

# Nazis of Color

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In May 2023, when Mauricio Garcia killed eight people in an outlet mall in Allen, Texas, it seemed like just another senseless mass murder similar to innumerable school shootings. But when it came out that he identified as a neo-nazi, outrage spread: calling a Latino that was just too much for many.

However, a person of color carrying out a mass shooting as a neo-nazi came as less of a surprise to antifascist researchers. Several years ago one of us was introduced to a Black man named Mohammed Abdali. While he was vouched for by an antifascist with impeccable credentials, he didn't seem right. Soon after it turned out he wasn't: Gabriel Diaz, his real name, had previously made the papers when he was suspended from his job as a New York City cab driver for wearing a swastika armband at work. And this wasn't just cosplay: a TV news interview showed he was well-versed in National Socialist ideology. And that too was no quirk, as it came out that he was spying on antifascists for the National Socialist Movement (NSM), at the time the largest U.S. neo-nazi party.

Diaz is just one of many neo-nazis who are also people of color. While Black neo-nazis are rare, in comparison Latino neo-nazis are fairly common. Latin America itself is honeycombed with neo-nazi groups, and is just one of the many places around the world where they can be found.

This may seem counterintuitive, if not nonsensical, for those who think of neo-nazism as the most extreme form of white supremacy which seeks the extermination of people of color. But the history of National Socialism is far more complex than many think, and the history of non-white National Socialists stretches back nearly a century.

## White Supremacy vs. Fascist vs. Nazi vs. neo-Nazi vs. National Socialist

Today, many paint the far right with too broad a brush, loosely bandying about terms like 'Nazi' and 'White Supremacist.' This ends up obscuring far more than illuminating how people of color can be neo-nazis, and so to understand this, certain terms must be defined regarding how they are used in this piece.

The lowercase term "**white supremacy**" commonly refers to a wide range of acts and ideas which promote or maintain a society where white people are dominant. This includes not just the entire far right, but can also encompass the behavior of most white people, and some others as well. However, those who watch the far right usually use capitalized "**White Supremacy**" in a much more narrow way, to designate actors who consciously seek to maintain or increase white social, cultural, and economic power. The more radical

part of the White Supremacist movement hopes to do this by forming a homogeneous white ethnostate, stripping legal rights from people of color, or deporting, enslaving, or committing genocide against them.

Fascists, on the other hand, are part of a movement that began in Europe in the 1890s, which was a new kind of revolutionary right-wing politics that was anti-democratic, anti-leftist, anti-egalitarian, and sought to create a revitalized nation in a time of perceived decadence and decay. However, within this movement, some ideological strains could be quite different, and all fascists are not National Socialists (although all National Socialists are fascists). For example, Mussolini's fascism began as neither race-based nor antisemitic, while Hitler's National Socialism was always both. ("**Nazi**" is actually a nickname for National Socialism.) "**Nazis**" will refer to the original German party of Hitler, "**neo-nazis**" to its postwar forms, and "**National Socialist**" to either both kinds at once, or to the ideology itself.

As an extension of this, National Socialists and other fascists often do not necessarily act the same as, hold the same views as, or even identify as White Supremacists as we know them today.

When this examination looks at National Socialists who are people of color, it will exclude certain parts of the far right, such as militias or "**Alt-Lite**" groups, which explicitly allow in people of color, even though these groups commonly get labeled "**white supremacists.**" So, for example, those excluded are Proud Boys leader Enrique Tarrio; "**Stop the Steal**" organizer Ali Alexander; Joey Gibson of Patriot Prayer; Stewart Rhodes, founder of the Oath Keepers; and George Zimmerman, who murdered Trayvon Martin. None of these people work towards a conscious, explicit goal of White Supremacy, even if critics see their politics as supporting white supremacy. Simply put, they are too politically moderate to qualify as actual fascists or neo-nazis. Likewise, National Socialists will be referred to separately from other fascists, as there are ideological differences which become important especially when looking specifically at the participation of people of color.

## Different Kinds of Neo-Nazis of Color

There are a number of different approaches taken by people of color who identify as neo-nazis, and in turn these draw different reactions from their white counterparts.

