that of sexual harassment that year. That

groped in Concordia's downtown Web

opens its doors with Coordinator

November 2013: The SARC

Jennifer Drummond as its only full-time employee. The centre of volunteers. SARC receives

October 2013: A student is allegedly

gram was described by other former students as being was a student in the school's creative writing program in the 1990s. The alleged misconduct within the pro-

an open secret.

graduate Heather O'Neill tells the CBC this year that she was sexually harassed by a professor while she

1990s: Famed Montreal author and Concordia

1990

university.

2011: The Centre for Gender Advocacy, with support from the Women's Studies Student Association, calls on Concordia to establish of sexual violence complaints. It takes two years for a centre to be established at the a sexual assault centre due to a high rate

publishes an essay titled "Stories Like Passwords" that retells a sexual assault she experienced at the hands of an unnamed professor from Concordia's English department. The article October 2014: Former Concordia student Emma Healey s circulated widely within the department.

workshops in the university residences be taken down, allegedly saying that

the university acts as a landlord, not an authority and saying that "he felt it

wasn't the best way to begin a dialogue around those kinds of issues."

August 2014: Former Concordia director of residence life D'Arcy Ryan (now Director of Recreation and Athletics) asks that a petition mandating consent

requesting a formal statement from the unithe letter are then invited to a meeting with n the program. The student signatories of a representative from Human Resources to department write a letter to the then-chair versity to address the "toxic atmosphere" February 2015: In response to Healey's essay, students from the English discuss the issue.

> sexual violence in its policies assault policies. Up until this prepares to review its sexual point, Concordia did not have a clear definition of harassment, and psychoon harassment, sexual logical harassment.

March 2015: Concordia

dict on behalf of the university's tribunal, the school gives university's Office of Rights and Responsibilities. Following significant delays and what she says is an unfair ver-March 2015: Cathy, a student who was assaulted by her the fact that he plead guilty in court. In response, Cathy decides to take her case to the Quebec Human Rights her harasser 30 hours of community service, despite ex-boyfriend on campus, files a complaint with the Commission.

Just one week into the new year, Con-

**April 2015:** Mei-Ling, a former student politician who spoke anonymously, files a complaint with the Quebec Human Rights Commission following race-based discrimination and sexual harassment within the Arts and Science Federation of Associations just over a year earlier. This high-profile case, which receives mainstream media attention, kick-starts ASFA's attempts at rebranding in an effort to move away from what Mei-Ling described as a toxic culture of misogyny.

August 2015: Concordia releases its report on its review of the university's existing sexual assault policies. Recommendations include mandatory sexual violence training sessions for senior administrators, student executives and athletes, athletic coaches, residence assistants, students living in residence, and key faculty positions. It also recommends the adoption of a policy specifically meant to address sexual violence with specific procedures as well as allocating more resources to SARC.

**September 2015:** SARC begins providing workshops to Concordia's residence assistants.

September 2015: SARC begins offering consent workshops to Concordia's varsity teams in response to controversies surrounding sexual violence and athletes at universities in Ontario and Quebec.

2016

December 2016: Concordia hires Ashley Allen, a service assistant for SARC. She becomes the centre's second paid employee.

October 2016: Quebec Higher Education Minister Hélène David announces a series of province-wide consultations on sexual violence on post-secondary campuses following reports of a series of sexual assaults at Université Laval that month.

September 2016: Concordia releases its new stand-alone sexual violence policy. Included in it is the establishment of a sexual violence response team, a group whose role is to help those who file a report through the process. Concordia's Code of Rights and Responsibilities, however, still supersedes this policy which leads to some confusion due to differences in language used and about which procedure to follow.

2017

**2016-2017 Academic Year:** Between 2016 and 2017, the university's Office of Rights and Responsibilities receives 23 reports of sexual harassment.

February 2017: SARC moves from its GM building location to a larger space on the sixth floor of the Hall building in efforts to make it more accessible.

its sexual violence policy and add more protections for com-

munity members who go through the tribunal process.

Responsibilities for the first time since 2010 to unify it with

April 2017: Concordia amends its Code of Rights and

October 2017: Concordia is given a D- rating by Our Turn, a national action plan that examined the sexual violence policies of 14 universities across Canada. Concordia received the lowest grade as a result of its policy not being adequately survivor-centric, meaning it does not "prioritize the rights, needs, and wishes of the survivor," according to Our Turn's report.

mandates that post-secondary institutions have

a sexual assault resource centre and a sexual violence policy, and that there be mandatory

Violence in Higher Education Institutions. This

December 2017: Quebec adopts Bill 151, also

called an Act to Prevent and Combat Sexual

August 2017: The provincial government announces \$23 million in funding for post-secondary institutions to tackle sexual violence on campus. This comes ahead of the approval of Bill 151, a law that mandates how post-secondary institutions must deal with the issue.

2018

training for students and staff.

# January 2018:

Concordia graduate Mike Spry recounts witnessing an alleged toxic culture of sexual misconduct within the university's creative writing program in a widely circulated blog post, acting as a catalyst for the university's sexual misconduct scandal that continues to unfold.

into specific claims involving professors who were later revealed by the CBC to be David McGimpsey and Jon Paul Fiorentino, and one internal investigation into the alleged toxic culture of the English department. Shepard also announces the establishment of a 12-member task force to Days after Spry's post, Concordia President Alan Shepard announces that two investigations will be launched: one third party investigation

In the weeks following, Shepard also says that the university plans on allocating more resources to SARC to better serve students, including review Concordia's sexual violence policies. A report of their findings is set to be released later in 2018. hiring an additional employee.



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# Power Washing Hate, One Swastika at a Time

# How One Montrealer Works to Eradicate Hate in the City and Around the World

BY MIRIAM LAFONTAINE @MIRILAFONTAINE

On an average morning Corey Fleischer wakes up at 6 a.m., ready to receive his assignment for the day. Most days, he works until midnight.

"Honestly, this thing has kind of taken over my entire life," he said. "I am severely addicted to the feeling of removing hate."

Most people agree that hate against minorities and people of colour should be eradicated at all costs, but Fleischer goes about that fight a bit differently than most, since his main tool against hate is a high pressure power washer.

Fleischer has run his graffiti removal company Provincial Power Washing for the past decade, but only removed graffiti on commision. Life ran like that for him until eight years ago. Fleischer was driving along Monkland Ave. when he saw a spray painted swastika on a building. He kept moving along, but once he got to work, he said he had an epiphany.

"I knew that I did something terribly wrong, that I could have made a difference very easily and I didn't."

So he came back. "During the time that I was blasting away my first swastika—that feeling that I got from removing that swastika was something that I was searching for my whole life."

"For a long time in my life, throughout high school and university, I was very lost," he said. Recalling the moment, Fleischer describes experiencing an incredible bliss, and it was then he said he had discovered his life passion.

"I started driving all over the city, looking for anything hateful or demeaning to any minorities and that's what I did, I did that for around five years,



COURTESY COREY FLEISCHER



Corey Fleischer power washes away swastikas in the city. He estimates they make up 80 per cent of his work.

> COURTESY COREY FLEISCHER

nobody knew except my family and close personal friends," he said. "Everybody thought that I was crazy."

In the past two to three years, the habit has developed into a full time job. Fleischer started posting before and after photos of his removals on his personal Facebook page, and from there, friends started calling and asking him to remove swastikas or other hateful messages in their neighbourhoods. Now it's turned into a movement Fleischer dubs Erasing Hate.

Each day, Fleischer receives alerts from Montrealers through his public and private Facebook pages and through his Instagram page @erasinghate. If you give him a photo and address, "We'll remove it within 24 to 48 hours," he says.

In March, Fleischer removed a swastika off the Woman's Y on René-Lévesque Blvd. that had been on the building for the past 25 years, according to a long-time employee he spoke to. "That's what we're dealing with," he said. "I asked, 'Why didn't anyone ask to have it removed?' And they just shrugged their shoulders. That's what we're dealing with, that's society."

It's not work that goes without any contention. Last summer, Fleischer got in trouble with the town of Pointe-des-Cascades in the Montérégie region of Quebec after he blasted away a painted swastika on top of an old anchor located in a historical site. According to the plaque in the park, the anchor was likely left in the St. Lawrence River during the time of the Second World War. After Fleischer ignored the Mayor Gilles Santerre's demands that he stop blasting away the paint on the anchor, Santerre called the police on him, and he was later charged with destruction of property.

To pay the bills, he still runs his graffiti removal company, but more and more,



COURTESY COREY FLEISCHER

he says his push to eradicate hate leaves him with little time to dedicate to his job. Nearly everyday he power washes swastikas—he estimates they take up about 80 per cent of his work—and when he's not doing that he's giving antihate speeches at community centers, high schools, CEGEPs, and universities. Erasing hateful messages off of buildings won't eradicate hate, he stresses—only education will.

"We have to educate our kids. So tomorrow, in our future, we won't have to repeat the same mistakes we made in our past."

Fleischer meets teenagers through

schools around the city, and he often likes to bring them around while he scours the city for messages of hate. He says he wants to share the feeling he first experienced eight years ago with them, when he washed away a swastika for the first time, and he doesn't only bring around young people. He also likes to bring Holocaust survivors with him on a day out.

Fleischer also helps the Jewish organization B'nai Brith, the oldest Jewish organization in Canada, with their yearly audit of anti-Semitic incidents in Canada, which they release each year in the spring.



COURTESY COREY FLEISCHER

Fleischer helps them collect statistics for their audit by sending them information about the number and locations of swastikas or related anti-Semitic messages in Canada, explained Harvey Levine, B'nai Brith's Quebec regional director. When they get complaints from the community about offensive graffiti, they also notify Fleischer as soon as they can to make sure it gets removed.

"He knows how important it is to erase those swastikas, especially in an area where there are children in parks, or if there are Jewish people who are passing by who are very badly affected by the visions of the swastikas and the bad memories of World War II," said Levine, who's known Fleischer for five years.

Fleischer is helping to raise awareness about anti-Semitism in Canada, which is important since B'nai Brith found that anti-Semitic complaints have spiked in recent years. Levine couldn't yet say what the statistics will reveal for this year's audit that will come out soon, but said that unfortunately, "The numbers keep on increasing."

With increased recognition in the city and the onslaught of interview requests from around the world, Fleischer's work has extended well beyond the confines of the island. More and more, Fleischer is "We have to educate our kids. So tomorrow, in our future, we won't have to repeat the same mistakes we made in our past."

Corey Fleischer

facilitating the removal of hateful graffiti in cities around the world. If he gets
a request in another city, he'll first try
to help by walking people through the
removal process. If the graffiti demands
more resources to be removed, he'll call
the city or police closest to the location,
and if that doesn't work, he fundraises
through his networks to pay a graffiti
removal company in the city to do it.
He says he often pays out of pocket to
make sure it's done in a timely manner.

"We have tons of people around the world following this movement, I call them the erasing hate army," he said. During one week at the beginning of March, he said 20 to 30 removals had been completed in cities around the world. It's moving so fast that there's even plans to roll out an Erasing Hate app.

"There should be a hundred Coreys," said Levine. "If Marvel Comics was looking for another hero, they should make the erasing hate hero, because that's who he is."

## Each One Teach One

#### From Improvised Hip-Hop and Reggae to R&B and Soul, Kalmunity's

BY SHAKTI LANGLOIS-ORTEGA

Heavy red and blue lights illuminate the stage of Prince Arthur St.'s Petit Campus. The atmosphere is relaxed and a few people are ordering drinks at the bar.

On the open floor, the crowd, a colourful mixture of young and less young people, sit casually at dispersed tables. Some came alone, others in groups. Some are here for the first time, others come every week.

On stage, a pianist, a saxophonist, a bass player, a percussionist, and a drummer calmly sit in a half-moon formation. The drummer is Jahsun Promesse. With the group's okay, he gets up and walks to one of the three microphones standing in the middle of the small stage and says, "What you're about to hear is 100 per cent improvised."

With these words, one more weekly edition of Kalmunity's Live Organic Improv Tuesdays gets underway.

To the crowd's delight, the first set starts with a mellow and jazzy beat. The band is quickly absorbed by the harmony created by their instruments, and soon seems to forget that people are watching, as if they were simply jamming in their living room. By the time three vocalists slowly walk to each mic, the high energy in the room is palpable.

Rain, shine, or snow, every Tuesday night rotating musicians, poets, vocalists, rappers, and dancers all with various cultural and artistic backgrounds come together on stage to create spontaneous and improvised music.

From spoken word and soul, to hiphop and reggae, Kalmunity takes a different form every week. "It's about combining all of these styles, because music is oneness and that's what we're trying to show," said Promesse.

Some nights, the ambiance is relaxed

and mellow while other times, as Promesse puts it, people dance "to the end of love." But every week, art is created here in its most honest and raw form.

Promesse founded Kalmunity Vibe Collective in 2003. "We started it to create a platform for Black popular music like hip-hop, reggae, R&B, funk, and soul to be explored," he explains. Since then, it has grown to be one of Canada's largest urban music collectives.

Born and raised in Montreal, Promesse fell in love with drums as a child when his stepfather taught him how to play. He has been seeking new sounds ever since. For the following decades, Promesse's passion and talent for music earned him a commendable reputation. He has played and toured with various bands playing roots reggae and dancehall (a modern derivative of reggae) to alternative rock.

While he was immersed in the music environment, Promesse saw great potential in Montreal's late-90s and early-2000s emerging urban poetry.

"These stories have to be told [through] this music," he thought then. Promesse sought to unify Montreal's growing urban music and poetry scenes.

To do so, Promesse used his creative skills and charisma to establish a large network of performers of different genres from all over the city.

"We wanted to give a voice to the voiceless, and create a platform for storytelling," Promesse said. "It was a way to use these popular forms of music to bring different content to people's consciousness." With the help of a dozen musician friends, Kalmunity was born.

Administrative Director, known by his stage name Preach Ankobia, says that the name "Kalm-unity" was Promesse's idea.



### Weekly Improv Nights Run 15 Years Strong

Preach, Nora Toutain, and Shemar Gordon jammed at Kalmunity in March.

PHOTOS LILY BENNET-SCHARF @5FT25



"[Promesse] wanted to create something that unified the masses while providing a calm reflective energy," he said.

The wheels were turning, but finding a venue to host his ambitious project was harder than he had imagined. The concept of music improvisation was still mostly unknown to mainstream audiences at that time, and venues were reluctant to accept a group of emerging artists.

"When we started, no club understood the idea," Promesse recalled. "They would ask what's your repertoire, what covers do you play, where's your album?"

Luckily, some friends had opened a small eatery called Sablo Kafé in Little Italy. Based out of there, Promesse and his friends started hosting regular improvisation sessions.

"It was very intimate, totally different, and, in fact, a very scary way of performing," he said. Shortly after its debut word got around and the event turned into periodic cultural gatherings.

"You can go to any music school you want to get the theory, but no one really shows you to play with your soul, and that's what we are about."

Jahsun Promesse

The tight space quickly filled with curious listeners, leaving barely any space between the performers and the audience.

"It made us watch what we said, and be very conscious of the effect that it had on individuals," Promesse recalled. "It was very special." As Kalmunity's popularity grew, they relocated to Le Consulat Bar & Lounge on De Bleury St. From there they secured a spot on St-Laurent Blvd. at Les Bobards. Since last year, Kalmunity Tuesday improv nights are held at Petit Campus, on Prince-Arthur St.

\*\*\*

A climactic saxophone solo marks the end of the first set as the hyped crowd crammed onto the dance floor cheers heartily.

While announcing a short break, Promesse invites people to talk to each other and says, "buy a drink for someone you don't know."

Through the years, hundreds of performers have shared the stage. Some are gone, some remain, but "the essence is the same," Promesse said. "Connecting with people through music becomes a spiritual thing and it is a contagious kind of feeling."

This year, Kalmunity is celebrating its 15th anniversary. For the occasion,



Promesse and Preach put together Kalmunity Music Week. From May 1 to 6, various themed shows will be held across the city.

Preach was 21 when Kalmunity took shape. "We're all brothers and sisters here," he said, "but [Promesse] is somebody who has guided me personally, as my big brother."

Along with being an emcee and rapper, Preach is in charge of the administrative side of Kalmunity. "It has allowed me to sharpen my communication skills and helped me interact with the world in a more holistic way." For him, Kalmunity is more than a mere collective of artists—it has become home.

"It keeps me grounded," he said with a smile. "It keeps me rooted to something that's organic, something that's wholesome, something that's communal. This is a family; this is a community."

Kalmunity is in constant evolution. They have developed creative programs like Kalmunity Music and Poetry Workshops aimed to inspire and encourage emerging artists.

"You can go to any music school you want to get the theory," Promesse said.
"But no one really shows you to play with your soul, and that's what we are about."

Promesse believes that participating in live improvisation prompts artists to step out of their comfort zone.

