

This zine was authored by **Rose City Antifa** and autonomously formatted by **1312 Press**.

The essay “Proud For What? Western Chauvinism & Fascism” comes highly recommended as a paired analysis of the ideologies that inform the violence of the Proud Boys. That article can be found on the **It's Going Down** website and in zine format from whoever you got this zine from.

Stay up to date on fascist activities in your area by following these websites:

PUGETSOUNDANARCHISTS.ORG

ROSECITYANTIFA.ORG

ITSGOINGDOWN.ORG

The Pacific Northwest Proud Boys

an anti-fascist report



 **1312 Press** 
Anti-Colonialism
Anti-Fascist///Anti-Police

Deliberate Targeting of Anti-Fascist Activists



Aaron Williamson (left) with Nick Boling (right)

While the Proud Boys brag openly about their violence toward women, minorities and people of targeted sexual and gender identities, it is not enough to take them at their word for it. We also must also look at the actual political violence they perpetrate in our communities. Although the Proud Boys did not officially attend the white supremacist rally in Charlottesville in August 2017 where activist Heather Heyer was murdered by a Vanguard America member (that group has since been renamed Patriot Front), Jason Kessler, one of the fascist organizers of that rally, was a member of the Proud Boys. At every far-right rally that the Proud Boys attend, they assault anti-fascists, acting as the vanguard for these racist organizations. Their actions do not just speak for their own group, but are part of a wider campaign of violence against at-risk communities and anti-fascist activists that has been stepping up since the 2016 presidential election.

Rose City Antifa, working in conjunction with allied groups in the region, have obtained information on many of the Pacific Northwest-located members of the white nationalist, alt-right group known as the Proud Boys. Over the last year, a series of articles have been published detailing the Proud Boys' specific brand of organized hate, and the individuals who make up this rising "weekend warrior" gang, in order to alert the community about the threat that this group poses. You can follow along on RCA's website (rosecityantifa.org) and on Twitter, using the hashtag #DoxxAllYourBoys.

Some Proud Boys in the Pacific Northwest

Robert Zerfing
Travis Nugent
Caleb Stevens
Ethan Nordean
Dominick Owen
"Tiny" Tusitala John These
Aaron Laigaie
Anthony Edward Bell
Russel Schultz
Kory Bentley
Derrick Lancaster
Daniel Garris
Rob Cantrall
Dakota Gilmore
Pete Venturo
Graham Jorgensen
David Silliman
Matteo Dagradi
Donovon Flippo
Jason James
Aaron Williamson
Jake Farmer
Nick Boling
Travis Taylor
Mark Rupprecht
Aaron Ferguson
Alex Bogden
Brandon Bonifant
Brandon Ranck
Bryce Duff
Buckey Wolfe

Cameron Heugly
Christopher Case
Coltan Campion
David Parra
Dominic Harvery Laufenberg
Dominic Liening
Erick Anthony
Gabe Hayward
Gabriel Bowman
Issac Chrisholm
James Carlson
JB Hedges
JD Stockton
Jonny Lee
Joseph Blomers
Josh Nutter
Justin Bentley
Kody Dean Smith
Michael Scott Wilbur
Naphtali Moore
Nicholas Christiansen
Nick Kunkel
Nick Robinson
Romanov Gulin
Ryan Paul
Sean Mitchell
Taylor Jones
TJ Rickey
Todd Cadwell
Tomas Young
Wyatt Lange

Moments later, blows were thrown in the enclave of a parking garage down the street.”