First, some who in the United States are considered people of color may truly consider themselves to be white. This is common with Latinos of European descent who may even be considered white in Latin America. (In the United States, this would likely be equivalent to those who identify on the

Census as both **“White”** and **“Hispanic/Latino.”**)

Others know they are not white by U.S. racial conceptions. In some examples, non-white neo-nazis have apparently internalized white supremacist ideas from the culture they grew up in to the extent that they actively wish to be white. In one extreme case, a young Black man had scrubbed his skin in an attempt to make it white, before later joining a neo-nazi group. Researcher Meili Criezis pointed out an entry in Allen shooter Mauricio Garcia’s online diaries where he described **“going through my self loathing phases.”** When a friend asked him **“Why do you hate Hispanics? Aren’t you Hispanic?”**, he wrote **“I just flat out said ‘I hate myself.’”**

Some adopt the arguments of White Supremacists about either racial superiority or simply racial separatism. Those who have a mixed racial background with white relatives may strongly identify with their white side, or feel confused about their identity and are eager to solidify it. They may also see themselves as neo-nazis, but must get around the need to be considered white to participate in those politics in countries like the United States. Of course, this strategy is predicated on not being found out.

Scott Ernest was a member of the White Supremacist movement for over a decade; for three of those years he was a moderator on the popular White Supremacist website and discussion board ‘Stormfront.’ He says that it is common for White Supremacists to tolerate people who look, identify as, and **“act”** white—a definition which greases the wheels for people of color who want to be neo-nazis. Some White Supremacists also have a broader conception of who can be accepted as white; this may include ethnic Turks and Central Asians. And in particular, some neo-nazis accept Iranians, high-caste Indians, and Tibetans as fellow **“Aryans.”**

There are also people of color who identify as such, or visually present as people of color in an undeniable way, but nonetheless agree with White Supremacist and neo-nazi ideology. Naturally, they are often spurned or denounced by white movement members, but occasionally such individuals will be accepted into groups. Many stories exist of white neo-nazi skinheads accepting other skins who are people of color.

Rocky Suhayda’s American Nazi Party allows people of color and Jews to become supporters; ‘Stormfront’ allows them to participate in public internet forums, although they will be removed from private forums if they disguise this but are later found out. Ernest gave one extreme example in which a **“black White Supremacist”** moved to Ghana because he agreed that the United States should be all-white. The Allen shooter Garcia largely fits into this category, although this is complicated by the fact that he was also aware of Latin American neo-nazi groups, and posted pictures of some of them on his social media.

Last, there are neo-nazis who are openly people of color and belong to neo-nazi groups in which their own identity is the one their politics center. They flaunt rather than hide their identity, and do not require the permission of white National Socialists—although some still hope to be accepted by them.

There are also separatists of different stripes; some advocate breaking up the United States into separate racial states, or globally creating racially homogeneous countries, each ruled by National Socialists or other fascists. (The vast majority of white supremacists have abandoned the dream of direct world domination; the linkages colonialism created have often resulted in immigration from former colonies.) According to Ernest, Japanese neo-nazis who seek a racially homogeneous Japan are looked on the most favorably by white ones.

## Why do People of Color Become Neo-Nazis?

The distinction between National Socialists and White Supremacists is important here. The category of “**white**” dates back to the 1600s, but this was not the identity pre-World War II European fascists were interested in. Hitler’s master race was the Aryan race—but Aryans are not the same as those considered white today. They excluded not just Jews of European descent, but also Slavs — these Russians and other Eastern Europeans were considered subhuman and were often victims of war crimes.

Second, even before World War II there were already National Socialists outside of Europe. Most were Germans (or at least Europeans) in North and South America. But the Nazis courted the Arab and Muslim world as well, and individuals (and a few groups) popped up there. Especially as the war went on, various people of color were incorporated into the German army. And a small number of non-white people, and even people of mixed Jewish background, were given special dispensations as “**honorary Aryans.**”

For neo-nazis today, the original party acts as an authority which can be appealed to in order to back up their positions, just as Marx’s writings or the Bible does for Marxists and Christians. And so if one looks hard enough, they can find a justification for almost anyone to be a neo-nazi.

