

NEW FORMS OF LATENT FASCISM



Google Images: Nation of Islam, a supremacist, paramilitary, anti-Semitic, and homophobic group in the United States.

Following the publication of a book by American academic Jason Stanley, we felt it was important to redefine and reexamine the new forms that fascism can take today, contrary to both the charming repetitions of democratic anti-fascism and the denials of a rapidly expanding phenomenon. There are many forms of fascism, and here we will talk more about "the" latent fascisms than "the" latent fascism. After outlining the main characteristics of these "new" fascisms, we will examine the historical question of the struggle against fascism, regardless of interclass fronts and the indifference of certain currents. Unfortunately, despite an interesting approach, this book adopts the deadly perspective of democracy and, therefore, of "tolerable" capitalism. In our opinion: "Those who do not want to talk about capitalism should also remain silent about fascism." Max Horkheimer. Fascism is a significant historical phenomenon of the mature phase of capitalism, described by Marx as "specifically capitalist." This period of maturity of the M.P.C. saw large, mechanized factories that employed Taylorism and Fordism as specific ways of organizing labor. It should be noted that Italian historian Enzo Traverso has described Nazism-in terms of its organization-as "biologized Taylorism." Although Bonapartism and Boulangism could be considered "prehistoric" embryos in the genealogy of fascism, fascism is a product of World War I and the exasperation of frustrated nationalism.

These movements originated both in defeated countries and dismantled empires and in the obviously disappointed aspirations of "decolonized" countries. Today, the air of rotten modernity speaks to us rather of "national populism" to characterize the new forms technically made possible by Facebook and other so-called social networks, all of which massively develop demagoguery, the rewriting of history, fake news, and conspiracy theories as systematic forms of their politics. For all populisms, then, widespread falsehood-and its recognition as such-is a moment of truth. It is worth remembering that the first fascist movement, created by Mussolini in 1919, became a regime thanks to democracy in 1922. This fact highlights one of the historical characteristics of fascism: the distinction between fascism as a political movement and fascism as a regime. These "catch-all" movements seek to unite the "healthy" national community while excluding the "unhealthy" part, i.e., the group destined to bear the role of scapegoat, such as the "reds," the "Jews," the "anarchists," the "foreigners," the "elites"... There is no fascist program as such, but rather a set of recurring

characteristics¹. We find the cult of will and action, that of the charismatic leader, an exacerbated nationalism, the denial of class and class struggle, a viscerally "anti-Marxist" policy, expansionism based on territorial claims, a façade of anti-capitalism, criticism of parliamentarianism with effective electoralism, racism and/or anti-Semitism, a mass party, a belief in militarism, undisguised repression and violence, anti-intellectualism, rejection of elites... Not all these elements need to be present in the definition of "fascism." A few are enough to inspire a fascist policy, anti-immigration for example, and we can see that the more common points there are, the more the tendency towards fascism is reinforced. Therefore, there is a tendency to group a certain number of these characteristics into policies that tend towards openly claimed fascism.

This is why it is so difficult to define the different forms of fascism, and why it is so easy to use this terminology in all circumstances and without context. The inflation of unfounded accusations of fascism can also serve to devalue its relevance and sow confusion. Other variants may appear, such as replacing the mass party with a **mass religion** and its hierarchical structure, as in the current example of Iranian fascism. There is no absolute model, not even for the three historical forms of fascism: Mussolini, Nazism, and Francoism. That is why we prefer to speak of **fascisms**, to encompass all the variants of this phenomenon, which is itself in a constant state of readaptation. However, the ideological basis of these movements is always the constitution of a national union/community based on a mythical and fantasized past that must be reclaimed. As Mussolini said : *"We have created our myth. The myth is faith, a passion. It does not have to be a reality (...) Our myth is the nation; our myth is the greatness of the nation!"*²

We are not far from the central slogan of *"Make America Great Again"*³. Trump's corollary: "Make America Great Again." The corollary of this equally mythical formula is the role given to the people as the bearers of this rebirth and this "reconquest," as in Zemmour's aptly named New Party. We could agree with the definition given by Ugo Palheta, although many points in his book seem debatable to us:

