EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- We are witnessing the internationalization of the white supremacist movement.
- Over the past decade, we have seen surging violence in the United States, Europe and beyond motivated by elements of white supremacy from Anders Breivik in Norway to Brenton Tarrant in New Zealand to Patrick Crusius in El Paso, Texas. These killers influence and inspire one another.
- European and American adherents are learning from each other, supporting each other and reaching new audiences.
- They feel empowered and emboldened because they perceive that they are influencing the political climate and reaching disaffected whites.
Global access to white supremacist ideology, and its easy dissemination across borders via various social media platforms, means many of the ideas promoted by the white supremacist movement — curtailing of non-white immigration, attacks on globalization and the accompanying conspiracies about elitist globalists — are increasingly part of mainstream political and social rhetoric.

Exposing and understanding the connections among white supremacists and the paths by which they spread their hate are the first steps toward countering them. This report lays that groundwork, but continued vigilance and urgent action are necessary.

Political leaders, law enforcement, social media companies, and educators have important roles to play and responsibilities to uphold.

INTRODUCTION

The internationalization of white supremacy is strengthening a hateful and dangerous ideology.

White supremacists around the world are meeting online and in person at conferences, capitalizing on the digitalization of information, which has in turn accelerated the international exchange of ideas. These virtual and actual gatherings provide key opportunities for white supremacists to share ideas and tactics and recruit new followers.

Meanwhile, over the past decade, we have seen surging violence in the United States and Europe motivated by right-wing extremism. The perpetrators are connected by an extremist ideology that continues to gain international followers.

This report exposes the mutual influence of white supremacists in the United States, Canada and Europe and highlights the danger of these connections. “Hate Beyond Borders” was produced through a collaboration between researchers at ADL’s Center on Extremism in the U.S. and European extremism researchers at the
Amadeu Antonio Foundation (Germany), Community Security Trust (UK), Expo Foundation (Sweden), Observatoire des Radicalités Politiques, Fondation Jean Jaurès, (France) and Never Again Association (Poland).

Transatlantic cooperation among extremists must be addressed, and threats of violence must be actively countered. We hope this report contributes to that effort.

In 2011, Anders Breivik killed 77 people in Norway, after leaving a hate-filled manifesto railing against immigrants and Muslims. Four years later in the U.S., white supremacist Dylann Roof killed nine black parishioners in South Carolina in 2015. Both Breivik and Roof influenced Brenton Tarrant, an Australian white supremacist who killed 51 Muslims in attacks on two New Zealand mosques in March 2019. Tarrant mentioned both men in his manifesto, titled “The Great Replacement” — named after the white supremacist theory that whites are being replaced by non-whites. Tarrant, in turn, influenced John Earnest, who killed one woman and injured others at a synagogue in Poway, California one month later and cited Tarrant as an inspiration in the statement he posted before carrying out his attack. Patrick Crusius, who murdered 22 people in El Paso, Texas, and was targeting Mexicans, also cited Tarrant’s “The Great Replacement” in his own manifesto. One week later, a Norwegian gunman, who had referenced “Saint Tarrant” on a message board, was overpowered as he attempted to shoot people at a mosque in Oslo.

Even as violent white supremacists grab headlines, there are influential ideologues operating behind the scenes to spread hateful white supremacist rhetoric and ideas to eager audiences around the world.

While some influential ideologues may take an academic approach to what they perceive as a danger to “white civilization,” their words can impel violence in those who believe that only violent interventions will save what they term “white
European culture.” For example, Renaud Camus, the French author of a book entitled *The Great Replacement*, does not condone violence, but his words influenced Tarrant and Crusius.

Before the rise of the internet, white supremacists in the U.S. and Europe did not have the opportunity to connect with each other with the speed and frequency they do today, using various online platforms to disseminate their hateful ideas. The globalization of violent white supremacy has been accelerated by social networking sites like Twitter, Gab, Minds, Telegram and message boards like 8chan, 4chan and Reddit, which have created an echo chamber where racist and anti-Semitic ideologies are seen, repeated and reinforced by like-minded people.

Blogs, online publications, internet radio and podcasts allow white supremacists to influence both the ideas and actions of others across the globe more directly and more quickly. This networking online and in person emboldens them and gives them the impression that the white supremacist movement is thriving. This, in turn, encourages white supremacists to believe they have widespread credibility and support, while creating an international marketplace for their hateful ideas. Breivik, Roof and Tarrant posted their white supremacist manifestos online. They — and their words — are worshipped by untold numbers of individuals around the world who share their bigoted, murderous views.

On both sides of the Atlantic, white supremacy has gained new adherents due to a focus on changing demographics and increasing non-white immigration to Europe and the U.S. Some of their racist and xenophobic views are now seeping into mainstream discourse, including political parties that promote the idea that immigrants and non-whites generally are a threat to society. The normalization of hate allows white supremacists to bolster their belief that they are part of a global movement to “save the white race.”

This normalization also means politicians and pundits feel free to openly express these views without fear of being marginalized. In June 2018, Rep. Steve King (R-
IA) retweeted British neo-Nazi Mark Collett’s anti-immigrant tweet about young Italians opposing mass immigration: “Europe is waking up.” King added, “Europe is waking up...Will America...in time?” When King was told that he retweeted a neo-Nazi, he said he wasn’t sorry for unintentionally retweeting him and refused to delete the tweet.\(^3\) King has also promoted “the great replacement” theory in an interview with a publication from the far-right Austrian Freedom Party in September 2018.\(^4\) Following a public uproar over his comments, King was removed from his committee assignments in the U.S. House, and has been criticized widely by fellow Republicans. Fox News host Laura Ingraham has also retweeted Collett’s tweets about immigration and racism against whites.\(^5\)

The mainstreaming of white supremacist ideologies in Europe and the U. S. is manifested in part in a rise in hate crimes and anti-Semitism.\(^6\) Minority communities, including Jews, Muslims and immigrants, feel increasingly fearful and threatened by racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and nativism.\(^7\)

As white supremacy grows, normalizes, and connects across borders, it has become imperative to better understand the networks and influencers, so that appropriate measures can be developed to counteract this dangerous hate.

This report profiles white supremacists and individuals on the far right of the political spectrum in Europe, the United States and Canada, who have had a profound effect on one another and online through their writings and ideas, and by attending each other’s events and conferences.

Note: The “far right” is an umbrella term uses to refer to a variety of extreme movements with historical, intellectual, cultural, ideological and other connections to right-wing causes. The far right is not a monolith but a convoluted landscape encompassing an array of movements and causes. White supremacy is an important feature of that landscape, but hardly the only one. White supremacists share a hateful ideology and the belief that demographic changes in Europe and the United States, due to increased non-white immigration
is diluting their cultures and destroying their countries. They focus on the themes of "white replacement" and "white genocide" to stir fear, hate and resentment.

Many of them blame Jews for non-white immigration and accuse Jews of undermining "white European culture." They also express hatred of Muslims for "polluting" that culture. Most also oppose globalization, which they see as the method by which multiculturalism is advanced around the world. Some far-right and right-wing parties in Europe and the U.S. have used these themes to promote their nativist political agendas.

The influence of ideologues flows in both directions.

**SUMMARY OF COUNTRY-SPECIFIC TIES BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN WHITE SUPREMACISTS**

**United Kingdom**
There is a long history of interaction between white supremacists in the UK and the United States. In 1962, the "Cotswold Declaration" between British neo-Nazi Colin Jordan, founder of the National Socialist Movement (later called the British Movement), and American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell created an international umbrella group of National Socialist organizations. The idea was that these groups would work together to "conquer Jewish Bolshevism" and carry on Hitler's racist and anti-Semitic policies but the 1967 assassination of Rockwell and infighting made the alliance fade away.

*The Turner Diaries*, a 1978 racist novel that depicts a world takeover by an all-white army and its systematic extermination of Blacks, Jews and "race traitors," written by the late neo-Nazi William Pierce, continues to have a major influence on white supremacists around the world.

*The Turner Diaries* inspired the actions of The Order, a white supremacist terrorist group that carried out armed robberies, bombings and murders in the early 1980s in the U.S. in order to fund white supremacist groups and activity. Imprisoned for
his role in The Order, David Lane coined the "14 words," which remains the rallying cry of the white supremacist movement worldwide: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children."

In addition, Lane popularized the concept of "white genocide," when he wrote the "White Genocide Manifesto" from prison. In the document, he argued that that "the term 'racial integration' is a euphemism for genocide." This "theory" is central to the modern white supremacist movement and has been promoted by white supremacists everywhere.

In the early 1990s, *The Turner Diaries* impacted the formation and tactics of Combat 18, a British terrorist neo-Nazi organization that wanted to mirror the events in the novel by starting a race war in the service of building an Aryan homeland, themes prevalent in the book. According to writer Nick Lowles' book, *White Riot: The Story of Combat 18, The Turner Diaries* was also a favorite of neo-Nazi David Copeland, who in 1999 detonated nail bombs targeting minority and LGBT communities in London, killing three people and wounding many others, in addition, both Combat 18 and Copeland had ties to the British National Party, a neo-Nazi party in the UK with which Pierce interacted.

Pierce addressed a BNP meeting in London in 1997. A May 1999 article in the British newspaper *The Sunday Herald* mentioned that Stephen Cartwright, a former Combat 18 member and a BNP member, met with Pierce in the U.S. that year. In an interview with the paper, Cartwright said, "The BNP has learned tactics, raised its profile and fundraising powers in America, and been able to take away the thinking of men like Dr Pierce."

In his book, Lowles also writes about Robert Mathews, a member of The Order who died in a shootout with police in 1984, and Louis Beam, an American white supremacist who popularized the concept of "leaderless resistance," (the idea that small autonomous cells without leaders are more effective and able to avoid detection by authorities), as having "a significant effect on the development" of
Combat 18. In a May 1995 NPR broadcast, reporter Sylvia Poggioli quoted researcher and far-right expert Tony Robson as saying, "Combat 18 follows the ideas of two other Americans; William Pierce, author of *The Turner Diaries* and Louie Beam, the theoretician of a strategy known as 'leaderless resistance.' Combat 18’s bulletin outlines the strategy, the creation of thousands of small, autonomous cells, with not more than four members each in order to avoid infiltration."

More recently, the London Forum, a far-right discussion group run by Jeremy Bedford-Turner who, was jailed for one year for inciting racial hatred," has spawned U.S. equivalents. American white supremacist Greg Johnson, who has spoken at The Forum's meetings, was sufficiently impressed by the London Forum that he created the New York Forum, the Northwest Forum and the Atlanta Forum.

In addition, Atomwaffen Division, a violent U.S.-based neo-Nazi group allegedly tied to five murders, inspired the formation of a British offshoot called Sonnenkrieg Division. Members of Atomwaffen and British neo-Nazis who formed Sonnenkrieg Division communicated online and also planned to meet in person. Three members of Sonnenkrieg Division were arrested by British authorities in December 2018 and two were subsequently jailed for terror offenses, including advocating for "race traitors" to be killed.

**Germany**

Germany has a long-standing tradition of exchange with American far-right extremists. Adolf Hitler, the Nazi Party and National Socialism encouraged the founding of groups with a similar ideology in the U.S. before the Second World War, such as the pro-Nazi German American Bund, and after the war and the Holocaust, such as the American Nazi Party. In the 1990s, the neo-Nazi National Alliance (at the time the largest neo-Nazi group in the U.S.), had ties to Germany's National Democratic Party and its chairman, Udo Voigt. Voigt even gave an interview to *National Vanguard*, the Alliance publication, in 1996.
The Alliance is not the only American white supremacist group with ties to Germany. Gary Lauck, an American neo-Nazi based in Lincoln, Nebraska, runs a website known by its German name, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei—Auslandsorganisation (National Socialist German Workers Party—Overlands Organization, or more simply, NSDAP-AO). For years, Lauck distributed Nazi propaganda in Germany, an illegal activity that landed him in a German prison in the 1990s.