"There's something real about it, something honest, something soulful about it that you can't really teach, you can only experience," he said.

Kalmunity Sunday Jazz Project is their second weekly event, held at Café Résonance on Park Ave. on Sunday nights. It is a warm and jazzier experience in a more intimate setting. Kalmunity also themes their events to highlight important dates. In February, for instance, they host their Black Liberation Sundays series during which they explore jazz through different eras and genres.

For many performers as well as audience members, Kalmunity is a form of therapy.

"It's something that is healing to the

world," said Preach.

With an open heart, the founder has embraced artists from all walks of life. "The different stories, the different way people play, whether they're schooled or whether they're not, all make up the beauty of Kalmunity," Promesse said.

For Preach, integration is at the core of the collective. "As cooky, as funky or as quiet as we are, we're all accepted here and we all shine. Jahsun has figured out a way to allow everybody to have that highlight."

Being able to support his fellow artists is a must for Promesse. The platform he created 15 years ago keeps serving its purpose. Promesse believes the community is growing and the message is reaching. Promesse feeds off the good energy that he gets all around him.

"I have really good people around me, which is a blessing," he said. "They keep me strong and keep me grounded. And once you're grounded, you're always reminded of your purpose. Each one teach one." [5]





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BY ALEXANDER PEREZ @DASALEXPEREZ

In March 2017, Shaquille Michaud became a two-time provincial champion in one weekend.

He took home one title with the Université de Montréal Carabins men's soccer team during the the Réseau du sport étudiant du Québec winter season. The other was a Première Ligue de Futsal provincial title with Sporting Outlaws Futsal Club.

It was a triumphant weekend for the defender, but one that left Michaud at a crossroads. The weekend of March 24 made him reassess his future.

During the 2016-17 season, Michaud played for both the Carabins and Sporting Outlaws at the same time, leaving him with a scheduling conflict.

With two provincial titles to play for, Michaud had to choose between playing for the Carabins or Sporting Outlaws.

Friday night's game for futsal was in Trois-Rivières, and Michaud wouldn't have been able to travel with the Carabins for their match against the Université Laval Rouge et Or in Quebec City.

"I didn't know really what to do," said Michaud.

He spoke with Carabins head coach Pat Raimondo about his situation. He said that, "He had to go play futsal," because it's his team. Raimondo and Michaud came to a compromise.

"My coach is tough but he's a human also, and he understood my position and we found a way for me to do both," said Michaud.

As a result Michaud would miss the futsal final game with Sporting Outlaws. But, with tears in his eyes, he would

watch his teammates become champions over his phone.

It was a decorated weekend for Michaud, but it also made him realize something.

"I cannot do both all the time, so that was one moment where I said I should choose one or the other," said Michaud. "So I chose futsal."

Michaud's decision to cut his Carabins career short was made based on his role. With the Carabins, it was his first year on the team and he wasn't as high up the pecking order compared to that

of the futsal team he captains and wants to help grow.

SPORTS

Sporting Outlaws' success played into his decision too. From becoming provincial champions, to being the first team from Quebec to win a national title at the Futsal Canadian Championships, Michaud and Sporting Outlaws Montreal were prospering.

"I was able to realize dreams, child-hood dreams," said Michaud. "Futsal gave me a lot."

Raimondo and Michaud spoke about leaving the Carabins in order to con-



tinue ensuring the growth of Sporting Outlaws. The head coach said they had "no problem" releasing him.

"It was bringing him more pleasure, more joy, and more happiness," said Raimondo. "At the end of the day, that's what you want."

Since winning the national title, Sporting's credibility began to grow. The team's co-founders Marouane Lamnidi and Alexander Fuentes, who is also a goalkeeper on the team, along with Michaud saw an opportunity to further expand Sporting.

They rebranded the team name from Outlaws to Sporting Montreal and changed their logo. With the the club moving forward, creating Sporting Montreal Junior, a U-15 girls team as well as a separate Première ligue de futsal du Québec team in Quebec City called Sporting Quebec, Michaud not only decided to retire from the Carabins, but take a break from school altogether.

"I felt that it would be difficult for me to balance the time," Michaud said. "I thought, that if there's something I could take a break from for now, it would be school."

# "LE BON ATTIRE LE BON, ET LE MAUVAIS ATTIRE LE MAUVAIS"

The values that represent Sporting Montreal stem from the lessons Michaud was taught during his time with the Carabins. He highlighted the values Raimondo instilled within the Carabins' soccer program, which Michaud eventually carried over to his futsal club.

Something Raimondo often told his team was that "le bon attire le bon, et le mauvais attire le mauvais"—the good attracts the good, and the bad attracts the bad.

"The success that we had with Sporting, it was because we were really humble [and] we worked really hard," said Michaud.

Raimondo pointed to four values that he instills in his players: To be coachable, to be warriors, to be a good teammate, on and off the field, and for his team to embody that when representing the Carabins.

"When the game starts, you need to be able to do what the game asks you to do, to be able to perform and to win games,"



Shaquille Michaud carried what he learned with the Carabins to Sporting Montreal.

PHOTOS ELISA BARBIER @ELISABARBIER\_

said Raimondo. "Winning games for me has nothing to do with the score, but you need to be competitive."

In a past game against FC Sparte, one of the top futsal teams in Canada, in a five-a-side tournament, Michaud remembered his team going back to the locker room down by two goals.

In the locker room, Michaud and Sporting's coach Franck Mouiche led a "passionate" halftime discussion.

"We had the will to come back and win," said Michaud. "We were losing 2–0 and the game finished 5–2 or 5–3, and it's not easy to do against Sparte."

Along with the lessons he learned with the Carabins, Michaud's natural leadership has been vital to the team's success.

Being a captain is something Michaud has always been used to. His style of play is vocal and it's through his performances on the field that he expresses his willingness to step up when his team needs him. His positive personality resonates around the team.

"When [Michaud] is in a good mood, everybody is in a good mood," said Fuentes.

Fuentes recalled a game against FC Grenadiers on March 11 in which Michaud played a big role in their team winning the match. "Anytime we step on the field, he has the right words for each of us."

"She worked really hard for me and for my happiness.
For me the least I can do is show her that everything she did, it was not for nothing."
Shaquille Michaud

As Fuentes dove to make a save, he palmed away an opposition shot from making its way to the back of Sporting Montreal's net. Fuentes went down.

Clutching his back he pounded the ground, his eyes shut and his face glued to the floor. The pain was evident in his grimace.

Michaud made his way from the bench. He and his teammate, who was also his close friend of 10 years, exchanged words, before Fuentes was able to pick himself up. Michaud wrapped his arms around him, consoling him after his injury.

"I was playing injured," said Fuentes, who was the only goalie present that game. "What Shaq told me was 'I just need you, bro. Give me 30 minutes. We're gonna protect you, just give us 30 minutes," he retold. "'I know [you're hurt] but I need you right now, we are together on this."

That was the boost that Fuentes needed to finish the game.

#### **ENSURING THE FUTURE**

His joyous personality and positive presence weren't attributes that naturally transcended upon Michaud. The characteristics that defined him were taught to him by his uncle Gérald Michaud and his grandmother, Gladys Cherestant-Michaud.

Michaud's uncle was a mentor to him. Shaquille followed Gérald everywhere. Anything his uncle was doing, Shaquille would follow.

"He made me realize the importance of honesty and hard work in life," said Shaquille.

His uncle's lessons are clear in Shaquille's performances on the field—that he should always be honest and hardworking. Michaud shows little signs of exhaustion on the futsal court. Michaud's match winning goal in that March game against the Grenadiers was a solo effort. and one that showed his determination. Facing the attacking player he pressured the opposition, stealing the ball away. Taking a few touches, he fakes the shot, sliding the ball to his right before placing it in the back of the goal. Running towards the boards, Michaud yells in celebration, slapping the Sporting Montreal crest on his chest.

Shaquille dedicates the success he's achieved to his grandmother. Everything he does is to make her proud, he said. It's through his success that he wants to let her know, it was not for nothing.

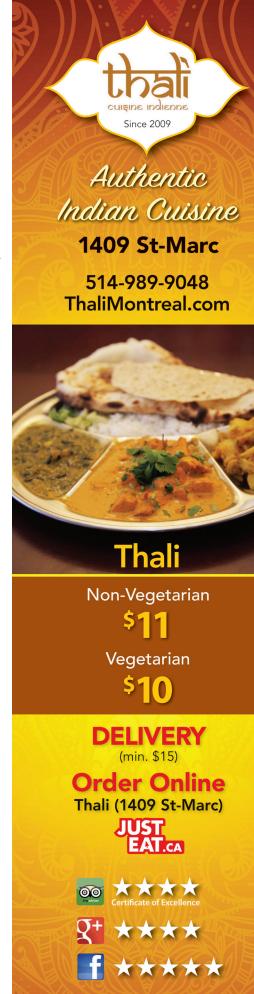
"When I started soccer, she made sure that I had shoes," he said. "She worked really hard for me and for my happiness. For me the least I can do is show her that everything she did, it was not for nothing."

Michaud wants to continue to carry on his uncle's and grandmother's influence. He believes in their message, one he looks to share.

Years down the line, Shaquille, Lamnidi, and Fuentes want to see Sporting's legacy remain, and to continue growing as a club. With the junior teams, and plans of further expansion, Michaud said that eventually they want to have at least one team in each age category of the league.

"We want to build a club where we want to ensure that in two, three years a good team of Sporting Montreal can go to the nationals," said Shaquille. "We were the first to accomplish that but we don't want to be the last."

"We want to ensure the future."  $\square$ 



## Concordia Hall of Famer Comes Home

#### Jim Corsi Come Back to Where He Started Following NHL Career

DUSTIN KAGAN-FLEMING @DUSTINKFLEMING

Talking with Jim Corsi, you see the blend of fun and professionalism that everyone brings up when you ask about him. In his 60s, the Stingers assistant coach brings both a youthful enthusiasm and wisdom that only comes with age and experience. After a career spanning five decades as both a goalie and coach, he possesses plenty of the latter.

Corsi's head tips back in laughter during a post-game interview as he tells reporters a story from his years as an NHL goaltending coach, something head coach Marc-André Élement and his players appreciate as much as the group of chuckling journalists.

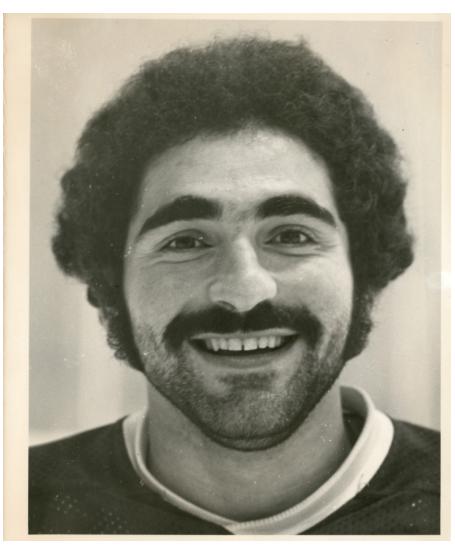
"It was a living nightmare," laughed Corsi, explaining that while coaching with the St. Louis Blues, he was surrounded by a staff of former players that had eliminated the Buffalo Sabres, his former team, from the Stanley Cup final on a controversial goal during his early days as a coach.

Corsi's time in the NHL came after his playing career with the maroon and gold.

For three years in the 1970s, Corsi wore a Stingers jersey and distinguished himself as one of the finest athletes in the university's history. His work as both a Stingers hockey and soccer player earned him all-Canadian honours in both sports and a spot in Concordia's sports hall of fame. He also holds the honour of having his jersey number retired by the Stingers as well.

And that's just his university resume. "It's really fun to have an alumni [like Corsi] back," said Élement. Corsi has spent a successful 2017–2018 season working with Élement as a goaltending coach and helping with the team's penalty kill.

Between his two Concordia careers, Corsi spent time in six different profes-



Corsi is the only Concordia athlete to have his jersey number retired by the men's hockey team.

COURTESY RECORDS MANAGEMENT AND ARCHIVES, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

sional leagues, including the NHL. He even represented Italy in the 1982 World Hockey Championships. That Italy team managed to tie team Canada, led by one-time teammate Wayne Gretzky, along with legends like Bob Gainey and Darryl Sittler, before going on to defeat the United States.

Corsi went on to a successful coaching career in the NHL, spending 18 years

with the Buffalo Sabres and St. Louis Blues as a goalie coach and mentoring top tier goaltenders.

That kind of experience doesn't go unnoticed by his players.

"He's worked with goalies like Dominik Hasek, Jake Allen, Ryan Miller. Big goaltenders who played in the NHL," said Stingers goaltender Marc-Antoine Turcotte, who spent the season under Corsi's tutelage. "Corsi knows what he's talking about so you always have to listen."

Corsi has found a level of success rarely seen for players coming out of university hockey. It's why Corsi's return to his alma mater has been all the more celebrated.

"He wanted to give back to the program [and] he's helping us a lot," said Element. "He brings professionalism, [...] he's doing an amazing job."

Corsi is also happy to be home and enjoying the work he loved back where his career began.

"I've worked abroad for almost 40 years but every summer I come home," said the Montreal native, stressing that working in the city where he belongs is something that brings him a good deal of happiness.

That kind of joy is something that Corsi works to bring to the team.

As professional and experienced as Corsi is, he knows how important it is that his players don't "become toothpaste," that is stuck in a bottle and squeezed out by tension. He wants to make sure players aren't succumbing to the pressure that he knows they're under.

"We try to keep the kids upbeat and positive, even when it looks dark," said Corsi with the frankness and simplicity that colours much of what he says. Cliché or not, when Jim Corsi brings out his nuggets of wisdom, it's tough to feel that they are anything but genuine.

He's a coach who puts in the effort to dispel any tension or fear that sets in, either on the bench or in the room, and that positivity of his attitude makes for a much more relaxed and capable team.

It's a real help for Corsi's pupil, Turcotte. Due to his position, the second year player may be under more pressure than any other Stingers on the ice every night. "We built a big relationship," said Turcotte, explaining that Corsi's approach to coaching helped his mental game as much as his on-ice performance.

"We have a good bond," continued Turcotte. "At practice we talk about anything. Whether it's politics or economics or just hockey in general. We're close."

Turcotte's performance has been out-



Jim Corsi spent his only season in the NHL with the Edmonton Oilers alongside a rookie Wayne Gretzky.

PHOTO HARRISON-MILO RAHAJASON

standing for the Stingers in their most successful season in over three decades. With a .915 save percentage in 26 regular season games, Turcotte was a consistently capable and frustrating opponent for every team he went up against.

Only two goalies out of all of Canada's universities faced more shots than Turcotte's 740 as the young goaltender backstopped his team to their first nationals appearance since 1984.

According to Turcotte, his performance this season can be traced directly to Corsi's coaching.

"He's helped me develop to the max and he's pretty much the reason why I played so well this season," said the Chateauguay native.

In Corsi's eyes, Turcotte's success is a result of him checking off the boxes that he looks for in a goaltender, as he praised the first time U Sports starter's performance this season.

"The things I look for in goaltenders is curiosity in the position and the effort to get better," said Corsi. "[Turcotte] never shied away, always tried to improve himself and tried to find a way to make himself a better goalie."

Turcotte is planning on getting onto the ice with Corsi in the offseason to continue

his training with the former NHL coach.

Watching Turcotte and his teammates close off a 3-2 victory against the York Lions in March and earn a spot at the national championships was a special moment for Corsi. Plenty of his teammates from his Stingers years were in attendance to see his young players "living history."

"You can teach a guy how to butterfly, you can teach him how to stick handle, and you can teach him how to skate backwards, but you can't teach winning," said Corsi after the game, smiling ear to ear and praising the professional environment that he has enjoyed while working alongside Élement.

"Winning is what those kids did [against York]. It's a lesson that'll last a lifetime."

Corsi and Élement have yet to discuss next season and Corsi's potential return to the bench in September. Élement's hope is that he and Corsi will be side by side again going into the 2018–2019 season and beyond. The head coach's hopes are high after hearing from Corsi just how much he's enjoyed his time working with such a "good group of guys."

Whatever happens moving forward, it's certainly been a memorable homecoming for one of Concordia's best.

# **Balancing Faith and Basketball**

### Dvir Cahana Looking to Give Back to Community as University Career Ends

ELIAS GRIGORIADIS @ELIGRIGORIADIS

As all of Concordia's sports seasons are slowly coming to a close, many graduating students who have worn the uniform for the last time will be looking back on their careers and forward to life after collegiate sports.

One of those athletes is Stingers men's basketball forward Dvir Cahana.

His family immigrated to Toronto from Göteborg, Sweden when Dvir was five before settling in Montreal a year later. That was when Cahana quickly fell in love with basketball at a local YMCA camp.

Cahana's passion carried him to a spot on the Dawson College Blues. In the 2013– 14 season, his last season there, he shot 45 per cent from the field, averaged close to five rebounds per game and was one of their most well-rounded players.

