

European Ethno-Nationalist and White Supremacy Groups

Key Findings

- European far-right ethno-nationalist groups have cast immigrants as a scapegoat for economic hardship faced by young Europeans. Rather than promote overt white supremacy, these groups denigrate minorities—particularly Muslim immigrants—as detrimental to European culture.
- Far-right political parties like Germany’s Alternative für Deutschland and Italy’s Lega Nord have been able to generate substantial popular support by promising to defend their respective countries against the cultural attacks of immigrants and foreign influences, and have consequently made gains in domestic parliamentary elections.
- Groups like Les Identitaires and its youth wing, Generation Identity, have renounced violence in favor of utilizing social media and public demonstrations to portray themselves as legitimate, mainstream movements protecting European culture. These groups have directly targeted Europe’s youth through social media and public demonstrations.
- Groups including Combat 18 and the Nordic Resistance Movement, which openly embrace neo-Nazi ideology and violent tactics, are still able to recruit for violent activities, despite the rise of non-violent, populist groups.

Executive Summary

More than 70 years after the defeat of Nazi Germany, ethno-nationalist and white supremacist movements in Europe continue to thrive. They include far-right political parties, neo-Nazi movements, and apolitical protest groups. Some groups openly espouse violent white supremacy, while others have propagated their radical stances under the guise of populism. Such populist groups claim that they are striving to protect average hardworking Europeans by preserving their livelihoods and heritages from economic and cultural threats posed by immigrants and ethnic minorities. Though not all of these groups directly link their ideologies to Nazism, their propaganda portrays immigrants and ethnic minorities in a similar manner to how Nazi propaganda portrayed Jews, blaming them for national economic troubles and depicting them as a serious threat to the broader national identity.

In a June 2018 speech, German Chancellor Angela Merkel recognized that the majority of refugees are victims, and that “escape and expulsion are part of our German and European history.”¹ Nonetheless, several far-right political parties in Europe have infused anti-immigrant and particularly anti-Muslim xenophobia into their party platforms through the concept of ethno-nationalism—the idea that a nation should be composed of a single ethnicity. These parties postulate that hardworking European natives are suffering economic and cultural losses due to immigrants and ethnic minorities who want to replace national, religious, and cultural identities with foreign values. Ethno-nationalists also view multiculturalism as a code word for the

¹ “Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel zum Gedenktag für die Opfer von Flucht und Vertreibung am 20. Juni 2018 in Berlin,” Die Bundeskanzlerin, June 20, 2018, <https://www.bundeskanzlerin.de/Content/DE/Rede/2018/06/2018-06-20-rede-gedenkstunde-20-juni.html>

destruction of the native national identity. For example, Hungary's neo-fascist Jobbik political party rejects "the dead-end Western European multiculturalism" and has pledged to "defend our cultural identity developed over our history."² Groups like Germany's Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) political party lament the influx of Muslim immigrants, which they claim weakens the German culture and quality of life. AfD has gone so far as to claim that Islam is a danger to Germany.³

These far-right political parties have therefore been able to unite ethno-nationalism with populism by propagating the notion that ethno-nationalism serves the average hardworking individual and the broader national identity. Their propaganda campaigns have allowed them to generate substantial popular support and make gains in domestic elections. The AfD came in third in Germany's September 2017 parliamentary elections.⁴ In March 2018's Italian parliamentary elections, the far-right, anti-immigrant Lega Nord ("Northern League") party succeeded in becoming the third largest party in Italy's parliament. In June 2018, League leader Matteo Salvini assumed the role of Italy's interior minister. He has since refused a migrant aid ship permission to dock in Italy and called for a national census to address "the Roma question."⁵ Both parties also view the European Union as a harmful foreign influence that has undermined the sovereignty of their respective nations.⁶ Salvini has even derided the euro as a "German currency" and a "crime against humanity."⁷

Some ethno-nationalist political movements have openly embraced the language and symbolism of the Nazi movement. In Hungary, Gabor Vona, the former chair of the far-right Jobbik, has blamed international Jewry for attempting to buy Hungary and interfere in its elections. Jobbik has also used the Nazi "Arrow Cross" to symbolize pride in Hungary's Nazi past.⁸ In 2014, a

² "Manifesto on The Guidelines For a Future Jobbik-Led Government," Jobbik, accessed June 25, 2018, https://www.jobbik.com/manifesto_on_the_guidelines_for_a_future_jobbik_led_government.

³ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 48, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

⁴ Kate Connolly, "German election: Merkel wins fourth term but far-right AfD surges to third," *Guardian* (London), September 24, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/24/angela-merkel-fourth-term-far-right-afd-third-german-election>.

⁵ "Italian interior minister wants census of Roma communities," Reuters, June 18, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-roma/italian-interior-minister-wants-census-of-roma-communities-idUSKBN1JE2H0>.

⁶ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 7, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf; Simon Osborne, "'It's a GERMAN currency!' Lega Nord vows to pull Italy from euro 'MISTAKE,'" *Express* (London), February 8, 2018, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/916123/italian-elections-2018-lega-nord-northern-league-leader-matteo-salvini-eurozone>.

⁷ Simon Osborne, "'It's a GERMAN currency!' Lega Nord vows to pull Italy from euro 'MISTAKE,'" *Express* (London), February 8, 2018, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/916123/italian-elections-2018-lega-nord-northern-league-leader-matteo-salvini-eurozone>; Elizabeth Schumacher, "Matteo Salvini: Italy's far-right success story," *Deutsche Welle*, March 5, 2018, <http://www.dw.com/en/matteo-salvini-italys-far-right-success-story/a-42830366>.

⁸ "Ungarn schützen, das ist unser Ziel: Bededikt Frings für die DS im Gespräch mit Gábor Vona, dem Chef der Ungarischen Garde," in *Deutsche Stimme* (May 2008): 9.

Hungarian court ruled that Jobbik may be referred to as “neo-Nazi” in Hungary.⁹ Despite similarities in propaganda, however, not all of Europe’s far-right political movements have openly embraced links to the Nazi or neo-Nazi movements. Members of the French anti-immigrant Les Identitaires movement reject violence and consider themselves to be patriots defending European identity from cultural corruption imposed by Islamic mores.¹⁰ Les Identitaires’ youth wing, Generation Identity (GI), has a presence across Europe and uses social media and popular demonstrations to propagate similar anti-Islamic notions and gain traction with young people.¹¹

Les Identitaires and GI adhere to the identitarian ideology and its Great Replacement theory, which GI describes as “the process by which the indigenous European population is replaced by non-European migrants.”¹² Employing similar rhetoric, Brenton Tarrant, the white supremacist who allegedly killed 50 people at two New Zealand mosques on March 15, 2019, entitled his manifesto “The Great Replacement” and wrote about the “crisis of mass immigration and ... assault on the European people that, if not combated, will ultimately result in the complete racial and cultural replacement of the European people.”¹³ The New Zealand attack was a manifestation of the identitarian ideology and its view of a broader white European ethnic identity prevalent in the Western world that transcends national borders. While groups like GI claim to reject violence, they promote an ideology that has led directly toward it.

Some of Europe’s historically non-political, violent far-right groups have not only embraced similar populist language to the ethno-nationalist political movements, but also continue to espouse openly racist concepts and employ violence to achieve their visions of an ethnically homogenous state. Combat 18, a violent neo-Nazi skinhead group founded in the United Kingdom in 1992, currently has a presence in at least 18 countries.¹⁴ Similar to ISIS in its aim to create a Muslim-only caliphate, the group encourages supporters to carry out lone-wolf terrorist attacks as part of its greater aim to create white-only countries through violence.¹⁵ National

⁹ “Gerichtsurteil in Ungarn: Jobbik darf als Neonazipartei bezeichnet werden,” Spiegel Online, January 28, 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/urteil-in-ungarn-jobbik-darf-als-neonazi-partei-bezeichnet-werden-a-945998.html>.

¹⁰ Associated Press, “French far-right group has message in menu,” Boston.com, December 10, 2011, http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2011/12/10/french_far_right_group_has_message_in_menu/.

¹¹ Sumi Somaskanda, “Identitarian movement - Germany's 'new right' hipsters,” Deutsche Welle, June 23, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/identitarian-movement-germanys-new-right-hipsters/a-39383124>.

¹² “Frequently Asked Question,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed March 8, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/faqs/>.

¹³ Brenton Tarrant, “The Great Replacement,” Internet Archive, accessed April 1, 2019.

¹⁴ *Terrorism and Violent Extremism Awareness Guide*. Quebec: RCMP Communications Office, 2016, <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/wam/media/1731/original/1cb81f63911f002d67b340c08591bd31.pdf>; “Division Polonia,” Division Polonia Blood C18 Honor, accessed April 10, 2018, <http://bhddivisionpolonia.altervista.org/index.html>; “C18 Hungary,” C18 Hungary, accessed April 10, 2018, <http://c18hungary.blogspot.com/>; “Aryan Strikeforce/Combat 18 Ukraine,” VK.com, accessed April 10, 2018, <https://vk.com/as318ukraine>; Bianca Hall “Neo-Nazi group Combat 18 plasters anti-Islam stickers over children's playground in Heidelberg West,” *Age* (Victoria), August 26, 2015, <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/neonazi-group-combat-18-plasters-antiislam-stickers-over-childrens-playground-in-heidelberg-west-20150826-gj7tv8.html>.

¹⁵ “National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook>.

Action is another group of young far-right extremists that, in 2016, became the first far-right group to be labeled as a terrorist organization in the United Kingdom after it praised the murder of a parliamentarian.¹⁶ The group, whose members believe that “Britain should be for British people,”¹⁷ reportedly operates training camps where recruits learn hand-to-hand combat in preparation for “white jihad.”¹⁸ Not only do these violent white supremacist groups employ similar strategies to some of the most prominent Islamic terror groups, but they are also motivated to pursue the radical end goal of an ethnically or culturally homogenous state due to similar concerns that their identity and way of life are under threat.

The Counter Extremism Project (CEP)’s European Ethno-Nationalist and White Supremacy Groups report outlines the history, propaganda, violent activities, and notable rhetoric of some of the continent’s most active ethno-nationalist and white supremacist groups.

Alternative für Deutschland

- **Summary:** The far-right Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany or AfD) political party has increased in popularity across Germany on anti-immigrant and anti-Islam platforms. The party blames immigrants in general and Muslim immigrants in particular for weakening the German culture and way of life.¹⁹ The party’s manifesto declares forthrightly that “Islam does not belong to Germany.”²⁰ In Germany’s September 2017 parliamentary elections, AfD became the third largest political party in the German parliament.²¹

A group of economists established AfD in 2013 out of concern that the European Union’s economic policies were weakening Germany’s economy. In 2014, AfD won 10 percent of the vote in local elections in the German state of Saxony. Co-founder Bernd Lucke quit in

¹⁶ Jessica Elgot, “Neo-Nazi group National Action banned by UK home secretary,” *Guardian* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/12/neo-nazi-group-national-action-banned-by-uk-home-secretary>.

¹⁷ Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” *Huffington Post*, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

¹⁸ “Banned neo-Nazi group National Action ‘kept meeting,’” *BBC News*, June 14, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-44489796>; Charlie Bayliss, “National Action ‘members attended terror-style training camps to learn judo, kickboxing and street fighting martial arts for upcoming race war,’” *Daily Mail* (London), June 13, 2018, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5840925/National-Action-members-attended-terror-style-training-camps-learn-MMA.html>; Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” *Huffington Post*, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

¹⁹ “Manifesto for Germany,” Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 48, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

²⁰ “Manifesto for Germany,” Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 48, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

²¹ Kate Connolly, “German election: Merkel wins fourth term but far-right AfD surges to third,” *Guardian* (London), September 24, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/24/angela-merkel-fourth-term-far-right-afd-third-german-election>.

July 2015, declaring that the party had become xenophobic. Later that month, Frauke Petry took over as the party's leader and shifted its focus from economics to immigration.²² In 2016, Petry stated her belief that German police should, "if necessary," shoot at illegal immigrants trying to enter Germany, and AfD deputy leader Alexander Gauland stated that most Germans "wouldn't want to live next door" to German soccer player Jérôme Boateng because his father is Ghanaian.²³ That June, German Deputy Chancellor Sigmar Gabriel labeled the AfD as xenophobic and compared its positions to those of the Nazi party. At the time, the AfD was represented in eight out of 16 of Germany's state assemblies.²⁴

AfD has specifically targeted Islam. The party's 2016 Manifesto for Germany denigrated Islam as foreign to Germany society and called for its restriction. It sought to distinguish between "law-abiding and well-integrated" Muslims in Germany who are "accepted and valued members" of German society and Islam as a whole, which "does not belong to Germany."²⁵ The manifesto further condemned the "ever-increasing number of Muslims in the country...as a danger to our state, our society, and our values."²⁶

Although Petry shifted AfD's focus from economics to immigration, the party has maintained its belief that the European Union has been economically detrimental to Germany. According to AfD's 2016 Manifesto for Germany, the core treaties of the European Union have undermined Germany's sovereignty. AfD accuses a "small and powerful elite within the political parties" of controlling Germany's government and ceding power to the European Union.²⁷ Much like its anti-immigration stance, AfD's aversion to the European Union suggests an overarching fear of the deterioration of the German identity.

While AfD's rhetoric has largely focused on Islam, the group has also targeted Germany's Jewish community. AfD has rejected ritual circumcision—practiced by both religious communities—as a "serious violation of fundamental rights."²⁸ In a January 2017 address to an AfD youth group, senior AfD leader Björn Höcke condemned

²² "Profile: German right-wing AfD leader Frauke Petry," BBC News, March 10, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35775513>.

²³ "German police 'should shoot at migrants', populist politician says," BBC News, January 30, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35452306>; Philip Oltermann, "German rightwing party apologises for Jérôme Boateng comments," *Guardian* (London), May 29, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/29/german-far-right-party-row-jerome-boateng-neighbour-comments>.

²⁴ "Germany's vice chancellor ties AfD views to Nazi sentiments," Deutsche Welle, June 12, 2016, <https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-vice-chancellor-ties-afd-views-to-nazi-sentiments/a-19324174>.

²⁵ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 48, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

²⁶ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 48, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

²⁷ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 7, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

²⁸ "Where Anti-migration and anti-Semitism Meet: How Germany's AfD Came to Be," *Haaretz*, March 14, 2016, <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/how-germany-s-afd-came-to-be-1.5417311>.