As in Great Britain, both William Pierce's book *The Turner Diaries* and Louis Beam's concept of "leaderless resistance" had an important influence on the formation of German Freie Kameradschaften (free/independent comradeships) and German far-right terrorism in the 1990s. Pierce's book was read and discussed among these German groups. These groups were interested in newer material on race war and rebuilding a "pure, Aryan" Germany, but the country's laws made the production and publication of explicit neo-Nazi material difficult.

Some groups were also inspired by Beam. Comradeships were founded as flexible small entities without a central organization (or a direct relation to a far-right party, though some were members in both) but connected via personal relations. They formed a network through events (music festivals, demonstrations), fanzines and internet forums. For example, the German terrorist organization National Socialist Underground (NSU) originated out of the comradeship Thuringian Homeland Protection (Thüringer Heimatschutz) following the concept of Beam's leaderless resistance. Authorities also believe that the NSU was inspired by the race war depicted in *The Turner Diaries*. The NSU killed 10 people in Germany (nine of them immigrants) and carried out bombings, robberies and attempted murders between 2000 and 2007.

In addition, since the 2000s, German and American white supremacists (i.e. David Duke) have participated and spoken at one another's conferences and events. German far-right online activists are also inspired by the American "alt right" and try to copy their ideas, memes and trolling strategies. -Analogous to online
activity around the U.S. 2016 presidential election, a network of German far-right new and old activists tried to copy the strategies of "memetic warfare" by organizing on Discord servers, a chat and messaging platform, fighting "SJWs" (a derogatory term for progressive "social justice warriors") and promoting the far-right party Alternative for Germany using memes.

**Sweden**

Cooperation between right-wing extremists in Sweden and their counterparts in the U.S. has been ongoing for many years. The Swedish white power music scene played a leading role in this collaboration. In 1997, the U.S. band Max Resist played in Sweden and was arrested, alongside more than 300 Nazi supporters who attended the concert, after Max Resist began to perform Nazi salutes on stage.

Nordiska festivalen (The Nordic Festival), organized by Nordiska förbundet (the Nordic League), can be seen as a precursor to the white supremacist conferences that have taken place in Sweden over the last decade. The events featured far-right authors published by Nordiska förlaget (Nordic Press) David Duke.

In 2007, "Free The Order Sweden" was formed to support members of American white supremacist terrorist group The Order. In 2009, the Swedish group published a book including interviews with members of The Order. Another American white supremacist group, the Hammerskins, have had a small Swedish branch since 2009.

Also in Sweden, the now-defunct publishing house run by neo-Nazi Party of the Swedes (Svenskarnas Parti), published Swedish translations of *The Turner Diaries* and *Understanding Jewish influence* by Kevin MacDonald, an influential, retired anti-Semitic professor based in California. When the organization started their podcast Radio Framåt (Radio Forward) in 2012, they drew inspiration from James Edwards, a white supremacist who runs an online radio show, "The Political Cesspool, based in Tennessee." Edwards appeared on Radio Framåt to discuss racial issues and "white people's future prospects" in February 2015. The host of
the show said, "It was really great to talk to James, especially because he and his radio program - and it is a real radio program which is broadcasted through the radio waves not like us who are a simple podcast...has been something of a role model to us, the format, the thoughts around it and how we want to present it." 28

In addition, some figures in the Swedish white supremacist movement have been directly influenced by white supremacists in the U.S. For example, Christoffer Dulny, the head of Nordisk alternativhöger (Nordic Alternative Right), has praised Mike Enoch, aka Mike Peinovich, who runs an alt right American site, The Right Stuff (TRS), and has called "Fash The Nation" (one of the TRS podcasts) a "must-listen podcast." 29

Today, far-right and white supremacist figures in Sweden sponsor international conferences such as the Scandza Forum, which feature white supremacists from the United States as speakers. Arktos Media, run by Daniel Friberg, a Swedish white supremacist, has many ties to American counterparts. He hired American editors at Arktos and also attempted to create a joint Swedish/American media company focusing on the alt right in 2017, with American white supremacists Richard Spencer and Jason Jorjani. In addition, the white supremacist group Identity Evropa (re-branded in 2019 as American Identity Movement) has also advertised Arktos in their campus propaganda.

France
There are also many ties between far-right figures in France and the U.S. Jared Taylor, president and editor of American Renaissance, a white supremacist online publication that holds annual conferences has longstanding ties to the French far right. His first encounter with them was through Group for Research and Study of European Civilization (GRECE), a think tank founded in Nice in January 1969. Taylor has invited French far-right thinkers and politicians to numerous conferences in the U.S.
Kevin McDonald, an American white supremacist and retired professor, has been translated into French and published by a publishing house, Éditions Pierre Marteau, which is in fact run by Diffusion Akribeia. They also publish *The Turner Diaries*. Akribeia’s owner was the Holocaust-denier Jean Plantin. At this time, Plantin does not own any share in Akribeia, having sold them to his mother. The weekly *Rivarol*, a far-right publication that has been around since 1951 and is available at every newsstand, has published an interview with MacDonald and has also featured articles about him, citing MacDonald as one of the foremost authorities on the white nationalist movement in the U.S. The publication has also interviewed former U.S. Klan leader David Duke.

A writer using the pseudonym "Guillaume Durocher" is the most active bridge between the U.S. and French extreme right "scenes." He appears to be an American living in France, and is associated with several American white supremacist publications, including *Occidental Observer, The Occidental Quarterly* and *Counter-Currents*. He also writes for *The Unz Review*, a California-based online publication that features anti-Semites and white supremacists, and Arktos. The rise of the alt right in America has given new prominence to the ideas of the French New Right, a school of thought born in the 1970s with the goal of ideologically influencing the mainstream conservative right on topics including race relations, ethnicity, and the pagan roots of European culture and bioethics. The New Right has had an influence on a number of American white supremacists, including Jared Taylor and Richard Spencer. Both Taylor and Spencer have spoken about the impact of the works of New Right thinkers such as Alain de Benoist and Guillaume Faye on their own ideology and invited these men to their own conferences in the U.S.

**Poland**

Connections between the Polish and US right-wing extremists go back at least to the mid-1990s, when the Polish radical nationalist party National Rebirth of
Poland (Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski, NOP) became strongly influenced by Western neo-Nazi groups and ideas. For example, NOP's magazine Szczerbiec (The Royal Sword) was clearly influenced by William Pierce's neo-Nazi group National Alliance, Pierce's articles which were published in Polish translation in the late 1990s and early 2000s. NOP activists also published and promoted the Polish editions of Pierce's violent novels (*The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*).

In the 2010s, the NOP focused on David Duke. The pro-NOP website nacjonalista.pl has frequently covered Duke's activities and ideology and promoted Duke's book *Jewish Supremacism*, which was published by the Polish offshoot of the Creativity Movement in 2013. In November 2011, Duke addressed (through a video link) the participants of the NOP's annual gathering in Wroclaw, marking Poland's Independence Day.

A current Member of the Polish Parliament, Robert Majka, extolled Duke's ideas in an interview posted in April 2019 on the far-right YouTube channel CEP Powisle. The bulk of the conversation, which lasted more than 40 minutes, was devoted to Majka's enthusiastic praise for Duke and the ideology Duke promotes on the pages of *Jewish Supremacism*.

Kevin MacDonald has found popularity in Poland beyond the extreme-right milieus. His book *The Culture of Critique* was published by mainstream Polish academic publisher Aletheia and distributed through mainstream distribution channels. In the last few years, the book has frequently been promoted in Polish cities via stickers and leaflets distributed at far-right nationalist events, apparently by anonymous MacDonald fans. In the spring of 2019, it received a positive review on the pages of Polityka Narodowa, a quasi-intellectual publication linked with the Nationalist Movement (RN) party. The Polish edition of the book is also promoted online through posts on YouTube and Facebook.

The annual Polish Independence Day March in Warsaw on November 11 and its accompanying events have become a major international "meeting hub," a key...
element in the ongoing internationalization of nationalism that attracts white supremacists from all over Europe. The gathering is co-organized by two groups who take their names, symbolism and ideology directly from Polish radical-nationalist groups that were active in the 1930s: The National-Radical Camp (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny, ONR) and the All-Polish Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska, MW). A plethora of other Polish and foreign extremist groups have participated in it over the last decade. Robert Winnicki, who has promoted white supremacy in Poland, and has been the leader of MW and the far-right Nationalist Movement (Ruch Narodowy, RN), helps plan the annual marches.

At the November 2017 march, large banners were displayed with slogans such as: "Europe will be white or it will be deserted," "White Europe of brotherly nations." The organizers' official platform bore the MW banner with the slogan "All Different, All White" (a mockery of the Council of Europe past campaign All Different All Equal). The MW's spokesman Mateusz Plawski declared "racial separatism" to be the doctrine of the march co-organizers in an interview with Do Rzeczy weekly on the day after the event.36

That year, Richard Spencer planned to attend Poland's Independence Day March and its accompanying panel event "Europe of the Future: A Vision after the Collapse of the West," alongside Daniel Friberg and Olena Semenyaka (a representative of Azov, the Ukrainian far-right group and militia). However, Polish authorities prevented Spencer from coming to Poland, with one official citing Spencer's views of the Holocaust as the reason he would be unwelcome in the country. The official said, "As a country which was one of the biggest victims of Nazism, we believe that the ideas promoted by Mr Spencer and his followers could pose a threat to all those who hold dear the values of human rights and democracy."37

In 2018 and 2019, a trans-Atlantic movement directed against alleged "Jewish claims against Poland" gained momentum, drawing from and spreading disinformation and conspiracy theories rooted in anti-Semitic stereotypes among
Polish communities. The movement culminated in a large demonstration that took place in front of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw during the European Parliament electoral campaign on May 11, 2019. The march was organized by a newly formed electoral coalition of far-right groups such as the RN, known as "Konfederacja" (Confederation). The group is strongly opposed to the European Union and its name choice was a nod to the anti-Union Confederation of the American Civil War period. Confederate flags were spotted at the embassy protest. Winnicki is a key leader of Konfederacja.

**EUROPEAN INFLUENCERS**

**Alain de Benoist** is a French philosopher and writer who was part of the New Right (Nouvelle Droite), which gained prominence in France in the late 1960s and 1970s. The New Right's ideology emerged from a think tank, Group for Research and Study of European Civilization (GRECE), which was founded in Nice and whose influence peaked in the 1970s. De Benoist and the other leaders of the movement promoted nationalism and were opposed to immigration and multiculturalism. De Benoist claims that he is opposed to racism. He has written many books over his long career, but one in particular has influenced some white supremacists in the U.S: *Manifesto for a European Renaissance*. Written in 1999, the book promotes "ethnopluralism," the idea that all ethnic groups have the right to assert their differences and preserve their own identities.  

