

Congressional Testimony

Nicholas Fuentes, the Groypers, and January 6, 2021

Oren Segal, Marilyn Mayo, and Morgan Moon, ADL Center on Extremism

ADL (Anti-Defamation League)

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL

Washington, DC

March 31, 2022



*Working to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure
Justice and fair treatment to all since 1913*

INTRODUCTION

Since 1913, the mission of ADL (the Anti-Defamation League) has been to “stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all.” For decades, one of the most important ways in which ADL has fought against bigotry and antisemitism has been by investigating extremist threats across the ideological spectrum, including white supremacists and other far-right violent extremists, producing research to inform the public of the scope of the threat, and working with law enforcement, educators, the tech industry and elected leaders to promote best practices that can effectively address and counter these threats.

As ADL has said time and time again, extremists must be taken at their word. Anyone who has been paying attention to extremist activity across the country, or to the chorus of disinformation and hatred rampant across right-wing media -- and a great deal of social media more generally -- will tell you that what happened at the U.S. Capitol on January 6th was in some ways the most predictable outbreak of political violence in American history.

But the insurrectionists at the Capitol are by no means our nation’s only concern when it comes to domestic extremism. Without a doubt, **right-wing extremist violence is currently the greatest threat to everyone in this country.** From Charleston to Charlottesville to Pittsburgh, to Poway and El Paso, we have seen the deadly consequences of white supremacist extremism play out all over this country. We cannot afford to minimize this threat. We need a bipartisan “whole of government approach” – indeed, a “whole of society” approach – to counter it, and the work must start today.

This written testimony, provided to the Select Committee for their investigation, will explore a facet of one of the extremist movements present at the United States Capitol on January 6, 2021, the Groyper led by Nick Fuentes. The testimony will further demonstrate how the Groyper movement’s involvement in the Capitol insurrection is part of a broader trend of right-wing extremist movements who attempt to justify their hate under the guise of “political activism.” Unless thoughtful, coordinated, and comprehensive action is taken by policymakers and practitioners, Nick Fuentes and the Groypers—and individuals, groups, and movements sympathetic to them—will continue to normalize and mainstream hateful ideology antithetical to our democratic society.

January 6, 2021

On Wednesday, January 6, 2021, pro-Trump extremists, including a broad coalition of right-wing extremists, descended on Washington, D.C., and [stormed the U.S. Capitol](#) in an extraordinary display of political violence. That violence, aimed at overturning a valid and legitimate presidential election and explicitly targeting both Democratic and Republican officeholders with threats of physical violence as they performed their duties that day, left 150 officers injured, including some severely, and resulted in 5 deaths. That Wednesday afternoon, the Capitol was under siege by those who had taken over the building, photographing themselves in the House chamber and trapping members of Congress and staffers. The President’s tweets and those of many of his supporters incited this violence, which included the death of a pro-Trump extremist who was shot inside the Capitol.

As the chaos unfolded, President Trump tweeted his support for the rioters: “These are the things and events that happen when a sacred landslide election victory is so unceremoniously & viciously stripped away from great patriots who have been badly & unfairly treated for so long. Go home with love & in peace. Remember this day forever!” The tweet was later deleted by Twitter, and the President’s account was permanently suspended.

Earlier in the day, D.C. Metropolitan Police discovered and successfully detonated [two homemade](#) bombs which were placed near the buildings housing the offices of the Democratic and Republican National Committees.

Following weeks of increasingly incendiary online commentary, the far-right, violence-prone [Proud Boys](#) were in D.C. en masse Tuesday night and Wednesday, shouting obscenities directed at Antifa, Black Lives Matter, and the police. Multiple fights involving members have been captured on video. On Wednesday afternoon, Proud Boys' "Uncensored" Telegram channel showed members breaching security at the U.S. Capitol and engaging in fistfights with Capitol Police.

Rising Tensions

One year before the [January 6, 2021 siege](#) on the U.S. Capitol building, more than 20,000 mostly armed people gathered 97 miles away outside the Virginia State Capitol in Richmond for the Virginia Citizen Defense League's (VCDL) [Lobby Day](#). The event held on January 20, 2020, allowed protesters to express their anger over newly-elected Virginia Democrats' reported plans to pursue stricter gun control legislation. Celebrated at the time for being a peaceful event, one year later the 2020 Lobby Day is better understood as a harbinger of what was to come — including the January 6, 2021 assault on the U.S. Capitol.