## Reinterpreting National Socialism

In fact, it was only in the 1960s that National Socialism’s master race became “**white.**” George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party is credited with this change, as part of his strategy to make National Socialism a better fit for the United States.

Since Adolf Hitler's regime is gone, all forms of neo-nazism are reinterpretations. If Americans could make his master race include **“subhumans,”** what would close off other racial reinterpretations? Any race could now become the **“master race.”** It boils down to this: National Socialism is something that can be applied to any local reality.

## Race and Nation in Latin America

National Socialism in Latin America is more complicated than in the United States and elsewhere for several reasons. The most obvious is that the region has long been dominated by various authoritarian governments and movements which legitimately can be called fascist. These include clerical fascist governments, military juntas, and paramilitaries engaged in dirty wars. (Garcia clearly gave a nod to this with the RWDS patch—**“Right-Wing Death Squad”**—he wore when he committed his murders.)

In Brazil in the 1930s, a special variant of fascism called Integralism arose, even though it was not racially based. (NOTE: This is distinct from the modern Catholic Integralism movement.) But the line between even a non-racial fascism and National Socialism is thin, and this distinction would not be recognized in the United States.

But there are reasons because of how racial and national identity function in Latin America—and separately how Latin American identity is seen in the United States. What follows is a broad generalization of how these concepts work in Latin America, presented to help categorize how different kinds of neo-nazis position themselves around these issues. In each country, and even within them, identity can be seen in different ways. However, as a rule neo-nazis approach identity in a far more simplistic and cut-and-dry way than others do, and so generally follow the schema laid out here.

While the concept of race exists in Latin America, it is much more fluid than in the United States, whereas the emphasis on nationalism is stronger: being Ecuadorian, for example, can be more important than a racial identity.

There is also a major difference between how Latin Americans (and their children) are categorized in the United States, versus how those in Latin America see themselves. From a U.S. perspective, everyone born in Latin America is **“Latino,”** regardless of their actual family descent. That means that people born in Latin America who have the same European heritage as U.S. whites—that is, who would be considered white if born in the United States—are instead labeled as Latino according to the standard ways that identity is conceived of in the United States. However, in Latin America the same individuals generally consider themselves **“white”** (if they see themselves in racial, as opposed to national, terms), in the same way that U.S.

whites do. Again, this would be equivalent to what on the U.S. Census is both **“Latino/Hispanic”** and **“white.”**

Other Latin Americans are what many of those in the United States think of as darker-skinned people from Latin America. These backgrounds are typically a mixture of European and Indigenous identities, and sometimes include a Black background.

So all these neo-nazi groups would be considered **“Latino”** from the viewpoint of the United States. But in Latin America they divide much more sharply, and there are several kinds.

1. Some concentrate on national identity; therefore they may include different racial groups.
2. There are groups which identify as being purely of European descent, i.e. white. There were National Socialist groups based in European immigrant communities in even pre-World War II Latin America, and some Nazis who fled there after the war set up new groups. (For example, the Argentine National Socialist Party was run by the son of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann.) These groups sometimes use slogans like **“White Power”** and **“White Pride World Wide,”** regardless of how they would be viewed by neo-Nazis in the United States and European groups. These white Latin American groups also position themselves against those who are mixed-race (typically referred to in Latin America as mestizo).
3. Mestizo neo-nazis embrace what in the United States is classified in the Census as non-white Latinos/Hispanics. Sometimes this is portrayed as being the best of two worlds. One group describes themselves as the **“children of a meeting between two great empires. We are proud of our Hispanic heritage and of our Indigenous heritage as our two bloods run through our veins, our approach is to know how to guide this mestizaje and get the best of it.”**
4. Last, in a very small number of cases, there are neo-nazis who identify as Indigenous.