Germany's ongoing commemorations of the Holocaust and called for "a 180-degree reversal on the politics of remembrance."²⁹

Petry resigned from the party shortly after the September 2017 elections because of concerns over "how the AfD is likely to develop."³⁰ Following AfD's third-place victory in Germany's September 2017 elections, AfD remained outside the governing coalition, making it Germany's main opposition party.³¹ In June 2018, a poll in the *Bild am Sonntag* newspaper recorded a 16 percent approval for AfD, its highest rating ever in the newspaper's poll. The poll came as the governing coalition faced a crisis over immigration policies.³²

- **Base of Operations:** Germany
- **Website:** <https://www.afd.de/>
- **Social Media:** [Facebook](#), [Instagram](#), [Twitter](#), [YouTube](#)
- **Leadership:** AfD was founded by Bernd Lucke, Alexander Gauland, and Konrad Adam.³³ AfD is co-chaired by Jörg Meuthen and Alexander Gauland.³⁴
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** As of 2016, AfD reportedly had 23,500 members across Germany.³⁵ In Germany's September 2017 parliamentary elections, AfD won 92 out of 631 seats to become Germany's third-largest political party in parliament.³⁶ In February 2018, German Prime Minister Angela Merkel signed a coalition agreement between her conservative Christian Democrats party and the center-left Social Democrats, making AfD Germany's main opposition party.³⁷
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** AfD's propaganda focuses on the restoration of German culture and sovereignty, both of which the party believes have been weakened by an influx of immigrants and the open-border and economic policies of the European Union.

²⁹ Jefferson Chase, "Local AfD leader's Holocaust remarks prompt outrage," Deutsche Welle, January 18, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/local-afd-leaders-holocaust-remarks-prompt-outrage/a-37173729>.

³⁰ Jefferson Chase, "Frauke Petry, co-chair of the far-right AfD, to quit the party," Deutsche Welle, September 26, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/frauke-petry-co-chair-of-the-far-right-afd-to-quit-the-party/a-40686693>.

³¹ Philip Oltermann, "Germany's rightwing AfD gears up to play noisy opposition role," *Guardian* (London), February 7, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/07/germanys-rightwing-afd-gears-up-to-play-noisy-opposition-role>.

³² Andrea Shalal, "Migration fight erodes support for German conservatives, far-right AfD gains," Reuters, June 24, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics/migration-fight-erodes-support-for-german-conservatives-far-right-afd-gains-idUSKBN1JK0HV>.

³³ "Profile: German right-wing AfD leader Frauke Petry," BBC News, March 10, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35775513>.

³⁴ Elizabeth Schumacher, "AfD: Meet the far-right bosses," Deutsche Welle, December 3, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/afd-meet-the-far-right-bosses/a-41632235>.

³⁵ Kay-Alexander Scholz, "What is the Alternative for Germany?" Deutsche Welle, September 5, 2016, <https://www.dw.com/en/what-is-the-alternative-for-germany/a-19527050>.

³⁶ Philip Oltermann, "Germany's rightwing AfD gears up to play noisy opposition role," *Guardian* (London), February 7, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/07/germanys-rightwing-afd-gears-up-to-play-noisy-opposition-role>.

³⁷ Philip Oltermann, "Germany's rightwing AfD gears up to play noisy opposition role," *Guardian* (London), February 7, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/07/germanys-rightwing-afd-gears-up-to-play-noisy-opposition-role>; Austin Davis, "Far-right Alternative for Germany rises as Merkel struggles for coalition," *Washington Times*, February 20, 2018, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2018/feb/20/alternative-germany-afd-rises-angela-merkel-strugg/>.

Its plans to restore German sovereignty and restrict Islam in Germany are outlined in its 2016 Manifesto for Germany.³⁸

The AfD maintains a social media presence on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram. As of July 3, 2018, AfD had 449,418 likes on Facebook and 132,000 followers on Twitter. The AfD's Twitter page posts in German while its Facebook page posts in German and English.³⁹ AfD's YouTube channel had 33,812 subscribers as of March 19, 2019, compared with 25,634 as of July 3, 2018. The channel hosted more than 360 videos that had drawn more than 5.3 million views, an increase of more than 4 million since July 2018.⁴⁰ AfD's Instagram account had 12,800 followers as of the same date.⁴¹

- **Violent Activities:** AfD is not linked to specific acts of violence.
- **Rhetoric:**
 - Senior leader Björn Höcke on Holocaust remembrance in a speech to an AfD youth group, January 2017: "These stupid politics of coming to grips with the past cripple us - we need nothing other than a 180-degree reversal on the politics of remembrance."⁴²
 - Chairwoman Frauke Petry in an interview with a regional newspaper, March 2016: German police should shoot at migrants "if necessary" to keep them out of the country.⁴³
 - AfD manifesto, May 2016: "Islam does not belong to Germany. Its expansion and the ever-increasing number of Muslims in the country are viewed by the AfD as a danger to our state, our society, and our values."⁴⁴
 - AfD manifesto, May 2016: "Many Muslims live as law-abiding and well-integrated citizens amongst us, and are accepted and valued members of our society. They belong to Germany. Islam does not belong to Germany."⁴⁵

³⁸ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

³⁹ Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/>; Alternative für Deutschland, Twitter account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://twitter.com/AfD>.

⁴⁰ Alternative für Deutschland, YouTube account, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCq2rogaxLtQFrYG3X3KYNww/about>; Alternative für Deutschland, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCq2rogaxLtQFrYG3X3KYNww/about>.

⁴¹ Alternative für Deutschland, Instagram account, accessed July 3, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/afd_bund/.

⁴² Jefferson Chase, "Local AfD leader's Holocaust remarks prompt outrage," Deutsche Welle, January 18, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/local-afd-leaders-holocaust-remarks-prompt-outrage/a-37173729>.

⁴³ "Where Anti-migration and anti-Semitism Meet: How Germany's AfD Came to Be," *Haaretz*, March 14, 2016, <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/how-germany-s-afd-came-to-be-1.5417311>.

⁴⁴ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 48, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

⁴⁵ "Manifesto for Germany," Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 48, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

- AfD manifesto, May 2016: “An Islam which neither respects nor refrains from being in conflict with our legal system, or that even lays claim to power as the only true religion, is incompatible with our legal system and our culture.”⁴⁶

Combat 18

- **Summary:** Combat 18 (a.k.a. C18, 318, nicknamed “Terror Machine”) is a neo-Nazi group that seeks to create white-only countries through violence. The group was established in the United Kingdom and is now present in at least 18 countries worldwide. The “18” in the name refers to the first and eighth letters of the English alphabet, A and H, for Adolf Hitler. Combat 18 was founded in 1992 by Paul “Charlie” Sargent. It largely drew its membership from white supremacists associated with the Chelsea Headhunters soccer hooligan gang and the British neo-Nazi record label and political organization Blood and Honour (B&H).⁴⁷

According to the group’s propaganda magazine *Combat 18*, Combat 18’s aims are to create all-white countries by shipping “all non-whites back to Africa, Asia, Arabia, whether alive or in body bags,” execute “all Queers” and “white race mixers,” “weed out all Jews in the government, the media, the arts, the professions,” execute “all Jews who have actively helped to damage the white race,” and “put into camps the rest until we find a final solution to the eternal Jew.”⁴⁸ Over time, Combat 18 has ceased functioning as a centralized organization. Instead, the group’s ideology and brand have become a transnational rallying call for neo-Nazi action.⁴⁹ Combat 18 encourages the creation of independent cells and lone-wolf terrorism under the slogan “whatever it takes!”⁵⁰ While the group may have once had an official roster, supporters of Combat 18 now claim that membership is achieved through participation in violent neo-Nazi activities.⁵¹

Combat 18 refuses to participate in electoral politics, instead directly appealing to potential recruits through fliers, stickers, magazines, music distribution, and the use of violence. The organization is banned in Germany, and Combat 18 members in the United

⁴⁶ “Manifesto for Germany,” Alternative für Deutschland, accessed June 27, 2018, 48, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf.

⁴⁷ Ryan Shaffer, “British, European and white: cultural constructions of identity in post-war British fascist music,” in *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism*, eds. Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (London: Routledge, 2015), 149; Tim Kelsey, “Informer exposes neo-Nazi football gangs,” *Independent* (London), August 6, 1993, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/informer-exposes-neo-nazi-football-gangs-tim-hepple-who-infiltrated-the-british-national-party-after-1459707.html>.

⁴⁸ “The Aims of C18,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 10, 2018, https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat%2018/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4_Q20647_R331396_D1942757.pdf.

⁴⁹ “Combat 18,” 28 Brotherhood, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://28brotherhood.com/combata18>.

⁵⁰ “National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook,” Combat 18, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook>.

⁵¹ “Combat 18,” 28 Brotherhood, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://28brotherhood.com/combata18>.

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Kingdom are barred from working in law enforcement or corrections facilities.⁵² In the 1990s, Combat 18 members allegedly made ties with the loyalist paramilitary group Ulster Defence Association in Northern Ireland.⁵³ Combat 18 has also been linked to Aryan Strike Force 318 (ASF318) in the eastern United States, the Racial Volunteer Force (RVF) in Britain, and the National Socialist Underground (NSU) in Germany.⁵⁴

- **Base of Operations:** Founded in London; chapters exist in the United Kingdom, United States, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Russia, Ukraine, Serbia, Greece, Denmark, Sweden, Austria, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and Argentina⁵⁵
- **Website:** [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 USA](#), [Combat 18 Florida](#), [Combat 18 France](#), [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 Canada](#), [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 Poland](#), [Combat 18 Hungary](#), [Redwatch](#), [Redwatch \(Poland\)](#), [ISD Records](#).⁵⁶
- **Social Media Presence:** [Facebook](#) (Combat 18 Australia), [VK](#), [VK](#) (Ukraine)
- **Leadership:** Founded and originally led by Paul “Charlie” Sargent.⁵⁷ Today, Combat 18 describes itself as leaderless resistance organized in cells.⁵⁸
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** Combat 18 is present in at least 18 countries in Europe, North America, South America, and Australia. According to the group itself, there are no membership rolls, making membership fluid and its numerical strength difficult to estimate.⁵⁹ A Facebook page allegedly belonging to an Australian chapter of

⁵² Darko Janjevic, “Reports: Banned neo-Nazi group ‘Combat 18’ active in Germany again,” Deutsche Welle, January 27, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/reports-banned-neo-nazi-group-combat-18-active-in-germany-again/a-37297774>; Hannah Kane, “Former Essex Police officer guilty of gross misconduct over London bomb hoax note linked to Combat 18 group,” Essex Live, February 20, 2018. <https://www.essexlive.news/news/former-essex-police-officer-guilty-1240183>.

⁵³ Raf Diallo, “What Happened to Combat 18 after the ’95 Landsdowne Road Riot?” Newstalk.com. May 27, 2013, <http://www.newstalk.com/What-happened-to-Combat-18-after-the-95-Landsdowne-Road-riot>.

⁵⁴ “About Us,” Aryan Strikeforce, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://archive.is/9NdI5#selection-193.676-193.1817>; Ashitha Nagesh, “Here are the far-right extremist groups spreading hate in Britain,” *Metro* (London), September 14, 2017, <http://metro.co.uk/2017/09/14/here-are-the-far-right-extremist-groups-still-operating-in-the-uk-6926869/>;

“Reports: German intelligence recruited head of neo-Nazi group as informant,” Deutsche Welle, May 17, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/reports-german-intelligence-recruited-head-of-neo-nazi-group-as-informant/a-38866369>.

⁵⁵ “Terrorism and Violent Extremism Awareness Guide,” Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2016, <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/wam/media/1731/original/1cb81f63911f002d67b340c08591bd31.pdf>; “Division Polonia,” Division Polonia Blood C18 Honor, accessed April 10, 2018, <http://bhdivisionpolonia.altervista.org/index.html>; “C18 Hungary,” C18 Hungary, accessed April 10, 2018, <http://c18hungary.blogspot.com/>; “Aryan Strikeforce/Combat 18 Ukraine,” VK.com, accessed April 10, 2018, <https://vk.com/as318ukraine>; Bianca Hall “Neo-Nazi group Combat 18 plasters anti-Islam stickers over children’s playground in Heidelberg West,” *Age* (Victoria), August 26, 2015, <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/neonazi-group-combat-18-plasters-antiislam-stickers-over-childrens-playground-in-heidelberg-west-20150826-gj7tv8.html>.

⁵⁶ The Southern Poverty Law Center asserts that ISD Records is controlled by Combat 18; T.K. Kim, “A Look at White Power Music Today,” April 19, 2006, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2006/look-white-power-music-today>.

⁵⁷ Nick Ryan, “Combat 18: Memoirs of a Street-Fighting Man,” *Independent* (London), February 1, 1998, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/combat-18-memoirs-of-a-street-fighting-man-1142204.html>.

⁵⁸ “Combat 18,” 28 Brotherhood, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://28brotherhood.com/combat18>.

⁵⁹ “Combat 18,” 28 Brotherhood, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://28brotherhood.com/combat18>.

the group had 169 likes as of April 2, 2018, and 194 likes as of July 3, 2018.⁶⁰ By March 19, 2019, the page had 252 likes.⁶¹ In 2016, the British organization Hope Not Hate approximated that Combat 18 had between 20 and 30 members in the United Kingdom.⁶²

Combat 18 has been promoted by bands in the neo-Nazi skinhead rock music scene. Numerous white power skinhead bands in Germany, Russia, Poland, the United Kingdom, Serbia, Slovakia, Switzerland, and the United States have recorded songs praising Combat 18. Several online neo-Nazi record stores sell merchandise with the group's logo and slogan.⁶³

Europol has warned that Combat 18 poses a threat across Europe.⁶⁴ Combat 18 has remained particularly active in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Greece. In the United Kingdom, Combat 18 supporters have joined other far-right groups such as the xenophobic North West Infidels, which opposes Muslim immigration.⁶⁵ Germany banned Combat 18 in January 2020 after linking it to the June 2019 murder of German politician Walter Lübcke.⁶⁶ Combat 18 has reportedly established cells in seven out of Germany's 16 states since 2013.⁶⁷ In 2006, a Combat 18 cell in Dortmund smuggled firearms from Belgium and planned assaults on immigrants and politicians.⁶⁸ French President Emmanuel Macron announced in February 2019 that France would move to ban the

⁶⁰ 318 Australia, Facebook page, accessed April 2, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/318-Australia-997744473688614/?ref=br_rs; 318 Australia, Facebook page, accessed July 3, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/318-Australia-997744473688614/?ref=br_rs.