*"If we had to agree on a definition-even a minimal and provisional one-of fascism, we could undoubtedly consider it a mass movement that seeks to work for the regeneration of an 'imaginary community' considered organic (nation, 'race,' and/or civilization) through ethno-racial purification. Through the annihilation of all forms of social conflict and dissent (political, trade union, religious, journalistic, or artistic), that is, through the evisceration of everything that seems to threaten its imaginary unity (in particular, the visible presence of ethno-racial minorities and the activism of the political opposition)."*⁴

This definition may apply in whole or in part not only to fascist movements in France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, or Spain, but also to many aspects of the regimes of Trump, Putin, Orbán, Bolsonaro, Erdoğan, Xi Jinping, Maduro, Ali Khamenei, etc.

¹Many works develop these points, including the classics by I. Kershaw: *Qu'est-ce que le nazisme ?*, p. 87-88, Gallimard, Paris, 1999 and Emilio Gentile: *Qu'est-ce que le fascisme ?* Gallimard, Paris, 2004.

²Cited by J. Stanley : *Les ressorts du fascisme*, p.33 Eliott, Paris, 2022.

³C.F.:https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Make_America_Great_Again

⁴In : Ugo Palheta : *La possibilité du fascisme*, pp. 30–31, La découverte, Paris, 2018.

Victory of the cultural and political hegemony of the new fascisms

It is fashionable and politically correct not to define latent fascism as such, but to use euphemistic terms such as "national populism" and "far right" to describe this massive resurgence of movements that largely correspond to the definition of fascism. The only spectacular difference is that they no longer appear-and march-in uniforms, flags, and torches, but with umbrellas, ties, or "yellow vests," generally in the name of "Freedom." This difference is only the visible sign, especially in France, of a profound process of reworking and recovery of "left-wing" themes by the intellectual vanguard of "new style" fascism. For years, figures such as Jean Thiriart and, above all, Alain de Benoist, and think tanks such as GRECE and the "Club de l'Horloge," have been striving to modernize fascism by giving it a "leftist" flavor that corresponds to one of the ideological sources of the genesis of fascism (Proudhon, Sorel, etc.). In a Gramscian approach, the goal is to conquer the cultural terrain as a means of subsequently attacking the political terrain. It is also time to rewrite history to suit their ideological needs, to better control the future⁵. A group such as "*CasaPound*"⁶ in Italy has successfully followed the same path.

These movements are further reinforced by the emergence of defectors from the left, even the far left, to the fascist right, following their Mussolini model: A. Soral, Dieudonné, P. Guillaume, Kemi Séba, F. Cousin, J-C Michéa, A. Kotarac... R. Garaudy (and his friend J. Vergès) had already shown the way by moving from Stalinism to political Islamism, thus anticipating the politics of most of the left-wing factions still in existence, such as the Maoists, the Trotskyists, and certain libertarians... all of whom are proponents and defenders of Islamic communitarianism under the pretext of fighting "Islamophobia," but above all because of their inherent anti-Semitism. Little by little, some of the themes of the far right were shared by the far "left," first nationalism, then the defense of the Islamic religion, a religion supposedly considered by some to be that of the "oppressed," then communitarianism, "race," and finally the apology for the "people." This is the victory of fascism over the old "left" through its ideological absorption, which gives it legitimacy and political hegemony. This is reflected not only in the issues and vocabulary, but also in the streets where, through conspiracy and "anti-vax" movements, they have also gained control of urban space, the media, and a virtual monopoly in clashes with the police.

Most of the issues, debates, election campaigns, controversies, email exchanges, even measures against Covid, have been taken up by these forces of the new fascism. It is they who polarize society in the absence of independent workers' struggles. In this way, left-wing populism has been completely swallowed up by right-wing populism and, to survive a little longer in the political arena, has aligned itself with the same issues, borrowing the same rhetoric on immigration, security, "lawless areas," nuclear energy, etc. This⁷

⁵A good example of this rewriting of history, which has been deconstructed in particular in Zemmour's speech: CF: Zemmour contre l'histoire, Tracts/Gallimard, No. 34, February 2022.