-The Willamette Week quotes a Proud Boy on June 3, 2018

Racism

The Proud Boys’ racism comes out in full force when discussing immigrants, Muslims, and African-Americans. Whether portrayed in a meme, or as a justification for violence, the effect is the same. The Proud Boys political ideology is clear, no matter how many times they attempt to disavow their racism. As shown above, alongside garden-variety Trump-era anti-immigrant hatred, the group frequently shares “white genocide” clickbait describing a false threat to the existence of white Americans (and Europeans). The Proud Boys’ “Western chauvinist” narrative also includes racist arguments about the inferiority and danger of Black culture in the U.S. and “Islamism” internationally. They occasionally valorize individual black and brown people who they view as having sufficiently rejected progressivism and a so-called “victim mindset,” but refer to NFL players protesting the murder of Black people by police as “ingrates” and “degenerates.” Their fondness for memes and articles that depict fantacized mobs of immigrants, Muslims, Black people, etc. raping and killing white women is straight out of the playbook of white nationalist organizations, a narrative long used as excuse for violence and murder. In the Proud Boys’ ideology, people of color are only acceptable so long as they aren’t considered a threat to “Western” (aka white) culture and supremacy. Their cavalier racism is also evident in their mocking adoption of the Swahili word “uhuru”, an expression of freedom– the Proud Boy chant parodies the speech of Black gay activist Gazi Kodzo.



This Fred Perry polo t-shirt has become the uniform and icon of the Proud Boys; black with yellow stripes on the collar and sleeves. However, the chairman of Fred Perry has publicly stated their disapproval of the Proud Boys uniform.

eliminate women's civil rights and bodily autonomy. In the Northwest, Proud Boys are frequent participants in anti-choice demonstrations, and have attacked activists who oppose their intimidation tactics outside of reproductive healthcare providers such as Planned Parenthood. A number of the NW Proud Boys have been charged with domestic violence and assault, as our forthcoming articles will soon show. And threaded through the physical violence, their rallying cry, "Proud of Your Boy," makes it clear that what drives their actions is their belief in a society in which men hold power over women, and enforce that hierarchy through assaults and slander.

Homophobia and Transphobia

Women are only one of the Proud Boys' many targets. From African-Americans, to vegetarians, to trans and queer people, to activists working on any number of causes, Proud Boys find all these at-risk communities to be a simultaneous excuse and outlet for their violence in defense of "Western civilization."

Homophobia and transphobia are two of the most concerning categories of bigotry that the Proud Boys express. They have consistently singled out people they believe are gay or trans at protests as targets for assault and subsequent online harassment. One of the Proud Boys, in a speech to fellow Proud Boys at Joey Gibson's June 3, 2018 rally, exhorted the crowd to "show these f—s what we're made of," before rushing into the crowd to attack anti-fascist activists. Their predilection toward such hateful slurs evokes an ugly history of persecution for many LGBTQ people today, these words having only recently become socially unacceptable in mainstream culture. Homophobia and transphobia are not just "political opinions." The bigoted and dehumanizing statements are intimately linked to real-world acts of violence, including the Proud Boys' own long record of assaults. The cycle of hatred and violence creates a vicious feedback loop.

"Let's show these faggots what we're made of. Put smile on our faces as we walk through the city, because it's our city," a Patriot Prayer member addressed the crowd from across a Starbucks.

How a Bigoted White Nationalist Group Convinced Themselves They Were Just a Club

The Proud Boys were founded in 2016 by notorious misogynist and anti-semitic Gavin McInnes. Via the increasing number of far-right rallies over the last couple years, the Proud Boys have risen to beer-soaked, bigoted prominence. At these far-right rallies, the members of the Proud Boys are given free reign to attack anti-fascist activists and other community members, creating space for more overtly fascist groups to organize, acting as de facto body guards for groups like Identity Europa, Cascade Legion, Daily Stormer Book Clubs, Patriot Front, and other white nationalist and fascist groups and individuals.

After Patriot Prayer founder Joey Gibson's own gang of enforcers, Warriors for Freedom LLC (aka American Freedom Keepers, aka American Freedom Warriors) dissipated following allegations that Gibson stole money and resources from other members, many of those former street fighters became Proud Boys, and that group picked up the task of beating up activists on behalf of Gibson. The Proud Boys are currently one of the largest and most active groups among the various nationalist and racist groups taking part in Joey Gibson's far-right rallies.

The Proud Boys often defy explanation by mainstream political commentators who would take them at their word, because they do not claim to be an overtly fascist organization and deny harboring racist views. Proud Boys continually point toward their few non-white members to deflect the label of "hate group" they've earned from liberal watchdog groups like the SPLC. This ridiculous routine (as if a person is only racist if they claim to be, and has never been in a photo with a person of color) allows them to inflate the lie that they are not bigots or nationalists, despite extensive evidence to the contrary.