[As ADL's Center on Extremism analysts noted at the time](#), the Richmond rally provided a prototype for a violent year, culminating in the ongoing efforts to intimidate lawmakers into overriding the results of an election. Like so many of the extremist-related events of 2020, Lobby Day was preceded by supporters spreading conspiracies designed to sow anger and expressing violent rhetoric against their perceived enemies. It was attended by armed protesters who referred to elected officials as tyrants and made threats against them. It created a space for extremists and non-extremists to mix and demonstrated the right's current playbook and response to violence: portraying themselves as victims.

Nick Fuentes and the Groyper: Background

Nicholas Fuentes is a white supremacist leader and organizer and podcaster who seeks to forge a white nationalist alternative to the mainstream GOP.

Fuentes first gained widespread notoriety in 2017 when he left Boston University after he reported receiving "threats" following his [attendance at the](#) white supremacist "[Unite the Right](#)" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.

He has since become a prominent white supremacist pundit and organizer. In 2017, Fuentes began hosting his Livestream show "America First with Nicholas J. Fuentes," which attracted a cult-like following. Fuentes refers to these supporters as "Groypers" or the "[Groyper Army](#)," who see their bigoted views as necessary to preserve white, European-American identity and culture. They believe that the mainstream conservative movement is just as responsible as liberals and the left for destroying white America and that Groypers are the true future of the conservative movement.

Fuentes seeks to carve out a space that deliberately and publicly challenges the mainstream conservative movement while doubling down on themes central to the white supremacist movement. Fuentes and his America First adherents vocally support the closure of the U.S. borders to immigrants, while opposing "liberal" values such as feminism and LGBTQ+ rights. Fuentes views these societal changes as the "bastardized Jewish subversion of the American creed. The Founders never intended for America to be a refugee camp for nonwhite people." He often uses his platform to further conspiracy theories about the impending destruction of the white race, also known as "white genocide." In one [tweet](#), Fuentes stated,

“Our civilization is being dismantled, our people are being genocided [sic], and conservatives can’t think past what will play well with liberal media in the next election.”

His podcast, “America First,” was initially inspired by the speeches and platform of former President Donald Trump. However, Fuentes later adopted the term for his purposes after distancing himself from the Republican Party platform to attract young conservatives. Fuentes and his followers angrily objected to the Trump Administration’s embrace of Israel, as well as mainstream conservatives’ support for “globalism,” (a right-wing slur/theory about a cabal of elites who are controlling the world), “endless wars” and other issues they felt ran counter to a truly “America First” agenda.

To further distance himself from the mainstream GOP, Fuentes founded the America First Political Action Conference (AFPAC) in 2020. AFPAC ostensibly serves as a counterweight to the annual CPAC event held at the same time, which is largely attended by mainstream conservative activists and elected officials. In 2021, AFPAC featured a variety of far-right pundits, including [Michelle Malkin](#) and [Steve King](#), along with white supremacists like Vincent James Foxx of the Red Elephant. Speakers expressed contempt for the Republican Party, describing members as sell-outs willing to betray their constituents.

Ideology

Nick Fuentes and the Groyperers often present themselves as Christian conservatives. In actuality, the so-called “[Groyper Army](#)” (the term “Groyper” is explained below) is made up of white supremacists and bigots who present their ideology in more nuanced terminology than other groups in the white supremacist sphere. While the Groyperers’ views align with those held by the white supremacist [alt-right](#), Groyperers attempt to normalize their ideology by aligning themselves with “Christianity” and “traditional” values championed by the church, including marriage and family.

Fuentes and his followers [chose the “Groyper” meme](#) to represent their ideology sometime in 2019. The meme emerged online in 2017, showing up on various platforms including the anonymous imageboard 4chan. This was during the height of [Pepe the Frog’s](#) popularity among the alt-right, and “Groyper” was a variation of Pepe the Frog, depicting the character resting his chin on interlinked hands. The Groyper meme was quickly adopted by people connected with the alt-right, who added Groyper-related images to their Twitter handles and profile pictures.