⁶¹ 318 Australia, Facebook page, accessed March 19, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/318-Australia-997744473688614/?ref=br_rs.

⁶² Ian Cobain, "Britain's Far Right in 2016: Fractured, Unpredictable, Dispirited ... and Violent," *Guardian* (London), November 24, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/24/britains-far-right-in-2016-fractured-unpredictable-dispirited-and-violent>.

⁶³ "Patches, Buttons, Pins & Etc.," MSR Productions, accessed April 2, 2018, http://msrproductions.com/index.php?main_page=index&cPath=26; "Combat 18 - Terrormachine Shirt," Street Fight Versand, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://streetfightversand.de/bekleidung/manner/combat-18-terrormachine-shirt.html>; British People's Party, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://www.bpp.org.uk/newbadges.html>; "The N.S. Political Soldier's Handbook / Combat 18 / Field Manual (BOOK)," Black Metal Cult Records, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://www.blackmetalcultrecords.com/blogs/bmc-catalogue/upcoming-the-national-socialist-political-soldiers-handbook-combat-18-field-manual-book>; "Imperium Press Flags," Imperium Press Flags, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://www.aryanunity.com/>.

⁶⁴ "Raids in 6 states as Germany bans 'Combat 18' neo-Nazi group," Deutsche Welle, January 23, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/raids-in-6-states-as-germany-bans-combat-18-neo-nazi-group/a-52116504>.

⁶⁵ Mark Townsend, "Foreign-born Fascists 'helping to Radicalise UK Far-right Movement,'" *Guardian* (London), February 6, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/06/foreign-born-fascists-radicalise-uk-far-right-movement>.

⁶⁶ "Raids in 6 states as Germany bans 'Combat 18' neo-Nazi group," Deutsche Welle, January 23, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/raids-in-6-states-as-germany-bans-combat-18-neo-nazi-group/a-52116504>.

⁶⁷ Darko Janjevic, "Reports: Banned Neo-Nazi Group 'Combat 18' Active in Germany Again," Deutsche Welle, January 27, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/reports-banned-neo-nazi-group-combat-18-active-in-germany-again/a-37297774>.

⁶⁸ Gisela Friedrichsen, "Die Rolle Der 'Combat-18'-Zelle," Spiegel Online, November 6, 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/nsu-prozess-in-muenchen-zu-mord-in-dortmund-a-1001474.html>; Daniel Koehler, *Right-Wing Terrorism in the 21st Century: The 'National Socialist Underground' and the History of Terror from the Far-Right in Germany* (London: Routledge, 2016), 217-218.

group as well.⁶⁹ In 2016, former Combat 18 leader Nigel Bromage claimed that the group was attempting to persuade teachers to join in order to influence schoolchildren.⁷⁰ In March 2018, Greek authorities arrested 11 people suspected of belonging to a Combat 18 cell that was accused of more than 30 arson attacks, primarily on migrants, anarchists, and Jewish sites.⁷¹ Greek police raids against the group have recovered firearms, explosives, Molotov cocktails, narcotics, and edged and blunt weapons.⁷²

- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** Historically, Combat 18 has recruited from a pool of neo-Nazi skinheads and soccer hooligans, particularly from the B&H network and far-right skinhead music scene.⁷³

Combat 18 has a minimal Internet presence but some websites and social media pages for the group do exist. A Greek cell has used Facebook to coordinate attacks. A Czech cell that operated from 2011 to 2012 maintained a website to spread its message and recruit.⁷⁴

Combat 18's National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook is a guidebook for prospective recruits. In addition to the group's creed, the manual offers advice on physical fitness, recruiting, evading detection and capture, and intentionally vague "direct action," which the handbook describes as "the disruption and elimination of all that is detrimental to our race and opposed to the cause of National Socialism."⁷⁵ The text is available online and through Internet retailers.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ "Germany bans Combat 18 as police raid neo-Nazi group," BBC News, January 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-51219274>.

⁷⁰ Mike Lockley, "Far-right Combat 18 'trying to Recruit Birmingham Teachers,'" *Birmingham Mail*, July 2, 2016, <https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/far-right-combat-18-secret-11557407>.

⁷¹ Yiannis Souliotis, "Gas Station Worker, 35, Suspected to Have Led Combat 18 Hellas Far-right Group," *Ekathimerini*, March 8, 2018, <http://www.ekathimerini.com/226527/article/ekathimerini/news/gas-station-worker-35-suspected-to-have-led-combat-18-hellas-far-right-group>; Philip Chrysopoulos, "Greek Police Seize Knives, Explosives, Nazi Flags After Combat 18 Raids," *Greek Reporter*, March 9, 2018, <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2018/03/09/greek-police-seize-knives-explosives-nazi-flags-after-combat-18-raids/>; Associated Press, "7 Charged in Greece with Belonging to Violent Neo-Nazi Group," *Fox News*, March 7, 2018, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2018/03/07/7-charged-in-greece-with-belonging-to-violent-neo-nazi-group.html>; Yiannis Souliotis, "Gas Station Worker, 35, Suspected to Have Led Combat 18 Hellas Far-right Group."

⁷² Associated Press, "7 Charged in Greece with Belonging to Violent Neo-Nazi Group," *Fox News*, March 7, 2018, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2018/03/07/7-charged-in-greece-with-belonging-to-violent-neo-nazi-group.html>.

⁷³ Brian Whelan, "Britain's Nazi Punk Scene Is Alive and Limping," *Noisey*, February 18, 2013, https://noisey.vice.com/en_us/article/6xggnr/britains-nazi-punk-scene-is-alive-and-limping.

⁷⁴ Yiannis Souliotis, "Gas Station Worker, 35, Suspected to Have Led Combat 18 Hellas Far-right Group," *Ekathimerini*, March 8, 2018, <http://www.ekathimerini.com/226527/article/ekathimerini/news/gas-station-worker-35-suspected-to-have-led-combat-18-hellas-far-right-group>; "Czech Trial of Arson Attack Reviews Neo-Nazi Groups," *Romea*, March 26, 2015, <http://www.romea.cz/en/news/czech/czech-trial-of-arson-attack-reviews-neo-nazi-groups>.

⁷⁵ "National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook," *Combat 18*, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook>.

⁷⁶ "National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook," *Combat 18*, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook>; "Combat 18 Field Manual the National Socialist Political Soldier's Handbook," Amazon, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/National-Socialist-Political-Soldiers-Handbook/dp/B008F2PIGQ>; "The N.S. Political Soldier's Handbook / Combat 18 / Field Manual (BOOK)," Black Metal Cult Records, accessed April 2, 2018,

- **Violent Activities:**

- From 2010 to 2018, Greek authorities accused Combat 18 Hellas of committing more than 30 attacks with bombs or gasoline on left-wing facilities, a migrant dwelling, and Jewish memorials.⁷⁷ Greek police claimed that the cell was planning a large bombing prior to the arrest of its members.⁷⁸
- On February 4, 2010, two alleged members of Combat 18 in Australia were arrested for shooting at the roof of a mosque in Perth with a .303 rifle.⁷⁹ Bradley Neil Trappitt was fined more than AU\$9,000, and Jacob Marshall Holt was sentenced to seven months in jail.⁸⁰ The police accused both men of belonging to Combat 18.⁸¹
- On April 18-19, 2009, four men in the Czech Republic threw Molotov cocktails into the home of a Romani family in Vitkov. Three people were injured, including a 2-year-old girl who suffered extensive burns. Václav Cojocar, Jaromír Lukeš, Ivo Müller, and David Vaculík were charged with perpetrating the attack, which coincided with Adolf Hitler's birthday.⁸² Vaculík was accused by the prosecution of being a member of Combat 18 and reportedly had a "C18" tattoo on his chest.⁸³ Lukeš, Müller, and Vaculík were each sentenced to 22 years in prison. Cojocar was sentenced to 20 years.⁸⁴
- In May 2001, Combat 18 physically assaulted British Asians and their shops in Oldham, England, with the aim of provoking retaliatory violence. Combat 18 members also distributed information on making incendiary devices as well as the personal information of anti-racist activists in the Oldham area.⁸⁵

<https://www.blackmetalcultrecords.com/blogs/bmc-catalogue/upcoming-the-national-socialist-political-soldiers-handbook-combat-18-field-manual-book>.

⁷⁷ "Seven key suspects of far-right Combat 18 Hellas group testify, four remanded in custody," Ekathimerini, March 10, 2018, <http://www.ekathimerini.com/226619/article/ekathimerini/news/seven-key-suspects-of-far-right-combat-18-hellas-group-testify-four-remanded-in-custody>; TNH Staff, "Neo-Nazi Suspects Revealing All About C18 Group," *National Herald*, March 9, 2018, <https://www.thenationalherald.com/193219/neo-nazi-suspects-revealing-c18-group/>.

⁷⁸ "Greek Neo-Nazis Arrested in Police Crackdown," *Deutsche Welle*, March 7, 2018, <http://www.dw.com/en/greek-neo-nazis-arrested-in-police-crackdown/a-42855743>.

⁷⁹ Cortlan Bennett, "'Neo-Nazi' Fails in Bid to Clear Court," *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 4, 2010, <https://www.smh.com.au/national/neonazi-fails-in-bid-to-clear-court-20100604-xj6p.html>.

⁸⁰ "Mosque Shooter Fined More Than \$9,000," *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 23, 2010,

<https://www.smh.com.au/national/mosque-shooter-fined-more-than-9000-20100823-13fge.html>.

⁸¹ Joseph Sapienza, "'Neo-Nazis' Arrested Over Perth Mosque Shooting," *WA Today* (Perth), May 25, 2010, <http://www.watoday.com.au/wa-news/neonazis-arrested-over-perth-mosque-shooting-20100525-wab5.html>.

⁸² "Czech Republic: Seven-year Anniversary of Neo-Nazi Arson Attack on Romani Family Home in Vitkov," *Romea*, April 19, 2016, <http://www.romea.cz/en/news/czech/czech-republic-seven-year-anniversary-of-neo-nazi-arson-attack-on-romani-family-home-in-vitkov>.

⁸³ "Trial of the Czech Cell of Blood & Honour Enters Its Final Phase," *Romea*, October 17, 2015, <http://www.romea.cz/en/news/world/trial-of-the-czech-cell-of-blood-honour-enters-its-final-phase-3>.

⁸⁴ "Trial of the Czech Cell of Blood & Honour Enters Its Final Phase," *Romea*, October 17, 2015, <http://www.romea.cz/en/news/world/trial-of-the-czech-cell-of-blood-honour-enters-its-final-phase-3>.

⁸⁵ Paul Harris, "Far Right Plot to Provoke Race Riots," *Guardian* (London), June 3, 2001, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/jun/03/uk.race>.

- In January 1997, three Danish Combat 18 members were arrested and found guilty of sending a letter bomb to British celebrity Sharron Davies.⁸⁶ During a raid, Danish police found firearms and explosives components belonging to the perpetrators. One of the neo-Nazis, Thomas Derry Nakaba, shot a police officer during his apprehension.⁸⁷
- On February 15, 1995, members of Combat 18 in the United Kingdom traveled to Dublin, Ireland, to attend a soccer match between England and Ireland.⁸⁸ In what became known as the Lansdowne Road football riot, soccer hooligans—including Combat 18 members—caused authorities to cancel the match due to violence. Approximately 50 people were injured.⁸⁹
- **Rhetoric:**
 - Combat 18 in Northern Ireland text message, June 2009: “Romanian gypsies beware beware/Loyalist C18 are coming to beat you like a baiting bear/Stay out of South Belfast and stay out of sight/And then youse [sic] will be alright/Get the boat and don’t come back/There is no black in the Union Jack/Loyalist C18 ‘whatever it takes.’”⁹⁰
 - *Combat 18* magazine, 1994: “In this magazine we are going to tell the truth about the modern day nightmare that the white Race is being plunged into, we will expose traitors and in-filtrators that have plagued nationalism for decades, we will urge our supporters to intimidate and attack the enemies of our people just as they have intimidated us.”⁹¹
 - *Combat 18* magazine, 1994: “We will hit them when and where they least expect it! We will dictate the battles, not them! We will win this war, not them! REMEMBER – VICTORY IS OURS ‘WHATEVER IT TAKES’”⁹²
 - *Combat 18* magazine, 1994: “If we can build a network of ‘white-wingers’ nation and worldwide then we might stand a chance when the right leader emerges who

⁸⁶ “Combat 18’s Hardline Racism,” BBC News, April 19, 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/323366.stm.

⁸⁷ Reuters, “7 Suspected Neo Nazis Seized by Danes in Letter-Bomb Plot,” *New York Times*, January 20, 1997, <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/01/20/world/7-suspected-neo-nazis-seized-by-danes-in-letter-bomb-plot.html>; “Neo-Nazis Jailed Over Letter Bombs,” *Irish Times* (Dublin), January 20, 1997, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/neo-nazis-jailed-over-letter-bombs-1.102725>.

⁸⁸ Stephen Fottrell, and Simon Austin, “England v Republic of Ireland: Riot Marred Lansdowne Road Friendly,” BBC Sport, May 28, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/sport/football/22397204>.

⁸⁹ Frank Kilfeather, “English Fans Arrested over Riot at Soccer Match,” *Irish Times* (Dublin), January 15, 1997, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/english-fans-arrested-over-riot-at-soccer-match-1.22038>.

⁹⁰ Henry McDonald, “Romanian Gypsies Beware Beware. Loyalist C18 Are Coming to Beat You like a Baiting Bear,” *Guardian* (London), June 20, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jun/21/race-northern-ireland-romanian-gypsies>.

⁹¹ “The Aims of C18,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 10, 2018, https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat%2018/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4_Q20647_R331396_D1942757.pdf.