The New Right also influenced the birth of the right wing, anti-globalist Identitarian movement in Europe and spurred the advent of many far-right parties there, including the National Front. It has also had an impact on the white supremacist movement in the U.S. Richard Spencer acknowledged his intellectual debt to de Benoist, explaining that he discovered de Benoist in 2003, when he was studying in Germany. Spencer sent away for the translation of *Manifesto for a European Renaissance* and repeatedly read de Benoist’s only full-length book available in English at the time, *On Being a Pagan*. Greg Johnson, who runs the white supremacist website Counter-Currents, has also cited Benoist as a major...
influence\textsuperscript{41} and has published numerous articles about Benoist's work. For his part, Benoist spoke at the white supremacist National Policy Institute conference in Washington, DC, in October 2013.\textsuperscript{42} One month later, he was interviewed by white supremacist Jared Taylor on the American Renaissance site.\textsuperscript{43} (FRANCE)

**Anders Breivik**, the Norwegian far-right terrorist, has influenced white supremacists around the world — and is someone who continues to inspire violence. For example, he was the main inspiration for Brenton Tarrant's massacre at mosques in New Zealand. Breivik killed 77 people and wounded hundreds in a July 2011 shooting and bombing attack at two locations in Norway. To accompany his attack, Breivik emailed a 1500-page manifesto titled "2083: A European Declaration of Independence" to contacts in Europe, along with a link to a YouTube video of himself. The year 2038 is an apparent reference to the 400th anniversary of the siege of Vienna by the Ottoman empire, and to the idea that European Christians will defeat any Islamic invaders. The manifesto is filled with virulent anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim and anti-Semitic views, as well as anti-feminist, anti-left and anti-multiculturalist ideology.\textsuperscript{44}

In the near-decade since his killing spree, Breivik's ideas have permeated the white supremacist world, particularly the ideas that white Europeans must defeat Muslim influences and that "cultural Marxism" and feminism are analogous to "cultural suicide" for Western nations. **Frazier Glenn Miller**, a long-time white supremacist and former Klan leader who in 2014 killed three people at a Jewish community center and a Jewish senior home in Overland Park, Kansas, was inspired by Breivik's actions. Miller wrote on the white supremacist VNN Forum soon after Breivik carried out his attack, "If some enterprising American fellow went to a youth camp in the Catskills, Camp David, or Martha's Vineyard and 'sprayed' some young'uns belong to our immigrant-loving JOG [Jewish-Occupied Government], I dare say I might not lose a whole lot of sleep...I just might sleep even better than my norm, possibly with a wide grin on my face." Miller predicted that more attacks would occur: "Breivik fired up Aryan blood, and inspired young Aryan men to action. Mark my words."\textsuperscript{45}
Christopher Hasson, a Coast Guard lieutenant and white supremacist who was arrested in Maryland in February 2019 on weapons and drug charges, allegedly planned to use biological weapons to carry out a mass casualty event targeting high-profile Democratic politicians and journalists. Hasson closely followed Breivik's manifesto as a model for planning his attack. The violent neo-Nazi group Atomwaffen has also cited Breivik as an inspiration, as has Fascist Forge, a white supremacist online forum.

Breivik has become an icon not just for the violent rampage he carried out but because of his hatred of Muslims and immigrants. He is a symbol in some white supremacist circles, with some images depicting him as a saint or a hero. Other fervent supporters who want to demonstrate their commitment to his anti-immigrant extremism use terms such as "going Breivik" or "going full Brevik." (NORWAY)

Renaud Camus is a French writer and critic who became known for an essay by the name, "le grand remplacement," or "the great replacement," first published in 2011 by Éditions David Reinharc.

In November 2017, Camus co-founded The National Council of European Resistance (Conseil National de la Résistance Européenne, officially abbreviated as CNRE). The group "is intended to bring together qualified French and European personalities, who aspire to "work for the defense of European civilization" — and for the resistance against the Great Replacement." Camus believes that native white Europeans are being replaced in their countries by non-white immigrants from Africa and the Middle East, and the end result will be the extinction of the white race. In a 2017 interview with the American online publication Vox, Camus claimed he was not racist but said, "I pray for the conservation of all races, beginning with those which are the most under menace." When asked who was under menace, Camus replied that the white race
in general, and the "French people, in all its dimensions — ethnic, cultural, civilizational" were being threatened by migration.\textsuperscript{51}

Camus' theory of "the great replacement" has been promoted by white supremacists. Brenton Tarrant, the white supremacist who killed \textsuperscript{52}51 worshippers at mosques in New Zealand, called his manifesto "The Great Replacement." White supremacists who marched across the University of Virginia campus the night before the August 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville shouted, "You will not replace us," and "Jews will not replace us," a clear reference to Camus. When asked about the chants, Camus condemned the white supremacist ideology, but defended the focus on replacement.\textsuperscript{53} A year later, in 2018, Camus wrote a new book, \textit{You Will Not Replace Us}, which attempts to explain his theories on replacement to an English audience. Camus has influenced others who claim not to be white supremacists, but who promote white nationalist ideas. In July 2017, Lauren Southern, a Canadian alt right personality, created a video titled "The Great Replacement," which garnered hundreds of thousands of views.\textsuperscript{54} (FRANCE)

\textbf{Mark Collett} is the former youth leader and head of publicity for the far-right British National Party (BNP), who fell out with Nick Griffin, the BNP's former leader. In recent years, Collett, who is based in Leeds, West Yorkshire, has tried to reinvent himself as an observer and commentator on the alt right. He produces a regular podcast on YouTube on which several American white supremacists including Greg Johnson,\textsuperscript{55} Tom Kawczynski,\textsuperscript{56} Mike Peinovich, aka Mike Enoch,\textsuperscript{57} Jared Taylor,\textsuperscript{58} Kevin MacDonald\textsuperscript{59} and Richard Spencer\textsuperscript{60} have appeared. Collett is also a regular guest on the "David Duke Show." In 2017, Collett released a book online called \textit{The Fall of Western Man}, which includes a testimonial from Duke.\textsuperscript{61}

Collett spoke at Scandza Forum in Stockholm, Sweden in March 2019, along with Greg Johnson, Colin Robertson and others.\textsuperscript{62} Collett's tweets have attracted the attention of people associated with right-wing politics in America: Brit Hume of Fox News, Laura Ingraham of Fox News and U.S. Rep. Steve King have all retweeted him.\textsuperscript{63}(GREAT BRITAIN)
Alexander Dugin is a far-right, ultra-nationalist, ultra-conservative Russian philosopher and political scientist who is the founder of the "Eurasian movement," which theorizes that Russia, with the help of former Soviet bloc countries and Central European nations, will challenge the hegemony of the United States. Dugin has reportedly influenced Russian leader Vladimir Putin and Putin's inner circle. He is known for his focus on fascism, traditionalism and his anti-Western, anti-liberal and totalitarian ideas. Dugin has founded a number of nationalist parties in Russia, including the National Bolshevik Party and the Eurasia Party. He has ties to a number of white supremacists in the U. S., and wrote articles for Altright.com., the now-defunct site headed by white supremacist Richard Spencer, as well as Red Ice, a white supremacist media outfit. Spencer's ex-wife, Nina Spencer (who also goes by the Nina Kouprianova, or Nina Byzantina), has translated Dugin's work into English.

In 2014, Spencer invited Dugin to attend his National Policy Institute conference in Budapest, but Dugin was reportedly warned that he would not be allowed to enter Hungary and the conference was later cancelled by Hungarian authorities. In 2015, to mark the launch of the now-defunct neo-Nazi Traditionalist Worker Party, led by Matthew Heimbach, Dugin recorded a speech titled "To My American Friends in Our Common Struggle." That same year, Preston Wigginton, a Texas-based neo-Nazi, held an event at Texas A&M, where Dugin appeared via the Internet as a speaker. Dugin has also appeared on InfoWars with Alex Jones, a rabid conspiracy theorist who has argued that the Sandy Hook mass shooting was a hoax. Dugin and Jones have also appeared on Russian TV together, and in 2018, alt right figures Brittany Pettibone and Lauren Southern interviewed Dugin.

Guillaume Faye (who died in March 2019) was a French philosopher and the author of a number of books on European identity, immigration and related issues. He also worked as a journalist for a number of French publications, as well as in radio and television. He was once a member of the think tank, Group for Research
and Study of European Civilization (GRECE), along with Alain de Benoist, but split from the organization in 1986.

Faye was opposed to liberalism, multiculturalism, globalism and egalitarianism, which he blamed Christianity for promoting. He was also extremely Islamophoblc. He called for a "Eurosiberian Federation" of white ethno-states — a racially homogenous union of European countries and Russia — as a means of protecting the long-term survival of white Europeans. Faye also promoted the concept of "archaeofuturism" — the idea of returning to "archaic values" such as "ethnic and folk traditions, spirituality, and priestly organization; visible and structuring social hierarchies; the worship of ancestors; rites and tests of initiation; the re-establishment of organic communities — from the family to the folk."  

At the same time, he felt that white European societies should aggressively be exploiting science and technology. He believed that a racial civil war in Europe was imminent and said at the 2006 international conference on "The Future of the White World," in Moscow, "I suggest that this clash of civilizations actually amounts to the confrontation of the white race with all the others."  

Faye was controversial among white supremacists because of his deep hatred of Islam and his argument with David Duke at the 2006 American Renaissance conference, where Duke asked him a veiled question about Jewish influence. Faye's opinion was that anti-Semitism was a dead-end street for white nationalism, since the Jews posed no major threat to the security of the West and could even be cultivated as allies in the fight against Islam.  

Faye was a major influence on the Identitarian movement in Europe and the U.S. and on American white supremacists, including Jared Taylor and Greg Johnson. In an article after Faye's death, Taylor wrote, "I had met many of the great figures in French nationalism, but Faye was the one who most impressed me from the start....He knew that European identity was both cultural and biological, and he welcomed me unreservedly as a fellow European fighting for our people."
Likewise, white supremacist Greg Johnson wrote about Faye's impact in an article for site *Counter-Currents*.75

Faye was introduced to American white supremacists by Arktos, the translator and publisher of his books: *Archeofuturism — European Visions of the Post-Catastrophic Age* (2010), *Why We Fight — Manifesto of the European Resistance* (2011) and *Convergence of Catastrophes* (2012). He spoke at a number of white supremacist conferences in the U.S., including American Renaissance conferences in 2006 and 2012 and at the National Policy Institute conference in 2015. A few months before he died from cancer in March 2019, Faye wrote a book titled *Guerre Civile Raciale (Racial Civil War)*, with a foreword by Jared Taylor, in which Taylor explains that he first met with Faye in 1998, when he was in Paris to attend a National Front rally. Taylor explains that this first encounter marked the beginning of his lasting friendship with Faye, and the friendship between Faye and Sam Dickson, a regular AmRen speaker and an Atlanta-based lawyer.76

(FRANCE)

**Marcus Follin**, better known by his username "The Golden One," is a Swedish white supremacist YouTuber with more than 90,000 subscribers.77 Follin often uses his YouTube channel to comment on current events and debates within the white supremacist world. Red Ice Radio, a white supremacist media company operating in Sweden and the U.S., characterized Follin as stressing "the importance for young Swedish men to rekindle the Viking and Goth within, to fight for their nation."78 However, Follin also functions as a kind of lifestyle guru and personal trainer for far-right activists and sympathizers. He has his own clothing brand and coaches clients on training and diet.79 He has established a network of far-right body builders who wear his brand and promote his message, including William Hahne, the former deputy chairman of the Sweden Democrats' former youth wing.80 In 2018, prior to the Swedish election, journalists revealed that the head of the Sweden Democrats in Växjö had recently been active in Follin's network.81
Because his videos are in English, Follin has gained a following outside of Sweden. In 2015, for example, David Duke interviewed Follin on his online radio show. The same year, Follin drew the attention of the Swedish mainstream press after it became known that a killer of three people at an elementary school in Sweden, who had racist motives, had watched Follin's videos on YouTube. Follin has expressed support for the neo-Nazi Nordic Resistance Movement and appeared on their podcast in 2016. While Follin claims to have been "born a nationalist," he developed his racist views over time and has only recently embraced anti-Semitism. He has explained that he wants to reach young white men in order to radicalize them. During the last few years, Follin has given his support to and has become active in Det Fria Sverige ("Free Sweden"), the primary competitor to the openly Nazi organization NRM on the Swedish white supremacist far-right.85 (SWEDEN)

Daniel Friberg is a Swedish businessman and white supremacist who is the CEO and co-founder of Arktos Media, which publishes books by white nationalists and other far-right figures. Friberg's extremism got its start in the neo-Nazi scene in Sweden in the 1990s, when he was part of the network around the white supremacist magazine Nordland. The following year, he started his own far-right magazine, Framtid ("Future"). In a joint investigative report by major Swedish newspapers in 1999, Friberg was portrayed as one of the most dangerous neo-Nazis in Sweden. Friberg was involved in Nordiska Förbundet (the Nordic League), which was active 2004-2010, and its publishing house Nordiska Förlaget (Nordic Press), groups which organized events and distributed white supremacist music and literature. The events featured far-right authors published by Nordiska Förlaget, including David Duke.