Like many other right-wing extremists, Fuentes often “covers” his bigoted beliefs in sarcasm and ironic humor; he uses cartoonish memes and “just joking” banter, all while spreading white supremacist propaganda. Fuentes often uses terms like “culture” as substitutes for more divisive terms such as “race,” and promotes “American values” as a code for white culture and identity. Fuentes largely avoids explicitly white supremacist language, instead of focusing on “anti-establishment” thinking targeting the GOP, mainstream media, and “leftists.” This strategy, along with the adoption of mainstream meme culture like [Pepe the Frog](#), allows the America First movement to attract younger, mainstream conservatives who are then exposed to the group’s extremist ideology.

The Groyperers also identify themselves as “American nationalists” who are part of the “America First” movement. To the Groyperers, “America First” means that the U.S. should close its borders, bar immigrants, oppose globalism and promote “traditional” values like Christianity and oppose “liberal” values such as feminism and LGBTQ+ rights.

Fuentes uses various current events, like the [protests surrounding the murder of George Floyd](#) or the Covid pandemic as opportunities to promote his ideology, recruit followers and raise funds.

Fuentes’ Evolution from Conservative to White Supremacist

Fuentes launched his “America First” podcast on Right Side Broadcasting Network (RSBN) in February 2017, when he was a student at Boston University. He used the show to promote right-wing views in opposition to immigration and multiculturalism. In April 2017, [after an anti-Muslim tirade](#) on his show, he talked about killing the “globalists” at CNN and said that he wants “people that run CNN to be arrested and deported or hanged....”

That same year, Fuentes began to align himself more closely with white supremacists. In August 2017, Fuentes [attended](#) the white supremacist [Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville](#), which erupted into violence after white supremacists and counter-protesters clashed, and Heather Heyer was killed.

In April 2018, Fuentes again openly associated with white supremacists; he was a speaker at the annual [American Renaissance](#) conference hosted by white supremacist [Jared Taylor](#). Fuentes was still promoting himself as a conservative and was described in the announcement for the conference as having been “very active in coordinating volunteers for the Trump campaign.”

In the fall of 2019, supporters of Fuentes, who referred to themselves as the [“Groyper Army,”](#) began showing up at events hosted by [Turning Point USA](#) (TPUSA), a conservative student organization, and disrupting the speakers by asking controversial and provocative questions about issues such as white demographics, immigration, and the LGBTQ community.

In December 2019, Fuentes and fellow white supremacist, [Patrick Casey](#) hosted a “Groyper Leadership Summit” in Florida. Casey, who also attended the Unite the Right rally in 2017, was head of the white supremacist [American Identity Movement](#), which is now defunct. He focused his remarks on changing demographics in the U.S. and the “downsides to diversity.” The real goal of the Groypers was to infuse white nationalism into the conservative movement.

As mentioned earlier, Fuentes [founded the America First Political Action Conference \(AFPAC\)](#) in 2020 in an effort to further distance himself from the mainstream GOP. AFPAC serves as a counterweight to the annual CPAC event held at the same time which is largely attended by mainstream conservative activists and elected officials. The testimony below will discuss AFPAC in more detail.

The America First Foundation (AFF), a 501(c)(4), has a self-described mission to “advocate for conservative values based on principles of American Nationalism, Christianity, and Traditionalism.” Fuentes also uses the America First Foundation to [solicit donations](#). On the America First Foundation website, donations range from \$10-to 500 urging those to support “the movement to stand up for the American people and reclaim our nation from the globalist rule. Your donations will go a long way toward assisting our efforts.” ADL found that while AFF has yet to file its 990 forms for 2021, the IRS has [granted the group](#) 501(c)(4) status, exempting the group from federal income tax.