⁹² “Editorial,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat18/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4_Q20647_R331396_D1942757.pdf.

can take our people by the reigns and lead us to victory, as the great Adolf Hitler did.”⁹³

- National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook: “Combat 18 advocates covert action as the only constructive form of action which should be undertaken at this moment in time by individuals committed to the National Socialist cause.”⁹⁴
- National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook: “The ‘lone wolf’ tactic is by far the most secure approach as you are dependent on no-one else for the successful completion of your plan and your personal security is entirely in your own hands. In this way, if your plan fails for whatever reason you have only yourself to blame. If your plan succeeds your courage will speak for itself.”⁹⁵

English Defence League

- **Summary:** The English Defence League (EDL) believes that British society is under attack by Muslim extremists. Since 2009, the group has held what British media has routinely referred to as “aggressive rallies” across England.⁹⁶ The EDL claims to stand for English rights, democracy, and rule of law. Concurrently, the group believes it is a leader in “the struggle against global Islamification.”⁹⁷

The EDL equates illegal immigration with an invasion. It blames Muslim immigrants for importing a culture of terrorism into England and raping English women, a phenomenon that it has dubbed “rape jihad.”⁹⁸ The EDL believes that rape jihad is ingrained in Islamic religious texts and foundation.⁹⁹ The EDL blames the broader Muslim community for a list of offenses, including denigration and oppression of women, organized sexual abuse of children, support of terrorism, female genital mutilation, honor killings, homophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, and intolerance of non-Muslims.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ “The Aims of C18,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018,

https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat18/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4_Q20647_R331396_D1942757.pdf.

⁹⁴ “National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook>.

⁹⁵ “National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook>.

⁹⁶ “Far-right extremism: Who are the EDL?” Channel 4 News, May 28, 2013, <https://www.channel4.com/news/edl-far-right-extremism-woolwich-lee-rigby>.

⁹⁷ “About Us,” English Defence League, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/mission-statement/>.

⁹⁸ English Defence League, Tumblr post, April 22, 2018, https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/173186152694/we-stand-with-the-victims?is_related_post=1.

⁹⁹ English Defence League, Tumblr post, April 22, 2018, <https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/173186152694/we-stand-with-the-victims>.

¹⁰⁰ “About Us,” English Defence League, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/mission-statement/>.

The EDL was co-founded in Luton, England, in 2009 by Kevin Carroll and Stephen Christopher Yaxley-Lennon, a.k.a. Tommy Robinson.¹⁰¹ According to Robinson, the two men formed EDL in response to the threat of “militant Islam.”¹⁰² In 2011, EDL members joined vigilante patrols in southeast London and clashed with police.¹⁰³ Matthew Collins of the British NGO Hope Not Hate told British media in 2013 that the EDL had become increasingly fascist in its protests and “went from being concerned about extremism, to them radicalising themselves.”¹⁰⁴ A 2013 poll found that 61 percent of Britons believed that groups like the EDL made terrorism more likely.¹⁰⁵

In October 2013, Robinson and Carroll quit the group, citing concerns of growing far-right extremism within the EDL.¹⁰⁶ Robinson said he was persuaded to leave the group by the British anti-extremism think tank Quilliam, but later said that Quilliam paid him £2,000 a month to make the claim.¹⁰⁷ Twitter permanently banned Robinson in March 2018, reportedly because of violations of the company’s “hateful conduct” policy.¹⁰⁸ In May 2018, Robinson was sentenced to 13 months in prison for contempt of court after filming outside of a jury trial.¹⁰⁹ The following month, thousands of far-right supporters of Robinson marched through London.¹¹⁰

British counter-extremism group Hope Not Hate claims that the EDL has suffered a “lethargic and alcohol-fuelled almost comic collapse.”¹¹¹ Nonetheless, the group

¹⁰¹ “Ex-EDL leaders Tommy Robinson and Kevin Carroll cleared,” BBC News, October 16, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-24554284>.

¹⁰² Tom Michael, “TOMMY CAGED Who is Tommy Robinson, why did the ex-EDL leader change his name and when was he jailed?” *Sun* (London), June 9, 2018, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3838990/tommy-robinson-edl-right-wing-activist-jail-13-months/>.

¹⁰³ “Far-right extremism: Who are the EDL?” Channel 4 News, May 28, 2013, <https://www.channel4.com/news/edl-far-right-extremism-woolwich-lee-rigby>.

¹⁰⁴ “Far-right extremism: Who are the EDL?” Channel 4 News, May 28, 2013, <https://www.channel4.com/news/edl-far-right-extremism-woolwich-lee-rigby>.

¹⁰⁵ “Woolrich Reactions Poll,” *Survation*, May 24, 2013, <http://survation.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Woolwich-Full-Report.pdf>.

¹⁰⁶ “EDL leader Tommy Robinson quits group,” BBC News, October 8, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-24442953>; “Ex-EDL leaders Tommy Robinson and Kevin Carroll cleared,” BBC News, October 16, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-24554284>.

¹⁰⁷ “EDL leader Tommy Robinson quits group,” BBC News, October 8, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-24442953>; Tom Michael, “TOMMY CAGED Who is Tommy Robinson, why did the ex-EDL leader change his name and when was he jailed?” *Sun* (London), June 9, 2018, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3838990/tommy-robinson-edl-right-wing-activist-jail-13-months/>.

¹⁰⁸ “Tommy Robinson banned from Twitter,” BBC News, March 28, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-43572168>.

¹⁰⁹ Tom Michael, “TOMMY CAGED Who is Tommy Robinson, why did the ex-EDL leader change his name and when was he jailed?” *Sun* (London), June 9, 2018, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3838990/tommy-robinson-edl-right-wing-activist-jail-13-months/>.

¹¹⁰ Claude Moraes, “The far right is organised and growing. Those Nazi salutes are serious,” *Guardian* (London), June 14, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jun/14/far-right-nazi-tommy-robinson-racist-movements-donald-trump>.

¹¹¹ Mark Wilding, “The Rise and Demise of the EDL,” *Vice*, March 12, 2018, https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/qve8wm/the-rise-and-demise-of-the-edl.

COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

maintains its active social media presence and continues to stage demonstrations across the country.

- **Base of Operations:** England
- **Website:** <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/>
- **Social Media:** [Facebook](#), [Facebook \(Bridlington/Scarborough\)](#), [Facebook \(Bristol\)](#), [Facebook \(Cannock Chase, Staffordshire\)](#), [Facebook \(Crewe and Nantwich\)](#), [Facebook \(Doncaster and Rotterdam\)](#), [Facebook \(Essex\)](#), [Facebook \(Lancaster\)](#), [Facebook \(London Division II\)](#), [Facebook \(Milton Keynes\)](#), [Facebook \(North East\)](#), [Facebook \(Northumberland\)](#), [Facebook \(North West\)](#), [Facebook \(Preston\)](#), [Facebook \(Sunderland\)](#), [Facebook \(West Midlands\)](#), [Facebook \(Angels West Midlands\)](#), [Facebook \(South Yorkshire\)](#), [Twitter \(suspended\)](#), [Twitter \(Alan Spence\)](#) (suspended), [Tumblr](#), [Gab](#)
- **Leadership:** Alan Spence claims to be the EDL's chairman.¹¹²
Membership Size and Relevance: The EDL does not maintain membership lists, but media reports suggested the group had approximately 30,000 members as of 2013.¹¹³ British NGO Hope Not Hate claimed in early 2018 that the EDL has collapsed, though the EDL still maintains an active online presence and calendar of events.¹¹⁴

The EDL maintains 17 regional chapters throughout England, according to the group's website. The EDL encourages visitors to its website to visit the Facebook page of their closest chapter and to attend EDL demonstrations.¹¹⁵ The EDL's main Facebook page had 2,728 likes as of March 19, 2019.¹¹⁶

- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** The EDL maintains Facebook pages for each of its 17 regional chapters. After Twitter suspended the EDL's account in 2017, the group created an account on Gab, a social network populated by far-right groups.¹¹⁷ The EDL's website also has a forum available to registered members.¹¹⁸ The EDL also asks for donations through PayPal.¹¹⁹
- **Violent Activities:** The EDL claims to be committed to non-violence.¹²⁰ Nonetheless, its members have been involved in numerous violent clashes with police and other protesters. The *Guardian* has produced footage of violent protesters at EDL

¹¹² Alan Spence, Twitter account, accessed June 22, 2018, https://twitter.com/Original_EDL.

¹¹³ "EDL leader Tommy Robinson quits group," BBC News, October 8, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-24442953>.

¹¹⁴ Mark Wilding, "The Rise and Demise of the EDL," Vice, March 12, 2018, https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/qve8wm/the-rise-and-demise-of-the-edl; English Defence League homepage, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/>.

¹¹⁵ "Join Us," English Defence League, accessed June 22, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/join-us/>.

¹¹⁶ English Defence League, Facebook page, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/englishdefenceleagueofficialmainpage/>.

¹¹⁷ EDLmedia, Gab account, accessed June 22, 2018, <https://gab.ai/EDLmedia>; "The Twitter account of the English Defence League has been purged," English Defence League, December 20, 2017, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/the-twitter-account-of-the-english-defence-league-has-been-purged/>.

¹¹⁸ "Forum," English Defence League, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/forum/>.

¹¹⁹ EDLDonations, PayPal, accessed June 22, 2018, <https://www.paypal.me/EDLDonations>.

¹²⁰ "About Us," English Defence League, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/mission-statement/>.

demonstrations and the group's plans to elicit violent reactions.¹²¹ Further, others have reportedly been inspired to violence by EDL propaganda.

- On June 19, 2017, Darren Osbourne drove his car into a crowd of people outside the Finsbury Park mosque in London, killing one and wounding nine.¹²² Police allege that Osbourne radicalized within three to four weeks after reading propaganda by Robinson and other British far-right groups.¹²³
- On July 20, 2013, the EDL held a protest in Birmingham, England. Police charged 20 men with violent disorder.¹²⁴ In 2015, a group of 50 EDL supporters were collectively sentenced to more than 75 years in prison for violent disorder.¹²⁵
- **Rhetoric:**
 - EDL Gab account, June 23, 2018: “Just as Italy’s new government grows a pair and comes down tough on the invasions, Spain goes all soft and weepy and takes in those invaders turned back by Italy <https://dailym.ai/2MM5vA5>”¹²⁶
 - Alan Spence, tweet, May 8, 2018: “Hey Israel why the fuck are you bombing Syrian army positions? These people are stopping ISIS advancing.....Fuck you jew cunts!”¹²⁷
 - EDL Tumblr post, April 22, 2018: “We stand because the Government refuses to stand up for us and the thousands of young women and girls abused by Muslim gangs up and down this country. We call it rape jihad because it is not only an attack on the individual girls it is an attack on the foundation of this country, on our future mothers. It is jihad because it is inspired by Mohammed, the founder of Islam, and the theology of the Quran.”¹²⁸
 - EDL Tumblr post, April 22, 2018: “The English Defence League has been pushing back now – for going on 8 years. Little, but some progress has been made but we will not be satisfied until the misogyny, cruelty and terror of Islam are banished from this green and pleasant land.”¹²⁹

¹²¹ Matthew Taylor, “English Defence League: Inside the violent world of Britain's new far right,” *Guardian* (London), May 28, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/may/28/english-defence-league-guardian-investigation>.

¹²² Lizzie Dearden, “Finsbury Park attack: Why Darren Osborne was not charged with terror offences,” *Independent* (London), February 2, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/finsbury-park-mosque-attack-terror-terrorism-darren-osborne-jailed-life-murder-jo-cox-mair-rigby-a8192326.html>.

¹²³ Lizzie Dearden, “Darren Osborne: How Finsbury Park terror attacker became ‘obsessed’ with Muslims in less than a month,” *Independent* (London), February 2, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/darren-osborne-finsbury-park-attack-who-is-tommy-robinson-muslim-internet-britain-first-a8190316.html>.

¹²⁴ “Twenty men charged over EDL violence,” BBC News, February 21, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-birmingham-26288991>.

¹²⁵ “EDL supporters jailed for more than 75 years after Birmingham violence,” ITV, January 9, 2015, <http://www.itv.com/news/central/2015-01-09/edl-supporters-jailed-for-more-than-75-years-after-birmingham-violence/>; “Fifty sentenced for Birmingham EDL protest violence,” BBC News, January 9, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-birmingham-30751692>.

¹²⁶ EDLmedia, Gab post, June 23, 2018, <https://gab.ai/EDLmedia/posts/28078280>.

¹²⁷ Alan Spence, Twitter post, May 9, 2018, 7:09 p.m., https://twitter.com/Original_EDL/status/994353715707564033.

¹²⁸ English Defence League, Tumblr post, April 22, 2018, <https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/173186152694/we-stand-with-the-victims>.

¹²⁹ English Defence League, Tumblr post, April 22, 2018, <https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/173186152694/we-stand-with-the-victims>.

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- EDL Tumblr post, March 31, 2018: “Churchill’s advice was ignored. ‘An appeaser is one who feeds a crocodile, hoping it will eat him last.’ The ‘crocodile’ in the national room is of course Islam.”¹³⁰
- EDL spokesman Guramit Singh on upcoming protests in Bradford, England, 2013: “The problem with Bradford is the security threat, it is a highly populated Muslim area. They are very militant as well. Bradford is a place that has got to be hit.”¹³¹

Generation Identity

- **Summary:** Generation Identity (GI) is a pan-European youth movement that originated in France in 2012 as the youth wing of France’s Les Identitaires movement.¹³² GI has since spread to five other regions in Europe. Its newest branch claims to span the United Kingdom and Ireland, which the group claims are “inflicted by extreme multiculturalism.”¹³³ GI believes that white Europeans are falling victim to “the Great Replacement”—“the process by which the indigenous European population is replaced by non-European migrants.”¹³⁴ GI seeks to stop what it views as the Islamization of Europe, stop globalization, and reverse the “Great Replacement.”¹³⁵

To realize these goals, the network has issued five demands: preserve European ethno-cultural identity, defend freedom of speech and opinion against far-left attacks, repatriate illegal immigrants to their countries of origin, promote regional development in African countries to stem emigration, and secure national borders.¹³⁶ GI claims it does not “provide a platform for any kind of national-socialist or fascist groups or views.”¹³⁷ Nonetheless, GI’s German chapter, Identitäre Bewegung, has reportedly marched alongside neo-Nazi skinheads, and the German neo-Nazi political party NPD has held up

¹³⁰ English Defence League, Tumblr post, March 31, 2018,

<https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/172447064559/the-dying-of-free-speech-in-the-uk>.

¹³¹ Matthew Taylor, “English Defence League: Inside the violent world of Britain’s new far right,” *Guardian* (London), May 28, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/may/28/english-defence-league-guardian-investigation>.