Over time, Friberg and his network grew more interested in the ideas of the French New Right and the activism of the emerging Identitarian movement in France. During the second half the 2000s, Friberg launched the Swedish think tank Motpol (which started out mostly as a blog), the white supremacist social
media site Nordisk.nu (now defunct) and Metapedia, a far-right online encyclopedia styled after Wikipedia.

Arktos was founded in 2009 as a successor to Nordic Press and has played a key role in making French New right literature available in English. Friberg has also been the driving force behind the Identitarian Ideas series of conferences in Sweden. Identity Evropa (now re-branded as American Identity Movement), one of the most active alt right white supremacist groups in the United States, has distributed propaganda on U.S. campuses advertising books published by Arktos.

Arktos's operations were previously based in India and more recently in Hungary. Two American white supremacists—John Morgan and Jason Reza Jorjani—have worked as editors at Arktos during the publishing house's stint in India and after it moved to Europe. Identity Evropa (now rebranded as American Identity Movement), an American white supremacist group, distributed propaganda on U.S. college campuses advertising books published by Arktos.

Motpol has organized a number of international extreme-right conferences. Past attendees include Americans Matt Forney, a white supremacist, anti-Semite and misogynist who has worked for Red Ice Radio, a white supremacist media company Lana Lokteff, who runs Red Ice Radio with her husband Henrik Palmgren (see more information below) and Paul Ramsey, a popular white supremacist vlogger. In January 2017, Jason Jorjani met with Richard Spencer and decided, with Friberg, to launch a joint venture called the AltRight Corporation, of which Arktos/Motpol was meant to become a component; the AltRight Corporation and its accompanying website have since become defunct.

(SWEDEN)

Gerd Honsik: The Austrian neo-Nazi originated the "Kalergi plan," an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory about white genocide. "Kalergi" refers to Richard Nikolaus Graf von Coudenhove-Kalergi, an Austrian philosopher and politician of mixed European and Japanese background who believed that racial integration was a
critical part of Europe's future. Kalergi's work did not receive much attention until 2005, when Honsik took Kalergi's words out of context, asserting that Kalergi proclaimed that Europe would be dominated by Jews and that Kalergi's ultimate goal was "the programmed 'genocide' of European peoples through mass immigration."91

Honsik's theory was spread around Europe by the extreme right and has also been promulgated by far-right parties, including Italy's Northern League and its leader, Matteo Salvini, who has warned about "attempted genocide" against the Italian population via immigration.92 The far-right, anti-Muslim For Britain Movement has also promoted the "Kalergi plan" theory on social media and had a presentation about it at their conference in September 2018.93

American white supremacists also took up the Kalergi theory. The New Jersey European Heritage Association printed fliers with the words, "What is the Kalergi Plan?" along with the group's website address and distributed them in New Jersey and in Philadelphia in June 2019. The right-wing student group, Turning Point USA, tweeted (and then deleted) a picture with the caption, "Patriots in Action," that showed a young man holding a sign that said, "Google Kalergi Plan."94

Red Ice Radio, a white supremacist media company operating both in Sweden and the U.S., featured an article about the Kalergi plan on its website in September 2017. The author blamed Kalergi for promoting the ideas that have led to the current destruction of Europe, writing that issues facing Europe such as "chain migration (reverse colonization), and Islamization, Africanization, Asianization, cosmopolitanization, and Third Worldization...arguably trace their lineage to the ideas of Kalergi."95 (AUSTRIA)

Peter Imanuelsen, born in Norway, and better known by his alias "PeterSweden," is a far-right influencer and self-styled journalist who publishes content on Twitter and YouTube. Hope Not Hate, a British organization that fights hate, reports that despite Imanuelsen's "whole persona being based on being Swedish," he has spent
little time in Sweden, and currently lives in his native Norway. He has worked as a correspondent for such far-right media outlets as Voice of Europe and the Swedish neo-fascist news site Fria tider, alongside Tobias Ridderstråle, a key player in Swedish Identitarianism and one of the founders and financiers of the international white supremacist publishing house Arktos.

Imanuelsen created his main Twitter account in 2016, and quickly became notorious for his extreme racist, anti-Semitic, Christian fundamentalist, homophobic, Islamophobic, anti-feminist and conspiracist commentary, which included Holocaust denial. He copied Nazi propaganda and disseminated it on his own YouTube channel without disclosing its origin. In September 2017, he was granted a special press pass – given only to a handful of people – by the militant neo-Nazi group Nordic Resistance Movement to embed with them and to livestream their march through the streets of Gothenburg.

Imanuelsen has appeared as a guest on far-right platforms like InfoWars and far-right influencers' YouTube shows, including that of alt-right influencer Bre Faucheux, during which he discussed his coverage of the September 2017 neo-Nazi rally. He has appeared repeatedly on British alt right personality Tara McCarthy's show alongside British neo-Nazi Mark Collett. In these English-language broadcasts he was typically cast as an expert on Sweden, a country he portrayed as being in a state of virtual collapse at the hands of immigration and socialism. He has also used his Twitter and YouTube accounts to boost, in English, the far-right and Nazi-sympathizing Norwegian party Alliansen.

Imanuelsen's Twitter account appears to have gained a particularly large American following, apparently as a result of his appearances on English-language far-right platforms, his outspoken support for Donald Trump and his canny use of the topic of Sweden and its supposed demographic changes, which appealed to an American audience. In 2017, his identity was exposed, calling into question statements he had made about his past. At this point, Imanuelsen began to inconsistently moderate his public comments and claims to have
abandoned Holocaust denial. He has, however, continued to employ anti-Semitic dog whistles, such as tirades against "globalists" – which he has in the past explicitly identified with Jews – in his social media output. Denis Kapustin (Denis "Nikitin") is a German neo-Nazi, MMA-fighter, fight-organizer, and founder of the clothing brand "White Rex." Nikitin organizes MMA events in Germany and throughout Europe, and trains members of the youth organization of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) to fight. MMA fights are increasingly popular in Germany and are often included in larger neo-Nazi events: concerts, festivals, and meetings of far-right parties like the NPD. On April 21, 2018, the martial arts tournament "Fight of the Niebelungs" took place in Ostritz (Saxony) at the same time as the neo-Nazi rock festival "Sword and Shield." In addition to training neo-Nazis in Europe to fight, Nikitin also met with members of the California-based white supremacist group Rise Above Movement (R.A.M.). Nikitin attended the martial arts tournament in Ostritz with Robert Rundo, the leader of R.A.M., as well as R.A.M. members Benjamin Daley and Robert Smithson. Also in 2018, Rundo accompanied Nikitin on a visit to Kiev, Ukraine, where Nikitin is believed to live. Nikitin is originally from Russia.

When he is not traveling around Europe or visiting family in Germany, Nikitin operates as a sort of unofficial ambassador-at-large for Azov, a far-right group and militia. Nikitin is fluent in Russian, German and English. Götz Kubitschek is a German publicist, publisher and the husband of far-right publicist Ellen Kositza. He is regarded as a part of the German "new right," which is influenced by the writings of the "Conservative Revolution" of the German interwar period (this refers to far-right thinkers who in the 1920s opposed German democracy and promoted an authoritarian state) and the French "Nouvelle Droit" or "New Right." Kubitschek is also co-founder of the "new right" think tank Institut für Staatspolitik (IfS, Institute for State Policy). Founded in 2000, IfS organizes trainings and conferences attended by far-right groups such as the Identitarian
Movement and the Alternative for Germany (AfD). He was a speaker at the racist Pegida (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West) demonstrations in Dresden and Leipzig.

Kubitschek is also the editor-in-chief of the IfS magazine and blog *Sezession* (Secession), which has been published since 2003, and which reports positively on the American alt right. His publishing house *Antaios* counts American white supremacist and misogynist F. Roger Devlin among its authors. (GERMANY)

**Henrik Palmgren** is a Swedish white supremacist who runs Red Ice TV, an online media site, with his wife, Lana Lokteff. In 2003, he founded Red Ice, which began as a general conspiracy theory website, but which since 2012 has embraced white nationalism and features interviews with white supremacists around the world. The couple, who live in Virginia, claim that Red Ice operates in Sweden and North America.

Since 2012, Red Ice has broadcast white nationalist, racist, anti-Semitic and far-right content, including Holocaust denial, the "white genocide" conspiracy theory and sympathetic coverage of the Swedish revolutionary neo-Nazi organization, Nordic Resistance Movement.\(^{109}\) Palmgren has described Red Ice as taking part in a "war of ideas."\(^{110}\) Red Ice is notable for its slickly produced content, and is often cited by far-right ideologues as the platform that advanced their radicalization.\(^{111}\) As of May 2019, Red Ice's YouTube channel has some 315,000 subscribers, and its videos can garner up to a million views. Patrick Casey, leader of American Identity Movement (formerly Identity Evropa), wrote for Red Ice under the pseudonym Reinhard Wolfe.

In the winter of 2016-17, Palmgren became the "media director" of the now defunct "AltRight Corporation" founded by Daniel Friberg, Richard Spencer and Jason Reza Jorjani. In the summer of 2017, Palmgren attended the infamous "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. (SWEDEN)
Jean Raspail is a French author and a monarchist whose racist 1973 novel, Le Camp des Saints (The Camp of the Saints), depicts a group of migrants from India, the Middle East and Africa who "invade" France — and eventually the world — and overwhelm the white population, aided by inept authorities and a welcoming liberal population.

Some American white supremacists are fans of the novel and see it reflected in current threats to the white population in the U.S. and Europe. For example, Chris Roberts, who writes for the white supremacist site American Renaissance, wrote in 2017 that the book "is about all of us—about white people. It is about our weaknesses, indulgences, and unwillingness to survive." When white supremacist Matthew Heimbach was attempting to form a white student union at Towson University in 2013, he recommended The Camp of the Saints to his fellow white students. In 1995, Jared Taylor, who runs American Renaissance, wrote a rave review of the book, asserting, "the central tragedy — suicidal white weakness — is brilliantly portrayed."