The Groypers’ Role on January 6, 2021

Fuentes and other Groypers [were present](#) at the Capitol on January 6, about which Fuentes said, “This is awesome...we have been beaten up and betrayed and spit on and stepped on for decades. And to see the tables turned for once was a little bit refreshing.” Fuentes was seen that day giving a speech near the Capitol encouraging his followers to “keep moving towards the Capitol – it appears we are taking the Capitol back!” While Fuentes does not appear to have physically entered the Capitol building, individuals wearing America First merchandise appeared in [videos](#) and [images](#) inside the building.



Nicholas J. Fuentes @NickJFuentes · Dec 19

I will return to Washington DC to rally for President Trump on January 6th!



74

310

2.9K



December 19, 2020, a tweet from Nicholas Fuentes

Groyper Activity in the Lead-up to January 6

The events of January 6 and the “Stop the Steal” precursor rallies have emboldened white nationalists like Fuentes, who believe they have a chance of radicalizing the conservative movement and inspiring it to move further to the right and embrace white nationalism.

Fuentes played a leadership role in the “Stop the Steal” protests that preceded the January 6 events -- and in promoting the idea that Trump won the 2020 election.

After Trump lost the November 2020 election, Fuentes became a leader and organizer of the “Stop the Steal” protests, ostensibly seeing the protests as an opportunity to exploit the anger and confusion felt by Trump supporters. Fuentes spoke at “Stop the Steal” protests in Michigan, Wisconsin, Arizona, and Washington, DC. On November 11, 2020, at a lightly attended “Stop the Steal” rally at the state capitol in Lansing, Michigan, during his live-streamed remarks, Fuentes [referenced the Synagogue of Satan](#), an antisemitic term for Jews. “We have the president of the United States standing up to the banks, standing up to the mainstream media, standing up the big tax and the Democrats and the Synagogue of Satan,” Fuentes said. “They want to see our kids raped and brainwashed. And they think it’s funny. And when have we ever had a president like that? And will we ever get a president like that again?”

The Groyper’s involvement in the “Stop the Steal” protests appear to have inspired them to come to D.C. for the pro-Trump rally on January 6. In the days leading up to January 6, Fuentes continued to promote the myth of election fraud.

- On January 4, 2021, Fuentes [posted a video](#) on DLive tacitly urging followers [to kill state legislators](#), before he seemed to backpedal: “What can you and I do to state legislators besides kill them? Although I’m not advising that, I mean, what else are you going to do?”

- On January 2, 2021, Fuentes announced that he would attend the "Rally to Save America" at noon on Tuesday, January 5, in Washington, D.C.'s Freedom Plaza. The event featured longtime Trump ally [Roger Stone](#).
- On December 12, 2020, [multiple pro-Trump demonstrations took place in Washington, DC](#), including one that was organized by white supremacists and another that included extremist speakers on their dais. The largest event of the day was a prayer rally known as the "[Jericho March](#)," where speakers called for a Trump victory and for the "walls of corruption and election fraud to fall down." The name of the march refers to the city of Jericho, whose conquest is described in the Bible. Although the Jericho March included many mainstream speakers, among them former White House Security Advisor [Michael Flynn](#) and My Pillow CEO [Michael Lindell](#), it also featured speeches by anti-government conspiracy theorist Alex Jones, as well as [Stewart Rhodes](#), who founded the right-wing extremist group [Oath Keepers](#), [QAnon](#) and [Three Percenter](#) flags and signage were in evidence at the Jericho March.

A few blocks away from the Jericho March, [Nick Fuentes, along with his Groyper followers](#), held their own "Stop the Steal" rally. A sizeable crowd gathered around as Fuentes and others spoke about destroying the GOP for not supporting Trump and complaining about an alleged rigged election. White supremacist Red Elephants Founder [Vincent James](#) was present, [as were Groypers](#) including Steven Franssen, Patrick Casey, Jake Lloyd, Scott Greer, and Jayden McNeil.

Nick Fuentes reminded the crowd: "We promised at the first Million Maga March that if the GOP did not do everything in their power to keep Trump in office, [then we would destroy the GOP](#)... We are done making promises. It has to happen now. We are going to destroy the GOP." The crowd erupted in the chant, "destroy the GOP."