⁶See: https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/italie/italie-casapound-ces-fascistes-qui-vous-veulent-du-bien_3069601.html

⁷On this question, see our text in Matériaux Critiques No. 2: Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism...Formulas of Confusion, November 2020, and <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes>

alignment/reversal has as its main matrix the "anti-imperialist" struggle, anti-colonialism, and above all anti-Semitism under the pretext of the "Palestinian question."

"To put it succinctly, the representation of Israel and the 'Zionists' conveyed by this form of 'anti-Zionism' is fundamentally the same as that of Jews in the virulent anti-Semitism that found its purest expression in Nazism. In both cases, the 'solution' is identical: elimination in the name of emancipation. (...) A century ago, anti-Semitism could be described as the 'socialism of fools'. Today it can be described as the 'anti-imperialism of fools'." M. Postone⁸

Nations, people, "race", sovereignty, patriotism, community, security... have become concepts common to all populisms, marking the hegemonic victory of fascist themes under the guise of left-wing and right-wing populism. It is also notable that groups such as Onfray's "Popular Front" or even Marine Le Pen's R.N. tend to mix right-wing and left-wing populism, like their electorate, maintaining the demagogic and conspiratorial rhetoric that characterizes them all.

Islamofascism, at the forefront of the resurgence of latent fascism

Left-wing anti-Zionism has thus merged with Arab nationalism and political Islam under the false pretext of a "new Vietnam" represented by the Arab Israeli conflict. The Arab Israeli conflict is thus presented as a new "Vietnam," with the major difference that the latter was clearly a war between capitalist blocs under the guise of "national liberation." The ideological advantage of the Palestinian issue is that it provides a common front for the old anti-Semitism of the left, the preferred vehicle for uniting it with that of the right. The convergences between fundamentalist Islamism and Nazism are not new; they date back to the 1920s, when the "Grand Mufti" of Jerusalem, Amin al-Husseini, and the Muslim Brotherhood created a veritable "Islam-Nazi" ideology that continues to wreak havoc in almost all Muslim and Arab countries today⁹. Among other things, this translates into state "denialism" and overt or covert repression. The worst conspiratorial and anti-Semitic insinuations are systematically spread as historical truth and, through immigration, reach the housing developments, neighborhoods, schools, and businesses of European metropolises as anti-Semitic and **victimizing** bait.

Obviously, it is an emotional issue and, even at our microscopic level, it has already earned us political attacks and segregation. The main argument is always the same and can be summed up in a concept invented for the cause: "Islamophobia". In fact, apart from the fact that we have no fear of Islam (phobia), this concept comes directly from "Islamist thinkers" to prevent, like any fear the prophet, criticism and caricature of the Islamic religion. Any criticism of Islam is semantically equated with mental illness or fear and can therefore be treated by internment or eradication. This is what has recently happened in Sudan and Iran to suppress resistance to a particularly archaic form of Islamism (imposition of Sharia law), whether Sunni or Shiite. From there, an ideological war has spread that prohibits, on the grounds of "racism" and "intolerance," any criticism of the Islamic religion and the

⁸C.F. M. Postone: Critique of the Capital Fetish; Capitalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Left, pp. 123-124-125, PUF, Paris 2013.