¹³² “French far-right group storms site of new mosque,” *France24*, October 21, 2012,

<http://www.france24.com/en/20121020-france-french-far-right-group-hold-sit-protest-against-new-mosque-islam-generation-identity>; Haydn Rippon, “Occupy le mosque: France’s new radical nativism,” *The Conversation*, November 5, 2012, <https://theconversation.com/occupy-le-mosque-frances-new-radical-nativism-10368>.

¹³³ Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/>; “Meet the IB, Europe’s version of America’s alt-right,” *Economist*, November 12, 2016, <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21709986-france-austria-identitarian-movement-gives-xenophobia-youthful-edge-meet-ib>.

¹³⁴ “Frequently Asked Question,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed March 8, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/faqs/>.

¹³⁵ Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/>.

¹³⁶ “Our Demands,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed March 7, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/demands/>.

¹³⁷ Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/>.

GI's tactics as a model.¹³⁸ Austrian GI leader Martin Sellner has also professed the group's dedication to non-violence,¹³⁹ but GI has created militaristic training camps across Europe that feature combat training as well as anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant speakers.¹⁴⁰

GI has staged numerous public protests, beginning with occupying the site of a future mosque in Poitiers, France, in October 2012.¹⁴¹ Several of the perpetrators were sentenced to a year in prison in December 2017 on charges of incitement to discrimination and property destruction related to this incident.¹⁴² In March 2016, police arrested 14 GI members after they lit tires on fire during a protest near refugee camps in Calais, France. The GI protesters claimed that they were defending Europe from a "migrant invasion."¹⁴³ In October 2017, GI's British chapter unrolled a giant banner over London's Westminster Bridge reading "Defend London: Stop Islamisation."¹⁴⁴

GI accuses humanitarian NGOs of smuggling millions of people to Europe from Africa. It created a spinoff group, Defend Europe, in order to stop what it believes to be illegal human trafficking by refugee aid organizations.¹⁴⁵ In August 2017, Defend Europe members chartered a ship in order to block the transport of immigrants from Libya. They draped it with a giant banner declaring "No Way—You Will Not Make Europe Home."¹⁴⁶ GI claimed that it received \$100,000 in donations to pay for the charter.¹⁴⁷ However, the ship experienced mechanical issues and the GI crew had to be rescued by a

¹³⁸ "Meet the IB, Europe's version of America's alt-right," *Economist*, November 12, 2016,

<https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21709986-france-austria-identitarian-movement-gives-xenophobia-youthful-edge-meet-ib>;

¹³⁹ Atika Shubert, "Hipster or hatemonger? The trendy young face of Austria's far-right," CNN, December 2, 2016,

<https://www.cnn.com/2016/12/02/europe/austria-alt-right-identity-movement-martin-sellner/>.

¹⁴⁰ Christina Maza, "White Supremacists Now Have Their Own Anti-Islam Military Camps," *Newsweek*, November 9, 2017, <http://www.newsweek.com/far-right-white-supremacists-islam-military-camps-europe-training-706578>.

¹⁴¹ "French far-right group storms site of new mosque," France24, October 21, 2012,

<http://www.france24.com/en/20121020-france-french-far-right-group-hold-sit-protest-against-new-mosque-islam-generation-identity>.

¹⁴² "How to write history like an identitarian," Southern Poverty Law Center, February 14, 2018,

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/02/14/how-write-history-identitarian>.

¹⁴³ Lizzie Dearden, "Police arrest far-right activists as protesters block bridges with burning tyres to stop refugees entering Calais," *Independent* (London), March 12, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/police-arrest-far-right-activists-as-protesters-block-bridges-with-burning-tyres-to-stop-refugees-a6927351.html>.

¹⁴⁴ Kashmira Gander, "National Action, Generation Identity, Britain First: The extreme far-right groups operating in the UK," *International Business Times*, January 9, 2018, <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/national-action-generation-identity-britain-first-far-right-groups-currently-operating-uk-1653655>.

¹⁴⁵ Antonio Parrinello and Steve Scherer, "Far-right millennials set out to sea to 'defend Europe' from migrants," Reuters, July 21, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-farright-millennials/far-right-millennials-set-out-to-sea-to-defend-europe-from-migrants-idUSKBN1A61J6>; "Our Mission," Defend Europe, accessed March 9, 2018, http://defendeuropa.net/the-mission_fr/.

¹⁴⁶ "The successes of Defend Europe," YouTube video, 3:05, posted by "Defend Europe," August 23, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpsDDtOC-yc>.

¹⁴⁷ Jason Horowitz, "For Right-Wing Italian Youth, a Mission to Disrupt Migration," *New York Times*, July 21, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/21/world/europe/for-right-wing-italian-youth-a-mission-to-disrupt-migration.html>.

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ship belonging to the German refugee aid organization Sea Eye.¹⁴⁸ Human rights advocates accuse GI activists of delaying necessary humanitarian rescues with such tactics.¹⁴⁹

In March 2018, British authorities banned Sellner from entering the country ahead of a speaking engagement. The British Home Office declared that his entry would not be “conducive to the public good.”¹⁵⁰ The following month, British authorities again denied Sellner entry into the country to attend a GI “European Reunion” conference.¹⁵¹

- **Base of Operations:** Founded in France; maintains chapters in the United Kingdom and Ireland, Germany, Austria, and Flanders, Belgium¹⁵²
- **Website:** [Generation Identity UK & Ireland](#), [Génération Identitaire \(France\)](#), [Identitäre Bewegung \(Germany\)](#), [Identitäre Bewegung Österreich \(Austria\)](#), [Generatie Identiteit \(Flanders\)](#)
- **Social Media:** [Facebook \(Italy\)](#) (discontinued), [Instagram \(Italy\)](#), [Google+ \(Italy\)](#), [Facebook \(Austria\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Flanders\)](#), [Instagram \(Flanders\)](#), [Facebook \(UK\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Ireland and Northern Ireland\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Alba/Scotland\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Ireland\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Belfast\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Book\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(England\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Manchester\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Wales\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(London\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Defend Europe\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Patriot Peer\)](#) (discontinued), [Twitter \(Bewegung Österreich\)](#), [Twitter \(Flanders\)](#), [Twitter \(Italy\)](#), [Twitter \(London\)](#) (discontinued), [Twitter \(Manchester\)](#), [Twitter \(Paris\)](#), [Twitter \(Saxony\)](#), [Twitter \(UK & Ireland\)](#) (suspended), [YouTube \(Italy\)](#), [Twitter \(Martin Sellner\)](#), [YouTube \(UK & Ireland\)](#), [YouTube \(Martin Sellner\)](#), [YouTube \(Defend Europe\)](#)

¹⁴⁸ Jon Henley, “Refugee rescue ship sails to aid of anti-migrant activists stranded in Med,” *Guardian* (London), August 11, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/11/migrant-rescue-ship-sails-to-aid-of-stranded-far-right-activists>.

¹⁴⁹ Jason Horowitz, “For Right-Wing Italian Youth, a Mission to Disrupt Migration,” *New York Times*, July 21, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/21/world/europe/for-right-wing-italian-youth-a-mission-to-disrupt-migration.html>.

¹⁵⁰ Gianluca Mezzofiore, “Three far-right activists and YouTubers denied entry to the UK,” CNN, March 13, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/03/13/europe/activists-denied-entry-uk-intl/index.html>.

¹⁵¹ Mark Townsend, “Anti-Muslim campaigners denied entry to UK at border,” *Guardian* (London), April 14, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/14/anti-muslim-campaigners-denied-entry-uk-far-right-martin-sellner-abel-bodi>.

¹⁵² Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/>; “Meet the IB, Europe’s version of America’s alt-right,” *Economist*, November 12, 2016, <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21709986-france-austria-identitarian-movement-gives-xenophobia-youthful-edge-meet-ib>.

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- **Leadership:** Martin Sellner and Martin Lichtmesz lead GI's Austrian chapter. Sellner is also the main leader of Defend Europe.¹⁵³ Lorenzo Fiato leads GI's Italian chapter.¹⁵⁴
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** The network includes six regional chapters across Europe and smaller subchapters within those countries. GI's original French chapter allegedly had some 2,000 members as of 2016.¹⁵⁵

Martin Sellner maintained more than 30,000 Twitter followers and 90,165 YouTube subscribers as of March 19, 2019.¹⁵⁶ The Italian GI chapter maintained 2,915 Twitter followers and 1,232 YouTube subscribers as of March 19, 2019.¹⁵⁷ The Flanders chapter had 185 Twitter followers as of March 19, 2019.¹⁵⁸ The Saxony chapter had 1,148 Twitter followers as of March 19, 2019.¹⁵⁹ The Defend Europe YouTube page had 5,489 subscribers as of March 19, 2019.¹⁶⁰

- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** GI primarily targets European men and women in their 20s and 30s. The movement has a subgroup called Generation Identity Support Group (GISG), targeted to people over 40 to “help us protect our valuable heritage. A heritage that you have handed down.”¹⁶¹ GI hosts online stores that sell T-shirts and stickers with slogans such as “Stop the Great Replacement,” “Chassons les Islamistes!” (“Hunt the Islamists”), “On est chez nous” (“We are home”), and “Defend Europe,” and the *Identitaires* magazine, which reports on the activities of GI and Les Identitaires.¹⁶²

On April 14, 2018, GI hosted its “European Reunion” conference in England, which reportedly drew attendees from across Europe.¹⁶³ GI livestreamed the conference on

¹⁵³ Gianluca Mezzofiore, “Three far-right activists and YouTubers denied entry to the UK,” CNN, March 13, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/03/13/europe/activists-denied-entry-uk-intl/index.html>; “How to write history like an identitarian,” Southern Poverty Law Center, February 14, 2018,

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/02/14/how-write-history-identitarian>.

¹⁵⁴ Jason Horowitz, “Ship Monitoring Rescues of Migrants Refuses to be Rescued,” *New York Times*, August 11, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/11/world/europe/migrant-ship-monitor-mediterranean.html>.

¹⁵⁵ “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

¹⁵⁶ Martin Sellner, Twitter account, accessed March 19, 2019, https://twitter.com/Martin_Sellner; Martin Sellner, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCZ8uFo1RKSGEg-od3Yu10Pw>.

¹⁵⁷ Generazione Identitaria, Twitter account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://twitter.com/GenerazioneID>; Generazione Identitaria, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/user/GenerazioneID>.

¹⁵⁸ Generatie Identiteit, Twitter account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://twitter.com/GIdentiteit>.

¹⁵⁹ Identitäre Sachsen, Twitter account, accessed March 19, 2019, https://twitter.com/ib_sachsen.

¹⁶⁰ Defend Europe, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCwQL6Mcu34L9zHZzQ1PkyiA>.

¹⁶¹ “GISG,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed April 16, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/over-40-support-group>.

¹⁶² Boutique Identitaire, accessed March 6, 2018, <http://www.boutique-identitaire.com/gb/>; “Shop,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed March 6, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/shop/>; “Revues,” Boutique Identitaire, accessed March 15, 2018, <http://www.boutique-identitaire.com/fr/18-revues>.

¹⁶³ European Reunion London Conference, Facebook event, accessed March 6, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/events/212531269295634/>.

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Facebook, drawing more than 2,000 views.¹⁶⁴ The group claimed that the event was a success, but Hope Not Hate and anti-fascist Twitter account Anti-Fascist Intel alleged that organizers were forced to relocate the conference from London to Kent the day before and that prominent speakers, including Sellner, were unable to attend.¹⁶⁵

GI relies on its social media presence to recruit and fundraise. The Defend Europe YouTube channel includes financial appeals for future protests.¹⁶⁶ YouTube hosts multiple versions of GI's 2012 "Declaration of War" video, in which French youth declare their disenchantment with values of their parents' generation—such as diversity, sexual liberation, and social security—and declare "war" against "anti-white racism."¹⁶⁷

Sellner also created a mobile app called Patriot Peer to connect GI members and sympathizers. After the crowdfunding website Kickstarter banned the app, Sellner turned to YouTube to raise support.¹⁶⁸ Sellner's YouTube page had 25,311 subscribers and hosted more than 140 videos as of July 3, 2018.¹⁶⁹

In June 2018, Facebook finally took action to permanently ban GI from its platforms, citing violations of Facebook's policies on extremism and hate speech.¹⁷⁰ With the exception of the Flanders chapter's page, all of GI's Facebook and Instagram accounts appeared to have been removed as of July 3, 2018. The Defend Europe website had also been removed as of the same date, though its YouTube page remained active. Related GI Twitter accounts remained active.

- **Violent Activities:** GI is not known to have directly instigated any violent attacks. However, the group has engaged in military-style combat training in preparation for violent confrontation.¹⁷¹ Some of GI's protests have also directly threatened others. For

¹⁶⁴ Generation Identity United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, Facebook post, April 14, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/IdentitarianMovement/videos/356243488220611/>; Tore R, "GENERATION IDENTITY HOLDS SUCCESSFUL FIRST CONFERENCE IN LONDON," Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, April 14, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/generation-identity-holds-successful-first-conference-in-london/>.

¹⁶⁵ Right Response Team, "GENERATION IDENTITY CONFERENCE: A SHAMBLES FROM START TO FINISH," Hope Not Hate, April 14, 2018, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2018/04/14/generation-identity-conference-shambles-start-finish/>; Anti-Fascist Intel, Twitter post, April 15, 2018, 1:25 p.m., <https://twitter.com/AntifaIntel/status/985569916207206400>.

¹⁶⁶ "The successes of Defend Europe," YouTube video, 3:05, posted by "Defend Europe," August 23, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpsDDtOC-yc>.

¹⁶⁷ "Generation Identitaire - A Declaration of War From the Youth of France (English subs)," YouTube video, 2:32, posted by "mike wilson," November 8, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqybsUqkOWs>.

¹⁶⁸ "Patriot Peer - Connecting the silent majority," YouTube video, 9:13, posted by "Martin Sellner GI," February 12, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EFPHRCbgdNU>.

¹⁶⁹ "Martin Sellner GI" YouTube channel, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UChAfRiWP0vFCrQbLRfuCA-A>.

¹⁷⁰ Luke Bailey, "Far-right group Generation Identity have been banned from Facebook across Europe," i News, June 21, 2018, <https://inews.co.uk/news/generation-identity-banned-facebook/>.