From there, he enrolled at McGill University and tried out for the basketball team. He didn't make the cut, but he did stay there for a year of study, and served as the team's equipment manager.

"Even though he wasn't playing, his energy was contagious," said McGill Head Coach David Deaveiro.

Deaveiro says that Cahana's team-first attitude helped boost morale for players and coaches alike. Though he is happy to see Cahana move on and become an important member of Concordia's team, he admits he wishes Cahana could have stayed at McGill.

"He was always the first to volunteer to do any task and he never complained about anything," said Deaveiro.

Still wanting to play for a team, Cahana went to the open tryouts at Concordia the following year.

"I played my heart out in those tryouts," he said. "I tried to show that I was ready for university-level basketball and I'm just thankful that I was given this opportunity." While he may not have played many minutes in his time as a Stinger, Cahana's voice is recognizable to anyone who goes to a Concordia basketball game. The distinct "Yeeaahh!" he yells during pre-game shootaround has become known around the Réseau du sport étudiant du Québec. It's more than just motivation for his team; it's also contagious for the fans.

"I try to do my best to support the team when we play and part of that is also getting the crowd into it," said Cahana. "I love interacting with the fans and if it makes the atmosphere better, then that's just a bonus."

On top of his busy life as a student athlete, Cahana is also devoted to his Jewish faith. He's well aware of the necessary sacrifices that come with balancing basketball, faith and his studies.

"It's been an extra challenge when you

look at some of the restrictions during Jewish holidays," Cahana said, "but I worked hard and I'm so happy with the decisions I've made."

Cahana recounts how, while being unable to use any electricity or money between Friday night and Saturday night because of the Sabbath, he had to find a way to make it to games and practices.

On certain occasions, he walked nearly 30 kilometers to get to games.

"It definitely complicates things especially when you look at transportation but I find it all very fulfilling," said Cahana. "It's been a unique experience and it's something I'll cherish for a long time because I've learned so many great lessons."

Deaveiro recalls a specific situation from Cahana's time at McGill.

"There was one game that we had all the way out at Bishop's and he couldn't travel



by car. He even offered to walk a couple of miles to the game but we wouldn't let him do that on his own," he said. "It's just a testament to how committed he is to his religion and the team."

Cahana had never started a game with the Stingers, coming off the bench once or twice a season. But on Feb. 24, before his last regular season home game, against the Université Laval Rouge et Or, Concordia Head Coach Rastko Popovic decided to give the veteran a proper send off as a thank you for his three years of service.

"I had no idea I was starting and that was just the coolest thing that [Popovic] did," said Cahana, grinning from ear to ear. "It was absolutely wild and I'm never going to forget that game for as long as I live."

"The crowd went wild and I still get goosebumps just thinking about it," he said.

Popovic spoke about how pivotal the senior was to the team and how his role on the team will not be an easy one to fill next season.

"Dvir will go down as the best team-

mate I have ever seen in my years as a player or coach," said Popovic. "Always smiling, always interacting with his teammates, always just happy to have basketball in his daily life. You couldn't ask for a better player to coach."

The coach went on to explain that Cahana's work ethic was exemplary.

"Dvir is an extremely hard working guy who's always in the gym. He brings intensity and passion every day he steps on the floor," said Popovic. "He's a passionate and selfless player that will never hesitate to put the team first."

When asked about his plans for the future, Cahana was adamant about giving back to the community. Whether through religion or basketball, his main focus was still on helping those around him.

"My goal is to become a rabbi so I'm going to look at applying to rabbinical school," said Cahana, who will enroll in Concordia's master's program in Judaic studies this fall. "As for basketball, I would love to teach younger kids how to play and be that role model in their lives and inspire

more kids to love basketball."

He goes on to discuss how important role models in his community helped him grow as a person while he moved around.

"Going from city to city made it tough to keep certain connections," said Cahana. "But the lessons I learned and the experiences I've lived through are what I'm going to carry forever."

Regardless of what he does in the future, or where he does it, Cahana's collegiate basketball career has been a whirlwind. Despite being used sparingly on the court, he hopes the leadership skills he's gained at Concordia combined with the master's degree he will earn can bring him a unique life beyond basketball.

"If I could say one thing to him now that he's graduating it would be that I'm extremely proud of the man and player he's become and that he should put the same passion into everything he puts his mind to," said Deaveiro.

A longer version of this article can be found at thelinknewspaper.ca/sports



My Fibromyalgia Doesn't Define Me

Notes On Living With an Invisible Disability

BY FRANCA G. MIGNACCA @FRANCAMIGNACCA

I can't remember the last time I was painless.

On some days, I try really hard to. I'll lay down in bed, my eyes to the ceiling, wondering if there was ever a day in my life when I was not in pain. I know that there are days where it is manageable and days where it is so excruciating I feel like I'll never be able to function again. But a day without pain has become but a dream at this point; my pain is the constant humming in the soundtrack that is my life.

I was diagnosed with fibromyalgia a little over a year ago, and I use the term "diagnosed" cautiously. There does not yet exist a test to diagnose the illness, so my doctor had to rule out all other possibilities before she could declare I had it. She also tested all my main pressure points where I was feeling pain and it all matched up.

I wasn't sure how to deal with the diagnosis at first. I didn't even know what it was. I'm in the prime of my life, I thought. This is the age where I should be excelling in school, kicking off my career, running off to perform on Broadway with my sister, travelling abroad, doing something exciting. Isn't that what people in their 20s do? That's how it works in the movies anyways.

Instead, I have to spend my time figuring out how to get myself out of bed, how to leave my house, how to find some sort of motivation to do my work, to see my friends, to do the things that made me happy once upon a time.

"If you're like this now, how will you be in 15 years?"

I never understood why people feel it's okay to ask me that. It is not encouraging or helpful, and it comes off as incredibly rude, yet I can't even begin to count the





number of times I've heard it.

Hearing those words plays off of my deepest fear. Where will I be in 15 years? Will I be able to function? Will I be able to move? What if I can't kickstart my career because I'm too sick? These thoughts might be irrational as there's no proof that fibromyalgia gets worse with age, but I can't stop them from circulating in my brain in a rapid non-stop cyclical motion.

It's hard for me to pinpoint what the most difficult or frustrating part of coping with this has been so far. Maybe it's the brain fog. It's really hard to describe what brain fog—also known as fibro fog—is. I can guarantee that even reading this you won't be able to understand unless you've experienced it yourself.

To me, it's almost a feeling of sleep-walking. It's as though I'm awake but my brain and my thoughts aren't as coherent as they usually are. My words will get jumbled or I'll process things more slowly. Sometimes, it's accompanied by a physical numbness in my skull. The first time I felt it, I was sure I was having a stroke and was terrified. Knowing what it is was reassuring, but it doesn't stop the fact that it's incredibly difficult to focus and work when it happens.

On some days, my pain manifests itself into a really severe burning sensation, as if my entire body is on fire from head to toe. I usually have issues leaving the house when that happens, confined to my couch and my laptop, waiting for the pain to pass. This is made worse when I don't sleep enough, something that's really hard to adjust to when you've been a workaholic your whole life. I still haven't found the right balance between work and sleep, and I'm starting to doubt I ever will.

Most of all though, beyond the pain and the fatigue and the lifestyle changes I've had to make, I think the hardest part has been dealing with the judgment and a lack of understanding from people every day of my life.

Long before my fibromyalgia diagnosis, I had chronic pain for as long as I can remember. As a small child, it was



chalked up to simple "growing pains," but as I neared the age of 11, I was diagnosed with joint hypermobility. This caused really severe pain in my ankles and knees, causing them to swell and making it difficult for me to walk some days. The pain later spread to my wrists and the rest of my joints, something I had to deal with for the remainder of elementary school and all of high school until I finally adjusted to it.

When I was in grade six, I remember sitting at the back of the class taking notes. I had my leg up on a chair with a bag of snow from outside enveloping my knee. My school always seemed to run out of ice packs. The teacher was lecturing the class and talking about what it meant to be "hopeless,"—or maybe the word he used was "useless," I think I blocked out the exact word.

What I do remember is he followed it with, "Being hopeless is like not being able to walk on your own, and not being able to sit through a class without an ice pack." I remember how some students smirked and others turned to me with concern. His allusion was not lost on them. My face was flushed but not shocked—I was already used to this behaviour by then.

In grade five, my gym class was playing soccer. I was standing on the sidelines, my doctor having cautioned me against playing soccer since my feet and ankles turn inwards on their own, making it very likely I'd sprain my ankle if I played. As some students questioned why I sat, the teacher shouted, "She's only afraid of the ball." The students quickly chimed in and laughed. I'm not sure I've ever felt so small. I'm not sure I'll ever get over that one.

Day after day, people have no clue what I mean when I say I feel sick. They have no clue what I mean when I say I'm in pain. Many don't even believe I'm

"I don't want anyone's pity. I just want patience."

struggling; I've been called lazy, I've been told I'm not making it anywhere.

But just because you can't see my illness doesn't mean it's not real. Just because you can't see the pain and strength it takes for me to get up every morning and walk to the bus stop doesn't mean it's not there. Just because you can't see the hours of appointments and physiotherapy and tears and struggles I've gone through doesn't mean I'm not trying.

I think what infuriates me most is that I know I'm not the only one who is treated like my illness isn't real. I'm not the only one who's accused of not trying, and I would not wish that on anyone.

I don't want anyone's pity. I just want patience. When I cancel plans on a friend, it's not because I'm flaking, it's not because I don't care about them. It's because I am taking the time to take care of myself after a hard week of work.

I also want understanding. Just because I'm sick sometimes, doesn't mean I can't work as hard as I used to, it just means that I have to push myself that extra bit to do so.

When Lady Gaga announced she had to cancel the rest of her tour in February because of fibromyalgia symptoms, there were cries across the internet accusing her of being weak. I remember reading those comments and weeping, wondering exactly how many people out there are facing the exact same struggle as us right now.

My illness is a part of me but it far from defines me. I feel that, on the rare occasion people do recognize that I am ill, they think that I'm incapable of working because of it. I'm glad to say that isn't the case. Fibromyalgia has not changed who I am, it doesn't change my abilities, it just means I had to change certain aspects of my routine and of my life to be able to adjust to it. I'm still the same person I always was—a diligent reporter, a somewhat snobby cinephile, a sassy yet motherly friend. The only difference is that I have to be careful to sleep eight hours every night, make sure I exercise at least twice a week, and that I use a heat pack or two when I need them.

# GOOD LUCK WITH YOUR EXAMS!



Good luck with your exams and final projects.

After the exams, enjoy the summer break.

If you are graduating, I look forward to seeing you at spring convocation.

1200 11

Alan Shepard
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18-45753



## First-Wave Fascism

#### This Isn't the First Rise of the Far-Right in Canada

BY OLIVIER CADOTTE @OLIVIERCADOTTE

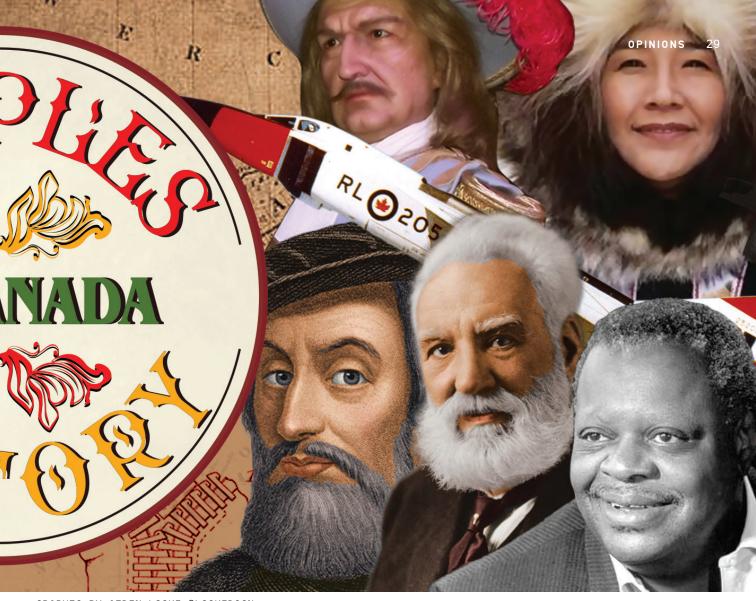
"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

This often repeated, posted, and talked about saying was first made popular by American philosopher George Santayana. Looking at the return of "mainstream" fascism today, it's a wonder we learn anything at all.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, fas-

cism was on the rise all over the world, for a variety of social, economic, and political reasons like communist fear, post-war instability and upheaval, and later the Great Depression. While the most famous were Nazi Germany and Mussolini's fascists, these were absolutely not the only places where fascist thought gained popularity. Movements sprung up in the United Kingdom, the United States, and in many Eastern European countries as well as Spain and Portugal. Of course, Canada wasn't exempt from that list.

With the fascists came those who opposed them and their views: the antifascists. Today we often call them antifa, but they've always had the same goals in mind: quash fascists by any means nec-



GRAPHIC BY AIDEN LOCKE @LOCKEDSGN

essary, wherever necessary.

Fascist groups sprang up all over the country during the interwar period: The Canadian Union of Fascists were based in Manitoba, and in the east Ontario was home to Swastika Clubs. Most prominently, in Quebec, was Adrien Arcand's Christian National Social Party.

Arcand started his career as a journalist, editing and publishing a litany of anti-Semitic and anti-Communist publications after being fired from La Presse. He soon launched himself into politics, and formed the National Social Christian Party in 1934, following a similar naming scheme to Germany's Nazi party. He even called himself the "Canadian Führer."

Inspired by British fascist Henry Hamilton Beamish and his "Madagas-

car Plan" (a judge described Beamish as an "anti-Jewish fanatic" in one of the several libel and treason counts held against him during the 1930s and 1940s), Arcand planned on uprooting and sending Canada's Jewish populations to the then-wild Hudson Bay.

While Arcand found support inside and outside of Canada by writing one of his fascist newspapers, Le Patriote, and was well liked by the Canadian Conservative Party members including party leader and eleventh Canadian prime minister R.B. Bennett, this paled in comparison to the growing opposition to fascism all over Canada.

Following the launch of his own party, Arcand aimed for bigger. He felt himself a big fish in a small pond.

He thus went on a small tour outside of Quebec to "test the waters" of his ideals in other provinces. He was successful, too—garnering support from fascists in Western Canada. His plan was now to create the pan-national unity of all "real Canadians" (no more petty squabbles between English and French was one of his biggest ideals).

In 1938, Arcand aimed for bigger still. He was named leader of the National Unity Party of Canada, which came from the fusion of his Christian National Social Party, small time nazi clubs like Toronto's "Swastika Clubs," and Ontario's National Party. The goal now was to get elected to the federal level and continue the spread of fascism in the Western Hemisphere.

He held many rallies, but instead of garnering more and more followers, it attracted large amounts of opposition. One such rally was famous not for the 1,000 people who listened to Arcand speak in Toronto's Massey Hall, but rather for the more than 12,000 who attended an anti-fascist and anti-nazi rally less than a kilometre away at Maple Leaf Gardens, organized by one of Canada's largest groups of left-wing and communist anti-fascists, the League Against War and Fascism.

Jewish communities in cities like Toronto and Winnipeg also organized against these Nazi groups, as did Communist groups, such as the Communist Party of Canada.

The Canadian government eventually stepped in, using the Defence of Canada Regulations, a policy enacted a week before Canada joined the Second World War that permitted the waiving of Habeas Corpus (the right to trial) and gave the Canadian government the right to intern people. It is the same policy that was used to intern Japanese–Canadians. Arcand was detained throughout the duration of the war and the National Unity Party was banned.

After the war and his release, Arcand continued politics. Unfortunately for him—and fortunately for basically everyone else—fascism had fallen out of favour in the mainstream, and Arcand lost most of his following after Second World War.

It wasn't all golden for the anti-fascist movements, however. As Canada battled against fascism overseas, the anti-fascist organisations it was home to were outlawed as well, as was the Communist Party of Canada, due in part to the non-aggression pact between Hitler and Stalin signed prior to the Second World War. Members of the Communist Party were placed in internment camps before fascists were.

Following his release at the end of the war, Arcand turned to Holocaust denial and raced in federal elections twice, in 1949 and 1953.

"It wasn't all golden for the anti-fascist movements, however.
As Canada battled against fascism overseas, the anti-fascist organisations it was home to were outlawed as well."

He kept active in the fascist spheres until his death, mentoring new "up and coming" neo-nazis such as one Ernst Zündel, who in the 80s and 90s was famous in Canada for his publishing of Holocaust denial pamphlets and books as well as his very open spreading of anti-Semitic propaganda. Zündel was eventually deported to Germany in 2005, where he spent time in prison for for "inciting racial hatred" before he died last August.

