FRACTURES
INTERNATIONALIST TEACH-IN SUMMARIES

30 April-18 June 2025

Do we still live in a neoliberal world?

Summary of FRACTURES session 4, 21 May
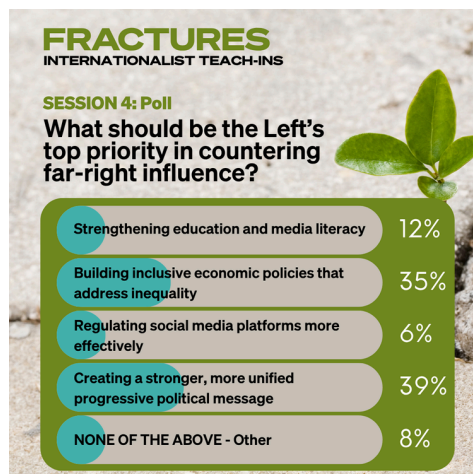
Our forth conversation was with:

- **Joe Mulhall,** Research Director at Hope not Hate and author of *Drums In The Distance: Journeys Into The Global Far Right*
- **Ailynn Torres Santana,** Professor and researcher at FLACSO Ecuador
- **Raqib Hameed Naik,** Executive Director of the Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH)
- Co-moderated by **Maie Panaga Babker,** Noor

Content below

- Poll of audience
- The global far-right
- Thoughts on strategy
- Comments in the chat
- Resources and links
- Key quotes

Poll – What should be the Left's top priority in countering far-right influence?

We did a poll here is what people thought.

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SESSION 4: Poll
What should be the Left's top priority in countering far-right influence?

Strengthening education and media literacy	12%
Building inclusive economic policies that address inequality	35%
Regulating social media platforms more effectively	6%
Creating a stronger, more unified progressive political message	39%
NONE OF THE ABOVE - Other	8%

The rise of a global multi-racial far-right

- **Joe** spoke to his experience of extensive undercover research and infiltration of far-right groups across the UK, Europe, and the United States to highlight how f**ar-right adherents are not easily identifiable, monstrous "others" detached from mainstream society but rather ordinary people**—friends, neighbors, co-workers—often living in economically marginalized or socially isolated environments. He also stressed the importance of understanding the far right through a global lens while simultaneously acting hyperlocally. **Far-right movements are no longer confined by geographic or national borders; instead, they form interconnected, multi-racial networks** that share tactics, narratives, and strategic alliances across continents. This transnational dimension is facilitated by digital communication tools and shared conspiracy theories, such as the "replacement theory" and anti-immigration rhetoric, which resonate across diverse contexts despite cultural differences.Third, he pointed to the **socio-economic roots** fueling the far right's rise, in particular **widespread economic insecurity**, growing inequality, and political disenchantment that create fertile ground for far-right ideologies that prey on fear, anger, and a perceived loss of status among populations to pitch autocratic and exclusionary solutions that reject liberal democracy and multiculturalism. Fourth, Mulhall highlighted the sophistication of the **far right's adaptability and resilience, which operates through digital networks** that enable activists—even teenagers—to engage anonymously or semi-anonymously. These networks function like a "many-headed hydra," capable of regeneration and morphing tactics rapidly, making them difficult to combat through traditional means.

- **Ailynn** spoke about the entanglement between far-right politics and religious neoconservatism in Latin America. She **argued against framing the far right solely as a backlash and instead highlighted its productive dimension, meaning it actively builds platforms, networks, and agendas** rather than merely reacting to progressive advances.It creates and consolidates new political, cultural, and social realities—shaping institutions, policies, and everyday life through sustained campaigns that often co-opt neoliberal economic agendas, authoritarian governance practices, and conservative religious values to maintain power. Ailynn identified a **"reactionary ecosystem" a where far-right forces and religious neoconservatives overlap** and strengthen each other, especially through shared anti-progressivism and anti-communism. A **key pillar** that unites these forces is the fight against **"gender ideology,"** which is not merely about gender or sexuality politics but serves as a moral foundation for far-right agendas, blending secular and religious rhetoric. This alliance weaponises concepts of "freedom" and traditional family values to morally justify far-right positions, even enabling them to challenge human rights frameworks related to women's and LGBTQ+ rights.It also intersects with broader issues like migration, climate change, and security, each politicized differently in diverse contexts but connected by far-right narratives.

- **Raqib:** Far-right groups today are more connected, resourced, and powerful than ever, engaging in extensive networking facilitated by digital platforms to exchange tactics, techniques, and procedures—fostering a coordinated global far-right ecosystem. F**ar-right groups prioritise common enemies over ideological uniformity**, for example strategic alignment between Hindu far-right nationalists and the U.S. alt-right, united by Islamophobia despite occasional tensions on immigration issues. Far-right has also developed **multifaceted propaganda tactics**, which include disinformation, misinformation, and the normalization of extremist ideas through popular culture eg memes, viral videos, AI-generated synthetic media, live streaming, podcasting, and extremist music ("Hindutva pop") as potent tools for identity-building and recruitment, especially targeting vulnerable and isolated youth. They don't only exploit existing digital platforms but **actively construct their own digital ecosystems or takeover mainstream platforms like Twitter** (now X) under Elon Musk's leadership. It is also important to **follow the money, with extremely wealthy individuals who bankrolling far-right movement** as well as global financial networks, for

example Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and its affiliates operate extensive infrastructures in over 50 countries, mobilizing significant grassroots donations (millions of dollars) and forging alliances with far-right, Islamophobic, and Zionist entities.