¹⁷¹ Christina Maza, "White Supremacists Now Have Their Own Anti-Islam Military Camps," *Newsweek*, November 9, 2017, <http://www.newsweek.com/far-right-white-supremacists-islam-military-camps-europe-training-706578>.

example, in October 2016, GI members in Montpellier, France, built a fake wall over which they draped a banner declaring “Refugee-free Montpellier.” GI’s Facebook page declared that the group would not let immigrants “walk around Montpellier in peace.”¹⁷²

• **Rhetoric:**

- Martin Sellner YouTube video, January 19, 2017: “‘Diversity’ is a false idol. Immigration and multiculturalism are dogmas you are not allowed to question.”¹⁷³
- GI Ireland and Northern Ireland Facebook account, March 4, 2018: “The politicians of our country are openly advocating and promoting our replacement. Their plan is to import over 1 million migrants into Ireland over the next 10 - 20 years. Stop and reverse the great replacement of our people and culture!”¹⁷⁴
- GI public statement on a protest in Calais, France, March 2016: “The only worthwhile ‘relocation’ of migrants is back to their country of origin.”¹⁷⁵
- GI public statement on a protest in Calais, France, March 2016: “The socialist regime, like the illegitimate ‘European’ commissioners, must understand that the people will not stand for it anymore and that as long as they will refuse to re-establish the borders - both national and European - they will erect barricades.”¹⁷⁶

Golden Dawn

- **Summary:** Golden Dawn is a neo-Nazi party that has risen from a marginal role in Greek politics to become the third-largest political force in Greece. Golden Dawn party members have been involved in hundreds of acts of violence against immigrants and leftists across Greece.¹⁷⁷ Golden Dawn openly advocates national socialism, racism, and anti-Semitism, and has adorned its publications and rallies with images of Adolf Hitler, the Third Reich, Rudolf Hess, the Waffen SS, and the swastika.¹⁷⁸ In 1987, Golden Dawn

¹⁷² Romina McGuinness, “‘Immigrants are ISIS messengers and will RADICALISE France’ Thousands of migrants protest,” *Express* (London), October 3, 2016, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/717210/Migrants-protest-immigrants-will-RADICALISE-France>.

¹⁷³ “Debunking the Dogma of Diversity,” YouTube video, 26:58, posted by “Martin Sellner GI,” January 19, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0_-5cfMOsEQ.

¹⁷⁴ Generation Identity Éire/Ireland and Northern Ireland, Facebook post, March 4, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/giEIRE/photos/a.107593893201018.1073741828.101837350443339/152409112052829/?type=3&theater>.

¹⁷⁵ Lizzie Dearden, “Police arrest far-right activists as protesters block bridges with burning tyres to stop refugees entering Calais,” *Independent* (London), March 12, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/police-arrest-far-right-activists-as-protesters-block-bridges-with-burning-tyres-to-stop-refugees-a6927351.html>.

¹⁷⁶ Lizzie Dearden, “Police arrest far-right activists as protesters block bridges with burning tyres to stop refugees entering Calais,” *Independent* (London), March 12, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/police-arrest-far-right-activists-as-protesters-block-bridges-with-burning-tyres-to-stop-refugees-a6927351.html>.

¹⁷⁷ Yiannis Baboulias, “Greece’s Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined,” *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/>.

¹⁷⁸ Dina Kyriakidou, “Special Report: Greece’s far-right party goes on the offensive,” Reuters, November 12, 2012, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/11/12/us-greece-crisis-dawn-idUSBRE8AB09F20121112>.

leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos wrote in the party magazine, “We are the faithful soldiers of the National Socialist idea and nothing else.”¹⁷⁹

Golden Dawn campaigns on a strongly anti-immigration platform. The party blames the “millions of illegal immigrants” and leftist political parties for what it deems “the dissolution of the Greek society.”¹⁸⁰ Golden Dawn seeks “a Greece that belongs to the Greeks.”¹⁸¹ In a 2012 interview, two Golden Dawn parliamentarians demanded that only people with “Greek blood” should be allowed to participate in elections.¹⁸²

In recent years, Golden Dawn has sought to soften its image in order to appeal to a wider spectrum of voters. When Golden Dawn organizes public events, it now rejects the neo-Nazi label and generally prefers to present itself as a “nationalist” and “patriotic” organization.¹⁸³ Golden Dawn leaders have claimed that prior Golden Dawn references to the Nazi Party were “youthful indiscretions.”¹⁸⁴ During the 2014 European elections, many of Golden Dawn’s candidates were middle-class professionals, including university professors, lawyers, surgeons, businesspeople, and a former NATO commander.¹⁸⁵ In January 2015, Golden Dawn won 17 seats in Greece’s parliamentary elections to become the country’s third largest party.¹⁸⁶

Nonetheless, Golden Dawn members continue to court controversy over their far-right positions and violent actions. The Greek parliament temporarily banned Golden Dawn in June 2018 after Golden Dawn MP Konstantinos Barbarousis called for a military coup. Barbarousis was subsequently arrested on treason charges.¹⁸⁷ One ex-member of Golden Dawn has claimed that the party discussed plots to overthrow the Greek government using “tanks.”¹⁸⁸ In 2013, Golden Dawn MP George Germenis attempted to strike Athens Mayor George Kaminis, who was protesting Golden Dawn members distributing food packages to ethnic Greeks while intentionally excluding immigrants. Germenis received a

¹⁷⁹ Michael Taube, “TAUBE: Shunning Greece’s Neo-Nazi ‘Golden Dawn,’” *Washington Times*, October 9, 2013, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/oct/9/taube-shunning-greeces-neo-nazi-golden-dawn-wackos/?page=all>.

¹⁸⁰ “Information,” Golden Dawn, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/information>.

¹⁸¹ “Information,” Golden Dawn, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/information>.

¹⁸² Boris Kálnoky, “Wahlrecht nur für reinrassige Griechen,” *Die Welt*, May 2, 2012, <http://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article106252273/Wahlrecht-nur-fuer-reinrassige-Griechen.html>.

¹⁸³ Helen Smith, “SS songs and antisemitism: the week Golden Dawn turned openly Nazi,” *Guardian* (London), June 7, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/07/greece-golden-dawn-fascism-threat-to-democracy>.

¹⁸⁴ Yiannis Baboulias, “Who is Nikolaos Michaloliakos?” *London Review of Books*, October 3, 2013, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2013/10/03/yiannis-baboulias/who-is-nikolaos-michaloliakos/>.

¹⁸⁵ Helen Smith, “Golden Dawn ditches boots for suits in European election makeover,” *Guardian* (London), May 23, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/23/golden-dawn-greece-european-election>.

¹⁸⁶ Laurence Peter, “Greek elections: Jail fails to deter far-right Golden Dawn,” *BBC News*, January 26, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-eu-30980002>.

¹⁸⁷ “Greek far-right MP arrested, investigated for treason over coup remark,” *Reuters*, June 15, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-greece-macedonia-goldendawn/greek-far-right-mp-arrested-investigated-for-treason-over-coup-remark-idUSKBN1JB25D>.

¹⁸⁸ Yiannis Baboulias, “Greece’s Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined,” *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/>.

suspended sentence in 2018.¹⁸⁹ In 2013, Greek police arrested Golden Dawn leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos and other senior party members on charges of running an illegal organization. The trial is ongoing.¹⁹⁰

- **Base of Operations:** Greece
- **Website:** <http://xryshaygh.com/gr/>, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en>, <https://xaameriki.wordpress.com/>
- **Social Media:** [YouTube](#), [YouTube \(Golden Dawn New York\)](#)
- **Leadership:** Nikolaos Michaloliakos founded Golden Dawn in 1985 and continues to lead the organization.¹⁹¹
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** In January 2015, Golden Dawn won 17 seats in Greece's parliamentary elections, becoming the country's third largest party.¹⁹²
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** Golden Dawn employs a range of strategies to recruit members, including grassroots mobilization. It has attracted widespread appeal, boasting thousands of members and attendants at Golden Dawn rallies.¹⁹³ Golden Dawn also works to appeal to Greek expatriates living in Australia, Canada, and the United States.¹⁹⁴ The group also recruits online. According to its website, Golden Dawn New York aims "to counter the lies and propaganda against Golden Dawn in the English speaking world by providing official translations of Golden Dawn articles."¹⁹⁵ Golden Dawn's Greek website outlines a list of beliefs for its members, focusing on National Socialism.¹⁹⁶

Within Greece, Golden Dawn is heavily focused on recruiting from Greek's youth population. Golden Dawn has a youth club, Galazia Stratia (Blue Army). The group has used bribes, such as cell phones, to recruit younger members.¹⁹⁷ The group has also used gyms, athletic clubs, and martial arts clubs as grounds for recruiting youths. It actively recruits at high schools, and even stands accused of launching an indoctrination course

¹⁸⁹ "Far-right Greek MP gets suspended sentence for mayor assault," Reuters, March 12, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-greece-goldendawn-mp/far-right-greek-mp-gets-suspended-sentence-for-mayor-assault-idUSKCNIG025P>.

¹⁹⁰ Nektaria Stamouli, "Greece Releases Golden Dawn Leader Nikos Michaloliakos From Jail," *Wall Street Journal*, March 20, 2015, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/greece-to-release-golden-dawn-leader-nikos-michaloliakos-from-jail-1426866104>.

¹⁹¹ Richard J Evans, "Europe on the verge of a nervous breakdown," *New Statesman*, June 27, 2012, <http://www.newstatesman.com/world-affairs/world-affairs/2012/06/europe-verge-nervous-breakdown>.

¹⁹² Laurence Peter, "Greek elections: Jail fails to deter far-right Golden Dawn," BBC News, January 26, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-eu-30980002>.

¹⁹³ Helena Smith, "Greece's Neo Nazi Party Now Has Thousands Of Members Who Believe They Are At War," *Business Insider*, June 1, 2013, <http://www.businessinsider.com/golden-dawn-has-thousands-of-members-2013-6>.

¹⁹⁴ Nick Squires, Menelaos Tzafalias, and Harriet Alexander, "What is the Golden Dawn trial about?," *Telegraph* (London), April 20, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greece/11548387/What-is-the-Golden-Dawn-trial-about.html>.

¹⁹⁵ "About," Golden Dawn New York, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://xaameriki.wordpress.com/about>.

¹⁹⁶ "Information," Golden Dawn, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/information>.

¹⁹⁷ Lefteris Bidelas and Maria Psara, "Stuff Greek Fascists Like," *Vice*, March 22, 2014, <http://www.vice.com/read/golden-dawn-political-immunity-lift-greece>.

called “National Awakening,” aimed at children ages 6-10.¹⁹⁸ According to Greece’s education ministry, the course, which taught subjects such as history and religion, aimed to instill a sense of Greek supremacy in youth. The competing Greek party Syriza accused Golden Dawn of “brainwashing little tots with Nazi propaganda.”¹⁹⁹

As of July 3, 2018, Golden Dawn’s YouTube page had 16,381 subscribers, an increase of approximately 400 subscribers since June 24, 2018. The account also hosted more than 600 videos and had received more than 13 million views since October 2012.²⁰⁰ The account no longer existed as of March 19, 2019. In contrast, Golden Dawn New York’s YouTube page hosted only seven videos and has only 663 subscribers as of March 19, 2019.²⁰¹ Golden Dawn’s Twitter account had been suspended as of June 24, 2018.²⁰²

- **Violent Activities:** During a 2015 trial of Golden Dawn members in Greece, prosecutors pointed to evidence of military training and attack battalions that, according to one ex-member of Golden Dawn, were preparing “to overthrow the Greek government.”²⁰³ Evidence from the prosecutors showed Golden Dawn members in military clothing wielding knives, swords, handguns, rifles, and even a bazooka.²⁰⁴ According to the ex-member of Golden Dawn, “They kept telling us that we’ll break into the parliament with tanks.”²⁰⁵
 - On August 24, 2014, Golden Dawn members attacked a gay couple in Athens, seriously injuring one of them.²⁰⁶
 - On September 17, 2013, leftist musician Pavlos Fyssas was stabbed to death near the port of Athens. Police later arrested the attacker, who claimed to be a member

¹⁹⁸ Helena Smith, “Greece’s Neo Nazi Party Now Has Thousands Of Members Who Believe They Are At War,” Business Insider, June 1, 2013, <http://www.businessinsider.com/golden-dawn-has-thousands-of-members-2013-6>; Gianluca Mezzofiore, “Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn Recruits Children in ‘National Awakening’ History Course,” International Business Times, February 28, 2013, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/golden-dawn-greece-children-recruit-indoctrination-440502>.

¹⁹⁹ Gianluca Mezzofiore, “Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn Recruits Children in ‘National Awakening’ History Course,” International Business Times, February 28, 2013, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/golden-dawn-greece-children-recruit-indoctrination-440502>.

²⁰⁰ Golden Dawn, YouTube page, accessed June 24, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/user/xryshayghcom/featured>.

²⁰¹ GoldenDawnDivisionNY, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/user/GoldenDawnDivisionNY/feed>

²⁰² Golden Dawn, Twitter account, accessed June 24, 2018, <https://twitter.com/#!/xryshaygh>; Golden Dawn homepage, accessed June 24, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en>.

²⁰³ “Greece trial of Golden Dawn members begins,” Al Jazeera, April 20, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/04/greece-trial-golden-dawn-150420081447112.html>; Yiannis Baboulias, “Greece’s Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined,” *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/>.

²⁰⁴ Yiannis Baboulias, “Greece’s Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined,” *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/>.

²⁰⁵ Yiannis Baboulias, “Greece’s Neo-Nazis Were Scarier Than Anyone Imagined,” *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/13/greeces-neo-nazis-were-scarier-than-anyone-imagined/>.