Meanwhile, anti-fascists were still fighting back against the small fascist resurgences that would would occasionally pop up in the years following the war. In 1965, one neo-nazi rally in Toronto which attracted all of eight people was met with a counter demonstration of around 4,000 people, some themselves survivors of Nazi atrocities. In the 80s and 90s, groups like the Anti-Racist Action organized in the North East and Toronto to quell anti-Indigenous and anti-immigration far-right groups. And of course, today anti-fascist organisations are taking action against the fascist, far-right groups that are springing up.

Fascism and its many resurgences are nothing new, and Arcand was not the only fascist in Canadian history. What him and other fascists of the past and present share is just that: they're fascists, no matter if they are the blue shirt wearing protonazis of yesterday or the Twitter troll Holocaust deniers of today.

# Nahm'sayin? Kombucha is a Waste of Time, Money, and Taste Buds

Just Eat Some Expired Yogurt and Save Yourself the Trouble

ELAINE GENEST @EGENSTE

I was so disappointed when I first tried a bottle of lemon and ginger kombucha.

I wasn't always like this. At first, I thought kombucha was a drink only Amazonians drank after their early morning walk through forests without shoes or clothes, so as to become one with nature. The Amazonians would then drink their bacteria-filled juice and obtain special powers such as mind reading, being able to talk to animals, and communicating with the earth.

But actually, the first recorded use of kombucha dates back to China in 221 BC. It's also known as the "Tea of Immortality," which makes sense, because supposedly every sip of kombucha should feel like you have acquired a new soul.

I'd always wanted to try kombucha, but because of the high price, it was never in my budget. I decided I didn't really need to try this juice of the bourgeoisie just yet.

I was so ecstatic to try out this new health fad, hoping it would cleanse me of

any viruses the harsh Montreal weather could have cursed us with this winter.

And so, one day I was strolling around the aisles of Jean Coutu and came across that beautiful, tall, colourful bottle. It just had that look of something that was sure to revive my internal organs and give my body a fresh start.

Made up of only water, tea, sugar, and bacteria, I thought this would be the best way to truly take care of my body; I'd let the little army of germs clean my insides like the scrubbing bubbles from the bathroom cleaner ad with a bunch of little blue squid-like creatures wiping away all of the dirt in your bathroom.

However, when I poured myself my first glass of lemon and ginger kombucha, the clumps of weird alien residue at the bottom of the bottle came out all at once into my cup.

I stared at it for a couple of seconds and sulked. "Am I supposed to drink this?" I thought to myself. I took the glass and

brought it up to my nose. I didn't have very high hopes for the smell, but it was not at all what I was expecting.

I closed my eyes and accepted my fate. I'd done the deed of opening this \$7 bottle of kombucha, and there was no going back now.

Nobody warned me kombucha is fizzy. Kombucha has no business being fizzy.

What's worse, it tasted like someone took a bottle of Gatorade, boiled it, let it cool off for a while, and proceeded to carbonate it, all while adding a full cup of salt into the mixture.

Not only does kombucha look like it belongs in a science lab with a shelf of alien-like creatures floating in some liquid, but it tastes like it too.

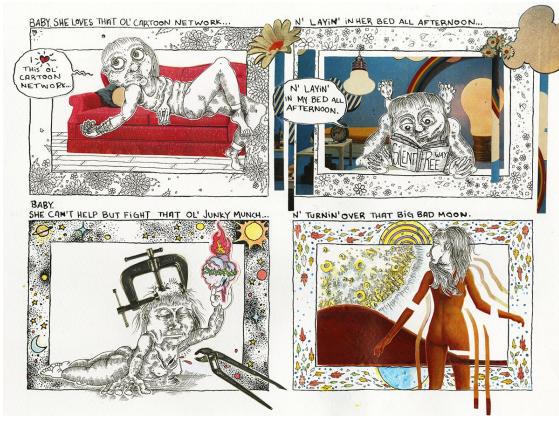
If you're looking to improve your health by drinking kombucha, don't.

If you feel like you need to ingest millions of bacteria in a bottle of disappointment, just eat some expired yogurt and save yourself the trouble.

GRAPHIC ELISA BARBIER AND KELSEY LITWIN
@ELISABARBIER\_ AND @KELSEYLITWIN

# Halfway Out the Door

by Moragh Ailish Rahn-Campbell @madd.egg



#### Hastily Put Together | by Theo Radomski @flannelogue











#### Blinky & Sal | by Jonathan Burrello @biginsanehappy





AT ITS MOST EXTREME IT FETISHIZES
OPPRESSION AND FURTHER
ENTRENCHES US INTO TRIBES
BASED ON NEBULOUS MORAL
HIERARCHIES, IT FEELS LIKE
WE'RE TRYING
TO OUT-LIBERAL
EACH OTHER BY
FETGNING ANGER
AND COMMODIFYING
OUR CONNECTIONS
TO MINORITY GROUPS.



#### T-R-Y-I-N-G

by Bronson Smillie @bronsosaurus



#### Declassify

by David Daneman @thedanemen







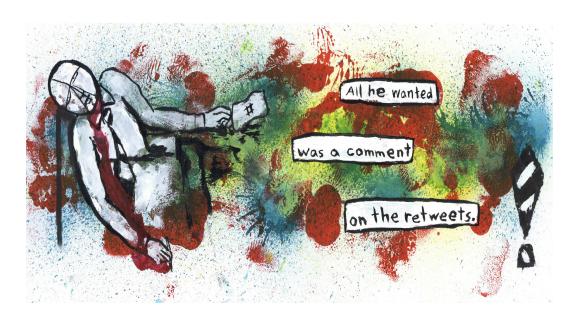






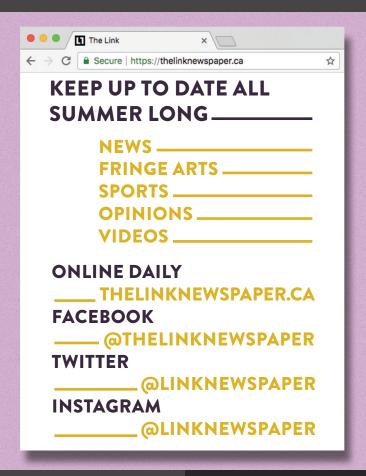
#### The Epic Adventures of Every Man

**by Every Man**@theepicadventuresofeveryman





# The Anti-Fascism Issue Behind the Mask



# ANTI-FASCISM

magazine launch party

Location: Katacombes (1635 St. Laurent Blvd.)

Doors 7:30 p.m. Panel 8:00 p.m. Music 9:00 p.m.

Panel with the IWW, Food Against Fascism, and Anti-Racist Soccer Montreal.

Music by: Ghostly Hounds, Stompin' Trees

APRIL 5 | 19h30 | PWYC



### What is Fascism, Anyway?

We Spoke to Scholars to Define the Contentious Term

BY JON MILTON @514JON

ords, and their meanings, are important.

Language is the principle way that we interact with each other. It's our main form of symbolic communication and the tool that we use to understand the world around us. So for social movements, language holds a particular importance—building a common understanding of words and the things they represent is foundational.

For the anti-fascist movement, defining terms can be tricky. This difficulty stems specifically from the word "fascism" itself. The dictionary definition focuses on fascism as a form of authoritarian right-wing government, but fails to describe what fascism is *before* it actually takes power.

"It's notoriously difficult to define fascism," explained Mark Bray, author of Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook, in an interview with The Link. The first wave of fascists in the 1920s and 30s, he said, "adopted and discarded ideas at will." They stole symbols and language from the left-wing workers' movement, but redirected it towards wildly different goals.

The confusion in defining fascism, Bray said is "especially true in the postwar period, where fascists and farright groups have adopted from Maoist and Trotskyist and anarchist ideas in a bizarre confluence of perspectives."

For Alexander Reid Ross, author of the sweeping history of post-World War II fascism *Against the Fascist Creep*, this difficulty in forming a definition is built into fascism itself. In an interview, he described fascism as "syncretic," taking elements from both the political left and right, but always striving towards greater levels of social hierarchy and domination.

That, for Reid Ross, is one of the foundational aspects of what makes fascism a distinct political tendency. The cornerstone of fascism is a drive towards greater distinctions between groups—

class, race, gender or otherwise. These hierarchies are viewed as "natural and organic," based on an "irrational understanding of might makes right," he said.

"Fascism emerged as a rejection of the rationalism of the Enlightenment," Bray explained. "It was really founded on an emotional appeal towards power and domination."

The ultimate goals for fascists, Reid Ross explained, is a "confederation of ethno-states," where each so-called racial group would have a their own state. Another way to describe this, Reid Ross pointed out, is "apartheid states where cultural minorities do not exist."

By framing their goals as racial separation, fascists turn the language of diversity upside down. Using this logic, the desired apartheid states are framed as being anti-racist—because they guard against the supposedly homogenizing force of multiculturalism, which is framed as the real racism. This is the logic behind the white supremacist slogan that "diversity is white genocide." Using this trick of language, the fascist movement hides its own intentions of genocide and ethnic cleansing.

The entirety of the far-right cannot be accurately called fascist, though. In his book, Reid Ross differentiated between fascists and a broader category which he referred to as the radical right. The two groups share many of the same views, but the radical right tends to be more open to working within democratic parliamentary systems.

Reid Ross was quick to point out that, in practice, the lines separating fascists and the radical right are very blurred. "The divisions are there, but they're frequently flouted by the participants," he said. "You have people serving as conduits or bridges between movements."

Milo Yiannopoulos, for example, "described himself as a classical liberal

but actively and with intent worked to bring messaging from white nationalists to mainstream conservatives," Reid Ross continued. "The issue with the radical right in general is that this is often their function."

Explicitly fascist organizations may be small, but they pose an outsized threat beyond what their numbers alone would reveal. Unnoticed fascism tends to fester and become dangerous in three main ways, Bray explained.

"The most obvious is that they're violent and murderous," he said, referencing the growing number of murders and terror tied to far right groups in the United States. That same danger presented itself in Quebec City on January 29, 2017, when a racist murdered six people in a mosque. The alleged shooter had previously described how he only wanted white immigration in Quebec, a mirror of common white nationalist talking points.

"Secondly," Bray explained, "they influence public discourses around issues like immigration, affirmative action, questions of race and national identity, to a degree that's beyond the proportion of their numbers." Here in Quebec, the past year has seen mainstream political parties pandering to far-right sensibilities by passing legislation such as Bill 62, which would restrict niqab-wearing Muslim women from accessing public services.

Lastly, Bray says, "Mussolini started out with 100 people, and Hitler started out with 54. You never know where a small white supremacist or fascist group can go. So when anti-fascists argue for stopping them before they take the first step forward, that's an argument about the potential for these groups to grow."

"It's unlikely, but it's possible, and I think that needs to be taken into account as well."

### The Far-Right in Quebec

Who Are the Active Groups and What Are They Doing?

BY ERIKA MORRIS @THINGJPG

The Soldiers of Odin, named after the Norse god of war, started in Finland in 2015. Canadian branches began to pop up in 2016, though the Finnish branding of SOO was eventually considered "too racist" by its Canadian branches. Quebec separated itself from SOO Canada to become SOO Quebec in order to keep its ties with Finland.

The Quebec branch of SOO was led by Dave Tregget until Dec. 9, 2016 when he was replaced by his second in command, Katy Latulippe. The reasons for Tregget's departure were unclear. Some say he was kicked out, but Tregget says he quit because of the racist image of Finland. He went on to form Storm Alliance.

Tregget claimed that he aims to unite all of the far-right groups to work together and "protect Canadian values."

Under Latulippe, SOO Quebec is trying to return to their Finnish roots. According to CBC, they claimed to have about 400 followers at the end of 2016.

The SOO made a brief appearance at the Nov. 25, 2017 protest in Quebec City, along with Atalante, La Meute, and Storm Alliance and were brandishing racist banners.

On March 25, 2017 the SOO attempted

to disrupt a workshop series on organizing against the rise of xenophobia in Canada and the US held in Concordia's Hall Building, hosted by the Resist Trump & the Far-Right Network of Montreal. SOO protested under heavy police protection. However, some members were hurt or thrown out of the workshops by students. By the end of 2017, the group began patrolling the streets again—something they had only done a few times under Tregget.

In Montreal, David Leblanc, Philippe Gendron, and 'Sue Elle' made a name for themselves when they tried to organize a protest against Haitian refugees who were being temporarily housed in the Olympic Stadium in Montreal. Their protest was cancelled due to a strong anti-racist mobilization.

The SOO claim to protect Canadians from the "Muslim threat" and have been known to work with the neo-nazi group Atalante Quebec.

Members of SOO privately cheered after the Quebec mosque shooting. Latulippe posted in SOO's closed Facebook group, writing that "of course, as an individual, it's possible to see this as a predictable consequence. They're getting what they deserve!!! But this is a war in which innocent people will be harmed."

Latulippe denied supporting this violence in later interviews. Reporters were subsequently removed from SOO's private Facebook group.

After Tregget left the Soldiers of Odin, he founded Storm Alliance in December 2016, with the aim of making the far-right "more respectable," often claiming that their group isn't racist despite staging protests against migrants and Muslims.

While SA often works with La Meute, the two groups have had conflicts in the past. For example, at the Aug. 20, 2017 anti-immigrant rally in Quebec City, La Meute refused to let members of Storm Alliance into the parking lot where they were meeting. As a result, Storm Alliance was unable to participate.

In May 2017, the group began patrolling the US border crossing at Roxham Rd., where the majority of irregular crossings have occurred by refugee claimants coming from the US. The group claimed to want to send a message to Trudeau and see what happened at the border for themselves, as they felt that the media and officials were lying to

### Glossary of Far-Right Groups and Symbols



Soldiers of Odin are an international hate group that
"patrols" areas to
"protect" them from immigrants. Founded in Finland in 2015, it has chapters in cities across Quebec and Canada.



Storm Alliance is a self-described "ultranationalist" group founded by former members of the Soldiers of Odin. They regularly hold anti-immigrant and anti-Islam marches. Based in Quebec.



Legitime Violence skinhead band based in Quebec City. Closely associated with Atalante Quebec.



Storm Alliance protest at the migrant camp at the Lacolle border, Sept. 30, 2017
PHOTO HARRISON-MILO RAHAJASON

them. They didn't see anyone crossing the border that day.

One of Storm Alliance's most notable protests was at the St. Bernard-de-Lacolle border on Sept. 30, 2017 where about 200 of their members came to stand against Trudeau and Couillard's Liberal government.

About 250 members of Storm Alliance also joined La Meute on Nov. 25, 2017 in Quebec City to denounce the Liberal government's Forum Validating Diversity and the Fight Against Discrimination, which was originally meant to focus on systemic racism. Its focus shifted to how Quebec can improve job opportunities for minorities and immigrants and reduce discrimination against them in workplaces.

Storm Alliance marched separately from La Meute, claiming that they do not agree with La Meute's Islamaphobic platform.

In January 2018, Tregget stepped down as president due to sexual harassment allegations. The privacy settings on the

Storm Alliance and Tregget's Facebook pages were then changed to private.

Storm Alliance's platform remains unclear. According to their Facebook page, they aim to "protect and save the Canadian values that have helped shape Canada into the wonderful country it is today," and to follow a "no one left behind" motto. They claim to accomplish this through "charitable work, vigilant citizens, and activism in Canadian communities," but do not provide any examples of such work.



Atalante Quebec is an openly neo-nazi group primarily based in Quebec City, which has staged some actions in Montreal.



The Fédération des Québécois de Souche is a neo-nazi formation which dates back to 2007. Produces the Harfang magazine.



La Meute is a large Islamophobic group with chapters across Quebec. Founded in 2015 by two former Canadian Forces soldiers. In a previous interview with *The Link*, Dave Tregget said that their main goal is to get rid of the establishment, more specifically the Liberal government. He also claims that the group isn't antimmigration.

Storm Alliance has described themselves as ultranationalist to the CBC, but still claims to not be racist.

#### La Meute

La Meute was founded in 2015 by two ex-soldiers, Eric "Corvus" Venne and Patrick Beaudry. It is the largest farright group in Quebec today.

La Meute is guided by Islamophobic sentiment which has even made Storm Alliance call them out for their racism despite the two groups' occasional collaboration.

La Meute participated in the Nov. 25 protest, but focused on Muslim women who wear the burqa and niqab. The protest took place shortly after Bill 62 was passed which prohibited face coverings while receiving public services.

Since Nov. 25, La Meute has mostly been active online, though they had planned a demonstration in front of a mosque that TVA falsely claimed wouldn't allow women on a nearby construction site. The demonstration was later canceled. A few members still showed up and were met by anti-fascist counter protesters.

Though their private Facebook group says they have around 2,500 people who have been active, many are added to the group unwittingly and the numbers do not accurately represent how many members the group really has.