## Non-Racial Themes

In general, Latin American neo-nazis tend to downplay race for national identification, however. And overall there are all kinds of other issues that may be more central to neo-nazis of any race. National Socialism is based on authoritarianism and hierarchy, and is opposed to democracy and equality. This includes antisemitism, racism, anti-LGBTQ+, misogyny and anti-feminism, and xenophobia. (For example, Diaz stressed a hatred of Muslims and LGBTQ+)

people, while Garcia was anti-Asian, anti-Black, and misogynistic. In Mongolia and Malaysia, neo-nazis stress opposition to immigration.)

But it's also not just what National Socialists are against, it's what they're for (something frequently overlooked). National Socialists desire ultranationalism, **"blood and soil"** politics, a return to a conservative social structures from the past, the importance of spirituality over materialism, and a desire for wholeness and unity.

Some neo-nazis are attracted to the original Nazis for other reasons, like their flags and uniforms. Hitler is often looked upon favorably as a great leader who brought back national pride and imposed order on his country. This is a popular view in India today.

Last, there are some very modern reasons people are attracted to the Nazis and may become neo-nazis themselves. People can be drawn to the very reasons that Nazis are rejected: because they are portrayed as the personification of evil. Their association with genocide is an appealing factor to some. And last, in the age of social media, people may adopt these politics semi-ironically (not uncommonly moving to an non-ironic acceptance) or as a part of a syncretic politics which is inclusive of all kinds of different ideologies. Race is not always that important to neo-nazis, especially in Latin America.

## Pre-World War II Examples

### Arab Countries

Before and during World War II there are numerous examples of National Socialists who were people of color, not to mention collaborators and sympathizers. National Socialism's reach into the Muslim world, from North Africa to Iran, is some of the best known and widespread.

In 1934, *Mein Kampf* was published in Arabic, and the Nazis spread antisemitic propaganda in the region. The fascist groups which formed were often influenced by Mussolini, but there were also National Socialists like the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP), which still exists today as a Ba'athist appendage.

The Nazis also courted Muslims directly. During the war they sheltered pro-Nazi Palestinian leader Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti, who helped recruit Bosnian Muslims to the SS, and they published an Arabic-language newspaper, *Barid al-Sharq*.

After the war, there were German Nazis who fled retribution by going to the Middle East, where some converted to Islam. In Egypt, they promoted antisemitism as part of the government's propaganda apparatus, and in Syria



helped set up the regime's torture system. Today, White Supremacists have differing opinions on Muslims — while many are Islamophobic, quite a few sympathize with authoritarian Islamist factions — as long as they stay out of the West.

## Iran

The Nazi radio station Radio Zeesen broadcast propaganda to Iranians which portrayed Hitler as a Shiite Messiah intent on annihilating Jews and Communists. In the 1950s, a former SS member founded the National Socialist Workers Party of Iran (SUMKA), and neo-nazis have popped up there in past years. More recently, Jason Jorjani, an American of Iranian descent, was one of the editors at Richard Spencer's *AltRight.com* website.

## Japan

While in the 1930s and '40s Japan's Nazi-allied government also embraced racial supremacy, Tōhōkai (The Society of the East) was the party most often considered National Socialist. (Some Black Americans also backed imperial Japan, seeing it as fighting imperialism by white countries.) In the early 1960s the Greater Japan Patriotic Society was affiliated with the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS), and in the 1980s the National Socialist Japanese Workers' Party formed. There has long been a thriving Nazi skinhead scene in the country.

## India

Before and during the war there was widespread support for the Nazis in India, which was then occupied by the British. But it was not just a case of **“my enemy of my enemy is my friend.”** Some Indians actively embraced a mixture of Hindutva (Hindu nationalism) and National Socialism, as some high-caste Indians saw themselves as Aryans as well (although Hitler did not accept this idea). The swastika was a common symbol, and some people made Hitler altars in their homes. Savitri Devi, a French-Greek woman living in India at the time and part of these circles, held that Hitler was an immortal god—an idea she spread throughout Western neo-nazi circles that remains popular today.