McInnes has argued that the Proud Boys are the revitalization of an American tradition, a lineage that can be traced back to 19th century fraternal orders like the Shriners, the Knights of Columbus and the violent anti-immigrant political party, the Know-Nothings. The odd and archaic rituals McInnes included in the Proud Boys' organizational structure

serve as distractions from their far-right politics and violent behavior. The ubiquitous black and yellow Fred Perry polo shirts, the rooster logo, and the tier of “degrees” make it seem as if being a Proud Boy is just being a member of a social club. But in looking at those degrees, we see a hint of content behind the foolishness.

- The first “degree” of Proud Boy membership is a public declaration that the member is a western chauvinist, and subscribes to the violent nationalism of the group.
- The second “degree” of Proud Boy membership is a ridiculous “beat-in” ritual, in which the member is tickled by other Proud Boys while naming breakfast cereals.
- The third “degree” of Proud Boy membership is getting a Proud Boy tattoo.
- The fourth “degree” of Proud Boy membership is technically to have “endured a major conflict related to the cause,” but what that actually means is attacking an anti-fascist or other activist. The fourth degree used to quite literally describe that fact, but has since been obscured by McInnes for liability reasons.

But the use of absurdity and obscurity is not unique in the far-right. Another men’s club from the era of McInnes’ nostalgia, the first iteration of the Ku Klux Klan, invented deliberately absurd ranks and titles (Grand Cyclops, Imperial Wizard), and rituals to both intimidate and entertain. While their promoted activities focus on dumb inside jokes, binge drinking, and sloppy brawling, this “frat boy” facade glosses over an implicit ideology that is very apparent in the political speech and affiliations of their members, as well as in the targets of their assaults.

“Western Chauvinism” equals “White Pride”

The Proud Boys form a central pillar of the current alt-right movement in large part because their patented dogwhistle, “Western Chauvinism,” functions as an effective, but less explicit, articulation of white supremacist ideology. Their homophobic, transphobic, anti-immigrant, anti-semitic, and anti-Islamic beliefs are justified by their “pride” in “the west” having “founded civilization—” ignoring the obvious fact that all of the people

they despise have been part of civilizations since long before anyone identified such a thing as “Western culture.” Their vision of a “west” without queer and trans people, immigrants, Muslims, Jews, and people of color, reveals their notion of “western pride” for what it really is: the same politic Nazi groups call “White Identitarianism,” or “White Pride.” The Proud Boys’ views are identical to those of openly fascist groups such as Identity Europa and Patriot Front. Belief in this ideology of Western Chauvinism is a requirement for membership in the Proud Boys. Like other fascist groups, the Proud Boys organize around the perception that this fantastical, preeminent “West” is losing its natural position of dominance. Openly white supremacist groups label this same myth of losing ground “white genocide.” Regardless of what they call these ideas, both groups agree that this allegedly lost power must be re-claimed and defended through violence, directed at whomever they deem to be enemies or usurpers of their culture.

Misogyny

Violence is the fuel in the ideological engine of a far-right group like the Proud Boys. Like many white nationalist groups, their public exhibitions of power, expressed in violence and the threat of violence, draws in other power-seeking men. It becomes a way to reinforce their understanding of social order, at the same time as they attack their enemies, and instill fear in the general public.

This driving force of violence can be found in many of their members’ political speech. Violence towards women, in both action and speech, becomes a bonding activity for a chauvinist member of the group. Founder McInnes’s own misogyny is well documented throughout his tenure at Vice Magazine. More recently McInnes, in grotesque terms, expressed agreement with alt-right pop psychologist Jordan Peterson’s proposed programs of “enforced monogamy” to exert control over women’s autonomy. The Proud Boys oppose access to abortion and women’s health resources. Like many fascists, they use myths of “traditional” sexual orientation and gender roles to impose control over women, and as a rationale in targeting feminist activists for violence. They substitute the sanitized phrase “venerating the housewife” to mask their intent to