The amount of people who are actually active in the group has gone from 389 in December to 204 in January and then to 134 in February, according to OnJase.org, a website which serves as a platform to discuss the rise of the far-right from a critical perspective. However, the number of members is hard to gauge through the Facebook group alone.

La Meute was originally formed as a non-profit organization. Quebec law requires that organizations host an annual general meeting in order to elect a board of directors. La Meute never held one, but four people were appointed as interim temporary board members: Venne, Beaudry, Stephane Roche, and Eric Proulx.

In January 2017, Venne was pushed out of La Meute after being accused of stealing thousands of dollars from the organization, which he never denied but rather claimed was meant to be reimbursement for money he spent on the organization.

Proulx and Roche worked together to secretly set up a for-profit company, and then proceeded to seize control of the La Meute communications infrastructure, which consisted of their website and Facebook group. Following this, Beaudry was effectively kicked out of the organization.

In December 2017, Eric Proulx had to leave La Meute's council due to allegations of sexual misconduct.

Anti-fascist social media pages such as LeTroupeauQC have played a role in exposing the work of La Meute and has effectively made them lose credibility.

La Meute worked with Soldiers of

Odin until early 2017. The group refuses to call itself racist or admit to being part of the far-right, claiming instead to oppose "radical Islam."

#### Atalante

Atalante is a neo-nazi group formed in August 2016 by people who followed Legitime Violence, a hardcore "ultranationalist" hate-rock band inspired by the skinhead movement in Quebec. Their slogan is "to exist is to fight against what oppresses me."

The group believes in street action and an identity renaissance. They believe in a white nation, claiming that multiculturalism is killing their identity and that they are suffering under the "tyranny of the politically correct."

Atalante is inspired by the Italian anti-immigration far-right group, CasaPound and the Bloc Identitaire in France.

Atalante claims to be anti-capitalist and to oppose the "international bourgeoisie." The group claims that these groups—which serve as coded language to describe Jewish people—are leading a war against the white working class in order to replace them with immigrant workers and taking jobs away from Quebecers.

Atalante's beliefs are closer to the Fédération des Québécois de souche than those of La Meute. They distribute the FQS newsletter, the *Harfang*.

Atalante is highly Islamophobic, equating Islam to terrorism and believing that Muslims are financed

### Glossary of Far-Right Groups and Symbols



Created by a cofounder of Vice, the Proud Boys are a farright men's rights group. Their uniform is a black Fred Perry polo with yellow stripes on the collar.



PEGIDA Quebec is a branch of the Germany-based anti-Islam group.



Three Percent Canadian branch of xenophobic hate group inspired by the American Revolution. The group is armed and has links to violent attacks in the United States and Canada.



Neo-nazi group Atalante Quebec holds a banner on the walls of Quebec City during a far-right demonstration, Nov. 25, 2017.

PHOTO BRIAN LAPUZ @BRIANLAPUZ



by "globalists," which, again, is coded language to mean Jewish people.

Members of Atalante have previously been tied to hate crimes, including the stabbings of visible minorities. The group holds combat workshops to train their members for their street actions and patrolling. They also regularly feed white Québécois homeless people, refusing to serve homeless people of colour.

Atalante also made a brief appearance on Nov.25, marching along Storm Alliance, La Meute, SOO, and the police.

They were also behind a series of banner drops which treated white leftists as "traitors" and activists of colour such as Jaggi Singh as "parasites."

#### Fédération des Québécois de Souche

The FQS is one of the most prominent farright groups formed before 2014, having launched their website in 2007. It was founded by Maxime Fiset, who has since been de-radicalized and is now a consultant for Montreal's Centre for the Prevention of Radicalization Leading to Violence which also denounces anti-fascist groups.

The FQS organizes around neo-nazi "blood and soil" mythology. It is composed of white nationalists who believe that Quebecers are losing their land due to immigrants. On their website they say that "multiculturalism is cutting our roots and homogenizing us and we must resist."

The group claims to be tired of corrupt politicians who are "selling the country," refusing to take part in elections where the parties change but not the ideas. According to them, the answer isn't in parliament but in the people. On their website they write that "the Nation

isn't a vague concept, it's in our blood."

The FQS started as an attempt to unite disparate right-wing extremist groups in Quebec, especially those from the haterock skinhead subculture. Fiset told the Montreal Gazette that the FQS "reject[s] others, so it is violent, and there were always these talks about armed revolution. They will never admit it, but everyone had books about how to make bombs, and they were planning a training camp North of Quebec City, wanting to get in shape 'in case of the revolution' with a paintball team, boxing classes and ju-jitsu. They got into fights with [anti-racist groups] and they'd come back bleeding but happy they got kicked but they kicked more.

According to the anti-fascist run website Montreal Antifasciste Info, the FQS only has about 60 members today.

The FQS's beliefs are rooted in the idea that white Quebecers must protect their culture and identity as before anything else. It references the Ku Klux Klan on its website.



Generation Identity is a white nationalist group with origins in Europe. Stickers with this logo have been found and removed around Concordia's campuses.



The Azov Battalion is a regiment of the Ukrainian Army known for being populated with neo-nazis. Patches with this symbol have been spotted in Montreal.



The Celtic Cross is a common symbol throughout white supremacist movements. Also associated with Stormfront, a large neo-nazi forum

### When it Comes to the Far-Right,

Journalists Need to Fact-Check and Ask the Right Questions

BY SAVANNAH STEWART @SAV EDEN S

coverage of far-right groups, both in Quebec and beyond, has left something to be desired.

In the United States, since Donald Trump's election, we saw the birth of a new trend in news outlets—the glorification of the new face of the far-right.

Profiles of alt-right leaders that marvel at their style, articulation, and impeccable hair suddenly became en vogue, like the Mother Jones profile on Richard Spencer that begins with the white supremacist in a hotel lounge "deftly plucking" togarashi-crusted ahi with chopsticks as he explains that being of a different race is the equivalent to being of a different species.

The intention of these profiles was perhaps not to glorify, but all the same, that is exactly what they do. They legitimize and give a platform to groups with racist agendas that they are actively trying to enact.

To varying degrees, many prominent news outlets have fallen into the trap of legitimizing far-right groups through their coverage. Here in Quebec we've seen it after far-right protests in Quebec City in August and November 2017. It may not be intentional, but through a search for sensationalism, a thirst for a good story, misrepresentation of the

issues and simply lazy reporting, mainstream media has successfully given these groups validity in public discourse.

And here's the danger to that: if farright groups are to be taken seriously, they know that they have to be palatable to the public. That is how they recruit new members—by giving their ideology a way to be identified with.

Dan Feidt and Wendy Parker, journalists from the American media collective Unicorn Riot, highlight various methods used by alt-right groups in the United States to try to make their platform accessible to newcomers in a 2017 episode of the podcast Delete Your Account. There, Feidt and Parker discuss meme pages as a method used by the alt-right.

Another tactic they say is used by American far-right groups to recruit is the manipulation of public perception through the media.

In Quebec, La Meute has been very successful at this. Xavier Camus, professor in philosophy at Collège Ahuntsic and political writer, points out that journalists frequently rely on the sanitized message of the spokespeople of this group, but ignore the racist discourse of the membership which is more in line with the true nature of these groups.

"These groups take care of their public

### Glossary of Far-Right Groups and Symbols



The "Kekistan" flag is associated with far-right internet troll culture. The center of the flag borrows symbols from the KKK and the horizontal lines from the Nazi war flag.

14/88

14/88 is a coded neonazi slogan referring to the "14 words," slogan, "We must secure an existence for our people and a future for white children." 88 is short for "heil Hitler;" H is the eighth letter.



The Death's Head symbol dates back to Nazi Germany and is still used by neo-nazis today. The Death's Head were SS units who ran the concentration camps.

### Media Needs to Do Better

There is no objectivity in journalism and anybody who tells you that exists is deluding themselves.

Franklin Lopez

image, presenting themselves as legitimate and moderate groups. But when you look at their private forums, the hateful messages become more visible and uninhibited," said Camus. "Right now, larger media outlets prefer to just parrot exactly what the leaders of these groups hope to have communicated."

He points out the laziness of this style. "If journalists don't have time to investigate and fact-check the propaganda, then at least seek the opinion of experts who will give a clearer perspective."

In an article for iPolitics, Martin Patriquin elaborates on this trend in Quebec media.

"If La Meute is enjoying a certain sheen of legitimacy these days, it's in large part due to a mostly credulous press," he wrote.

"Over the last year, much of the coverage of the group has glossed over its demonstrable hatred of Islam, instead presenting La Meute's members as a

bunch of hardscrabble rogues deeply troubled by religious extremism."

He uses a December 2016 CBC feature by Jonathan Montpetit as an example. While he commends Montpetit's coverage of the group at a time when not many other journalists in the province were, he points out that the article only touches on the surface of the group's views on race, and ignores the outwardly racist discourse present in their Facebook group.

Franklin Lopez, who runs the anarchist, anti-capitalist media platform subMedia, highlights the danger of journalists not properly contextualizing the racism present in the discourse of these groups: "Their vision of America is to have a state for white people. They would like to kick out by any means necessary anyone who doesn't have this full European bloodline."

"When [the media] use these terms like 'white nationalist' and don't really explain the actual views of these folks, it creates a situation where people say 'Well, these are people who might be a little radical but they just have a different point of view,'" he explained.

Patriquin also posited, and Camus agreed, that there tends to be an exaggeration of La Meute's membership based on the traffic their Facebook page gets.

Patriquin points out that mainstream media has been reporting very large membership numbers: CBC reported 40,000, and Radio-Canada reported 60,000. "On its face, it's an impressive number—roughly the population of Cornwall, Ontario," he wrote. However, he explains many of the names listed on the page were added without the person knowing.

Camus said that once again, lazy reporting has led to this inflation of the numbers.

"Journalists give a platform to racist

groups without taking the time to fact-check, which leads to shameless lies being published. La Meute says they have around 60,000 members, when the truth is they probably have around 1,000, when you observe the interactions on their private forums," he said.

Camus explained that those roughly 1,000 members are members who participate in the group by liking a post or commenting at least once a month. Out of those members, about 400 are really active, as they participate five or more times a month.

"If La Meute really had 60,000 members, how can we explain that they are only 150 to 200 people at their demonstrations?" said Camus. "Journalists are coming across as very naïve when they don't take the time to investigate further."

According to Lopez, all this—news outlets relying on the comments of these groups' spokespeople, not taking the time to contextualize the level of racism present in the discourse of their membership, and the misinformation reported—shows how Canadian media is manipulated into providing far-right groups with a platform, just like in the United States.

"By failing to reveal the more extreme views of what these groups have, what the mainstream media has done over the past year and a half [...] is that they have given a platform, they have created a visibility for these groups and this is exactly what these groups want," Lopez explained. "These folks are not dummies. I think Richard Spencer is a highly intelligent person who is very good at manipulating the media. And the media has been manipulated."

Not only have far-right groups been misrepresented and given a platform, anti-fascist groups and individuals have been severely misrepresented as well, and denied access to a platform.

"The media portrays them as violent folks who mask themselves and basically just want to wreck havoc," said Lopez.

He went on to explain that the reality is that people involved in anti-fascist efforts are people who are studied in history and see the need to remove these groups from the public discourse as they are forming, before they gain prominence and numbers.

"It's not an exaggeration to say that there was a moment in history that if these groups would have been stamped out in their infancy, the course of human history would have been quite different," he said.

"These are folks who are risking a lot by doing this work, their own safety, and they're doing this voluntarily because they really care about the state of the world."

So why are they portrayed as violent street gangs, then, if that's not the case?

"That visual is very enticing to the media who usually likes to cover things in a very sensationalistic way, but it's also a very lazy image," explained Lopez.

It's a lazy image because it is only a small portion of what antifascist efforts look like, yet it is certainly the most inflammatory.

"Because when you look at the work that anti-fascists do, the grand majority of the work is not street actions, I think that's the part that you can take a photo of and you can take some video of," he furthered.

He said that a lot of the work anti-fascists do is research to expose fascists, find out where they get their funding, and how to dismantle their infrastructure.

"It's a lot of thankless work and a lot of people who do this work are not in the media, they're not talking to the media, they're actually doing their work undercover because it's very dangerous work. And the same goes for the people wearing the masks," said Lopez.

The foundation of journalism as we know it is the principle of objectivity, of reporting without individual bias and "getting both sides." But more and more experts and journalists in the field are pointing out the shortcomings of this: how can a reporter completely separate





themselves from their biases when they are what make up their entire world view?

"There is no objectivity in journalism and anybody who tells you that exists is deluding themselves," said Lopez.

How a journalist chooses to cover a story will inherently be influenced by their personal biases.

Lopez also explained that the topics reported on will depend on the political stance of the media outlet. The CBC, being a pro-Canadian nation state outlet, will report in a way that promotes Canada's industries, and runs the risk of ignoring the potential negatives of those industries unless there is significant pushback from the population.

How the far-right and anti-fascist efforts are covered in mainstream media reflects this.

"If we want to cover 'both sides,' let's give a voice to all of society, the vast majority of which opposes the far-right," said Camus. "The media gives the microphone to the spokespeople who conceal their message so they can appear moderate and reasonable. Peddling lies and propaganda is certainly not up to the high standards of objectivity sought out by journalists. Analysts and experts should be consulted to decode these messages."

"I think that we just have to be honest with ourselves if we're going to be media makers that we definitely want to give people their fair say. But we also have to be honest about what we want to see in the world," said Lopez.

He believes that journalists need to start asking far-right groups the hard questions. "'What do you think about migrants? What do you think about Jewish people? What do you think about women's role in society?'"

When asked why these questions are not being asked, Lopez posited that perhaps it has to do with the lack of diversity in mainstream media.

"They don't want to get into a position of having to address the fact that a lot of these media outlets are run by white people, and they're run by white men generally. I think that maybe going into these lines of questioning can actually lift the veil on the hypocrisy."

### Who Controls the Narrative?

No Platforming is Essential to Limit the Reach of the Far-Right

BY CARL PLOWRIGHT

platforming is a simple yet controversial concept. It asks that the public consider the power of speech and presence, and realistically evaluate the appeal of oppressive ideas.

The term "no platforming" extends to a range of strategies that seek to deny oppressive figures and groups access to public discourse, media, and space.

The prevailing public opinion is that toxic ideas like the ones entertained by fascists, neo-nazis, and racists will be weeded out through reasoned debate. This strategy, unfortunately, has proven again and again to be flawed at best, and actively counterproductive at worst. It is a cruel view of history to ignore the bravery and work of those who opposed repressive political forces and social movements by pretending that they simply failed to engage in debate with their opponents.

When extreme racists like Richard Spencer are given public space, they inevitably make converts. It's a mistake to think that figures like these are merely misguided. Certain classes profit from their agenda at the expense of the rest. The far-right isn't riddled with a problem of ignorance, but with a lack of compassion and sense of justice.

Speakers who dog-whistle to the farright's agenda also inevitably benefit from it. Jordan Peterson's appeal to farright groups is well documented-he makes more than \$60,000 a month from crowdfunding. Figures that appeal to the far-right and their agenda, as well as the groups themselves, have very little incentive to change their views and are unlikely to change their minds when confronted with the sheer absurdity and violence of their beliefs. Giving figures and groups more media attention not only fails as a strategy to combat them, but actively contributes to their power and celebrity.

Those who critique no platforming as a strategy tend to ignore the degree to which far-right groups, public figures, and populist movements enable, legitimize, and work in concert with each other, even when deep ideological rifts divide them. Groups like La Meute and Storm Alliance present a more rhetorically acceptable façade, but it's one that nevertheless empowers smaller and more overtly violent groups like the Soldiers of Odin and Atalante, despite significant tensions and attempts to distance themselves from each other. It is no surprise that they could be seen marching with each other in Quebec City on Nov. 25, 2017 in opposition of the upcoming Forum Validating Diversity and the Fight Against Discrimination—a one day forum organized by the provincial government to address racism and discrimination in Quebec's workforce.

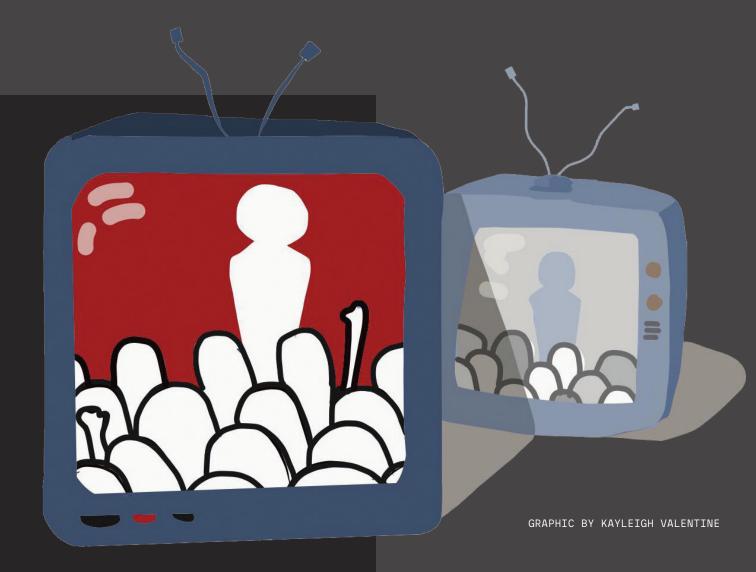
When either of these large groups takes the streets, members of smaller, more extreme groups tend to follow suit. The larger groups also serve as the ideal base for radicalization and recruitment. Their popular appeal also follows this basic pattern: a "lighter" version of their rhetoric is presented openly to the media, while in private their arguments border on the genocidal through their social media profiles and among each other.