The Social Contract Press, founded by racist, anti-immigrant figure John Tanton and run by white supremacist Wayne Lutton, publishes the English version of The Camp of the Saints, which has been praised by anti-immigrant figures and mainstream political figures. Steve Bannon, former advisor to President Trump and former Breitbart editor, mentioned the book several times on his radio show in 2015 and 2016 to explain current immigration issues facing the U.S. and Europe. In 2017, Representative Steve King (R-IA) recommended the book to listeners during a radio interview on a local station in Iowa.

Colin Robertson, from Great Britain, uses the online name "Millennial Woes" and is an influential alt-right/white nationalist vlogger. In November 2016, Robertson addressed delegates at the notorious National Policy Institute (NPI) event in Washington, where some attendees gave Hitler-style salutes. NPI leader Richard Spencer tweeted his support for Robertson after his name was made public in the
British press: "I'm proud to call Millennial Woes a friend and colleague. He's a brave truth-seeker."\(^{118}\)

Robertson has spoken at numerous alt right and far-right events across Europe, including in Great Britain, Estonia, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Germany and Holland. He has spoken alongside American white supremacists at conferences held by Scandinavian far-right organizations. In his online videos, he has interviewed a number of American white supremacists, including Jared Taylor, Greg Johnson and Paul Ramsey (aka RamZPaul).\(^ {119}\) In November 2016, Robertson also spoke at the inaugural Northwest Forum, which is run by American white supremacist Greg Johnson.\(^ {120}\) (GREAT BRITAIN)

**Martin Sellner** is one of the leading figures of the far-right *Identitäre Bewegung* (Identitarian Movement). He leads the movement in German-speaking countries, including his native Austria, and has close contacts with important thought leaders of the "new right" as well as Alternative for Germany, a far-right German party, the Freedom Party of Austria and the right-wing populist Pegida movement. Sellner keeps in close contact with all other European "Identitarian Movements" or similar organizations (including groups in France, Italy, Czech Republic and the UK) to organize bigger events and to promote racist, anti-Muslim or anti-refugee propaganda. He is married to American alt right activist Brittany Pettibone. In 2017, he toured the U.S. and met American alt right activists. Together with Pettibone and Lauren Southern, Martin Sellner took part in the Defend Europe campaign in 2017.\(^ {121}\) Sellner is no longer able to travel to the U.S.; his visa was canceled when it became known that Brenton Tarrant, the Christchurch far-right terrorist, made a donation to Sellner and his Identitarian Movement in early 2019. (AUSTRIA)

**Martin Semlitsch** is an Austrian author who publishes under the pseudonym "Martin Lichtmesz." He writes for the journal *Sezession*, which belongs to the German "new right" *Institute for State Policy*, and translates international works, including Renaud Camus' *Le Grand Remplacement* and other books of the "new
He has also translated right-wing Men's Rights Activists (MRA) publications such as Jack Donovan's *The Way of Men.* Semlitsch maintains good relations with Martin Sellner and the Identitarian Movements in Germany and Austria.

In July 2017, Semlitsch was the first German-language speaker in American Renaissance's history to be invited to the group's annual conference, held in Tennessee. In his lecture on "New Beginnings: Nationalist Movements in Austria and Germany," he outlined parallels and differences between the situation in the U.S. under Trump, which he described with great enthusiasm, and what is happening in Austria and Germany.

In spring 2018, Jared Taylor of American Renaissance returned the favor, speaking at the *Institute for State Policy’s* "State Political Congress" in Magdeburg (Germany) with other international speakers such as Colin Robertson and F. Roger Devlin. In March 2019, Semlitsch met Taylor once again, this time in Stockholm at the Scandza Forum, an important networking meeting for the international far right.

**Nils Wegner,** *Sezession* author and translator for Gotz Kubitschek's publishing house Antaios, is strongly influenced by the American alt right movement. He runs the website "altwritewegner.com" and stated in an interview with the *New York Times* that he is interested in listening to Richard Spencer's podcasts. Wegner conducted the first German-language interview with Spencer for the "new-right," "third position," and conspiracy-minded *COMPACT* magazine.

Wegner's translations for Antaios include F. Roger Devlin's *Sexual Utopia in Power* and Jack Donovan's *Becoming a Barbarian.* His translation of Derek Turner's *Sea Changes* for the "new right" publishing house Jungeuropa includes a foreword by Richard Spencer. On his blog, Wegner promotes his collaboration with Kevin MacDonald; Wegner's article "Operational Hygiene: Spheres of Activism for the Alt
David Duke is a long-time white supremacist, former Klan leader and virulent anti-Semite based in Louisiana, whose book, *Jewish Supremacism* — marked by anti-Semitic vitriol — has been published in Russia, Poland, Germany and other European countries. In 2017, Duke claimed on Twitter that he lived in Russia for five years and that his book was sold in the bookstore of the Duma, Russia’s legislative body. In addition, a Polish Member of Parliament endorsed the book in an interview in published in April 2019 on the far-right channel CEP Powisle.

As a result of his travels throughout Europe and his efforts to build ties with the continent’s extremists, Duke has been arrested or expelled from a number of countries, including Switzerland, the Czech Republic, Italy and Germany. Before being banned, Duke spoke in numerous European countries, including France, Belgium, Spain, Sweden and Hungary, and spent considerable time in Russia and the Ukraine. Duke has helped to spread anti-Semitism in Europe, particularly in Ukraine. In 2005, Duke received a doctorate from the anti-Semitic Ukrainian institution Interregional Academy of Personnel Management (MAUP). Duke was also a frequent speaker at MAUP. In October 2006, he gave a speech about "radical Jewish extremists." The year before, he was a featured speaker at a conference at MAUP, entitled, "Zionism: Threat to World Peace."

Duke continues to wield influence among like-minded Europeans. In December 2018, when the far right party Vox won seats in the Spanish Parliament in the Andalusia region, Duke tweeted, "VOX triumphs in Andalusia! 12 seats and the end of the socialist regime ...and shows that change is possible. The Reconquista begins in the Andalusian lands and will be extended in the rest of Spain." For Duke, the "Reconquista," likely refers to Vox’s embrace of anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim views and the idea that the party would stop non-white immigration.
According to Spanish newspaper *El País*, Duke's tweet of support for Vox "was posted on Monday and had garnered 410 likes and 259 retweets by Tuesday afternoon, turning the phrase 'Ku Klux Klan' into a trending topic in Spain."¹³⁰

Duke has founded a number of white supremacist groups in the U.S., including the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) which he presented as "primarily a white rights lobby organization" and a similar, now-defunct organization called the National Organization for European American Rights (NOFEAR) — which he later renamed the European American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO). He has written a number of books in addition to *Jewish Supremacism*, including the autobiographical *My Awakening*, which influenced a range of American white supremacists. Duke has spoken at conferences hosted by Stormfront, a white supremacist internet forum, and more recently in 2018 and 2019, at the "Nationalist Solutions" conference, which is held jointly by the white supremacist groups American Freedom Party and the Council of Conservative Citizens. Duke also has a daily internet radio show, which includes interviews with a range of extremists in the U.S. and abroad.

Duke has run for office in the U.S. several times — for the Louisiana State Senate, the U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives and the presidency. He was elected just once, as a Louisiana state representative in 1989.

**Greg Johnson** runs *Counter-Currents*, the white supremacist online journal and publishing house. He also hosts a number of speaking forums, modeled on the London Forum, around the U.S. Johnson is well connected to white supremacists in Europe and regularly attends white nationalist conferences in Sweden, the UK and other countries. He has established ties with Azov, the far-right organization and militia in Ukraine.¹³¹

Johnson also has connections to the far-right Swedish publishing house Logik, which was founded in 2005. At the time it was connected to the Nazi organization
Nationalsocialistisk front (NSF) and, after 2009, to NSF’s successor, Svenskarnas parti ("Party of the Swedes"). When the party was dissolved in 2015, its former leadership decided to focus more on building support for white nationalism through publishing books and organizing white nationalist events in Sweden. They brought in American ideologues, including Johnson, whose book *New Right vs. Old Right* was released in Swedish by Logik in 2015. The seminars that were organized in 2015 grew into the Scandza Forum conferences, which launched in 2017. The Scandza Forum has functioned as Greg Johnson’s network in Sweden.

**Kevin MacDonald** is a white supremacist and an anti-Semitic retired professor of evolutionary psychology at California State University, Long Beach. MacDonald's anti-Semitic views became widely known in the mid-1990s when he wrote a series of books on Jews. His trilogy of books known as *The Culture of Critique* has been translated into German, Dutch, Polish and Russian. In these works, he argues that Jews are a hostile elite in American society who undermine the country's European heritage and traditions. MacDonald's books are popular among white supremacists in the U.S. and Europe and he has played a significant role in fostering anti-Semitism on both sides of the Atlantic. MacDonald has attended many conferences in Europe, including the London Forum and the Scandza Forum.

He is the editor of *The Occidental Quarterly*, an anti-Semitic publication and *The Occidental Observer*, an online publication that features many anti-Semitic writers from the U.S. and Europe. MacDonald is also a leader in a white supremacist group, American Freedom Party.

**Richard Spencer** is a white supremacist who is considered one of the leaders of the American alt right movement. He has many ties to European white supremacists. Spencer started out in the mainstream right wing, as an assistant editor at *The American Conservative* and as an editor at *Taki's Magazine*. In 2011, Spencer was named president of the National Policy Institute, a tiny white supremacist group that has held a number of conferences. Today, he runs two
associated ventures — *Radix Journal*, a publication featuring essays on white nationalism and other issues, and Washington Summit Publishers, which publishes the work of racists. Spencer was one of the primary organizers of the August 2017 Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Until 2018, Spencer was an important influence within the Swedish extreme right. In the winter of 2016-17, Richard Spencer met American Jason Reza Jorjani, who was then the editor of the Swedish-owned far-right publishing house, Arktos Media. Jorjani announced that he, Spencer and the Swedish founder of Arktos, Daniel Friberg, as well as Swedes Henrik Palmgren and Tor Westman, would join forces to create the "AltRight Corporation" and the website Altright.com. They had ambitious plans for this new venture, intending to create "a more ideological Breitbart," a reference to the influential right-wing American publication. However, the project made little headway, declined rapidly in 2018 and is now defunct.

In May 2017, Friberg and a former member of the Swedish far-right opposition Sweden Democrats party, Christoffer Dulny, announced a new website, *Nordisk alternativhöger* (Nordic Alternative Right), conceived as a branch of the AltRight Corporation and a hub for the Swedish alt-right. At the time, Spencer was listed as a "strategic advisor," but that is no longer the case, and the Swedish group appears to have cut ties with him.

In 2015, Spencer attempted to hold an NPI conference in Budapest but was arrested by authorities. NPI has been largely inactive since November 2018 and today Spencer largely relies on podcasts and videos to reach fellow white supremacists.

**Tom Sunic**, a Croatian-born American white supremacist, is a writer, former professor and a former diplomat. He is a long-time associate of the French New Right and contributes to *Eléments* (2014); *Nouvelle école* (for which he is the Croatia correspondent) as well as to more radical publications of the völkisch and
Identitarian movement such as *Réfléchir et Agir* (*Reflect and Act*) and *Terre et Peuple* (*Land and People*). In July 2019, he appeared as a speaker at Generation Identity UK’s second annual conference in London. The group is part of the Identitarian movement, a far-right movement associated with white nationalism. He is scheduled to speak at the Scandza Forum in Copenhagen in October 2019.