## Postwar Examples

Many people who have spent time in and around the White Supremacist movement have stories about neo-nazis who are people of color. How common they are is difficult to judge. Ernest said that in his three years as a ‘Stormfront’ moderator, he encountered between 20 to 40 White Supremacists (including neo-nazis) who were people of color. In his full time in the movement, he met hundreds, albeit almost all online.

One of the authors of this piece estimates there are perhaps several dozen Latino neo-nazi skinheads in the United States. Chad, a former Hammerskin who spent fifteen years in the movement, said he ran into about a dozen—they were mostly skinheads, but also included bikers and members of the Nazi Low Riders prison gang.

## Black Neo-Nazis in the United States and Europe

There are numerous high-profile Black people on the far right. Today the most well-known Black Nazi sympathizer and collaborator is musician Ye (previously Kanye West). In 2022 he said **“I’m a Nazi,”** praised Hitler, and started working with the White Supremacist Nick Fuentes—himself Latino.

Among Black neo-nazis, their own racial self-identification is undoubtedly complicated, as is their justification for their politics. Diaz did address this partly, however, identifying as Dominican and saying, **“Who says you have to be white to be a National Socialist? you don’t have to be white. It can be anybody...”**

The most common reports of Black neo-nazi sightings have been of skinheads. The most (in)famous is Lefty, improbably a Black woman who was part of the 1980s DC punk scene and led a violent gang known for attacking LGBTQ+ people. Chad relayed the story of two brothers who were both Black and part of a group of white racist skinheads; they were tolerated until the white skinheads formally joined a White Supremacist organization, Tom Metzger’s WAR (White Aryan Resistance).

Leo Oladimu, in his autobiographical essay **“I Was a Black Nazi Skinhead,”** says he did not identify as white until he entered the prison system, with its notorious racial segregation. In an attempt to deal with this he reinvented himself as a white neo-nazi, although he later renounced this.

But none of these are as extreme as Jackie Arklöv. Born to a Liberian mother, he grew up in Sweden where he developed an intense self-hatred before joining a neo-nazi group. (Like Diaz, he argued that there was no contradiction in people of color being National Socialists, saying, **“Didn’t you know that Hitler had blacks in his army?”**) From there he volunteered

with the Croatian army during the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s, after which he was convicted of war crimes. Arklöv eventually returned to Sweden, where he landed in prison after killing two police officers.

## Latinos in the United States

Numerous U.S. Latinos have been identified as neo-nazis; as mentioned, there are different ways they see their identity and its relationship to their politics. The context of this is in part related to the fact that among populations of people of color in the U.S., Latinos are the furthest right: in 2020, over 30 percent voted for Donald Trump.

Latinos can be found throughout far-right groups that stop short of open White Supremacy and have no racial restrictions on membership, including the leaders of both the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers. Among white Trumpists it is no surprise to find neo-nazis, as they have simply taken these ideas to their logical conclusion. And it is the same with Latinos; there are more Latino neo-nazis in the United States now in part because Trump brought these politics to such a large audience.

Ernest said that in his past life he knew “**countless**” Latino White Supremacists. Indeed, ‘Stormfront’ has Spanish and Portuguese-language subforums, with specific sections for Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. The explicitly neo-nazi ‘Daily Stormer’ also has a Spanish-language version.

The most famous White Supremacist-with-neo-nazi-characteristics today is Nick Fuentes, leader of the Groyper movement. A Holocaust denier, he is known for saying “**I’m just like Hitler**” and calling for “**total Aryan victory.**” Fuentes has been able to engineer an impressive penetration into the right-wing of the Republican Party, and has links to a number of Congressional representatives. He recently caused a scandal when he joined Ye for a meeting with Trump.

Joseph Jordan, aka Eric Striker, preceded the Alt-Right but became a well-known figure inside it, writing for the ‘Daily Stormer’ and doing podcasts. More recently he helped found the National Justice Party, a small outfit that has attracted some White Supremacist insiders. In the same circles is Bernardo Garcia, who co-hosted the Canadian Alt Right/neo-nazi podcast ‘Ensign Hour’.