- On November 19, 2020, Fuentes spoke at the Georgia State Capitol along with conspiracy theorist [Alex Jones](#), [Proud Boys](#) leader [Enrique Tarrio](#), and right-wing agitator [Ali Alexander](#). Fuentes said, "Often we have been screwed over and betrayed and insulted by the Republican establishment...my mission will be to destroy the Republican party because I've had enough... they are good for nothing... and we will replace them with a party called America First." During the protest, Fuentes and Jones drove down Atlanta streets in an armored InfoWars vehicle, addressing the crowd via a microphone.



american nationalist @NationalistTV · 35m

...

Nick Fuentes and Alex Jones at the Georgia State Capitol Building



19

89

695

↑

<https://twitter.com/NationalistTV/status/1329129638141030405?s=20>

- Fuentes, accompanied by members of the Groyper Army, took part in the [Million Maga March](#) in Washington, DC, on November 14, 2020, waving their group's flag alongside Trump 2020 flags. Fuentes railed against Republican legislators and Fox News, adding. "...we are not going to live as captives. This is our Republican party. This is our country. USA!"

Fuentes was able to exploit the "Stop the Steal" protests occurring across the country to voice his own views. For example, Fuentes' focus on Trump voters being disenfranchised meshes with his view that white people in general are being disenfranchised because America is being "overrun" by nonwhite immigrants and the country is run by globalist elites. In the lead-up to January 6, Fuentes was able to take on a leadership role in the protests, which gave him wider recognition and appeal, especially to Trump supporters who were angry at the election results. During his speeches, he aligned himself with the far-right wing of the GOP, which was part of a broader GOP contingent promoting election fraud.

Impact of Jan 6 on the Groyper Movement

Fuentes [claims](#) that in the wake of January 6, 2021, his bank account has been frozen, he has been placed on the federal no-fly list, and has been banned from Airbnb, Facebook, and Instagram. Fuentes has used these new bans, along with being repeatedly suspended from other social media platforms for violating terms of policy with his bigoted rhetoric and imagery, to label himself as "cancelled" and to increase his appeal among right-pundits and even elected officials.

Fuentes now regularly labels himself as "the most censored man alive" and [argues](#) that his deplatforming proves that he "challenges the status quo of the system" by "defending American identity and protesting mass migration," a system he claims has been corrupted by mainstream conservatives and the left. This rhetoric goes a step beyond other victimization narratives, as it successfully positions him as a leader in the alt-right space because of de-platforming.

On October 12, 2021, Fuentes released a new live-streaming platform called [Cozy.tv](#), a new effort for Groyper adherents to release extreme content on a platform shielded from deplatforming that the group has experienced on Twitter, YouTube, and other mainstream platforms. Fuentes described the platform as “the only site on the internet where live-streamers can stream without being censored...This is the only place you can truly say is censorship proof, independent, and works.” Various white supremacists and self-identified Groypers moved to Cozy.tv in the following months, and the site now hosts 29 channels, including Tim Gionet (aka Baked Alaska), Vicent [James of The Red Elephants](#), [Alex Jones of Info Wars](#), and [Tyler Russell of Canada First](#). The platform allows for livestreaming, video replays, live chats, donations, and out-linking to external platforms and websites. Users can see viewership and donation stats live during each livestream. For example, Groyper Dalton Clodfelter’s [stream](#) earned \$2,558.25 in donations on February 21, 2022. Fuentes also solicits viewers to send Stream Payments of \$10 a month to gain access to Cozy.tv’s full video archive.

Fuentes has explicitly celebrated his role in the January 6, calling the insurrection “awesome.” Fuentes stated, “This is awesome...we have been beaten up and betrayed and spit on and stepped on for decades. And to see the table turned for once was a bit refreshing.” On January 6, 2022, he stated that January 6 should be seen as a holiday, “This is a holiday. This is a historic moment for us. We should celebrate that it happened, absolutely. And I said this on Telegram late last night, after midnight so it was technically January 6, I don’t regret a thing about my actions on January 6, and I don’t regret ... anything that I did leading up to it in the three months prior, since Nov. 3, 2020.”



