

LISTENING TO FASCISM, TRANSMITTING ANTIFASCISM: A WORKSHOP

May 7, 9 and 10 2025

Facilitated by 2025 Community Engagement Radio Art Fellow Giulia Palladini



[picture: Violeta Casal, Radio Rebelde, Cuba 1958]

Workshop description

“We are navigating incredibly dark times: conservative forces, distinctly resonating with fascist genealogies or showing new facets of fascism, are gaining state power on an international level. New modes of dispossession are prolonging and amplifying local yet common histories of injustice. Fragments of fascist discourse reach our ears daily: in the news, on social media, in the street. The temptation to cover one’s ears is strong. Yet, this workshop explored the intuition that listening closely and collectively to those fragments might be useful to not only confront the grammar of old and new forms of

fascism, but also to recoup, and construct together, one many soundscapes of antifascist resistance.

This community engagement workshop explored audio materials featuring fragments of the fascist and antifascist soundscape. The invitation to participants was to identify clots of fascist discourse, point at returning tropes, and make them available for critical recognition and deconstruction. While listening to the contemporary fascist soundscape on one's own is excruciating, these collective sessions were thought as a way to hold each other and collaborate in deciphering the words and tones through which fascism is forcefully colonizing our ears.

On a conceptual and political level, this workshop was inspired by Walter Benjamin's and Bertolt Brecht's belief in the potential of radio as an instrument of political education and popular knowledge production: reflections developed almost exactly a century ago, in the wake of the first rise to power of fascism. It is in this spirit that this workshop mobilized the listeners as experts, whose experience of fascism is not the product of scholarly knowledge but is embodied memory, affective resonance of personal and common histories." - Giulia Palladini

- **Giulia Palladini and Gregory Whitehead in conversation on WGXC 90.7**
[Listen here](#)
- **Radio Art Hour: From the Lips to the Moon (Tara Fatehi and Pouya Ehsaei)**
[Listen here](#)
- **Collective notes:** [Read here and please keep populating this space!](#)
- **Folder with workshop materials:** [Browse it here](#)

Workshop notes

Session 1

Main questions / themes that emerged:

- How to recognize fascism?
- We agreed upon the necessity to address fascism in its plural manifestations, as embodied memory and lived experience, rather than conceptual or historical matter: 'Fascism is not be debated, it is to be destroyed' (Buenaventura Durruti)
- What to do with words and modes of expressions historically used in fascist discourse? Is it possible to reappropriate them? How about words which are part of an antifascist repertoire, such as 'freedom'?

- We identified ways in which fascist discourse has penetrated into our very language, and realized that we need to pay attention to the resonances we may convey: i.e. expressions such as virus, toxicity, imaginaries of contagion, disease, illness, or else, bias regarding accents, tones, modes of speech.
- Fascism started to appear in speech as radical and violent reduction of language and life possibilities
- How is 'tone' contributing to fascism or antifascism? How does 'tone' make or dismantle a fascist discourse?

Materials listened to:

- Richard Spencer, in [alt-right conference in Washington](#), D.C., 2016
- Huey Long, [Share Our Wealth Speech](#), 1934
- Emmananuel Madan's [Freedom Highway](#) (2002-2004)
- [NPR to Bloomberg](#)
- Trump interviewed about reposting on [X Mussolini's sentence](#)

Session 2

Main questions / themes that emerged:

- Idea of antifascism as the creation of 'antibodies' and 'probodyes'
- What is affirmative antifascism?
- What strategist can be invented, or recuperated, to interrupt fascist discourse?
 - Among them: refuse, montage, collage, decontextualization, satire. Each has its own logic of subversion (can anything be subverted?)
 - How to repurpose fascist discourse through montage?
 - How to craft forms of empathy without preventing, when needed, violent interruption of fascist discourse?
 - Is repetition solely a fascist device? Could it be reappropriated?
 - Is call and response a structure necessarily preventing dissensus?
 - How to cultivate dissonance?