⁹On this issue, see the work by P-A Taguieff: Dangerous Liaisons; Islamofascism and Islamofascism, Hermann Éditeurs, Paris, 2021.

communities that use it as a communal weapon of distinction and proselytism. This is their famous prohibition of **blasphemy**, as if they were the only ones with a monopoly on criticism, sometimes armed against "evildoers" and apostates. It is worth recalling here the general and unchanging criticism of Marx and revolutionary Marxism of all religions and, therefore, of religion. "The criticism of religion is the preliminary condition of all criticism. Marx: Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1843) and later in the "Grundrisse" (1857-58): *"The basis of the critique of religion is this: man makes religion, not religion makes man. Religion is in reality the consciousness and sense of self of man, who has either not yet found himself or has already lost himself."*

"But man is not an abstract being outside the real world. Man is the world of man, the state, society. This state and this society produce religion, an inverted consciousness of the world, because they themselves constitute an inverted world." Marx. And regarding the abolition of religions: "In general, the religious reflection of the real world can only disappear when the conditions of work and practical life present man with transparent and rational relations with his fellow men and with nature." Marx (1867): Le Capital, Économie, TI, p.614, Gallimard Paris, 1972. This is a good example of the continuity of Marx-Engels' positions. Engels, due to his religious upbringing, was often more interested in religion as a "disguise" for the interests of the ruling classes. "All this has lost all meaning today, except for the naive who would still like to try to calculate the day of Judgment." Engels.¹⁰ And yet, at the beginning of the 21st century, there is no shortage of "naive" people who want to join the Muslim paradise and its 72 virgins! Returning to the definition of Islamofascism, we will outline the main characteristics of fascism to demonstrate the high level of compatibility between fascism and Islamism.¹¹ "All these characteristics also apply to modern Islam, which was born at the same time as fascism in the 1920s. Fascism, like Islamism, is born out of a feeling of defeat and humiliation." Hamed Abdel-Samad, p.17.

-Nationalism: In addition to classic nationalism linked to a nation-state-Moroccan, Algerian, Iranian, Pakistani, etc.-Islamism is characterized by the concept of the **ummah**, the community of Muslims, regardless of their nationality or blood ties; it is the **"Islamic nation."** This "transnational nationalism" will allow for a proselytizing and conquering vision to impose a single global Islamic state: the Caliphate. This is what happened with the Islamic State group, which has been able to gather and organize fighters of many nationalities without a predefined territory and wage holy war, **jihad**, on several continents. The caliphate is a theocracy with a charismatic leader at its head, and is claimed by various tendencies, including the Muslim Brotherhood and "jihadist Salafism." It is entirely compatible with more traditional fascism. It should be noted that the latter did not hesitate to use religious structures to impose its power, following the example of the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain or evangelical Protestantism among the Nazis. The mixture of secular and religious worship poses no problem for them, as it is above all a religion of power.

-Anti-capitalism and anti-Marxism are also constants of Islamofascism, with a more

¹⁰F. Engels: The Book of Revelation, in K. Marx and F. Engels: On Religion, Éditions sociales, p.209, Paris, 1972.

¹¹Some authors, such as Hamed Abdel-Samad, go so far as to refer to Islam as a form of fascism: Le fascisme islamique : une analyse, Grasset, Paris, 2017.

reactionary accent and a return to the mythical past of clanism as a denial of the existence of modern social classes. This does not prevent the ruling class at the other end of the social pyramid in the "petro-monarchies" from asserting itself through ostentatious and modernist wealth in clear contradiction to the hadiths of the so-called prophet. The "religion of the poor and exploited" takes on the dimension of a tragic farce.

-Anti-Semitism: it is an intrinsic part of religious tradition and, like anti-Judaism, has become a real battleground since Muslim factions took charge of the Palestinian issue and became the main fighting organizations in Palestine (Hamas, Hezbollah). In some countries, including Iran, it is genuine state anti-Semitism, like that of the Nazi state. Holocaust denial is also a policy of the Iranian state, which no longer hides behind the anti-Zionism of the right-wing left, but openly seeks to destroy the State of Israel and throw the "Jews" into the sea. In the purest Faurissonian tradition: *"In 2001, the Tehran Times published a series of sixteen articles entitled 'A Zionist Conspiracy: The Lie of the Jews of Auschwitz'. From October 2005 onwards, this policy was reinforced by Ahmadinejad's assertion that Israel should be 'wiped off the map,' calling the genocide a 'myth' and claiming that the Shoah was a 'pretext' for developing Zionism, 'oppressing' the Palestinians, and increasing 'Jewish influence in the economy, the media, and the centers of power.'*¹²