Groypers and the Monetization of January 6th

Fuentes has continued to receive substantial donations from his involvement on January 6. Fuentes, prior to his deplatforming, streamed heavily on DLive, a streaming platform that allows streamers to earn money from subscriptions and donations from viewers. On January 4, 2021, Fuentes [garnered](#) \$2,323.23 in donations, and on January 7, 2021, \$2,831.64 through DLive donations, both livestreams endorsed the insurrection.

On December 8, 2021, a donor sent 28.15 BTC – approximately \$522,000 at the time of transfer – to 22 separate addresses, many of which belonged to far-right activists. [Nick Fuentes received 13.5 BTC](#) – approximately \$250,000 at the time of transfer – making him the largest beneficiary of the donation. This donation was by far the largest cryptocurrency donation that Fuentes ever received.

Previously, according to a [Chainalysis financial report](#), the most Fuentes ever received in a single month was \$2,707 worth of Bitcoin. The donation allegedly came from a French computer programmer and early investor in Bitcoin.

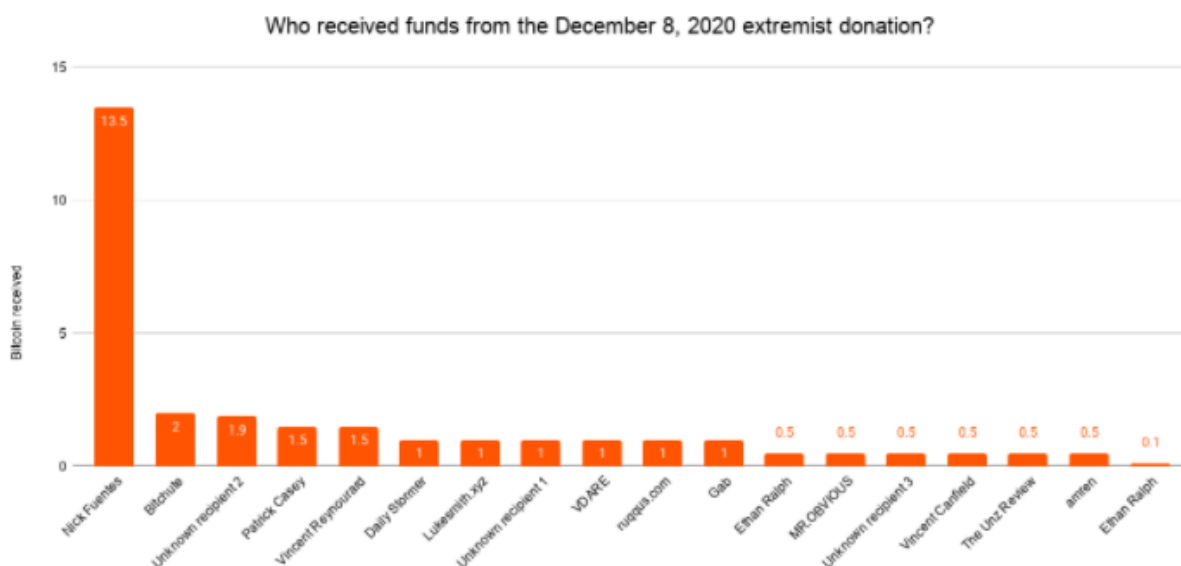


Image Source: [Chainalysis](#)

Fuentes asserted that shortly after the January 6 insurrection his bank account was suddenly drained, [stating](#), “I went through my transaction history and I saw a legal order that subtracted my entire bank account. Both my credit cards and my entire checking account were frozen.” Fuentes says that both his checking accounts and credit cards were also frozen and [states](#) that the Department of Justice placed the freeze on all his cash and his bank accounts, “They can take your money, they don’t need a reason and they can keep it as long as they want and don’t have to give it back.” He used his financial freezes to further conspiracies regarding globalist control of the federal government threatening the American rights and property of those who are “an inconvenience or a problem to powerful people.” In a January 26, 2021, Telegram post, Fuentes [stated](#), “Banned from all banks, credit cards, air travel, social media...assets frozen, investigated, surveilled, and persecuted by the government...and for what? Because I keep it real.”