## Learn more: ‘Unite the Right’ on Trial in Charlottesville (2021)

Both Fuentes and Jordan were at the infamous 2017 Charlottesville “**Unite the Right**” rally . The largest fascist-led rally in the United States since

the 1970s, it ended with a neo-nazi car attack which killed one antifascist and wounded almost 30 others. But they were only two of a number of Latinos there. Cesar Adolfo is one of a small number of people who is openly Latino but was accepted into a White Supremacist group, the Traditionalist Worker Party. Christopher Monzon attended with the neo-Confederate group the League of the South. And Alex Michael Ramos received a six-year sentence for taking part in the brutal beating of DeAndre Harris, a Black man, after the rally.

Also present was **Irving Antillon** of Batallon 49 (B49), a far-right Latino skinhead and punk gang in New York City. Although B49 deny being neo-nazis, antifascist researchers have documented their use of neo-nazi symbols and tattoos. The group is seen as intentionally softening their public image to help with recruitment—and possibly ease conflict with white neo-nazis. However, B49’s Mexico City affiliate has been quite open about their politics, posting photos of themselves sieg heiling in front of swastikas.

## Asia and Pacific Islands

In addition to the aforementioned Japanese groups, there are documented neo-nazis in several Asian and Pacific Island countries. In Mongolia the best-known to Westerners is Tsagaan Khass (White Swastika). Instead of focusing on antisemitism, their enmity is focused on Chinese people.

Malaysia has a notorious Nazi skinhead scene which promotes “**Malay Power**” in place of an Aryan or white identity; they also focus on opposing immigration. Taiwan is home to the National Socialism Association. While they claim not to be neo-nazis, in addition to their National Socialist name and symbol, they praise Hitler.

## Canada

Canadian Lindsay Souvannarath, whose father is Laotian, was arrested in 2015 for planning a mass shooting. From prison she corresponds with neo-nazi James Mason, author of the terrorist manual ‘Siege’. Souvannarath was active in neo-nazi online circles beforehand, and had been in an online relationship with Alexander Slavros. Slavros founded the website *Iron March*, which was the incubator of a number of contemporary neo-nazi groups; this included the notorious Atomwaffen Division, which promoted terrorism and have been connected to multiple murders. And Slavros himself is from an Uzbekistani background, and therefore would not be considered white by many.

## Neo-Nazism in Latin America

Most countries in Latin America have some kind of neo-nazi presence. As noted above, the national or racial identity of these groups may be seen in different ways. (Note that the examples below cover several decades, and not all of these groups exist today.)

**Argentina** is largely white by U.S. standards, and has been home to different groups. The Partido Nuevo Triunfo (New Triumph Party) was banned from using the swastika and in 2009 the government refused to recognize them as a political party. In 2015, the Bandera Vecinal (Local Flag) was allowed to run in elections—after changing their name from the Workers’ Nationalist Socialist Party. More recently, a group claiming to be part of the Atomwaffen Division has appeared.

In **Brazil** a neo-nazi resurgence is underway; a 2021 study claimed to have found 530 small groups in the country. The Misanthropic Division, another group from the Iron March milieu, established a chapter there and in 2016 successfully recruited soldiers to go to Ukraine; photos of “**Misanthropic Division Brasil**” flags in Ukraine were posted on social media. In 2009, over two dozen members of the organization Newland were arrested after two murders. There are also chapters of international Nazi skinhead groups like the Hammerskins and Combat 18 in Brazil, as well as a Telegram channel claiming to be part of Atomwaffen Division.

In **Chile** the most famous National Socialist was Miguel Serrano. A member of the Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile in the 1930s, he later became the Chilean ambassador to Austria and, along with Savitri Devi, promoted a theory of Hitler as a kind of deity. After the war, neo-nazi parties have included the Partido Nacionalsocialista Chileno and, more recently, El Martillo del Sur (The Southern Hammer).

**Colombia** is a hotbed for Nazi skinheads, especially in Bogota. One group claims to be part of the Nazi skinhead organization Blood & Honour; the European groups are split over its legitimacy. Colombia’s Nazi skinheads orient around a comparatively large neo-nazi party, Tercera Fuerza (Third Force), which has links to right-wing paramilitaries. Alfredo Devia, a Nazi skinhead who was in Tercera Fuerza, is said to have joined the paramilitaries, only to end up murdered in an internal feud.