²⁰⁶ “Rise in Greek anti-gay attacks blamed on Golden Dawn party,” *South China Morning Post*, August 26, 2014, <http://www.scmp.com/news/world/article/1580879/rise-greek-anti-gay-attacks-blamed-golden-dawn-party>.

of Golden Dawn. Police also arrested senior members of Golden Dawn's leadership, including party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos.²⁰⁷

- On July 21, 2013, six members of Golden Dawn posed as police officers and entered a house in Tavros where immigrant workers resided. The Golden Dawn members physically beat them and stole their wallets and work permits.²⁰⁸
- In May 2013, Golden Dawn MP George Germenis attempted to strike Athens Mayor George Kaminis, who was protesting Golden Dawn members distributing food packages to ethnic Greeks and intentionally excluding immigrants. Golden Dawn supporters also clashed with police. Germenis received a suspended sentence in 2018.²⁰⁹
- On November 1, 2012, around 150 people, including an unidentified number of high-ranking members of Golden Dawn, attacked immigrants and damaged immigrant shops.²¹⁰
- In June 2012, Golden Dawn MP Ilias Kasidiaris physically attacked two female left-wing MPs on a live talk show after they criticized Golden Dawn. Kasidiaris was arrested soon after.²¹¹
- On October 12, 2012, four members of Golden Dawn attacked a 21-year-old Egyptian, severely beating him with chains and attacking him with a dog. The attack left the victim blind.²¹²
- **Rhetoric:**
 - Golden Dawn website, undated: “[Golden Dawn is] against the population distortion, because of the millions of illegal immigrants, and the dissolution of the Greek society that is promoted by the coalition parties and the so called Left. It proposes a National policy for exiting the crisis imposed on our country. It fights for a Greece that belongs to the Greeks.”²¹³
 - Ilias Panagiotaros, April 2014: “[Hitler is a] great personality, like Stalin.”²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ Nektaria Stamouli, “Greek killing prompts fears of political violence,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 18, 2014, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323308504579082922836516330>; Omaira Gill, “Greece’s Golden Dawn trial going nowhere fast,” *Deutsche Welle*, April 20, 2016, <http://www.dw.com/en/greeces-golden-dawn-trial-going-nowhere-fast/a-19197580>.

²⁰⁸ “Golden Dawn attack home of migrants,” *The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens*, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/125>.

²⁰⁹ “Far-right Greek MP gets suspended sentence for mayor assault,” *Reuters*, March 12, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-greece-goldendawn-mp/far-right-greek-mp-gets-suspended-sentence-for-mayor-assault-idUSKCN1GO25P>.

²¹⁰ Matthew Boesler, “REPORT: A Huge Golden Dawn Mob Led An Assault On Immigrants In Athens Last Night,” *Business Insider*, November 1, 2012, <http://www.businessinsider.com/golden-dawn-mob-attack-greek-hairdresser-2012-11>.

²¹¹ “Far-Right Golden Dawn spokesman hits two female MPs on Greek talk show,” *Telegraph* (London), June 7, 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greece/9316125/Far-Right-Golden-Dawn-spokesman-hits-two-female-MPs-on-Greek-talk-show.html>.

²¹² “21 year old blinded by attack by four Golden Dawn members,” *The city at a time of crisis: Map of attacks on migrants in Athens*, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://map.crisis-scape.net/reports/view/26>.

²¹³ “Information,” *Golden Dawn*, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/information>.

²¹⁴ Helena Smith, “Greece’s Golden Dawn party describes Hitler as ‘great personality,’” *Guardian* (London), April 16, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/16/greece-golden-dawn-hitler>.

- Ilias Panagiotaros, 2013: “Golden Dawn wants to become, and will become, like Hezbollah in Lebanon, which is in effect a second government that helps even the last of its poor citizens....”²¹⁵
- Nikolaos Michaloliakos, November 2012: “I have read a lot of books casting doubts on the number of six million Jews... There were no ovens, no gas chambers, it’s a lie.”²¹⁶
- Nikolaos Michaloliakos, August 2012: “We feel disgusted in the parliament. If they want us to, we can abandon it at any given moment and take to the streets. There, they shall see what the Golden Dawn is really about, they will see what battle means, they will see what struggle means, they will see what bayonets sharpened every night mean.”²¹⁷
- Nikolaos Michaloliakos, 1987: “We are the faithful soldiers of the National Socialist idea and nothing else.”²¹⁸

Jobbik

- **Summary:** Jobbik is a neo-fascist Hungarian political party that combines militant ethno-nationalism with anti-Semitism and anti-Roma racism. A Hungarian court ruled in January 2014 that Jobbik may be referred to as “neo-Nazi” in Hungary.²¹⁹ Jobbik describes itself as a “principled, conservative and radically patriotic Christian party” whose “fundamental purpose” is the protection of “Hungarian values and interests.”²²⁰ Jobbik rejects “the dead-end Western European multiculturalism” and has pledged to “defend our cultural identity developed over our history.”²²¹

A group of nationalist Catholic and Protestant university students established the precursor to Jobbik, the Right-Wing Youth Association, as an alternative to the nationalist, far-right Hungarian Justice and Life Party (MEIP) after MEIP failed to win

²¹⁵ Palash Ghosh, “We Seek To Become Like Hezbollah: Greece’s Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn MP,” *International Business Times*, May 23, 2013, <http://www.ibtimes.com/we-seek-become-hezbollah-greeces-neo-nazi-golden-dawn-mp-1276743>.

²¹⁶ Agence France-Presse, “Greek Neo-Nazi Leader Denies Existence of Gas Chambers in WWII Death Camps,” *National Post*, May 15, 2012, <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/05/15/greek-neo-nazi-leader-denies-existence-of-gas-chambers-in-wwii-death-camps>.

²¹⁷ Yiannis Baboulias, “Greece’s Golden Dawn Isn’t a Political Party – It’s More like a Criminal Gang,” *Guardian* (London), September 4, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/sep/04/greece-golden-dawn-not-political-party>.

²¹⁸ Michael Taube, “TAUBE: Shunning Greece’s Neo-Nazi ‘Golden Dawn,’” *Washington Times*, October 9, 2013, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/oct/9/taube-shunning-greeces-neo-nazi-golden-dawn-wackos/?page=all>.

²¹⁹ “Gerichtsurteil in Ungarn: Jobbik darf als Neonazipartei bezeichnet werden,” *Spiegel Online*, January 28, 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/urteil-in-ungarn-jobbik-darf-als-neonazi-partei-bezeichnet-werden-a-945998.html>.

²²⁰ Jobbik, Facebook, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/JobbikEnglish?sk=info>.

²²¹ “Manifesto on The Guidelines For a Future Jobbik-Led Government,” Jobbik, accessed June 25, 2018, https://www.jobbik.com/manifesto_on_the_guidelines_for_a_future_jobbik_led_government.

any seats in the 2002 election.²²² Jobbik was officially founded in October 2003 as a political party.²²³ In Hungary's April 2018 parliamentary elections, Jobbik came in a distant second to the ruling Fidesz party, earning 19 percent of the vote to receive 26 seats. This marked a 1 percent decrease in votes for Jobbik from the 2014 election but an increase of three additional seats.²²⁴

Jobbik seeks the “reunification” of the Hungarian nation and a revision of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, the post-World War I peace treaty between the Allied states and the Kingdom of Hungary that determined the borders of present-day Hungary.²²⁵ In addition to a purported Jewish threat, Jobbik believes that the “Gypsies” are Hungary's largest problem because of “their extremely disproportionate crime rate and indolence.”²²⁶

- **Base of Operations:** Hungary
 - **Website:** <https://www.jobbik.com/>, <https://www.jobbik.hu/>
 - **Social Media:** [Facebook](#), [Twitter](#)
 - **Leadership:** Gabor Vona resigned as party chair in April 2018 after Jobbik's defeat in Hungary's parliamentary elections that month.²²⁷ Tamás Sneider is Jobbik's president, and Márton Gyöngyösi is its executive vice president and parliamentary faction leader.²²⁸
- Membership Size and Relevance:** In Hungary's April 2018 parliamentary elections, Jobbik came in a distant second to the ruling Fidesz party, earning 19 percent of the vote to receive 26 seats. This marked a 1 percent decrease in votes for Jobbik from the 2014 election but an increase of three additional seats.²²⁹ In 2014, Jobbik received 14.7 percent of the votes in European Parliament elections, which gave it three seats.²³⁰

²²² András Kovács, “The Post-Communist Extreme Right: The Jobbik Party in Hungary,” *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, eds. Ruth Wodak, Brigitte Mral, Majid KhosraviNik (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 224, https://books.google.com/books?id=Wrw8gC8vCnUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false.

²²³ Zselyke Csaky, “Hungary: Jobbik and the ‘Enemy Within,’” *Freedom House*, October 9, 2012, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/hungary-jobbik-and-%E2%80%98enemy-within%E2%80%99>.

²²⁴ “Tájékoztató adatok a választáson megjelentek számáról és arányáról,” National Election Office, April 8, 2018, <http://valasztas.hu/dyn/pv18/szavossz/hu/napind.html>.

²²⁵ “Băsescu spielt die Nationalismus-Karte,” *EuroTopics.net*, March 13, 2014, <http://mobile.eurotopics.net/m-de/ps/top/detail/ARTICLE139989>; Alla Skvartova, *Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung an der LMU München, Country Report: Moldova*, accessed August 14, 2014, 11-13, http://www.cap.uni-muenchen.de/download/2003/2003_Skvartova.pdf.

²²⁶ “Ungarn schützen, das ist unser Ziel: Bededikt Frings für die DS im Gespräch mit Gábor Vona, dem Chef der Ungarischen Garde,” in *Deutsche Stimme* (May 2008): 9.

²²⁷ “Hungary Jobbik leader Vona tenders resignation after election defeat,” *Reuters*, April 8, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-election-jobbik/hungary-jobbik-leader-vona-tenders-resignation-after-election-defeat-idUSKBN1HF0Z4>.

²²⁸ “Party leadership - Tamás Sneider and Marton Gyöngyösi,” *Jobbik*, May 6, 2018, https://www.jobbik.com/party_leadership_-_g%C3%A1bor_vona_party_chairman.

²²⁹ “Tájékoztató adatok a választáson megjelentek számáról és arányáról,” National Election Office, April 8, 2018, <http://valasztas.hu/dyn/pv18/szavossz/hu/napind.html>.

²³⁰ “Hungary's right-wing dominates EU polls,” *EUbusiness*, May 25, 2014, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/vote-hungary.w8q>.

- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** Jobbik claims to represent the Hungarian people and seeks to restore a sense of nationalism that the party believes had been destroyed under Hungary's former communist regime.²³¹

A Hungarian court ruled in January 2014 that Jobbik may be referred to as “neo-Nazi” in Hungary because of its rhetoric.²³² In 2008, Jobbik Chairman Gabor Vona claimed in an interview with a German neo-Nazi journal that “organized Jewry” would try to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary. He cited “statements of the Jews in Hungary and of international Jewry that the [Hungarian] guard stands in their way and that they want to buy whole Hungary.” Jobbik’s blatant use of the Nazi “Arrow Cross” suggests Jobbik’s pride in Hungary’s Nazi past.²³³

Jobbik maintains a social media presence. As of July 3, 2018, the group’s Twitter account had 8,787 followers.²³⁴ Jobbik’s Facebook account had 5,310 followers as of the same date.²³⁵

- **Violent Activities:** In August 2007, Jobbik created the paramilitary organization Magyar Garda (“Hungarian Guard”) to “carry out the real change of regime and to rescue Hungarians,” according to Vona.²³⁶ According to the U.S. Department of State, the guards wore the uniforms of Hungary’s World War II fascist government and pledged to defend the country from “bloodsuckers.”²³⁷ Hungary’s Metropolitan Court of Appeal disbanded the Hungarian Guard in 2009 for intimidation of Hungary’s Roma community.²³⁸ However, the group has since formed several successor organizations, including the New Hungarian Guard.²³⁹

²³¹ “Manifesto on The Guidelines For a Future Jobbik-Led Government,” Jobbik, accessed June 25, 2018, https://www.jobbik.com/manifesto_on_the_guidelines_for_a_future_jobbik_led_government.

²³² Gerichtsurteil in Ungarn: Jobbik darf als Neonazipartei bezeichnet werden,” Spiegel Online, January 28, 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/urteil-in-ungarn-jobbik-darf-als-neonazi-partei-bezeichnet-werden-a-945998.html>.

²³³ “Ungarn schützen, das ist unser Ziel: Bededikt Frings für die DS im Gespräch mit Gábor Vona, dem Chef der Ungarischen Garde,” in *Deutsche Stimme* (May 2008): 9.

²³⁴ Jobbik, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://twitter.com/JobbikMM>.

²³⁵ Jobbik, Facebook page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/pg/JobbikEnglish/about/>.

²³⁶ Siobhán Dowling, “Neo-Fascist Magyar Garda Is 'Hungary's Shame,’” Spiegel Online, August 27, 2007, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-world-from-berlin-neo-fascist-magyar-garda-is-hungary-s-shame-a-502184.html>.

²³⁷ “Hungary - International Religious Freedom Report 2008,” U.S. Department of State, 2008, <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2008/108450.htm>.

²³⁸ Gregg Morgan, “Hungary’s Jobbik party hold anti-semitic rally in Budapest after ban attempts fail,” *Telegraph* (London), May 4, 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/hungary/10037377/Hungarys-Jobbik-party-hold-anti-semitic-rally-in-Budapest-after-ban-attempts-fail.html>; Benjamin Novak, “New Hungarian Guard celebrates day of camaraderie in Budapest,” *Budapest Post*, July 6, 2015, <https://budapestbeacon.com/new-hungarian-guard-celebrates-day-of-camaraderie-in-budapest/>.

²³⁹ Justin Spike, “National Security Committee says right-wing paramilitaries no threat to national security,” *Budapest Post*, November 23, 2017, https://budapestbeacon.com/national-security-committee-says-right-wing-paramilitaries-no-threat-national-security/?sf_data=all&sf_s=hungarian+guard.

- In April 2009, a member of Magyar Garda stabbed his girlfriend to death and then carved a swastika into her back. He then draped her body in a Nazi flag. He was sentenced to life in prison in 2011.²⁴⁰
- Between 2008 and 2009, four neo-Nazis murdered six Roma in Greece. Two of the attackers were members of Jobbik’s Hungarian Guard who sought to provoke Romani people into violent reactions. In August 2013, three of the attackers received life sentences while the fourth was sentenced to 13 years in prison.²⁴¹
- **Rhetoric:**
 - Jobbik party chairman Gábor Vona during Jobbik protests against a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Budapest, May 2013: “The Israeli conquerors, these investors, should look for another country in the world for themselves because Hungary is not for sale.”²⁴²
 - Jobbik MP Márton Gyöngyösi during Jobbik protests against a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Budapest, May 2013: Hungary had “become subjugated to Zionism, it has become a target of colonisation while we, the indigenous people, can play only the role of extras.”²⁴³
 - Jobbik statement on its website regarding Hungarian Nazi collaborator Miklós Horthy, 2011: “The Horthy-era released positive élan for the nation... Under Horthy Hungary had a strong and impressing elite, which pursued the goal of the appeal of the unfair Trianon peace diktat... But since then, we have no national elite any more. During the fifty years of communism we had an internationalist elite and today we have a globalist elite. Neither of them was able and willing to represent national interests.”²⁴⁴

Lega Nord

- **Summary:** Lega Nord (“Northern League,” a.k.a. Lega or the League) is a far-right populist Italian political party that rose to prominence in 2018 on policies of anti-immigration and “Italians First.”²⁴⁵ Its leader, Matteo Salvini, views Italian culture and way of life as “under attack” and “at risk” due to mass immigration.²⁴⁶ Ahead of Italy’s

²⁴⁰ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, “July-December, 2010 International Religious Freedom Report – Hungary,” U.S. Department of State, September 13, 2011, https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168315.htm.