Sunic has long been involved in a number of American white supremacist groups, even as he maintains his ties to Europe. Sunic is a director of and European contact for the U.S.-based white supremacist group American Freedom Party (AFP). He was a speaker at the white supremacist Nationalist Solutions conference in the U.S., hosted by AFP and the Council of Conservative Citizens, in both 2018 and 2019. He has spoken at other white supremacist gatherings, including the 2019 Annual Faith and Freedom Conference in Harrison, Arkansas, hosted by Klan leader Thom Robb. Back in 2003, he spoke at "Eurofest," hosted by the now-defunct Sacramento chapter of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, as well as at meetings of the Institute of Historical Review, a Holocaust denial organization.

Sunic often speaks to far-right and white nationalist groups in Europe. In November 2017, he and William Johnson, who leads AFP, spoke at the Europa Nostra conference hosted by the Swiss Nationalist Party. Sunic spoke, along with Kevin MacDonald, at an October 2016 extreme-right nationalist conference in Germany, which also featured Udo Voigt of the German National Democratic Party, and Nick Griffin, formerly associated with the British National Party (BNP), a racist and ultranationalist fringe political party in England. A year earlier, Sunic traveled to Budapest to attend Richard Spencer’s National Policy Institute conference, which was eventually cancelled by the Polish government.

In late September 2013, Sunic spoke at the BNP’s national conference. That same month, he spoke at a memorial event for "the victims of the Allied persecution in the aftermath of WWII" in the Austrian town of Ulrichsberg.
Jared Taylor is the founder of The New Century Foundation, a self-styled think tank that publishes the online white supremacist journal *American Renaissance* (AR) and holds regular conferences for American academic racists and their international counterparts. He often invites white nationalists and far-right figures from Europe and elsewhere to speak at his conferences.

His conferences and journal focus on the alleged race-based differences in intelligence, the promotion of "white identity" and attacks on multiculturalism and diversity. Taylor has written a number of books including *Paved with Good Intentions*, which received mainstream attention, and *White Identity*. Taylor travels abroad extensively, where he often speaks to far-right and white nationalist groups. He has spoken at the London Forum, the Scandza Forum and Identitarian conferences hosted by Motpol, and has met with nationalists in France, Great Britain, Poland, Estonia and other countries. In March 2019, Taylor was banned from Europe by Polish authorities after he tried attending conferences in Sweden and Finland.

**CANADIAN INFLUENCERS**

Paul Fromm is a Canadian white supremacist with long ties to his counterparts in the U.S. He has spoken at events hosted by white supremacist groups such as American Renaissance and the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). He was also the international director of the CCC when Dylann Roof cited the organization as a major influence before killing nine black parishioners at the Emanuel AME church in South Carolina. Fromm has appeared frequently at annual conferences held by Thom Robb, the head of the Knights Party (an Arkansas-based Klan group). Fromm has also spoken at Holocaust denial conferences held by the Institute for Historical Review and was a contributing editor to *The Barnes Review*, an American Holocaust denial publication.

In 2005, Fromm attended David Duke's European-American Conference, which was attracted white supremacists from across the U.S. and Europe. He also
attended a 2012 conference hosted by *Stormfront*, at one time the most popular online forum for white supremacists and hosted a radio show on the *Stormfront* site. Fromm, who was dismissed as a teacher in Canada due to his extremist activities, runs a group in Canada called Canadian Association for Free Expression, which defends racists, anti-Semites and Holocaust deniers from prosecution under hate crime legislation. He is currently a leader of American Freedom Party (AFP), a U.S.-based white supremacist group.

**Faith Goldy a.k.a. Faith Goldy-Bazos**, is a Canadian white supremacist who worked as a journalist for right-wing Canadian media outlets including Sun News Network and Rebel Media, and as a reporter for the American white nationalist website VDare. Goldy has denounced the white nationalist label but has made Islamophobic and anti-immigrant comments and in June 2017 produced a video for Rebel Media titled "White Genocide in Canada?", which promoted the popular white supremacist theory that whites are being wiped out due to uncontrolled immigration of non-whites.\(^{150}\) In August 2017, Goldy attended the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville,\(^ {151}\) Virginia, and publicly sympathized with the white supremacist marchers, claiming that the events in Charlottesville pointed to a "rising white racial consciousness" that she asserted would transform the American political landscape. She also praised the manifesto written by white supremacist Richard Spencer, which called for separation of the races and praised white supremacy.\(^ {152}\) On the day of the Unite the Right rally, she appeared on a podcast hosted by Robert Ray, a virulent racist and anti-Semite, on the neo-Nazi website *Daily Stormer*. She was subsequently fired from Rebel Media.

Goldy went on to appear on a number of additional extremist podcasts, and in December 2017, she recited the "14 words," the mantra of white supremacists, on Millennial Woes (Collin Robertson)'s podcast.\(^ {153}\) She also made a video praising the neo-Nazi Greek political party Golden Dawn. In addition, Goldy appeared on Red Ice Radio, where she argued that people used the terms "racist" and "white supremacist" to "pathologize a healthy and natural instinct within people."\(^ {154}\) On another Red Ice show with white supremacist Lana Lokteff and Lauren Rose, she
praised ethno-nationalism. In 2018, Goldy ran for mayor of Toronto. She was endorsed by Steve King, the Iowa congressman who has openly supported white nationalism.

**Stefan Molyneaux** is an Irish-born Canadian vlogger and self-described philosopher whose podcast, Freedomain Radio (FDR), began in 2004. He first became known for his libertarian views. He has been involved in the men's rights movement and is connected to the alt right. Around 2014, Molyneaux began promoting eugenics and "race realism," discussing race-based "differences" in IQ, claiming that non-whites are inferior and that blacks commit more crimes.

In December 2018, after Molyneaux attended a nationalist march in Poland celebrating that country's independence, he explicitly embraced white nationalism, something he had previously claimed to reject. In a video of the event, Molyneux said, "I've always been skeptical of the ideas of white nationalism, of Identitarianism and white identity. However, I am an empiricist and I could not help but notice that I could have peaceful, free, easy, civilized and safe discussions in what is essentially an all-white country."

In April 2019, on his YouTube channel, Molyneux touted the achievements of the white race, which he believes other ethnicities should emulate.

Molyneux has interviewed and promoted the views of a number of American white supremacists on his show, including Jared Taylor, Peter Brimelow and Kevin MacDonald.

**Lauren Southern** is a Canadian far-right political activist and internet personality. She claims she is not part of the white supremacist alt right movement and has defended the best-known leader of that movement, Richard Spencer, asserting that Spencer is not a "white supremacist," but a white nationalist who wants a white ethno-state. She has produced a documentary film, "Farmland," which promotes a common theme for white nationalists — that racially motivated attacks against South African farmers was part of an impending "white genocide."
Southern is anti-immigrant and opposed to multiculturalism; in 2017, she joined members of Generation Identitaire in Sicily, led by white supremacist Martin Sellner, to prevent boats from rescuing migrants from the shores of North Africa. Southern was briefly detained in Italy for her part in the "Defend Europe" action.

In March 2018, Southern was denied entry to Great Britain, reportedly due to her anti-Muslim views. That same month, Southern gave a speech to a Belgian far-right nationalist group, Vlaams Belang. One of the leaders of that party, Felip DeWinter, has attended white supremacist American Renaissance conferences in the United States. In 2019, Southern produced a new documentary about mass migration called "Borderless," which was widely praised by white supremacists. In June 2019, she claimed she was giving up politics.

**CONFERENCES AND EVENTS**

While some white supremacists in the U.S. are influenced by the written works of European white supremacists and far-right writers, in-person conferences, rallies, forums and events build and solidify their relationships. The speakers at these events tend to share a common focus: they are concerned about changing demographics in the U.S. and Europe, the immigration of non-white people, the preservation and celebration of "white identity" and the effects of globalism and multiculturalism. Although speakers may focus on their individual countries, there is a joint purpose of preserving what they term "white European culture." They see themselves as a united force working together to both halt demographic changes and to convince disaffected whites to join their cause.

**Conferences in the U.S.**

Jared Taylor of American Renaissance (AmRen) first invited white supremacist and far-right Europeans to speak at his conferences in 2000; Bruno Gollnisch, a member of the far-right National Front, a far-right political party in France, spoke that year. Gollnisch spoke again at an AmRen conference in 2008. Taylor has invited other political figures from Europe, including Ashley Mote, who at the time
in 2008 was a British member of the European Parliament, Felip DeWinter, the head of the nationalist Flemish party, Vlaams Belang (2011, 2016) and Anke Vandermeersch, a vice president of the Belgian Senate and also a member of Vlaams Belang (2016).

French white nationalist author Guillaume Faye attended two AmRen conferences (2006, 2012) to talk about immigration's threat to Europe. Taylor has also welcomed leaders of Identitarian groups such as Fabrice Robert of Bloc Identitaire in France (2013), Ruben Kaalep of the Conservative People's party and its youth movement Blue Awakening in Estonia (2016), as well as people who influence that movement such as Martin Lichtmesz (aka Martin Semlitsch) from Germany (2017) and Jean-Yves Le Gallou, one of the former leading figures of the French New Right organization GRECE (2019). Other figures such as Adrian Davies, a British lawyer who defended British Holocaust denier David Irving in court, spoke at the conferences numerous times (2011, 2014, 2018).

American Renaissance is not the only U.S. white supremacist organization to include speakers from Europe. The 2013 National Policy Institute conference featured a number of Europeans including Frenchman Alain De Benoist, one of the original "new right" ideologues. Another Frenchman, Roman Bernard, co-hosted the conference with Richard Spencer. Piero San Giorgio of Switzerland, author of *Survive — The Economic Collapse*, a book that is popular among Identitarians, also spoke. UK-based author Alex Kurtagic spoke at both the 2011 and 2013 NPI conferences.

In 2014, Richard Spencer attempted to hold an NPI conference in Budapest, which was slated to include Russian philosopher Alexander Dugin. However, Dugin was denied a visa and the Hungarian government banned the entire event. Colin Robertson spoke at a 2016 NPI conference where participants gave Hitler salutes.

In 2017, Spencer was expected to take part in the events around Polish Independence Day in Warsaw. He was billed as a keynote speaker at an event...
entitled "The Europe of the Future — a Vision after the Fall of the West," alongside the Swedish alt right figure Daniel Friberg, a representative of the Ukrainian Azov movement and speakers from other East European states. However, the Polish Foreign Ministry banned Spencer from attending. In the aftermath, Spencer was prohibited from visiting numerous European countries in the common visa area, known as the Schengen zone, for the next five years. He had been previously banned from entering the Schengen zone in the wake of his deportation from Hungary in 2014.

A few European white supremacists, including Daniel Friberg and Henrik Palmgren, attended the Unite the Right event in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017, which Spencer helped plan. The event attracted about 600 extremists from around the U.S. and ended in the death of anti-racist counter-protester Heather Heyer.

International white supremacists continue to make appearances at American extremist gatherings. The 2018 Nationalist Solutions conference, hosted in Tennessee by the American Freedom Party and the Council of Conservative Citizens, included Dominic Lüthard of the Swiss Nationalist Party, who showed a video about Muslim and African migration to Europe. The 2019 Nationalist Solutions conference featured Zeljko Glasnovic, a former Croatian General and far-right politician.

**Conferences in Nordic countries**

In the last six years, Sweden, Finland and Norway have hosted many international far-right meetings that included white supremacists. Between 2013 and 2019, American white supremacists were speakers at about a dozen conferences held by far-right and white supremacist organizations in these Nordic countries.