In **Costa Rica**, the Partido Nacional Socialista Costarricense (Costa Rican National Socialist Party) folded under pressure from authorities in the early 2010s, but was replaced by groups like Resistencia Ideológica Nacional Socialista de Costa Rica (Costa Rican National Socialist Ideological Resistance) and La Sociedad Costarricense de la Lanza Hiperbórea (The Costa Rican Society of the Hyperborean Spear).

**Mexico** probably has the largest neo-nazi movement in Latin America. One popular writer, Salvador Borrego, was a Nazi sympathizer before World War II and continued to spread antisemitism until his death at 102 in 2018. On social media, Garcia, the Texas mass shooter, posted three pictures of Nazi skinheads at Frente Nacionalista de Mexico (Nationalist Front of Mexico) marches, which is only one of several neo-nazi groups in Mexico.

Mexico also has a thriving Nazi skinhead scene, and U.S. bands will come down to play; for example, a 2022 festival drew 300 people. And there are a number of NSBM (National Socialist Black Metal) bands, which can also be found in Brazil, Peru, and especially in Argentina.

Mexico is also home to one of the most unusual manifestations of Latin American neo-nazism: Aztec NSBM. Based around the label Organización Nacional Socialista Pagana (ONSP), bands like Tlateotocani, Maquahuitl, and Eztlacuani use indigenous art and dress, sometimes sing in indigenous languages, and combine National Socialism with decolonization politics. For example, one of the few associated U.S. groups, Sacrificial Massacre, has a song **“Native Americans Against Z.O.G.”** (The **“Zionist Occupied Government”** refers to an antisemitic conspiracy theory, popular among neo-nazis, which imagines that a cabal of Jews secretly controls the United States government.)

In **Peru**, the Andean Peru National Socialism Movement tried to register as a political party in 2012. It is of particular note because Garcia also posted a picture of the group.

**Uruguay** has also had several groups. In 1999, four organizations were identified after members of Orgullo Skinhead (Skinhead Pride) were arrested. The other three were Frente Nacional Revolucionario (National Revolutionary Front), Resistencia Nacional Socialista (National Socialist Resistance), and Hijos de Europa (Children of Europe).

## Conclusion

After Garcia’s massacre, numerous mainstream commentators rushed to pass judgment. Many focused on the internalized racism and anti-Blackness found inside the U.S. Latino community, which was backed up by Garcia’s own statements. But the vast majority of them also lumped in a range of right-wing politics by people of color, such as Trumpists, and dismissed them out of hand as merely wishing to take part in the advantages enjoyed by white people.

Whatever insights this kind of critique offers, it implicitly rejects the idea that there are a plurality of political views among Latinos. This approach

does not recognize that Latinos, or any other kind of people of color, can truly hold fascist or National Socialist views. The presence of National Socialists in numerous non-majority-white countries shows it's undoubtedly possible.

This dismissal also strips people of color of their own political agency and refuses to acknowledge that these politics have an actual following among Latinos, in particular. It also fails to recognize that this is true because political movements respond to social and material conditions, as well as psychological needs. This is true across the board, and not just with white neo-nazis. Essentially, white neo-nazis are held to be perpetrators, while neo-nazis who are people of color tend to be portrayed as mere dupes—even if both act almost the same in the end.

The far-right's position as a legitimate, mainstream actor in U.S. politics appears to now be a done deal, buttressed by the increasing rightward shift among U.S. Latinos. The left needs to gain a clear understanding of the beliefs, organizing, and actions of neo-nazis who are people of color—just as it tries to with white far rightists.

At the end of the day, just like their white counterparts, neo-nazis who are not white will use violence to target a wide range of identities, including Jews, Muslims, LGBTQ+ people, immigrants, feminists, and even people of color from other identities. Advocates of oppression can be found among all groups, and a multiracial neo-nazism already exists in reality—whether one can get their mind around it or not.

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