The screenshot displays a bank account summary and a list of transactions. The summary at the top shows an available balance of \$0.00, deposits of \$26,898.42, and withdrawals of \$510,491.20. Below this, there are tabs for Statements, Paperless, Transfer money, and More... The transactions list is filtered to 'All transactions' and shows a table with columns for Date, Description, Type, Amount, and Balance. A transaction on Jan 26, 2021, for 'LEGAL ORDER: 1772521991' is highlighted with a red border, showing a debit of \$483,592.78, which brought the balance to \$0.00.

Date	Description	Type	Amount	Balance
Jan 26, 2021	LEGAL ORDER: 1772521991	DEBIT	-\$483,592.78	\$0.00
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J002 transaction# 11073647018 02/14	Account transfer	-\$7.00	\$483,592.78
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J076 transaction# 11073607380 02/14	Account transfer	-\$4.00	\$483,596.78
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J002 transaction# 11073607380 02/14	Account transfer	-\$5.00	\$483,601.78
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J007 transaction# 11073607321 02/14	Account transfer	-\$7.00	\$483,608.78
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J002 transaction# 11073608071 02/14	Account transfer	-\$1.00	\$483,615.78
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J002 transaction# 11073608071 02/14	Account transfer	-\$2.00	\$483,617.78
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J002 transaction# 11056221407 02/11	Account transfer	-\$10.00	\$483,616.78
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J002 transaction# 11056217162 02/11	Account transfer	-\$40.00	\$483,626.78
Jan 25, 2021	Online Transfer to CASH... J076 transaction# 11056212068 02/11	Account	-\$100.00	\$483,636.78

Image Caption: Screenshot Fuentes [posted](#) showing a legal order draining \$483,592.78 from his bank account on January 26, 2021.

Fuentes, Groypers, and the AFPAC Conference

The recent rightward lurch within certain strains of American conservatism helped Fuentes and the Groypers when they began holding [America First Political Action Conferences \(AFPAC\)](#).

This event attracts a young, activist-heavy crowd who see themselves as the new vanguard of the conservative movement. They openly embrace white nationalist views at these conferences. Yet, the conferences have featured numerous elected officials in the past two years as speakers, including Rep. Paul Gosar (R-AZ), Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-GA), Wendy Rogers, a far-right Arizona State Senator, and Steve King, a former Congressman from Iowa.

The line between AFPAC and CPAC (Conservative Political Action Committee) has become blurred. Rep. Greene spoke at both events in 2022 and although some members of her party condemned her appearance at AFPAC, she has suffered no censure or formal political consequences. [Greene](#) and [Rogers](#) also defended their appearances at AFPAC in social media posts, which further emboldens Fuentes.

At the [AFPAC III conference](#) in Orlando on February 25, 2022, Fuentes celebrated and praised the January 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol, stating, “2021 began with the historic Patriot Day, as I call it.” He went on to state that it was one of the proudest days of his life: “Just in case they are listening, this is for the FBI, the CIA...I’ll reiterate it just for you. January 6 was awesome...I was proud to be an American on January 6... It was nice to see the people occupy the Capitol for once.”

Fuentes ended on an aggressive note, stating, “To the people that have thrown out and disrupted our country. We are coming for you. Your days in power are numbered. You think you can replace us? You

are wrong. We will replace you!... We are willing, ultimately, to die for our cause...And I don't say that glibly, I am willing to die for this cause." He added, "Do you want to know our secret? Our secret sauce? It is these young white men."

Groyppers on Race, White Supremacy, and the Great Replacement

Fuentes and the Groyppers are motivated by the desire to preserve what they refer to as white Christian America. Fuentes often pulls on themes prevalent in the white supremacist [Great Replacement Theory](#), or what Fuentes calls "Great Replacement REALITY." This idea focuses on the belief that native white Europeans are being replaced in their own countries by non-white immigrants from Africa and the Middle East, with the end result being the extinction of the white race. Fuentes [tweeted](#) in June, "If you are a White male zoomer, remember that the people in power hate you and your unborn children and they will try to genocide you in your lifetime."

Groyppers believe they are working to defend against demographic and cultural changes that are destroying the "true America"—a white, Christian nation. They claim not to be racist or antisemitic and see their bigoted views as "normal" and necessary to preserve white, European-American identity and culture, however, some members have expressed racist and antisemitic views on multiple occasions. They believe their views are shared by a majority of white people.