This is the core of the conspiracy and denialist rhetoric currently spreading across the internet, particularly among those who oppose health measures. This fundamental anti-Semitism can also be accompanied by **racism and xenophobia**. It is characteristic of religious, political, and military groups such as the Nation of Islam in the United States and its current **charismatic leader** Louis Farrakhan, who promotes a frankly racist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic "black" supremacist communitarianism. Other leaders try to demonstrate their charisma by imitating their mentors, Mussolini or Eva Perón. The same is true of the many minorities who serve as scapegoats for the creation of the fictitious national community (the Uyghurs in China, the Kurds in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the Rohingya in Burma, the Amerindians in Brazil, Peru, Chile, Colombia, etc.). Similarly, India has suffered numerous episodes of communal violence between Hindus and Muslims since its independence in 1947, and these recurring acts of violence in all parts of the world are a clear indication of the tendency to define an external (and internal) enemy typical of fascist-like policies and regimes.

-The cults of force, power, action, speed, and... death are the prerogative of fascists who mix modernity (love of speed, sports spectacles, cutting-edge media...) with reactionary forms (image of women, the family, sexual "normality"...) to satisfy the different "sensibilities" present in fascism. The cult of death and the sinister "long live death" of Francoism are multiplied tenfold in Islamism because of its devotion and **mortifying practice of sacrifice**.

-Proselytism, especially by Islamists but also by Christians, is increasingly visible, and on topics that until recently were taboo. The fallacious concept of "race" has been resurrected by the new racialists of the "left," along with that of "gender," to contaminate the debates. Anti-

¹²On the website: <http://www.crif.org/fr/actualites/crif-iran-antisemitisme-et-negationnisme-une-constante-12>

Semitism is advancing proportionally more, with the help of conspiracy theorists as new peddlers. Surveillance and self-control have become permanent features in certain neighborhoods (Molenbeek, Anderlecht, Borgerhout, etc.) and in certain companies (STIB, the Brussels public transport company). Issues of dress and behavior have clearly become weapons of propaganda and control, of proven strategic importance to the Islamist vanguard. Here too, the spectacular reversal is complete: "respect" is a sign of submission, and submission to religious dogma is a "liberating" virtue. These various elements can still be developed and refined much further, and they show that fascism is currently taking shape not only in numerous political formations and/or "nationalist-populist" movements, but also within religions whose structure and ideology are highly compatible with the expression of fascist policies.

Anti-fascism: increasingly a formula for confusion

The historical Italian and German Dutch communist left of the interwar period had the merit of understanding very early on that fascism was not opposed to democracy, but was a purification of it, as a continuation of the consequences of mature capitalism. Similarly, from the 1930s onwards, anti-fascism was defined as a "*confusing formula*": *"The problem is not to say: fascism is a threat, let us form a united front of anti-fascists and anti-fascists, but to determine the positions around which the proletariat will rally in its struggle against capitalism. To pose the problem in this way means to exclude the anti-fascist forces from the front against capitalism, and even to arrive at the (apparently paradoxical) conclusion that if capitalism turns definitively toward fascism, the condition for success lies in the unalterability of the workers' program and class demands, while the condition for certain defeat lies in the dissolution of the proletariat in the anti-fascist quagmire."*¹³, Bilan (1934).

It was this position that allowed these extremely minority factions to resist both fascism and anti-fascism as fronts of struggle during the second capitalist world slaughter. The Spanish Civil War crystallized this issue by freezing positions against anti-fascism in an indifference/non-interventionism that some still use today to justify their pacifism and opportunistic passivity. In this war, the revolutionary proletariat intervened partially with its own demands, thus opening, at least during the first year (until May 1937), other possibilities than an inter-capitalist war against the proletariat. **The struggle against fascism is a necessity, but it does not depend on anti-fascism, nor is it reduced to it.** It is a struggle that must be waged simultaneously with that of the revolution, when the proletariat expresses its own class interests. What must be radically rejected is democratic anti-fascism that involves fronts with the liberal bourgeoisie or others. The goal of this democratic anti-fascism is precisely to dissolve proletarian action and its **class methods** (direct action, sabotage, armed confrontation, etc.) into peaceful protest to return, as quickly as possible, to a more regulated and less virulent capitalism. This is nothing more than the difference between capitalism in times of war and capitalism in times of peace. When fascism is on the offensive, it is necessary to react and respond, and to do so with strict political independence. The