Members of groups that present themselves as "concerned about immigration" like Storm Alliance and La Meute have

One of the key aspects to these groups, appeal is that they draw on existing systems of oppression; they reinforce and thrive on conveniently available narratives.

openly stated their admiration for Hitler, and joked about putting immigrants in gas chambers. Academics and radio personalities can also play a key role in granting legitimacy to fascist discourse, and also represent an important element in this web of radicalization.

One of the key aspects to these groups' appeal is that they draw on existing



systems of oppression; they reinforce and thrive on conveniently available narratives. La Meute's entire framing of Québécois oppression can only seem palatable or even tenable because of the systematic erasure of the province's colonial, imperial, and racist history. Anti-fascism should only be considered the tip of the iceberg for addressing systemic injustice, but the far-right's increased visibility is also an extension and consequence of existing social problems.

It's especially frustrating that prominent media outlets continue to present the far-right as if it was an essentially mysterious problem. Of course, it's abundantly clear that there is nothing particularly novel or fascinating about various far-right groups' belief

systems. They all strive to further marginalize, scapegoat, and punish already-oppressed members of society by denying their basic humanity. The degree of sophistication of their language changes nothing to the basic brutality of this worldview.

### What does no platforming mean in practice?

No platforming extends to the streets, online, and in print. These ideologies need to be combatted wherever they can take root. Traditional platforms include speaking events and demonstrations. Increasingly, however, the new far-right's recruitment strategy has expanded to online platforms. It's therefore vital to understand that the basic principles of no platforming should

extend beyond its historical applications.

Journalists must also take an active role in denying fascists platforms. While this does not mean that they should stop reporting on the rise of the far-right, it should involve an ethical commitment to never allow them to shape their own narratives.

Beyond activist circles, everyone should be concerned with the rise of the far-right and extreme racism, and actively challenge and combat it whenever it manifests itself in their daily lives. While no platforming in and of itself is vital to the anti-fascist movement, it cannot work unless we also foster alternatives to the far-right's appeal. We must build stronger communities of resistance and commit ourselves more deeply to addressing social injustice. L1

### Kicking Racism in the Face

Anti-Racist Soccer Club Strives for Inclusion

BY IRELAND COMPTON @IRELANDCOMPTON + HARRISON-MILO RAHAJASON @HAR RI SON

ove football, hate racism. That is the slogan used by Antiracist Football Montreal, a self-run non-profit organization that strives to use sports as a means to connect individuals who are marginalized by capitalistic systems.

"We come together basically to play soccer," said coordinator Anna Pringle, "to advance anti-racist struggles in the city, and to use sport as a place to talk about politics, talk about change, and also to create spaces of change."

Many who play with the club take part in leftist activist groups that fight racism, the far-right, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. Organizers with the club said they felt organized sports, and soccer in particular, had become inaccessible, with barriers to entry too high to clear for many people. They wanted to make soccer as accessible as possible to all.

"We're a group of people who basically believe that sports and politics should go hand-in-hand," said Nizar Koubaa, one

of the group's current organizers.

Inspired by the supporters of Football Club St. Pauli, a German soccer team whose fans are known for their leftist social activism, the group wants to be able to use soccer to fully advance their politics. The Hamburg team officially bans all right-wing and nationalistic displays in their stadium. Fans of the club began to involve themselves in leftist activism as a response to fans of larger clubs like HSV Hamburg, FCSP's principal rival. Win or lose, FCSP fans hit the streets to protest against homophobia, transphobia, racism, sexism, and fascism after every game.

Another important factor of their activism is to be a team for the people, instead of being a big club driven by its corporate interests. Existing in Hamburg's working-class area, St. Pauli hopes to be a club accessible to all. Antiracist Football Montreal hopes to do the same.

"Especially as recently, there's been a big shift towards a lot of business in the soccer stadiums," said Pringle. "People have been trying to keep it as a more working-class game across the world so it brings out a lot of those tensions."

"Many of us are big soccer fans," said Koubaa. "Which means that we watch as well, and belong to a group of fans who are politicized, also known as 'Ultras,' and we are inspired by certain movements around the world that believe that football should be accessible to everyone."

The Ultras are a group of die-hard soccer fans named for for their unwavering dedication to the teams that they support. These groups are often radical and politically involved. For example, the Ultras in Egypt were a major political force, strongly opposing Egyptian dictatorship of Hosni Mubarak.

Fans of Egyptian rival soccer clubs Al Ahly and Zamalek would typically clash whether their teams were playing or not. But during the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, the two groups banded together and took to the streets to help topple an oppressive government.

With a rotating host of organizers, like A.J Jarban, Anna Pringle, Nizar Koubaa, and Matthieu Pelletier (from left), Antiracist Football Montreal hopes to create a space where soccer is accessible to all. PHOTOS ELISA BARBIER @ELISABARBIER\_



"I've heard of what they did in Egypt, for example, during the Arab Spring and it's very impressive," said A.J. Jarban, another one of Antiracist Football Montreal's organizers. "How they were organized and how they had a huge impact on the demonstrations, and I think that's a good example for other groups to follow.

Jarban, a Concordia student completing a master's in political science, came to Canada from Yemen in 2013 as a refugee. He says the opportunity to combine sports and politics to push for real change is what keeps him around for so long.

"It's taking sports further from being apolitical to being a political space," he said. "Talking about inclusivity, and not just as a term or a [public relations] thing that people usually do, but actually meaning it."

Inspired by other movements around the world, Antiracist Football Montreal wanted to create a space where individuals of any background could participate in the sport and feel welcome, while also taking part in the growing anti-racist and anti-fascist movements in the city.

"You can see fascist groups and racist sentiments being displayed in football games, especially in Europe," said Jarban. "So, there was a need to counter that as well, so these spaces came out."

During the winter, the group meets once a week on Sundays at École Lucien-Pagé in Villeray. Averaging about 15 players per week, according to Jarban, they play a friendly game from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m. While the group encourages each player to chip in \$5 for the session, they also recognize that some may not have the means to do so, allowing anyone to join in.

They also do their best to have informal conversations about politics, but it's hard because of the limited amount of time they have to play, said Jarban.

"We do that more often in the summer when we do the big tournament," he said. "Then, we have a barbecue and invite speakers and so on."

The group hopes to soon become a club and find ways to secure more funding. They will remain a non-profit, but their hope is to explore as many fundraising options as possible that would allow them to gain access to a permanent



Antiracist Football Montreal holds weekly games for three hours every Sunday night, also allowing for open political discussion.

space and to be able to expand beyond soccer and into basketball, running, and different activities with kids.

One plan is to continue financing the group through the donations collected at their weekly winter games while also applying for city grants, said Pringle. They will also look for partnerships with entities that have similar political goals as theirs and who will be able to help them finance their activities.

"I would like to see more organization, less need to worry about financial resources," said Jarban. "So, if we manage to push this further to becoming a club, I think it would be ideal to have space for our own where we not only play soccer but we do different events and workshops and conversations."

But for now, the group is happy to meet up and to play in the spirit of social change. When possible, they direct their members towards radical activism in the city and work within their means to support them.

"Everyone is implicated in different ways, in their communities and with different activist groups," said Pringle. "In general, we try to share stuff that we want our membership to go to, we try to partner with different groups especially for the tournament to give visibility to their work and to support their work."

During their 2016 summer tournament, the group teamed up with organizations

like Solidarity Across Borders, a support group for non-status people in the city, to help their members get involved with SAB's anti-deportation campaign.

Last year, one of the teams that came to compete at the tournament was comprised of a large group of migrant Guatemalan workers. They recently had a major confrontation with their employer and were being helped by the Temporary Foreign Workers Association. The workers were able to tell their story to everyone present at the tournament and raise awareness for their cause.

"There are tons of ways to get involved with anti-racist work," said Pringle. "To support migrant workers, to support folks from various communities."

Most members in the group are involved, to some extent, with other leftist activist groups. Jarban, for example, works with the Canadian Council for Refugees. As of now, Antiracist Football Montreal hasn't sent a contingent to a protest under their own banner. That is, however, not out of the question.

"If there is something related to, for example, sports, I think we'd want to have our own banner and our group being there," said Jarban.

But for now, they'll continue to meet up, play soccer, and work towards becoming an official club, open to all who uphold their values of inclusion. Like the fans of St. Pauli, the group hopes to make soccer accessible again.

# The Kurdish Revolution is

Words From an International Volunteer in the YPG

BY ÇIYA DUNYA

n 2015 I made an important discovery—that a revolution was taking place in the Kurdish territories of Northern Syria known as Rojava.

The Kurds, a stateless ethnic group whose traditional territory stretches through the mountainous regions of Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, had built a revolution in the middle of the Syrian Civil War. They referred to their revolutionary system as democratic confederalism.

Democratic confederalism is a political alternative that is based on direct democracy, equality for all and ecology. It strives towards the end of ethnic and religion wars, a real equality between men and women, and a society directly managed by the people within it through neighborhood councils.

The Kurds are not looking to create a new country, since that would establish a new nation-state. The Kurds know that this is one of the main causes of conflicts, exploitation, and the rise of nationalism that can lead to fascism. The way that democratic confederalism sees the functioning of its system is through practice in local communities until it becomes the normal way of organizing and the state has been rendered useless. They don't believe that they need an armed insurrection, but they keep the right to defend themselves against an attacker.

The Kurds started this movement, but through the years of war they gained victories and liberated many villages and cities from the Islamic State, also known as Daesh. In doing so, they gained the trust of non-Kurdish populations. It's a trust that they earned—after having liberated and secured a city, Kurds remove their troops and let the local population manage it. The Kurds gave residents of liberated cities the choice to join the

CANTON OF AFRIN KOBAN Manbij

revolution or not.

Today, a large part of the Syrian Democratic Forces, the Kurdish-led coalition which was the main force behind the defeat of Daesh in Syria, is not Kurdish. In fact, the region known as Rojava goes by a different name, the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria. Rojava is a Kurdish word, and they wanted to remove this association to be more inclusive.

What is so impressive about the revolution is that it was established while fighting against the brutality of Daesh, and being submitted to a supply blockade, in one of the most explosive part of the world, and it's working! If it's possible there, it's possible everywhere.

Cities are now managed democratically while ensuring representation of the different ethnic origins of the inhabitants. Parity between men and women



is established everywhere, including the army. So now you can go in a municipal meeting and see Arabs, Kurds, and Assyrians working together to achieve a common goal. Half of these assemblies are mandated to be women, as a measure to dismantle patriarchy.

According to the Turkish regime, we who built and defend this revolution are terrorists.

When I first heard about the revolution in 2015, the Kurds needed volunteers to help to fight against the Daesh, which was attempting to invade Kurdish territory. I was interested—I began to read up on Rojava and tried to get contacts to join them. It took a long time, but I was able to get in touch with some people in the the Kurdish militia known as the People's Protection Units, or YPG.

By the end of August 2016, I was in

Rojava. The day after my arrival, the Turkish army entered into Rojava to fight us. By drawing Kurdish troops away from the fight against Daesh, the Turkish army was supporting Daesh.

When we arrived we had a monthlong training. It wasn't only a combat training—we also learned the theory behind the revolution. Myself and two other foreigners joined a Kurdish unit that was waiting for the assault on Raqqa

city, the capital of Daesh territory.

The Raqqa assault wouldn't starts for many months. After waiting two months, we decided to go on another front so we could be more useful for the time we were in Rojava. While being redeployed, we learned that two of our friends had been killed—not by Daesh, but by the Turkish army. Their names were Robin Agiri and Zana Ciwan, they were two truly awesome people. As the Kurds say, *şehid namirin*—martyrs never die.

The two of them had been taking a village controlled by Daesh near Manbij when Turkish airstrikes hit their position. Daesh was warned beforehand, so they fled behind to avoid being hit. And the Turkish government still says we are terrorists.

Shortly after I saw a doctor for an injury I got at the academy while training two months earlier. He told me that I needed to go home to get my knee fixed, it was just getting worse. It's an awful feeling when they tell you you need to leave, and you just lost your first friends on the front line and you cannot help.

Since February 2018, the Turkish regime has been attacking the canton of Afrin, the western part of DFNS. According to the Turkish regime, the YPG, YPJ, and SDF—those I joined—are terrorists. For the rest of the world, the troops I joined are not terrorists, but Daesh is.

This makes sense—it's Daesh that is bombing civilians, raping women, and enslaving people. It's Daesh that attempted to commit genocide against the Yazidi people, throws homosexuals off roofs, and drowns people in detergent because they smoked a cigarette. The list could continue for a long time. We were the one that won against Daesh, nearly eliminated them from Syria, and built a democratic confederalist revolution in their place.

Daesh, to be able to get their weapons, money and troops, has strong relations with the Turkish state. Nearly all of Daesh's oil and cotton was sold to Turkey, a

lot of their weapons came from Turkey, and their troops reached Syria by travelling through Turkey.

This all make sense for the Turkish state. It's an authoritarian regime that wants a "nation" composed only by one people—Turks—negating the existence of minorities such as Kurds, Armenians, and others. Turkey's current president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, abandoned

secularism and has brought back an extremist form of Islamism in the state.

Any critique of the regime will put you in jail. Hundreds of journalists are incarcerated by the Turkish state for critical reporting. This repression of dissent, its contributions to the rise of Daesh, and its internal wars against minorities clearly makes the Turkish regime a fascist one. And it's dangerous—the Turkish army is



Some of the international volunteers who have been killed in battle fighting alongside the Kurds.

GRAPHIC AIDEN LOCKE @LOCKEDSGN

the second largest army of NATO.

Erdoğan is clearly dreaming of bringing back the days of the Ottoman Empire. Today, Turkey is the fifth largest trading partner of the European Union and a central point for global exchange due to its location between Europe, Africa and Asia.

In Turkey's attacks on Afrin, hundreds of civilians are dying. It is estimated that over 150,000 people have been displaced by Turkish attacks.

Despite all this, comrades had resisted courageously. We don't have anything to defend ourselves against Turkish airplanes, and the enemy is much more equipped than us. But our troops were still bravely resisting even if we were losing ground, in the hopes that a country will make a move to stop the fascist Turkish regime assault.

Sadly, this invasion has forced the Kurds to remove 1,700 troops that had previously been fighting against—and nearly eliminated—Daesh, to send them to reinforce Afrin. Again, the Turkish army is helping Daesh, who could now use this situation to counterattack the Kurds and regain strength. If this happens, it will have been Turkey's fault—but western governments, including Canada's, too, since they could stop it simply by enforcing a no-fly zone over Afrin.

Even the Syrian regime, which is far from being our ally, have now joined us in the war against the Turkish invasion. They have done the same with their 1,200 troops that were on the frontlines against Daesh. They know they could be the next.

On March 18, 2018, the city of Afrin fell. Turkish airstrikes were so intense that the YPG/YPJ decided to evacuate the city's civilians and withdraw in order to avoid more civilian deaths. On the last day before the city's fall, over 100 civilians were killed. It is a terrible loss, but it is not our first one.

The YPG/YPJ are now forced to change their strategy. They are engaged in guerrilla war in an attempt to force the fascist invader to withdraw. They hope that this strategy will render the Turkish air force, its most important tool in the war, useless.

Only months ago, the world was applauding the Kurds and their allies for their brave resistance against Daesh. Now the world is silent as another fascist army is killing those same heroes.

For them it seems the Kurds have filled their role against Daesh, now they are useless. Other countries also don't want a direct military confrontation against this fascist regime, or to lose their economic relations with Turkey.

Sooner or later, though, it will need to happen. The Turkish regime wont stop after Afrin. The fascist Erdoğan already said he would continue with Kobane and Qamişlo. The Turkish regime has already provoked European countries by threatening that they could take "Germany in three days and France in one hour." Maybe the other countries should remind themselves that the cost of inaction against a fascist regime was once the Second World War.

Meanwhile, the YPG-International has called for international solidarity. They are asking the good people of this world to support them and raise awareness of what's happening there. The hope their initiative is bringing, and the threats their enemies represent, needs to be defended at all cost.