One of the speakers at the February 2022 [AFPAC III conference](#), white supremacist Vincent James, also referenced [Great Replacement](#) tropes in his speech, asserting that the American people are being replaced by those who advocate for the deconstruction of "whiteness" and wish to "dismantle the very culture that made this country the most prosperous on this planet." He said, "You shouldn't be mad about how they are defining your culture. You should be furious about the fact they are trying to replace it." He also referred to "anti-white propaganda" as a "declaration of war."

Groyppers' Use of Social Media Platforms

Fuentes has used his social media accounts to promote election conspiracies and "Stop the Steal" events. Fuentes served as an organizer and speaker at many "Stop the Steal" protests leading up to January 6, including protests in Michigan, Georgia, Wisconsin, Arizona, and Washington, D.C. On November 8, 2020, Fuentes urged "Midwest Groyppers" to attend the Wisconsin and Michigan "Stop the Steal" rallies, [stating](#), "GROYPERS ARE GOING TO STOP THIS COUP!"



Nicholas J. Fuentes ✓
@NickJFuentes

...

HUGE Protest today at 11am at the US Supreme Court!
We DEMAND that SCOTUS take up a case and intervene
in this fraudulent election!

5:07 AM · Dec 12, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone



Nicholas J. Fuentes ✓ @NickJFuentes · 4h

...

I will be in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania this Saturday at the State Capitol Building at 12pm Noon to DEMAND that the State Legislature send their electors to vote for Trump!

Image Caption: Fuentes promoting Stop the Steal events around the United States.

As the Million MAGA March approached, Fuentes promoted the event frequently on his platforms, urging his followers to attend, calling the event, “MAGA NIGHT AT THE WHITE HOUSE.” One post on Fuentes’ Twitter garnered 2.7K likes and, in a similar vein, the Million Maga March retweeted a video of Fuentes speech from the rally, resulting in 27K retweets and 8K likes.

At the D.C. rally, on November 14, 2020, Fuentes rallied up the crowd, stating, “...We are not going to live as captives. This is our Republican party. This is our country. USA.” and “If there is anything that the Grand Old Party is good at, it is quarantining and ultimately silencing the opinions of patriotic European-American people. It is evident to us that the patriotic true Americans in the GOP have to leave the Republican Party plantation...When Trump is eventually gone, whether that be in a few months or four years, there will be no place for your point of view in the Republican Party...As long as we exist, the American Freedom Party will always be the patriot’s party and will be ready to defend White American’s interest by any means available to us. The more we grow, the more we can defend, and there is definitely a place for you.”



On November 23, 2020, Fuentes tweeted, “The political establishment is TERRIFIED that Trump supporters will mutiny against the Republican Party, and they should be. The GOP has presided over the destruction of America for years. We don’t want any more useless, lying politicians and political games, WE WANT TRUMP!” Fuentes announced on January 2, 2021, that he would be attending the “Rally to Save America.”

In the days leading up to January 6, Fuentes and the Groypers continued to promote the myth of election fraud, Fuentes tweeting, “If Trump gets cheated here, it ought to be the primary directive of Trump supporters nationwide to PUNISH every single Republican officeholder who allowed this screw job to happen in 2022 and 2024. Make lists. Burn the whole thing down.”

On January 4, 2021, Fuentes posted a video on DLive tacitly [urging followers](#) to kill state legislators, before reversing himself, “What can you and I do to state legislators?” he asked, “Besides kill them. Although, I’m not advising that, I mean, what else are you going to do?”

Conclusion

Nick Fuentes and the Groypers represent a growing strain of right-wing extremism: white supremacists who couch their hateful, bigoted messaging in the language of “political activism.” By positioning themselves as iconoclasts who are challenging the GOP establishment, the Groypers are making the case to young, disaffected white people (largely men) that white supremacist ideals are not only acceptable but achievable.

There is a significant risk that as Fuentes and his followers gain traction among Republican candidates and office-holders, their racism will become normalized – and further metabolized into the “mainstream” conservative ecosystem.