Materials listened to:

- Ake Hodell - [General Bussig](#) (165)
- [Bella Ciao](#) from a window while fascists gather to remember fSergio Ramelli in Milan, January 7, 2025
- Sara Glojnarić, [#popfem 2](#) (2018)
- Emmananuel Madan's [Freedom Highway](#) (2002-2004)
- Reverend J. M Gates, [Hitler and Hell](#)
- [Pauline Hanson](#) and [Pauline Pantsdown](#)

Session 3

Main questions / themes that have emerged:

- What are the tools of antifascist resistance? Can noise be a weapon? Can silence be a weapon?
- What are examples of antifascist resistance using sounds traditionally associated to fascist violence in order to turn them upside down?
- Can art-making be a form of training for antifascist resistance?
- How to hold space for complexity against the simplification and vulgarity propelled by fascist discourse?
- How to practice non-extractivist fieldwork in community art projects?
- How to navigate ambivalence? We came to realize that the grammar of each antifascist strategy we identified could easily be deployed by fascist discourse, and the other way around. This brought us to think antifascism in relation to the necessity to listen carefully and not let go of complexity.

Materials listened to:

- Angela Davis on Trump's second term, [fighting fascism with hope](#)
- Radio play [Parma 1922](#) by Nanni Balestrini (1973) (min 37.10 / 38.24)
- Luigi Nono, [La Fabbrica Illuminata](#) (1964)
- Craig Simpson, [Waste Isolation Pilot Plant](#) (1981)

Bibliography of resources for further reading & listening & surviving

- [Art of the Possible: Towards an Antifascist Feminist Front](#): An initiative of Angela Dimitrakaki and Antonia Majaca in collaboration with Sanja Iveković
- [Songs for Palestine](#)
- [Palestinian sound archive](#) and Palette Presenting ambient music and field recordings from throughout Palestine recorded in Ramallah, Bethlehem, and the Old City of Jerusalem
- [Antifascist noise - Fugitive radio](#)
- Radio play [Parma 1922](#) by Nanni Balestrini (1973)
- [Revolutionary Left Radio](#)
- Luigi Nono, [Ricorda cosa ti hanno fatto in Auschwitz](#) (1966)
- Black Panther Party archive

From the Wave Farm Archive: Radio Art Hour Archive & WGXC 90.7-FM: Radio for Open Ears

- Ginger Dunnill, [WE ARE AWAKE: Mixtape for Resistance](#) (2021)
- Meira Asher, [refuse: military.01](#) (2021)
- Sadie Woods, [The People's Radio](#) (2021)

- [Youth Against Fascism](#) (2022)
- [Law and Disorder: Bertel Ollman, John Pilger](#) (2017)
- [Radio Stew: No Fascism](#) (2017)
- [Everything Is Real Radio: Capitalism Update, hosted by Sam Sebren](#) (2024)
- [Law and Disorder: Henry A. Giroux](#) (2022)
- [Making Contact](#): The Far Right and Antifa (2017)

References From the Workshop and Beyond

- Wendy Brown, [After Liberal Democracy](#), Critical Times, May 15, 2025
- Grace Byron and Sophie Lweis, [Feminist Fascisms](#), March 4th 2025.
- Mark Bray, [Antifa. The Antifascist Handbook](#), New York and London, Melville House Publishing, 2017
- Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising. The Audiopolitics of a Musical Revolution*, London and New York: Verso, 2015.
- Mark Fortier, [Devenir Fasciste](#), Lettres Libres, 2025
- Robert Hilliard and Micheal Keith, [Waves of Rancor. Tuning in the Radical Right](#), London and New York: Routledge, 2015
- Hans Magnus Enzensberger, [Critical Essays](#), New York: Continuum, 1982.
- Suely Rolnik, *Spheres of Insurrection: Notes on Decolonizing the Unconscious*, Polity, 2023:
- Brian Massumi, [The Personality of Power. A theory of Fascism for Antifascist Life](#), Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2025.
- Contrapoints, [On Incels](#), August 2018.
- M Testa, [Militant Antifascism: A Hundred Years of Resistance](#), akpress, 2015
- Enzo Traverso, *Left-Wing Melancholia. Marxism, History, and Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2021.
- Joe Wilkins, [The Italian Communist Composer Who Wrote Revolutionary Music for the Working Class](#), Jacobin Magazine, 06.17.2023
- Luigi Nono. *Nostalgia for the Future. Luigi Nono's Selected Writings and Interviews*, Berkley: University of California Press, 2018.
- Daniel Trilling, [Is this fascism?](#), London Review of Books, Vol. 47 No. 10 · 5 June 2025
- [Podcast](#) conversation between Daniel Trilling and Thomas Jones, LRB, June 4, 2025.
- *Global Histories of Fascism* Pankaj Mishra in Conversation with Verónica Gago, Kohei Saito, and Naomi Klein, Georgetown University ([video](#))
- Hope not hate: [antifascist news and analysis](#)

---- TO BE CONTINUED ----