Thoughts on strategy going forwards

- Joe: Progressive movements need to **prioritise hyperlocal engagement**, strengthening democratic participation, economic justice, and cultural engagement to counter the far right's appeal. This requires offering a **compelling, hopeful vision of the future** and addressing the material grievances of marginalized populations that can counter the far-right's mythic stories of a lost golden age.

- Ailynn: Need a **holistic, intersectional approach that links political struggles**—feminist, anti-racist, and territorial defense—to effectively counter far-right movements.

- While the far right projects a unified front, there **are critical fractures around key geopolitical and policy issues**—such as positions on the Israel-Palestine conflict, Russia-Ukraine war, and climate changen – that **can be strategically exploited** to weaken or split far-right coalitions.

- Given the decentralized, networked nature of contemporary far-right activism, understanding and contesting these movements requires thinking beyond traditional national borders and formal party structures. Progressives and anti-fascists need to **operate at multiple levels—from local neighborhoods and institutions to global digital environments—and foster communication and coordination internationally.**

- Counter-strategies must therefore **engage with electoral politics and public discourse,** as elections of likes of Orban, Trump normalises the role of the far-right in government. We must continously contest legitimacy and exposing contradictions and failures of far-right governance.

Comments in the chat

Alejandra B: We give too much weight to hegemonic narratives that make us think they are the only reality. There are people already living other realities. From the global south we have much to offer in terms of ways of life outside the hegemonic logic.

Katerina A: Its about dealing with racism and colonial thought within our ranks in countries of the so called "west" , investigate and map the nexus of capital and far right political organizations, learn to speak to the people , reframe/reown / re learn to discuss security from the Left - demilitarizing the term

Joe: Though 'far right' is a useful term, and the term used in this report, the 'far right' of the political spectrum is certainly not a monolith, and thus its breadth makes it necessary to split it further into its constituent parts, namely the radical right and the extreme right. The radical right accepts the fundamentals of democracy but rejects certain values of liberal democracy, such as minority rights, and pluralism. Many radical right movements and parties are also populist. The extreme right, which

includes nazis and fascists, fundamentally rejects democracy, popular sovereignty and majority rule and may also advocate violence and even terrorism

Noor: For FR / fascist actors purity is central - so nature and ecology become central to their narratives. Of course, for other actors, the question becomes of climate change denial etc. but it's important to reroot this in both arratives

Deepti B: We have to see the larger economic, political and social structures to understand people who have far-right ideologies. Today, people have less jobs, low income, decreasing quality of life, emotionally, physically and mentally stressed.

Chiara C: I think this is interesting in the context of anti-feminist women. Women are exhausted from doing paid and unpaid work which is an issue everywhere but for some the answer is - stay at home, be a woman and let the man go to work, the trad-wife movement. So capitalism's gendered impacts is intimately linked with going backwards on women's autonomy and gender roles.

Steve L: "Social democrat" parties claim to represent the working class but pursue policies of austerity. This feeds into far right development and undermines the fight from the left

Simeon G: There is a former WHO epidemiologist, Dr. Gary Slutkin, who makes a very convincing case for looking at far-right internationalisation as an incident of pathogen tranmisiion

Sehnaz KB: So much of the rise of the far right is coupled with institutions, institutional structures that don't work for the people. And once the far right comes to power, we see them dismantling whatever is left of accountability institutions within states.

Further reading and listening

Ailynn:

- Anti-gender politics: religious fundamentalism and political neoconservatism
- Latin American Neoconservatism and Antifeminism: Freedom, Family, and Life

Joe:

- British Fascism After the Holocaust: From the Birth of Denial to the Notting Hill Riots 1939–1958
- The International Alt-Right
- Drums In The Distance: Journeys Into the Global Far Right
- Academic working group on far-right and climate
- State of Hate 2024

Raqib:

- Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH)
- India Hate Lab
- Elon Musk, X, and Amplification of Islamophobia in the UK
- Factsheets on Hindu nationalist groups in the United States
- The Hindu Nationalist Campaign Against Secularism and Christians in Nepal
- https://www.thepolisproject.com/research/transnational-illicit-finance-hindutva-corporates
- Hindu nationalism, hate speech and role of tech

NOOR:

- Reflections on Fascism & Frameworks of Collective Resistance by Souad Souilem

- [Roots of Hate: Fascist and fundamentalist narratives & actors in South Asia and Southeast Asia regions](#)
- [Roots of Hate: Fascist and Fundamentalist Narratives & Actors in South-West Asia and North Africa Regions](#)
- [Fascism in Practice – Digital Spheres as Landscape by Moussa Saleh](#)
- [Monetisation of Hate](#)

Link shared in chat:

- [Political ecology of the far right network](#)
- Reactionary International: https://reactionary.international/
- [Far right protest observatory (SciencePO)](#)
- [Neoliberal Authoritarianism in Rwanda: A Feminist Analysis](#)
- [On Indian fascism](#)
- [Explained: Leicester riots, Hindutva and the RSS](#)
- [Tech-far right nexus blog](#)

Key quotes

Maie Panaga Babker
'The far right is not some looming threat. It's already here in our culture, media and politics, disguised as tradition and justified in the name of security... it shares a single logic: that power belongs to the few and fear must govern the rest.'

Raqib Hameed Naik

'If the far right can form strategic alliances across ideological and national boundaries, why can't we? We need to build robust, inclusive coalitions to strengthen pockets of resistance across borders and continents.'

Joe Mulhall
'We need better stories, a better vision of change that shows people what the world can look like if we win... The far right offers a mythical utopian future; the left must respond with hope and empowerment.'

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