Locally in Montreal, initiatives are being planned and a lot of help will be needed. Get in touch with organizers to get involved, and even to organize some events. Conferences, demonstrations, picket lines, blockades, and more—everything is needed, and it's needed urgently. I organize with Rojava Solidarity Montreal, and would encourage you to find us and help out.

Yesterday the Kurds spilled their blood to defend human values and get rid of barbarism—not only for them, but for all the world. Now they continue, but they are asking for our support more than ever, let's not disappoint them.

Biji berxwedana Afrin−Long live Afrin's resistance! 🛂

### Timeline of Far-Right Actions

BY SAVANNA CRAIG @SAVANNACRAIG

ar-right groups in Quebec have become more prominent, with social movements and protests becoming more common place in Montreal and Quebec City. However, these groups don't exist in a vacuum. Racist ideologies and secu-

larism have been promoted by Quebec politicians, manifesting in policies like the Quebec Charter of Values and bans against burgas and nigabs, impacting minority groups and immigrants across the province.

When US President Donald Trump

took office, applauded by the Grand Wizard of the Klu Klux Klan and other far-right groups, American policies began to become more more rigid against immigrants, generating a spark in anti-immigration protests in Quebec.

#### SEPTEMBER 10, 2013

The Parti Quebecois proposes Bill 60-which would ban all public workers from wearing religious symbols—such as the niqab, kippah and turban. Bill 60, also referred to as the Quebec Charter of Values, posed amendments to the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. The bill is later dropped in 2014 as the Quebec Liberal Party was elected.

#### SEPTEMBER TO NOVEMBER 2013

The next three months are dominated by protests surrounding the Quebec Charter of Values. Within this time span, protests are held to denounce the Charter of Values, with some drawing thousands. Pro-Charter rallies, which many women attend, were also held, with some supporters displaying signs such as, "Female beauty should not be hidden."

At the beginning of November and following the announcement of Bill 60, the Quebec Collective Against Islamophobia announces that reports demonstrate a 300 per cent growth in complaints of anti-Muslim attacks in the province.

#### APRIL 7, 2014

The proposal for the Quebec Charter of Values is terminated with the win of the Liberal party, as PQ Head Pauline Marois loses her seat in the riding of Charlevoix-Côte-de-Beaupré to Liberal opposition Caroline Simard.

#### FALL 2015

La Meute, an anti-Islam farright group promoting anti-immigrant sentiments is founded in the fall of 2015 by war veterans Eric "Corvus" Venne and Patrick Beaudry, around the same time of the arrival of 25,000 Syrian refugees in Canada.

#### JUNE 19, 2016

A pig's head is left by at the door of the Centre Culturel Islamique du Québec, a mosque in Quebec city. The hate incident is likely committed by members of La Meute, who discussed how to do it online in the months prior.

#### OCTOBER 15, 2016

Far-right groups amass in front of the National Assembly in Quebec City to protest the perceived rise of the Islamic faith in the province. The far-right group Justiciers du peuple organized the protest, with other far-right groups like PEGIDA Quebec, the Soldiers of Odin, La Meute and Atalante Québec joining in. As the far-right groups marched blocks from the National Assembly, anti-racist counterprotesters waited for them.

#### NOVEMBER 8, 2016

Donald Trump wins the U.S presidential election. Former Ku Klux Klan Grand Master David Duke tweets his support stating, "We did it!" The next day, hundreds protest in Montreal.

#### NOVEMBER 2016

The Muslim Student Association at Dawson College holds an event in November, inviting students to try wearing a hijab for Islamic Awareness Day. Following Le Journal de Montreal's coverage of the event, members of La Meute take to Facebook to encourage members to condemn the event by contacting the CEGEP's administration. Despite none of the complainants revealing their identity, a Dawson spokesperson said she had never received such a large volume of complaints during her 15 years there.

#### JANUARY 29, 2017

Six Muslim men are killed inside the Quebec Islamic Cultural Centre, and 19 are injured. It was later exposed that suspect Alexandre Bissonnette was involved in far-right activism on social media, inspired after France's National Front leader Marine Le Pen visited Quebec City.

#### MARCH 4 2017

Far-right supporters and antifascists go head to head in front of Montreal's City Hall in light of the federal government's proposal of Bill M-103, which condemned Islamophobia in Canada. Opponents critique it for restricting "freedom of speech" and promoting "Sharia law." The most prominent presence within the far-right supporters are from La Meute-also known as The Wolfpackflaunting apparel and flags donning a their paw print logo.

### in Quebec

MARCH 23, 2017

Motion M-103 is passed by the House of Commons, initiated by the Liberal party of Quebec.

JULY 2, 2017

Far-right groups Storm Alliance and La Meute gather at the Quebec-New York border on Roxham Rd. in Hemmingford, Qc to protest the entry of migrants. Counter-protesters refute both far-right groups, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Sûreté du Québec officers create a barrier between both sides.

AUGUST 11, 2017

A group of approximately 100 white nationalists flock to the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, where they march in a Unite the Right rally. This event is held before a protest against the removal of a confederate statue located in a Charlottesville park. A fight breaks out as a peaceful group of counterprotesters stand around the statue.

The fighting continues the next day when Heather Heyer, a 32-year-old woman, is killed by a car driving into a crowd of counter-protesters.

AUGUST 13, 2017

A solidarity rally is hosted in Montreal in support of Charlottesville antifascists, denouncing white nationalists, and protesters march from Phillips Square to the U.S Consulate. A large tribute is paid to Heyer as many carry signs with her photo and name on them.

AUGUST 20, 2017

La Meute is faced off with hundreds of anti-racist protesters in Quebec City, after they come to demonstrate against the influx of immigrants in Quebec. That day, La Meute calls on Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Quebec Premier Philippe Couillard to enforce border security, prohibiting "illegal immigrants" from entering through Quebec.

While awaiting La Meute, anti-fascist counter-demonstrators clash with police.

AUGUST 23, 2017

Following the demonstration held in Quebec's capital, Quebec City Mayor Régis Labeaume says Quebec political leaders need to open their eyes to the rise of the far-right groups within the province. As of that date, more than 43,000 people were listed as members of La Meute's private Facebook group.

SEPTEMBER 30, 2017

Members of Storm Alliance are met by counter-protesters outside the St-Bernard-de-Lacolle U.S-Canada border in an attempt to denounce government policies allowing the entry of refugees and "illegal immigrants."

OCTOBER 18, 2017

The Quebec National Assembly adopts a renewed version of the Charter of Values, Bill 62, which would ban face coverings for those who provide and receive public services. This time the law is introduced by the Liberal government. While the bill doesn't limit Quecebers from wearing turbans or hijabs as the original Bill 60 required, it still bans the wearing of nigabs and burgas.

NOVEMBER 12, 2017

160 community organizations and thousands of people within the province participate in a march against racism in downtown Montreal. The protest also condemns the rise of the far-right groups in Quebec.

NOVEMBER 25, 2017

La Meute and Storm Alliance protest against the Liberal government's attempt to hold a consultation into systemic racism in Quebec, despite the fact that the consultation had already been cancelled.

NOVEMBER 2017

Quebec City statistics show a spike in hate crimes in the year prior to the mosque shooting that took place in January of 2017. Police-reported hate crimes rose in the province's capital, going from 3.5 to 7.1 incidents per 100,000 people between 2015 and 2016, according to Statistics Canada. These rates are higher than in Toronto, Ottawa or Montreal.

## Working Class Anti-Fascish

The IWW are Making Labour Anti-Fascist Again

BY MIRIAM LAFONTAINE @MIRILAFOINTAINE

ack in the 1920s, the Industrial Workers of the World, the historic union known for its opposition to capitalism and demand for direct democracy in the workplace, was a vocal opponent of the Ku Klux Klan.

Labour unions like the IWW have fought against the far-right since their inception. In trying to build a large union of workers across the world, united regardless of profession or identity, the IWW has traditionally sought to include immigrant workers that far-right groups like the Klan dehumanized. Because of that, the two groups have been known to clash.

In the winter of 1924, 175 IWW members marched in Greenville, Maine against the Klan. The call for the march came as the Klan was trying to intimidate the IWW chapter into leaving the town, and at the same time the IWW told the press the Klan was working with lumber companies and the city to end the unionization efforts of lumber workers.

In 1936, Canadian IWW chapters directly supported the Spanish Revolution by recruiting soldiers for the the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, which was fighting in a civil war against the fascist dictatorship of Francisco Franco, and helped establish anarchism in sections of the country. The movement was repressed three years later by Franco's dictatorship after the betrayal by the Stalinists.

In this millenium, the IWW has kept up its opposition towards the far-right and neo-nazism. At a IWW North American convention in Montreal last September, American and Canadian chapters of the IWW adopted an anti-fascist position, with a promise to support mass organizing against fascism. And recently, an anti-fascist stance was added to the constitution of the IWW. With this reso-

lution the union is mandated to oppose the growth and open expression of fascist and far-right movements, through a "strategy of mass anti-fascism and community self-defense."

In recent years, IWW General Defence Committees have formed in North America with the mandate to defend the working class against repression. These GDCs have existed since 1917, but following the election of Donald Trump, they have expanded their mandate of defending the working class to explicitly defend the working class and other minority communities from the rise of fascism and the far-right.

In light of increasing conflict between far-right groups like La Meute and Storm Alliance, and anti-fascist groups in Quebec, Montreal IWW delegate Éric Default said the need for a GDC here became apparent.

"People are really disillusioned with the status quo, and the only other alternative they have is the far-right," he said. "The far-left doesn't really talk much to working class people, especially in the countryside."

That's a problem, he said, since the far-right tends to recruit in places full of disenfranchised blue-collar workers. Groups like La Meute recruit by playing on worker's anxiety about the future, specifically by scapegoating people of colour through the argument that immigrants are arriving to "steal our jobs." If striking workers are replaced with newly hired scabs who are also immigrants, or on a worker's visa for the job, Default said he understands why some workers might misplace the blame. He specified, though, that the bosses are the ones making that decision, not migrant workers.

He's also noticed that many working class Quebecois people who resent the status quo and the government tend to go towards the far-right, as groups like La Meute and Storm Alliance directly oppose the provincial and federal government.

Knowing this, IWW Montreal and its GDC, which still in its infancy, focuses a lot of its attention on trying to prevent people from going to the far-right in the first place.

"With La Meute and groups like that, a lot of the people in those groups could be brought back into the good fight if we talked to them a bit, if we organized a bit to go talk to them," Default said.

But if workers are anxious about the future, they should work to take down capitalism and directly advocate for their own rights, instead of scapegoating their co-workers, said Benjamin Gingas, a member of IWW Montreal since 2014.

"The only one who's actively attacking you is your boss. The only ones conspiring against our interests and our conditions as workers are the bosses," he said. "It's not immigrants, it's not people of colour, it's not trans people."

Many of the General Defense Committees, like the ones in Montreal and Toronto which have sprung into existence in the last year, have been inspired by active GDCs in the United States such as as the Twin Cities GDC based in Minnesota.

Twin Cities GDC has been running since 2011, beginning with the unique mandate to defend their entire community from oppression. Soon after establishing itself, the Twin Cities defence committee infiltrated and disrupted a secret event by Holocaust denier David Irving, and then organized to disrupt a Confederate flag event. And with the election of Donald Trump and the rise of the alt-right, their anti-fascist work has intensified.

Beyond preventing people from going towards the far-right, the Montreal GDC also tries to contribute to the antifascist movement in Quebec by sending



contingents to counter-demonstrations against the far-right, as was the case on Aug. 20 and Nov. 25, 2017, when far-right groups rallied at the National Assembly in Quebec City. The GDC also aims to defend the people who get arrested in anti-fascist demonstrations by giving financial and moral support, with the goal of alleviating the repression of anti-fascism.

The General Defense Committee of IWW Toronto works along similar lines, by raising legal funds for people who've been caught up in arrests following antifascist demonstrations, and by showing solidarity with them. This could mean things like driving activists to court or coming with them to testify.

"The practical support that we can offer, we do," said Brooke, who works with the GDC in Toronto, and used a pseudonym out of concern for being targeted.

Brooke's GDC also forms coalitions

describes as a "carbon-copy" of La Meute—the Proud Boys, the Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West, and the III% militia.

"We engage in a mass attack against fascism where we do coalition building with liberal organizations in the city," said Brooke. "And more militantly [organize] by blocking them from taking space."

When describing why it's necessary the IWW be anti-fascist, the Twin Cities GDC said it's an urgent concern for the union. They argue that fascist and far-right groups divide the working class—the mass needed to overcome capitalism, which itself perpetuates oppression. And since fascists and the far-right try to recruit within the working class, the IWW needs to offer a solution to the ills of capitalism in the same way far-right groups do.

"Part of the clearer rationale was to establish faith and credit with groups that may have bad impressions of unions, or prioritize other forms of work, and to bring a more diverse group GDC, to Libcom in a 2016 interview.

"Another part was the understanding that if the IWW ever gets close to its goal of genuinely challenging the foundations of capitalism, we will have to have a group and an orientation capable of defending the union and its workers. We didn't feel that we should wait until the attack came to organize to fight it," he continued.

The Twin Cities GDC has stressed the importance in unions leading the antifascist fight because small affinity groups on their own won't be able to end fascism and authoritarian far-right movements. That's a sentiment that Default agrees with, stressing that labour unions should be used to facilitate a mass movement against fascism and the far-right, since most people are hesitant to support the use of violent or illegal tactics.

There needs to be a combination of both popular anti-fascist organizations as well as affinity groups, because otherwise it'll just be one extreme group battling the next. But not everyone wants to mask up.

### Taking Out the Trash

Fighting the Fascist Problem on Our Campus

BY EAMON TOOHEY @MOISTUREFARMING

has a fascism problem. Not to single the province out, of course-I'm sure there are Nova Scotian nazis too. But in the past year or so, Quebec has seen a surge of far-right demonstrations and violence.

Over a year ago, I joined up with the Resist Trump and the Far Right Network. We brought together a wide coalition of activists and community organizers to denounce the inauguration of the 45th President of the United States, leading a rally in Montreal as The Donald was sworn in south of the border. At the time, the mood was hopeful. There were hundreds of us, the streets were ours. We were met with cheers from onlookers and supportive honks from passing cars.

Fast-forward a year.

There have been several incidents of racist violence directed towards Quebec's Muslim population. Fascist groups like Storm Alliance and La Meute collaborated with Quebec City police to crush anti-fascist protesters. Quebec City police deny that they even have records of their interactions with these groups, despite the threat of violence central to their politics. Things do not look good.

Granted, anti-fascist groups have risen admirably to the occasion. Montreal's Food Against Fascism collective has carved out a chunk of Norman Bethune Square to serve hot meals every weekend, no questions asked. It's a relatively low-risk way to get the word out, and meet the immediate needs of folks in pretty precarious situations.

A lot of community activism is centred around this approach—meet the people where they're at, help out where you can, force any fascist presence out of the neighbourhood.

But the streets aren't the only place fascists organize. Increasingly, they've been crawling out of the woodwork on university campuses as well. Concordia is no different. On my way to help serve at last week's Food Against Fascism, I had to cover up a trail of neo-nazi stickers steadily working from St. Mathieu St. towards the Hall building.

I helped other organizers search the surrounding area, and we found that they clustered around the Hall Building itself. Those stickers have since been covered up—they now read "Refugees Welcome" or "Support Your Local Antifa."

But this isn't the first time Concordia's experienced an unsightly rash of far-right stickers. In the fall, recruitment posters for a so-called "European heritage" movement started cropping up. They were particularly common at the Loyola Campus, but we still spent a day tearing posters off downtown lampposts.

That week was the second time in less than a year, after years of silence from Concordia's extreme right. Why now? What makes university students such an appealing target for nascent fascist groups? To understand this, it helps to develop a working definition of what fascism actually is.

It helps to think of fascism not as a form of government, but a reaction to the loss of middle-class security. Essentially, the comforts of the middle class are products of imperialism. These are preserved through constant expansion.

But when this expansion falters, the middle class cannot hold on to that position. To rectify this, they begin advocating for internal expansion. Citizenship is tied to concepts like ethnicity to justify the application of imperial conditions to marginalized members of society, temporarily preserving the safety of the middle class.