¹³See : Bilan: L'antifascisme: formule de confusion (May 1934) in : <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/archives>
Critical Materials.

formation of "workers' militias" can respond to such a situation and confront the fascists in the streets, in the suburbs, in the neighborhoods, in the factories... to impose from that moment onward a balance of forces that **will annihilate** them in their entrenchment within certain sectors of the subaltern classes. Once again, the example of revolutionary Spain is emblematic. The criticism of the anarchists is not directed at all at their struggle and victory—that of their neighborhood militias and strategically prepared defense committees—against the fascist insurgents in their barracks, but at their refusal to continue the offensive, this time against the complicit Republican government. Their betrayal did not lie in their military and victorious opposition to the fascists, but in their laying down their arms before the bourgeois power of the "Generalitat de Catalunya" without taking that power and accepting a capitalist "anti-fascist" war, lost in advance and destroying the remnants of the revolutionary movement. To truly defeat the fascists throughout Spain, it was first necessary to defeat the bourgeois republic, that is, to carry the revolutionary process through to its conclusion: the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The violence and power of the workers' reaction throughout Spain, as well as the first revolutionary achievements in Catalonia, by changing the balance of forces between the proletariat and capitalism, effectively posed the dilemma: proletarian revolution or imperialist war." L'Internationale, No. 26, February 1937.¹⁴

The lesson to be drawn from these historical pages is not that it is impossible to fight fascism (through indifference or pacifism), but that it is necessary to wage this struggle with a class objective and class methods. This revolutionary perspective excludes in principle any alliance or support for the radical wing of bourgeois or petty bourgeois democratism, even if it is "armed" (this fact is not in itself a political criterion). Entering such alliances on tactical or military pretexts inevitably means moving to the other camp, that of capitalist war and nationalism. Class independence, as its political expression in a party, is not negotiable, least of all by selling internationalism in favor of the myth of "armed reformism." The "fascism/anti-fascism" trap has not ended its disastrous effects, and it is not the repetition of the pseudo-perfect equality between the two jaws of this trap that is enough to resolve the still-current question of the necessary **class** struggle against fascism. The question of new forms of "latent," potentially "open" fascism is on the agenda. Communitarianism of some is the provider of the communitarianism of others, even more so in the flagrant absence of independent workers' struggles. War tensions also favor the spread of false polarization; no country in the world is immune to them. As our reflection on the war between Russia and Ukraine has shown, fascism, like its symmetrical ideology, is most often found in the capitalist camp.

"So, we are neither for a weak government nor for a strong government; neither for a right-wing government nor for a left-wing government. We do not swallow these purely parliamentary distinctions. We know that the strength of the bourgeois state does not depend on the backroom maneuvers of deputies, and we are in favor of only one government: the revolutionary government of the proletariat. We are not asking anyone for it; we are preparing it against all odds, within the proletariat itself. Long live the strong government of the revolution!" Il comunista, 1921, in

¹⁴ Quoted in the book: "Bilan": Counter-revolution in Spain 1936-1938, p.384, 10/18, Paris, 1979.

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As K. K. Korsch said: *"Fascism only seeks to strengthen the Nation, which for it and its followers is 'the community'. However, defending, restoring, and developing the national community is not, after all, the exclusive heritage of fascism, but also of democracy (...). Finally, we will see that fascism shares with democracy the ideology of the fetishism of the Nation."*¹⁵

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¹⁵ K. Korsch: "The Workers' Fight Against Fascism," in "Marxism and Counter-Revolution," Seuil, p. 201, Paris, 1975.