Motpol, a Swedish white nationalist think tank, has hosted a number of Identitarian conferences over the last decade. Motpol was originally created in 2006 as a group blog for writers in the network around the now disbanded 161 162 163
Nordiska Förbundet (The Nordic League) and Nordiska förlaget (The Nordic Publishing House). This network started taking an interest in neo-fascist literature and ideology while at the same time publishing and selling classic white-power and national socialist materials. Arktos, the successor to Nordiska förlaget, was founded in 2009 by Daniel Friberg, who characterized Motpol as Arktos’s companion “think tank”.164

Starting in 2010, the Arktos/Motpol network around Friberg began organizing a series of internationally oriented far-right seminars, called "Identitarian Ideas." In 2013, the fifth edition of Identitarian Ideas featured American paleoconservative Paul Gottfried as one of its speakers. The next American to speak at the conference was John Black Morgan, in 2015. In October 2016, the American white supremacist F. Roger Devlin spoke at the conference. Jason Reza Jorjani also spoke and later that month replaced Morgan as editor of Arktos.165

The ninth Identitarian Ideas, held in February of 2017, featured a number of American extremist speakers: Lana Lokteff, the spouse of white supremacist broadcaster Henrik Palmgren and co-host of his media platform Red Ice; the New York-born "men's rights activist" Matthew Forney; Jorjani and Paul Ramsey (RamZPaul), a white supremacist YouTuber from Oklahoma.

In November 2017, Identitarian Ideas invited Richard Spencer as its main speaker, but the event was cancelled after Spencer failed to obtain permission to travel inside the European Union.166 Only 70 tickets had been sold in the run-up to the event, a low number by Identitarian Ideas' standards.167 Following this, the Identitarian Ideas seminars appear to have been discontinued. In the summer of 2018, Spencer attempted to attend the Swedish mainstream political forum in Almedalen as the guest of his Swedish collaborators but was once again denied travel permission and forced to cancel.168

The Swedish tradition of English-language far-right conferences is instead carried on by Identitarian Ideas’ competitor, Scandza Forum, and the newly-created
"Högerns Makt" (Power of the Right). The latter is organized by Nordisk alternativhöger — the Swedish remnant of Spencer's and Friberg's AltRight Corporation — in partnership with other elements of the Swedish white nationalist milieu, such as the media outlet *Palaestra*, run by a former activist in the violent neo-Nazi group Nordic Resistance Movement. To date, Högerns Makt has been held three times. Only Scandza Forum, however, appears to attract the kind of international interest that Identitarian Ideas once did.

In May 2017, the Scandza Forum was organized for the first time in Stockholm. Its founder and chairman is Frodi Midjord, a native of the Faroe Islands and contributor to the American white supremacist publishing house and website *Counter-Currents*. The conference's main speaker was Greg Johnson, editor of *Counter-Currents*, along with Kevin MacDonald. On his blog, Johnson described Scandza as "a new metapolitical organization modeled on the London Forum". The term "metapolitical" refers to a "systematic approach to influencing politics indirectly by altering the culture." Scandza Forum was organized specifically with Johnson in mind by his European collaborators, chiefly Frodi Midjord, and signifies Johnson's stature in the European white nationalist movement.

In the months following the first Scandza Forum, animosity emerged publicly between Johnson and Friberg of Arktos Media; by some accounts, the spat began because Friberg was disinvited from the conference. This spawned an acrimonious rivalry between the two men and their respective supporters, as well as between Scandza Forum and Friberg's own conference, Identitarian Ideas (which as of June 2019 appears to have been discontinued).

In July 2017, Scandza Forum organized a second meeting, this time in Oslo, featuring Johnson and fellow American white supremacist Mike Peinovich, aka Mike Enoch. Palmgren's white supremacist media platform Red Ice was there to cover the event. The third Scandza Forum was held in Stockholm in April 2018. This time, Johnson was joined by fellow white supremacist influencers F. Roger Devlin and Jared Taylor, as well as Patrick Casey, leader of the alt right Identity
Evropa group (now known as American Identity Movement). Red Ice was again present.

The fourth Scandza Forum was held in Copenhagen in the same year, in September, and again featured Taylor alongside Johnson. Among the other speakers was Christoffer Dulny, the junior partner of Friberg and manager of Nordisk alternativhöger (Nordic Alternative Right), the Swedish hub for the alt right. Dulny’s presence at Scandza may have signaled a thaw between Johnson and Friberg, after a year of mutual antipathy. The fifth and most recent Scandza Forum was held in Stockholm on March 30, 2019. Once again, Jared Taylor was one of the planned marquee speakers, along with Johnson. Taylor, however, was prevented by Polish authorities from traveling into the European Union. He received sympathetic coverage in the Swedish white nationalist media outlets, Nya tider and Nya dagbladet. The latter has also translated and published Jared Taylor’s writing.

The next Scandza Forum, scheduled for October 2019 in Copenhagen, will feature Johnson and Tom Sunic along with British white supremacists Mark Collett and Colin Robertson. Rasmus Paludan, the leader of the Danish far-right political party Stram Kurs (Hard Line) is also listed as a speaker.

Awakening, a Finnish group run by Tuukka Kuru, a member of the far-right Finns Party Youth, and other far-right nationalists, held its first conference in April 2018. A number of American speakers were there, including Taylor, Devlin, Johnson and Ramsey. According to Finnish media, Kuru described the first Awakening conference as a "white existence" event. He added, "Our speakers are coming from the countries where demographics has changed greatly in last few decades... As nationalists with European background, we oppose this replacement of our people with foreign elements" They held a second Awakening conference in March 2019, which included Taylor and Johnson. As mentioned earlier, Taylor discovered that Polish authorities had banned him from Schengen zone; he returned to the U.S. While Taylor was unable to attend, MacDonald spoke at the conference.
Additional European conferences

In 2015, American white supremacists Jared Taylor and Sam Dickson addressed the International Russian Conservative Forum in St. Petersburg. The event featured Russian nationalists and representatives from extreme-right parties in Europe, including the Greece's neo-Nazi Golden Dawn, Germany's National Democratic Party and Italy's Forza Nuova.

American white supremacists have also regularly appeared at the London Forum, which has described itself as "a forum for Identitarian/Traditionalist/Alt-Right and other interesting speakers." In actuality, the London Forum is a discussion group and meeting point for like-minded far-right activists in the UK to express their anti-Semitism, racism and Holocaust denial. Since 2011, it has been run by Jeremy Bedford-Turner, who claims to be a former member of the British Army. In May 2018, Bedford-Turner was jailed for one year for inciting racial hatred after giving a speech in London in 2015 where he called for people to "free England from Jewish control." The London Forum has played host to Jared Taylor, Greg Johnson, Kevin MacDonald, Jason Reza Jorjani, Paul Ramsey, Mark Weber, a Holocaust denier who runs the Institute for Historical Review in California, Ken O'Keefe, an American anti-Semite and American neo-Nazi Matthew Heimbach (via video after he was banned from entering the UK). The group has not held any meetings since Bedford-Turner's trial and imprisonment.

The Forum model was admired by Johnson and led him to create of the New York Forum, the Northwest Forum and the Atlanta Forum.

In February 2019, Taylor and Johnson went to Vilnius, Lithuania, to attend a nationalist march and a youth conference sponsored by Kryptis, a Lithuania nationalist group. The event attracted nationalists from Poland, Germany, Ukraine, the UK and the US. The same month that Johnson went to Lithuania, he attended the Blue Awakening Youth Conference in Tallinn, Estonia.
These conferences in the U.S. and Europe have allowed white supremacists to build an international community that networks both locally and globally. Many of these conferences attract younger white nationalists, whose participation allows the white supremacist movement to grow.

**CONNECTIONS TO FAR-RIGHT POLITICAL PARTIES**

Many American white supremacists have publicly applauded the rise of far-right political parties in Europe. Some of these parties express white nationalist views and or, at the very least, are openly xenophobic, Islamophobic and anti-immigrant. Some, like Golden Dawn in Greece, the Freedom Party in Austria and the Workers Party in the Czech Republic have ties to neo-Nazis.

A number of American white supremacists have actually met with or spoken at events hosted by these parties. In October 2014, white supremacists, including Matthew Heimbach, a neo-Nazi and a former leader of the now-defunct Traditionalist Worker Party attended a meeting held by a Golden Dawn leader, Georgios Epitideios, in New York City. Supporters of Golden Dawn had previously created a U.S. chapter of the group, based in Queens, New York. In November 2014, Heimbach spoke at a rally of the Workers Party in the Czech Republic, where he claimed "Nationalists from Austria, Germany, Slovakia, Canada...came together as Europeans, to celebrate together and to plan for our future." He also reportedly met with members of the National Democratic Party or NPD, a neo-Nazi party, while in Germany, as well as members of Golden Dawn in Greece and the New Right in Romania. Heimbach claimed that he was interested in meeting with those parties to "help him learn how to make the white nationalist movement in the United States a 'real political force.'"

Jared Taylor has invited leaders of far-right European political parties to his American Renaissance conferences, including members of France's National Front (now called National Rally), Belgium's Vlaams Belang, the Conservative People's Party of Estonia and the UK Independence Party (UKIP). The white

A number of white supremacists also have connections to Azov, a Ukrainian extremist group and militia. The Azov Battalion was created in May 2014 to fight Russian-backed separatists in the east of the country. Many of the volunteers who joined the group had ties to the far-right hooligan movement in Eastern Europe. The group also has ties to neo-Nazis in Ukraine.

Investigative reports on Azov from Bellingcat and Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty point to the many ways Azov has reached out to like-minded American extremists. Those heading up outreach efforts include Denis Nikitin, a Russian/German neo-Nazi and founder of the White Rex white nationalist clothing label, who acts as an "unofficial ambassador" for Azov, and Olena Semenyaka, a spokesperson for the group who travels the world networking for the group. Semenyaka has been photographed with a Nazi flag.

Azov reportedly has connections to Atomwaffen (AWD), an American neo-Nazi group allegedly tied to five murders. Investigative reports from Bellingcat show that Azov was in touch with the late Andrew Oneschuk via the group's podcast. On the podcast, Oneschuk, who was killed in May 2017 by fellow AWD member Devon Arthur, talked about wanting to learn methods to attract young people to white nationalism. According to a report in Rolling Stone, Oneschuk tried to join Azov in 2015 but was stopped when his family intervened.

Bellingcat also reported on recent contacts between former members of the U.S. armed services and the National Corps, the political wing of Azov, which was allegedly trying to recruit internationally in order to "defend the white race." A recruiter from Azov reportedly appeared on the American white supremacist "Radio Wehrwolf" where he said that the National Corps wanted to help teach
combat skills to Americans who wanted to join Ukraine in their fight against Russia.208

Azov also has connections to individuals in the American white supremacist movement. In November 2017, Semenyaka and Nikitin went to the "Europe for the Future 2" conference in Warsaw, organized by Polish neo-Nazi group Stormtroopers, where they planned to speak along with Richard Spencer. Spencer, however, was barred from attending by the Polish government. American alt right figure Aspir Befreier spoke in his place.209 In addition, Semenyaka spoke at a February 2018 conference in Tallinn, Estonia, with Paul Ramsey210 and in March 2019 at the Scandza Forum in Sweden and at the Awakening conference in April in Finland with Greg Johnson.211 Johnson also visited Ukraine in October 2018 and attended events organized by the National Corps, where he spoke about wanting to emulate the Corps achievements.212

**Identitarian movement**

Another movement that fosters ties between American and European white supremacists is Identitarianism, a right-wing anti-globalist European movement that originated in the early 2000s in France and has since spread to other European countries. The Identitarian movement has some similarities with the American alt right movement — both attract young people who largely eschew outward signs of white supremacy and attempt to present themselves as part of the mainstream.