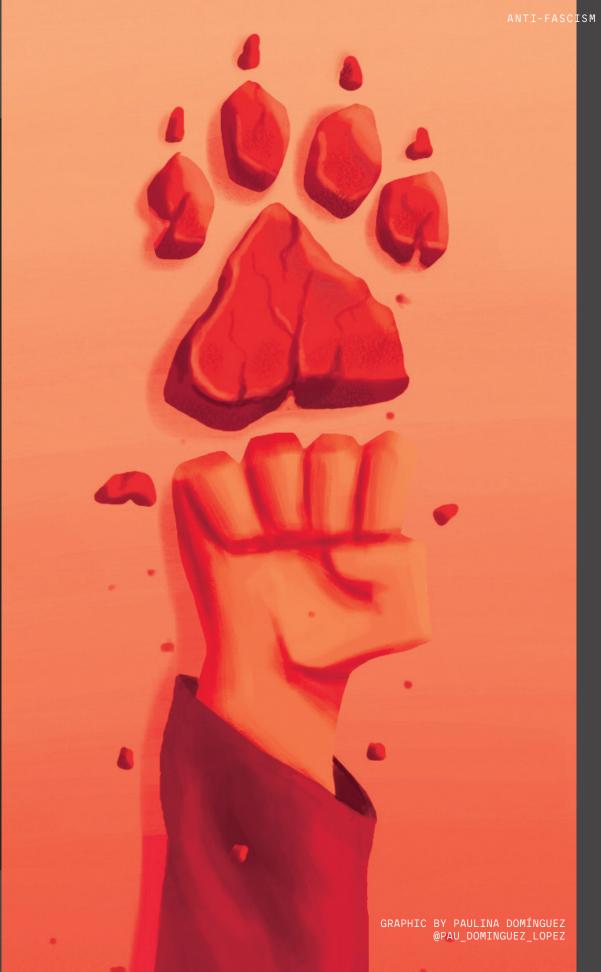
The category of "human" shrinks rapidly as the capitalist serpent eats its own tail. The process by which this happens is fascism, and the people who advocate for this are called fascists.

This is important because the university system, Concordia included, is a middle-class institution. Students from mostly middle-class families come to receive what amounts to training to reproduce this class structure.

In addition, the university is centred around the language and ideology of liberal "merit"—if you fail, it's your own fault for not having enough of some internal, innate ability. If you succeed, it's because you're better than people who are oppressed.

This combination, of a middle-class threatened by the collapse of that class and a university culture centred around natural hierarchy, presents a massive target to nascent fascist groups. To capitalize on this "perfect storm" of conditions, the far-right employs a wide array of tactics. To counter them, though, we first need to recognize them.

> Now that we know what a contemporary fascist looks like, we need to dig our heels in, and kick them off our campuses.





The stickers and posters I mentioned above are a hugely popular one. A small group of people can cover a wide area relatively quickly, while maintaining their anonymity as they build support. These are relatively easy to spot and cover up when, like recently, they rely on stereotypical neo-nazi imagery. Swastikas, runic fonts, invocation of historical fascists—these are all easily identifiable.

But it becomes much more difficult when groups start to adapt their rhetoric specifically to university targets. Swastikas are exchanged for more obscure Latin or Nordic icons, and a wannabestormtrooper aesthetic is exchanged for something much cleaner.

Rhetorically, these groups stop short of openly declaring themselves fascists. "White pride" is too bloodstained a banner for them to publicly fly. Instead, they rally behind calls to defend "European identity" from immigrants, migrant workers, and refugees.

They paint themselves as defenders of "free speech," pretending that the civil liberties issue of our times is that they aren't allowed to spout vitriol about people of colour and trans folks. This new dressed-up fascist variant has a great deal of pull on campuses. There's an audience of young, disaffected white men eager for any explanation to the instability of their social position.

This rhetoric isn't just limited to posters and stickers, either. It crops up a lot online as well. I try and stay out of places like Spotted Concordia, but every now and then things leak out. Things like self-declared Proud Boys braying for right-wing pseudo-intellectuals to come speak at Concordia.

Not all of these future guests are outand-out fascists, or even closet fascists. Some of them just repackage core tenets of liberalism as Chicken Soup for the Petty Bourgeois Soul self-help books. But their presence attracts a lot of actual fascists, the kind of people who flock to videos titled "BASED PROFESSOR TRIG-GERING LIBERAL SNOWFLAKES!!!!!" By relying on the authority and respectability of these figures—essentially the liberal meritocracy I mentioned above campus fascists are able to network.

They use dog whistles buried in these speakers' rhetoric to seek out other diehards. A particular favorite is decrying the "cultural marxism" supposedly taking over our universities. To the uninitiated, it sounds just like the tired old critique of universities being more left than the general population.

But to a fascist sympathiser, "cultural marxism" is a specific conspiracy theory that Jewish communists are saturating our popular media with left-wing ideology to eradicate western civilization. It dovetails neatly with online neo-nazis' penchant for using a triple parentheses to mark things related to a supposed Jewish conspiracy.

It doesn't matter if the speakers they want to bring to universities like Concordia actually believe these things. They recognize there's an audience for it, and fledgling campus fascist groups will exploit that as soon as they can.

Now that we know what a contemporary fascist looks like, we need to dig our heels in, and kick them off our campuses.

Concordia has a long history of student activism, stretching back almost 50 years. But most of our activist history has been focused around fighting institutional injustice, not burgeoning movements.

On the bright side, that means we can nip the university far-right in the bud before it becomes an institutional problem. More dishearteningly, however, our old tricks are no good. Not that petitions have ever done much good, but they aren't worth the paper they're printed on now. There's no court of public opinion, simply because fascism has no obligation to debate in good faith.

Instead, we need to completely deny them a platform. This means realizing the right to speak and the right to an audience aren't the same thing. If we can deny the far-right an audience, they're just racists howling into the void. We can disrupt their events, take up their space, and make sure every attempt to find an audience is met with mass resistance. From stickers to speaking tours, we can't allow fascists to hold the floor.

On a more institutional level, we need to demand more of our university and our departmental associations. If a fascist pseudo-intellectual is spewing bullshit and using his scholarly reputation to give it weight, call on departments in his field to condemn him. This is bound up in the liberal meritocracy of the university—failure is a personal fault, and leads to a stripping of merit and authority. Since we can't undo that tomorrow, we need to mobilize it against right-wing extremists until we can undo it.

This extends to our own decision-making bodies as well.

Full disclosure, I'm a member of the CSU Council. I was one of the councilors working to get an anti-fascist position on the union's books. It's been there for months, and very little has come of it.

We've endorsed a few demonstrations, brought contingents to some of the more respectable ones, but that's all. There's little individual counselors can do in the day-to-day workings of the union without quorum and agenda points, but executives and staff have a great degree of freedom to pursue tasks related to their mandate.

We should be creating links not just within the university, but between university and community organizations. We should be running widespread popular education campaigns, working with other groups to determine who exactly is being targeted for radicalization by rightwing extremists, and countering them.

We should be showing up. Not just to demonstrations, but to organizational meetings, to food servings, to anywhere marginalized people need support. Not to push our narrative or to hawk flyers, but to show our solidarity for people who are affected in diverse ways by the rise of the far-right.

When you punch a fascist, the whole world needs to punch with you. Not necessarily by being in the street with you, but by building links between our communities, by meeting people where they're at, and by fostering meaningful resistance within our institutions.



# Fascism and Policing Go

Why the Police in Quebec Keep Ignoring the Far-Right

BY TESSA MASCIA @NEWNMBRWHODIS



Quebec City police pushing anti-fascist counter-protesters to allow the La Meute and Storm Alliance march to move forward, Nov. 25 2017. PHOTOS BRIAN LAPUZ @BRIANLAPUZ

its historic rise in the early 20th century to Quebec today, fascism and policing have always gone hand in hand.

The state's sole purpose is to protect the privileges of certain peoples, and to protect the tools used by those people to achieve their goals of social and economic denomination. Those tools include borders, infrastructure projects like Quebec's Plan Nord—a 25 year economic plan launched by the province to

invest \$80 billion in energy, mining and forestry, and of course, the police. With that, it's no surprise police in Quebec tend to ignore the threat of the far-right and have become complicit in its rise, since like the police, far-right groups favour hierarchical structures.

The police in Quebec, like all other police forces the world over, represent the interests of the state, and the interests of the wealthy and powerful. As a result, the rise of the far-right is of little

concern to police officers in Quebec. Many police officers, on an individual level, are not in agreement with overt displays of fascism. Many might even hate fascism. On a systemic level, though, the fascistic rhetoric that runs throughout far-right groups is of no concern to police.

Recent events show this to be the case. On March 25, 2017, "Learn to Resist" workshops were being given at Concordia University by the Resist Trump & the

### Hand in Hand

Far-Right Network. The group formed in the context of Donald Trump's rise to power and the rise of xenophobia and far-right reactionary politics in North America. Workshops were meant to open up a platform to begin anti-racist work in the city.

Lo and behold, racist individuals and far-right groups—the Canadian Coalition of Concerned Citizens and the Soldiers of Odin—learned of the event, and went to protest what they dubbed "terrorist workshops." When it became clear that fascists (some were affiliated with groups which use Nazi iconography) were organizing to disrupt the workshops on that day, brave workshop-goers came out in front of the Hall building to defend themselves.

To the surprise of few, Montreal's police department came out to actively defend the reactionaries. Groups like Soldiers of Odin and Storm Alliance were able to march from the McDonald's on Mackay St. to the Hall building. Were it not for the police officers actively walking and protecting these individuals, and aiming tear gas cannons at workshop-goers who opposed them, there's no way that this would have happened.

Only a few weeks earlier, on March 4, racist reactionaries were able to take the streets in hundreds outside of Montreal's city hall, under the pretext of defending "free speech." Protesting M103—a motion by the federal government that condemned Islamophobia and encouraged the collection of data on hate crimes against Muslims—groups like La Meute were, thanks to the protection afforded to them by police officers, able to march down the streets practically unabated despite the significant push back of anti-fascist protesters.

The history of police forces implicitly, or even explicitly, defending fascist

reactionaries goes back far and isn't limited to Quebec. Fascist paramilitary groups in post-WW1 Europe contained several ex-military and police members. Today, it has come to light that the head of security for La Meute is a retired Quebec City police officer. Despite not explicitly calling themselves fascists, La Meute dog whistles to many far-right reactionary causes, pushing against so-called "illegal immigration" and the supposed Islamic menace.

In a more disturbing escalation of events, some explicitly neo-nazi groups were allowed to march openly in the fall of 2017, in Quebec City proper by the National Assembly. The group Atalante Quebec, an explicitly fascist group that models itself both off fascist imagery of the early 20th century and more contemporary fascist movements like CasaPound Italia, covered enough ground in Quebec to actually have a proper banner drop and photo shoot on the walls of the old city.

Although a large contingent of antifascist activists came to counter those groups, which also included more known and popular far-right groups such as La Meute and Storm Alliance, their effectiveness on the ground was severely hampered by the active participation of the Service de police de la ville de Québec in supporting the far-right's march.

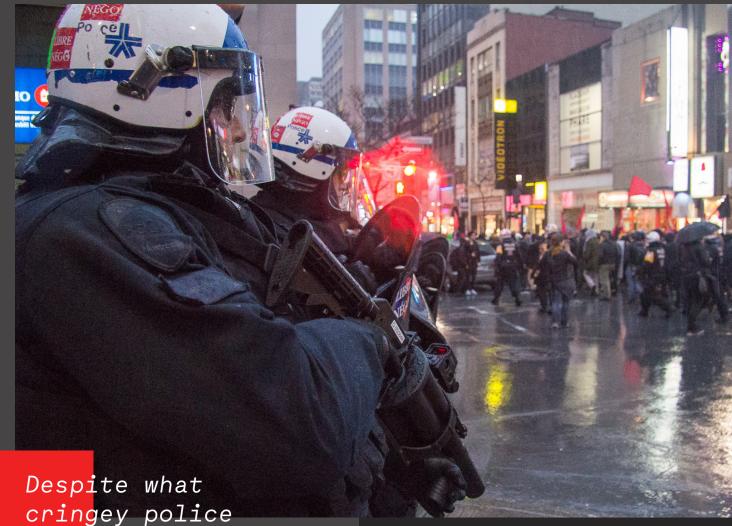
Leading up to the march, the SPVQ was "in communication" with La Meute, supposedly to facilitate security for the march. This security that later allowed the far-right groups to march unabated and unchallenged throughout the day.

Police officers even arrested counterprotesters in large numbers; by the end of the day 44 were arrested. Despite it being well known and publicized that the SPVQ was in direct communication with La Meute in regards to the day's The history of police forces implicitly, or even explicitly, defending fascist reactionaries goes back far and isn't limited to Quebec.

events, the SPVQ later told *The Link* no records were kept of any of these exchanges between the police and La Meute or Storm Alliance.

This was all in the context of the rising far-right in a city which, earlier in the year, had to deal with the Islamophobic murder of several worshippers in a Quebec City mosque in January 2017. In August of the same year, La Meute was able to take to the streets and march "silently," thanks solely to the role the SPVQ played in rooting out anti-fascist protesters who gathered to oppose them. Unsurprisingly, there were arrests of anti-fascist protesters, and none on the side of La Meute.

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social media profiles will tell you, this is the role of police in the world—to maintain the current order that allows the rich owner class to benefit off

the labour of

workers.

Montreal police officers watch the May Day 2017 protest as it passes through downtown on Ste. Catherine. St.



capitalist class in Germany, Hitler would never have been able to come to power. Other authoritarian far-right regimes that came to exist throughout the 20th and 21st centuries share similar roots—nations grant complete authority to the state to defend the interests of the few at the cost of the many.

Whether they are puppet regimes

Whether they are puppet regimes set up in the Americas by the bourgeois in other nation states, as was the case in Pinochet's regime in Chile, or the result of decades of failed Western appeasement such as Erdoğan's Turkey, fascistic authoritarian governments can only come to be in the context of global capitalism and the legitimization both of nation states and their monopoly on the "legitimate" use of violence.

"All cops are bastards," the saying goes.

As inflammatory as such a remark may be to more liberal-minded elements of society, it is less of a comment on the morality of individual police officers than a critique of the entire system of policing. Police, as we understand them, do not have their roots in some benign or even positive foundation to "serve and protect." Police in the Anglosphere trace their roots back to medieval England, where sheriffs patrolled areas to collect taxes for the aristocracy.

In so-called America, the roots of policing are even more macabre, with slave patrols literally catching escaped humans to return to their supposed masters. In the period after the American Civil War, policing took on a new role with the onset of industrialization. This was especially true in the north, where police officers were called in to attack striking workers.

The horrors of early industrial America are well documented—child workers, long work days without breaks, and a pay not worthy of the work done. Unsurprisingly, workers rebelled against their bosses, forming militant unions and even what can loosely be described as workers militias to defend themselves. The contemporary bourgeois, bragging that "they could pay one half of the working class to kill the other half," was unsurpris-

ingly alarmed at workers' solidarity as it directly affected their profits and, by extension, their power.

So, they fell back on the state to help defend themselves. Police acted as hired thugs to break strikes, kill union organizers, and defend scabs, who were often recent immigrants that had no idea what was going on in the factory they were being asked to work in. This was all done in order to break workers' solidarity and maintain society's uneven power structures.

Despite what cringey police social media profiles will tell you, this is the role of police in the world—to maintain the current order that allows the rich owner class to benefit off the labour of workers. With the history of policing here in Canada, that's not surprising, as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was instrumental in maintaining colonial control on territories that had their natural resources extracted for profit for the state. And today, the Montreal police still maintain "order and control" in working class areas, as the police forces in Quebec act only as the strong armed thugs of the state of Canada, a state whose goal is to protect rich property owners.

The lesson here is as follows: Don't rely on the state if you want to effectively combat the rise of the far-right. The police, as an extension of the state and one of the main perpetrators of its violence, exist only to maintain a set of given privileges in society. All that they do is follow orders from the higher ups.

It should come as no surprise that here in Quebec the police are complicit in the rise of the far-right. They allow them to march, they communicate in great detail, and some of them are even members of such groups.

Historically the lesson is much the same—cops support the state, no matter if that state is imperialist, colonial, authoritarian, or even explicitly fascist. If you want to stem and reverse the rise of the far-right, you're going to have to build solidarity with other groups and individuals.

If you're thinking of calling the cops, you might as well call up the reactionaries themselves. L1

To understand contemporary police complacency in the rise of far-right and fascist organizing, it is important to first understand the system of policing today and what fascism is exactly.

Fascism is more than just "authoritarianism," as many contemporary people mistakenly understand it to be. Fascism, essentially, is capitalism in decline. It is imperialism turned inwards. It is the bourgeois' last grasp at maintaining its power in a given society.

The historic rise of fascism coincides with times of great economic depression in certain geographic areas. After complete national humiliation and economic depression following the end of the First World War, it should come as no surprise that populist right wing leader Adolf Hitler gained prominence in Germany. His authoritarian nationalism was more than a Hugo Boss aesthetic; despite his popular claims, Hitler directly represented the interests of the rich.

Without the consent of the powerful

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The Link acknowledges our location on unceded Indigenous land. The Kanien'kehá:ka Nation is recognized as the custodians of these lands and waters. Tiohtiá:ke is historically known as a gathering place for many First Nations.

Corrections: In the previous issue of The Link, the article "Sustainable Fashion Made Affordable" misstated from where Asset Designs sources its materials. In the article, "Down the Trade Hole," we innacurately described an embroidery as saying "bastards" instead of "baddies," and we mispelled the author's name. The Link regrets these errors.

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