Alain De Benoist, the French philosopher, played a major role in popularizing the ideas behind Identitarianism. At their core, Identitarians are nativist nationalists who oppose non-white (and especially Muslim) immigration into Europe, as well as the continued existence of Jews and Roma within Europe. Though there are different strains of Identitarianism, most seek to change European countries into right-wing, nationalist ethno-states; most also share a Europeanist vision of a
Europe cleansed of "alien influences." Identitarians, particularly in France, are known for their activism, their online presence and their involvement in politics.

European Identitarianism has had an impact on American white supremacists. Richard Spencer, for example, has proclaimed himself an Identitarian, as has Patrick Casey of American Identity Movement (formerly Identity Evropa). In 2017, Identity Evropa distributed fliers advertising books published by Swedish company Arktos, which is considered a repository of Identitarian literature.

As noted earlier, Jared Taylor of American Renaissance has invited a number of people associated with the Identitarian movement in Europe to speak at conferences. Taylor traveled to Paris in March 2012 to speak at La France en Danger (France in Danger), an annual anti-immigration event organized by Bloc Identitaire and attended by 1000 people.

In 2017, American alt right figure Brittany Pettibone went to Europe with Canadian Lauren Southern to join the "Defend Europe" project, aimed at physically preventing migrants from entering Europe after traversing the Mediterranean. Martin Sellner, leader of Austria's Identitarian movement, headed up the project; he and Pettibone are married.

**American white supremacists touting nationalist governments**

In addition to identifying with the Identitarian movement, a number of American white supremacists have expressed admiration for nationalistic, authoritarian, anti-democratic leaders in Europe, particularly Victor Orban of Hungary and Vladimir Putin of Russia. Both men are perceived as heroes for saving and preserving white, Christian Europe. White supremacists have touted Orban for his virulently anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim views.

Some American white supremacists like John Morgan and Paul Ramsey admired Orban so much they moved to Hungary for a period of time. Michael Polignano, an editor at *Counter-Currents*, and Matt Forney have lived in Hungary or spent long
periods of time there. Morgan ran Arktos, the publishing company, out of Hungary for a number of years. In 2017, Paul Ramsey tweeted, "Orban is a hero of Western Civilization." Some white supremacists also like Orban's campaign against Jewish philanthropist George Soros, which plays into longstanding anti-Semitic tropes. Greg Johnson devotes an entire section on the Counter-Currents website to Orban's speeches, many of which rail against liberalism and promote Hungarian nationalism.

Putin is a hero to some American white supremacists. In a 2016 interview in the New York Times, neo-Nazi Matt Heimbach said, "Russia is our biggest inspiration. I see President Putin as the leader of the free world." Putin is also revered for his stances against globalism and organizations like NATO and the European Union.

According to a right-wing news source, the Russia Imperial Movement (RIM), an ultra-nationalist group in Russia, reportedly invited white supremacists connected to the 2017 Unite the Right rally to Russia for paramilitary training.

Reporters at Russia Today or RT, the English-language propaganda arm of the Russian government, have interviewed American white supremacists, including Richard Spencer. David Duke lived in Russia for a number of years and wrote a 2004 essay titled, "Is Russia the Key to White Survival?"

**ADDITIONAL WHITE SUPREMACIST INTERACTION**

Interaction between white supremacists in the U.S. and Europe can be seen in other developments. The Rise Above Movement (R.A.M.), a white supremacist group based in California, has formed ties with counterparts in Europe. In April 2018 R.A.M. members Robert Rundo, Ben Daley, Michael Miselis and Robert Smithson embarked on a "European tour" to "bridge the gap between the two nationalist scenes." They attended a neo-Nazi gathering in Ostriz, Germany, to celebrate Hitler's birthday. They went on to Ukraine, where Rundo met with Denis Nikitin and fought in an MMA bout, organized by Nikitin. They also met with members of Casa Pound, a fascist party in Italy.
Another American group, Atomwaffen Division (AWD), a violent neo-Nazi group, has inspired neo-Nazis in Europe to form their own versions of the group. For example, in 2018 and 2019, a German cell spread AWD propaganda in Berlin, Frankfurt am Main and Cologne.

In the UK, AWD influenced the creation of the Sonnenkrieg Division (SD), whose members had split from a British neo-Nazi group. According to a BBC investigation, hundreds of messages were posted on an online gaming server by neo-Nazi activists from Europe and members of Atomwaffen Division. The messages included posts about the creation of SD, which was described as "full on Universal Order" and "atomwaffen [sic] with less guns." One SD activist, using a pseudonym, allegedly discussed plans to travel to the U.S. to meet Atomwaffen members in person. Another reportedly posted images of himself wearing an Atomwaffen top near Parliament.

Brandon Russell, the co-founder of Atomwaffen, who was jailed for five years in Florida in 2018, after police found bomb-making materials in his apartment, allegedly came to the UK in 2015 and met with members of National Action and toured sites in London.

In December 2018, three people were arrested and two were subsequently charged with terror offenses as part of a police investigation into Sonnenkrieg Division. Oskar Dunn-Koczorowski pleaded guilty to encouraging terrorism using accounts on the social media site Gab. Michal Szewczuk admitted encouraging terrorism and possessing bomb-making instructions, documents describing how to conduct Islamist terror attacks and a "white resistance" manual.

The Feuerkrieg Division, modeled after Atomwaffen, has members located in countries including Estonia, Norway, Germany and Britain. The group, which began in early 2019, originally organized with Sonnenkrieg. Members have posted videos of themselves setting off homemade explosives in a forest.
Other groups are more interested in creating an online community. For example, the U.S.-based Women for Aryan Unity, a white supremacist group for women, has chapters in Europe. In the UK and Germany, Klan groups sometimes emerge but have been always small and short-lived. Other groups, like the League of the South (LOS), a white supremacist group that promotes Southern nationalism, try to attract foreign supporters. The "Russian outreach" section of the group's website is in the Russian language.

In 2015, American neo-Nazi Andrew Anglin was interviewed in a podcast run by the Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM). His statements about Jews and blacks were so extreme that NRM decided not to air the show. Instead Anglin posted it on his YouTube channel. Anglin's website, The Daily Stormer, has published more than 30 articles about the Nordic Resistance Movement, promoting the organization and introducing it to extremists in the U.S.

The white power music scene is one of the most important bonds between American and European white supremacists. American bands find audiences in Europe and vice versa. International racist skinhead organizations like the Hammerskins and Blood and Honour hold events in Europe and the U.S. For years, Hammerskins from Sweden, Switzerland and Germany have attended events put on by their American counterparts. On June 22, 2019, six white power bands, including Blue Eyed Devils, an American band based in Delaware, played a "Fortress Europe" concert in Kiev, Ukraine. The concert was organized by Arseniy Bilodub (née Klimachev), a Ukrainian neo-Nazi, who owns a far-right fashion label Svastone and leads one of the bands playing: Sokyra Peruna ("Perun's Ax" in Ukrainian). These types of events attract hundreds of neo-Nazis from all over Europe, who network with each other and spread their hateful views via the music and its subculture.

White supremacists also communicate with each other on a regular basis via social media sites like Facebook, Twitter, Gab, and VK, a Russian site. The internet allows them to influence and inspire each other on a daily basis as they, network...
and plan events. Despite attempts by some social media companies to de-platform white supremacists, they continue to find alternative sites that allow them to share their racist, anti-Semitic and xenophobic views.\textsuperscript{229}

**CONCLUSION**

We are witnessing the internationalization of the white supremacist movement. European and American adherents are learning from each other, supporting each other and reaching new audiences. They feel empowered and emboldened because they perceive that they are influencing the political climate and reaching disaffected whites.

Global access to white supremacist ideology, and its easy dissemination across borders via various social media platforms, means many of the ideas promoted by the white supremacist movement — curtailing of non-white immigration, attacks on globalization and the accompanying conspiracies about elitist globalists — are increasingly part of mainstream political and social rhetoric.

Exposing and understanding the connections among white supremacists and the paths by which they spread their hate are the first steps toward countering them. This report lays that groundwork, but continued vigilance and urgent action are necessary. Political leaders, law enforcement, social media companies, and educators have important roles to play and responsibilities to uphold.

**POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

In the U.S. and around the world, legislators and politicians, the tech industry and leaders of civil society all have a role to play in countering the rise of international white supremacy and the damage it inflicts on our communities.

**Speak out against White Supremacy and all forms of hate:** Leaders must call out bigotry \textit{at every opportunity}. The right to free speech is a core value, but the promotion of hate should be vehemently rejected.
Improve procedure at law enforcement agencies for responding to and reporting hate crimes of all kinds: Data drives policy. We cannot address a problem if we are not effectively tracking and measuring it.

- Governments must allocate resources to address the increased threat of white supremacy – including legislation and executive action to increase coordination, accountability and transparency in understanding, detecting, deterring and investigating acts of white supremacy-inspired terrorism and criminal acts.

- Every nation should enact comprehensive, inclusive hate crime laws. Effective responses to anti-Semitic incidents and hate violence by public officials and law enforcement authorities can play an essential role in deterring and preventing these crimes.

- We must encourage victims and bystanders to report all anti-Semitic incidents and vandalism. If we expect law enforcement officials and community members to take these incidents seriously, we must take them seriously.

In addition, political leaders at all levels of government should take steps to ensure that it is efficient and safe for all victims of hate crimes to contact the police. If marginalized or targeted community members including immigrants, and people who are perceived to be immigrants, people with disabilities, LGBTQ community members, Muslims and people with limited language proficiency cannot report, or do not feel safe reporting crimes, law enforcement cannot effectively address these crimes, and this jeopardizes the safety of all.

**Responsibility of Technology Companies to Address Online White Supremacy**

**Terms of Service:** Every social media and online game platform must have clear terms of service that address hateful content and harassing behavior, and clearly define consequences for violations. These policies should state that the platform will not tolerate hateful content or behavior on the basis of protected characteristics. They should prohibit abusive tactics such as harassment, doxing
and swatting. Platforms should also note what the process of appeal is for users who feel their content was flagged as hateful or abusive in error.

**Responsibility and Accountability:** Social media and online game platforms should assume greater responsibility to enforce their policies and to do so accurately at scale. They should improve the complaint process so that it provides a more consistent and speedy resolution for targets. They should lessen the burden of the complaint process for users, and instead proactively, swiftly, and continuously addressing hateful content using a mix of artificial intelligence and humans who are fluent in the relevant language and knowledgeable in the social and cultural context of the relevant community.

Additionally, given the prevalence of online hate and harassment, platforms should offer far more services and tools for individuals facing or fearing online attack. They should provide greater filtering options that allow individuals to decide for themselves how much they want to see likely hateful comments. They should consider the experience of individuals who are being harassed in a coordinated way, and be able to provide aid to these individuals in meaningful ways. They should allow users to speak to a person as part of the complaint process in certain, clearly defined cases. They should provide user-friendly tools to help targets preserve evidence and report problems to law enforcement and companies.

**Governance and Transparency:** Perhaps most importantly, social media and online game platforms should adopt robust governance. This should include regularly scheduled external, independent audits so that the public knows the extent of hate and harassment on a given platform. Audits should also allow the public to verify that the company followed through on its stated actions and assess the effectiveness of company efforts over time. Companies should provide information from the audit and elsewhere through more robust transparency reports. Finally, companies should create independent groups of experts from
relevant stakeholders, including civil society, academia and journalism, to help provide guidance and oversight of platform policies.

**FOOTNOTES**

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From email from Jean Yves Camus 6-6-19


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