²⁴¹ Anton Maegerle, “Braunes Killerkommando,” Blick nach Rechts, August 7, 2013, <http://www.bnr.de/artikel/hintergrund/braunes-killerkommando>.

²⁴² “Anti-Jewish Rally in Hungary Capital,” BBC News, May 4, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22413301>.

²⁴³ “Anti-Jewish Rally in Hungary Capital,” BBC News, May 4, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22413301>.

²⁴⁴ “Eine Tragödie für Europa als Ganzes,” Zurzeit.at, May 16, 2011, <http://archive.today/RbEHD#selection-425.0-425.37>.

²⁴⁵ Isla Binnie and Steve Scherer, “Matteo Salvini, the everyman leader of Italy’s populist revolt,” Reuters, March 7, 2018, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-italy-politics-salvini/matteo-salvini-the-everyman-leader-of-italys-populist-revolt-idUKKCN1GJ2MB>.

²⁴⁶ Isla Binnie and Steve Scherer, “Matteo Salvini, the everyman leader of Italy’s populist revolt,” Reuters, March 7, 2018, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-italy-politics-salvini/matteo-salvini-the-everyman-leader-of-italys-populist-revolt-idUKKCN1GJ2MB>.

March 2018 elections, the League promised to deport 400,000 immigrants and instruct asylum courts to disregard all circumstances of an applicant's journey to Italy.²⁴⁷ The League received 17 percent of the vote in March 2018 parliamentary elections, and Salvini became Italy's interior minister.²⁴⁸ Marine Le Pen, leader of France's far-right National Front political party, called the League's victory "the reawakening of the peoples."²⁴⁹

Umberto Bossi founded the League in the 1990s to represent northern Italians. He campaigned on the idea of gaining independence for a northern Italian region he called Padania. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the economic gap widened substantially between the agrarian south of Italy and the industrialized north, and consequently, many southern Italians immigrated to the north.²⁵⁰ Bossi began to blame southern Italians for northern Italy's economic hardships, regularly demeaning them as lazy parasites living off of hardworking northerners.²⁵¹ In 2012, then-League politician Donatella Galli posted on Facebook her desire for three of Italy's volcanoes to destroy southern Italy. She later stated that southerners "should be placed in ovens."²⁵²

Salvini joined the League's youth wing as a teenager.²⁵³ He took over the party's leadership from Bossi in 2013.²⁵⁴ In 2014, Salvini expanded the party's reach beyond Italy's northern region and targeted Italy as a whole. The international news organization The Local dubbed him "the rising star of the Italian right."²⁵⁵ In May 2015 regional

²⁴⁷ Jane McIntosh, "Who are Italy's two leading populist parties: Five Star Movement and the League?" Deutsche Welle, March 6, 2018, <http://www.dw.com/en/who-are-italys-two-leading-populist-parties-five-star-movement-and-the-league/a-42838238>.

²⁴⁸ Steve Scherer and Isla Binnie, "Italy cries victory as Spain opens port to rescued migrants," Reuters, June 11, 2018, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-italy-malta/rescue-boat-drifts-at-sea-as-italy-takes-anti-migrant-stance-idUKKBN1J710B>; Alessio Perrone, "Who is Matteo Salvini, Italy's new radical interior minister?" Al Jazeera, June 25, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/matteo-salvini-italy-radical-interior-minister-180624183439451.html>.

²⁴⁹ Jane McIntosh, "Who are Italy's two leading populist parties: Five Star Movement and the League?" Deutsche Welle, March 6, 2018, <http://www.dw.com/en/who-are-italys-two-leading-populist-parties-five-star-movement-and-the-league/a-42838238>.

²⁵⁰ "A tale of two economies," *Economist*, May 16, 2015, <https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2015/05/16/a-tale-of-two-economies>; Celestine Bohlen, "North-South Divide in Italy: A Problem for Europe, Too," *New York Times*, November 15, 1996, <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/11/15/world/north-south-divide-in-italy-a-problem-for-europe-too.html>.

²⁵¹ Giulia Paravicini, "Italy's far-right jolts back from dead," *Politico*, February 3, 2016, <https://www.politico.eu/article/italys-other-matteo-salvini-northern-league-politicians-media-effettosalvini/>.

²⁵² Angela Giuffrida, "Deleting southern Italy from map 'is race hate,'" *The Local*, July 31, 2014, <https://www.thelocal.it/20140731/woman-faces-trial-for-racism-against-southern-italians>.

²⁵³ Elizabeth Schumacher, "Matteo Salvini: Italy's far-right success story," Deutsche Welle, March 5, 2018, <http://www.dw.com/en/matteo-salvini-italys-far-right-success-story/a-42830366>.

²⁵⁴ Isla Binnie and Steve Scherer, "Matteo Salvini, the everyman leader of Italy's populist revolt," Reuters, March 7, 2018, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-italy-politics-salvini/matteo-salvini-the-everyman-leader-of-italys-populist-revolt-idUKKCN1GJ2MB>.

²⁵⁵ Agence France-Presse, "Italy's Northern League launches southern push," *The Local*, December 20, 2014, <https://www.thelocal.it/20141220/italys-northern-league-launches-southern-conquest>.

elections, the League received 20 percent of the vote in Tuscany. Salvini called the results “proof that the days are over when we were labeled as a crazy far-right party.”²⁵⁶

Nonetheless, the League has maintained its populist positions, casting the European Union as a threat to Italy’s sovereignty while blaming immigrants and minorities for diluting the Italian identity. The League believes that the European Union has harmed Italy’s economy. Salvini has derided the euro as a “German currency,”²⁵⁷ labeling it a “crime against humanity.”²⁵⁸ The League’s manifesto calls for Italy to exit the European Union unless all relevant treaties are renegotiated to restore Italy’s “full and legitimate sovereignty.”²⁵⁹ In 2009, Salvini called for “Milanese-only” train cars following reports of an increased immigrant population in Milan.²⁶⁰ In September 2014, League politician Andrea Della Puppa posted a series of images to his Facebook account, including one of Adolf Hitler, suggesting that immigrants should be burned to death.²⁶¹

In June 2018, Italy’s Roma and Jewish communities condemned Salvini as racist after he called for a census of the Roma community in Italy. Critics compared the proposal to race laws under dictator Benito Mussolini.²⁶² Earlier in June, Salvini refused to allow a German NGO migrant rescue ship carrying more than 600 people to dock in Italy. Salvini tweeted that “Italy has stopped bowing its head to obey....”²⁶³

- **Base of Operations:** Italy
- **Website:** <https://www.leganord.org/>
- **Social Media:** [Facebook](#) (Salvini), [Facebook](#), [Twitter](#) (Salvini)
- **Leadership:** Matteo Salvini took over the leadership of the League from founder Umberto Bossi in 2013.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁶ Giulia Paravicini, “Italy’s far-right jolts back from dead,” *Politico*, February 3, 2016,

<https://www.politico.eu/article/italys-other-matteo-salvini-northern-league-politicians-media-effettosalvini/>.

²⁵⁷ Simon Osborne, “‘It’s a GERMAN currency!’ Lega Nord vows to pull Italy from euro ‘MISTAKE,’” *Express* (London), February 8, 2018, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/916123/italian-elections-2018-lega-nord-northern-league-leader-matteo-salvini-eurozone>.

²⁵⁸ Elizabeth Schumacher, “Matteo Salvini: Italy’s far-right success story,” Deutsche Welle, March 5, 2018, <http://www.dw.com/en/matteo-salvini-italys-far-right-success-story/a-42830366>.

²⁵⁹ Simon Osborne, “‘It’s a GERMAN currency!’ Lega Nord vows to pull Italy from euro ‘MISTAKE,’” *Express* (London), February 8, 2018, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/916123/italian-elections-2018-lega-nord-northern-league-leader-matteo-salvini-eurozone>.

²⁶⁰ Elizabeth Schumacher, “Matteo Salvini: Italy’s far-right success story,” Deutsche Welle, March 5, 2018, <http://www.dw.com/en/matteo-salvini-italys-far-right-success-story/a-42830366>.

²⁶¹ Rosie Scammell, “‘Immigrants should be burned’: Italian politician,” *The Local*, September 22, 2014, <https://www.thelocal.it/20140922/immigrants-should-be-burned-italian-politician>.

²⁶² Gianluca Mezzofiore and Delia Gallagher, “Italian interior minister’s Roma census announcement causes outrage,” CNN, June 19, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/19/europe/salvini-roma-census-italy-interior-minister-intl/index.html>.

²⁶³ “Italy’s Matteo Salvini shuts ports to migrant rescue ship,” BBC News, June 11, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44432056>.

²⁶⁴ Isla Binnie and Steve Scherer, “Matteo Salvini, the everyman leader of Italy’s populist revolt,” Reuters, March 7, 2018, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-italy-politics-salvini/matteo-salvini-the-everyman-leader-of-italys-populist-revolt-idUKKCN1GJ2MB>.

- **Membership Size and Relevance:** The League won 17 percent of the vote in Italy's March 2018 parliamentary elections, making it the third-largest party in parliament. League leader Matteo Salvini became Italy's interior minister in June 2018.²⁶⁵
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** League founder Umberto Bossi castigated southern Italians and called for a separate northern Italian nation. When Salvini took control of the League in 2013, the party polled at 4 percent nationwide, below Italy's electoral threshold. Salvini ended the League's propaganda against southerners, instead promoting the idea of a united Italy that has been taken advantage of by the European Union. By 2016, the League was polling at between 16 percent and 17 percent.²⁶⁶

Both the League and Salvini maintain active social media accounts. As of July 3, 2018, Salvini's Twitter account had more than 804,000 followers, representing an increase of 6,000 since June 26, 2018.²⁶⁷ Salvini's Facebook account had 2,794,237 likes as of July 3, 2018, representing an increase of almost 33,000 likes from June 26, 2018.²⁶⁸ The League's Facebook account had 437,731 likes as of July 3, 2018, representing an increase of almost 3,000 since June 26, 2018.²⁶⁹

- **Violent Activities:** The League is not directly tied to any violent activities.
- **Rhetoric:**
 - Matteo Salvini, tweet, June 2018: "Italy has stopped bowing its head to obey, this time there are those who say NO."²⁷⁰
 - Matteo Salvini in a televised interview, June 18, 2018: "Unfortunately we will have to keep the Italian Roma because we can't expel them."²⁷¹
 - Matteo Salvini, undated: "We are under attack. Our culture, society, traditions and way of life are at risk."²⁷²

²⁶⁵ Steve Scherer and Isla Binnie, "Italy cries victory as Spain opens port to rescued migrants," Reuters, June 11, 2018, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-europe-migrants-italy-malta/rescue-boat-drifts-at-sea-as-italy-takes-anti-migrant-stance-idUKKBN1J710B>; Alessio Perrone, "Who is Matteo Salvini, Italy's new radical interior minister?" Al Jazeera, June 25, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/matteo-salvini-italy-radical-interior-minister-180624183439451.html>.

²⁶⁶ Giulia Paravicini, "Italy's far-right jolts back from dead," *Politico*, February 3, 2016,

<https://www.politico.eu/article/italys-other-matteo-salvini-northern-league-politicians-media-effettosalvini/>.

²⁶⁷ Matteo Salvini, Twitter page, accessed June 26, 2018, <https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi>; Matteo Salvini, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi>.

²⁶⁸ Matteo Salvini, Facebook page, accessed June 26, 2018,

https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/?hc_ref=ARQa5hN9uCM3E1MwascHBwREunWb2h3TxL46EqewppxMYY2E-kOJ1CQaPwDcYvOOVdE; Matteo Salvini, Facebook page, accessed July 3, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/?hc_ref=ARQa5hN9uCM3E1MwascHBwREunWb2h3TxL46EqewppxMYY2E-kOJ1CQaPwDcYvOOVdE.

²⁶⁹ Lega, Facebook page, accessed June 26, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/>; Lega, Facebook page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/>.

²⁷⁰ "Italy's Matteo Salvini shuts ports to migrant rescue ship," BBC News, June 11, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44432056>.

²⁷¹ "Italian interior minister wants census of Roma communities," Reuters, June 18, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-roma/italian-interior-minister-wants-census-of-roma-communities-idUSKBN1JE2H0>.

²⁷² Isla Binnie and Steve Scherer, "Matteo Salvini, the everyman leader of Italy's populist revolt," Reuters, March 7, 2018, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-italy-politics-salvini/matteo-salvini-the-everyman-leader-of-italys-populist-revolt-idUKKCN1GJ2MB>.

- Former League councilor Donatella Galli, 2012: “To me, southerners are like the Jews were to Hitler, and should be placed in ovens.”²⁷³

Les Identitaires

- **Summary:** Les Identitaires is a far-right anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant French group created in 2003 as Bloc Identitaire to defend the French identity from what it considered harmful foreign influences. The group changed its name in 2016, promising to be a “centre of agitation and training.”²⁷⁴ Les Identitaires members consider themselves to be patriots and nationalists rather than anti-Muslim or racist. Nonetheless, the group opposes globalization and believes that Muslim immigrants to Europe are invaders who threaten European identity.²⁷⁵ Les Identitaires’ youth wing, Generation Identity, has spread to five other European regions outside of France.²⁷⁶

Les Identitaires has staged numerous demonstrations in and around France’s majority Muslim areas in order to protest what it considers attacks on French values. In 2006, Bloc Identitaires launched a campaign to distribute soup to homeless people in predominately Muslim neighborhoods, although the soup was intentionally made with pork to exclude Muslims and Jews.²⁷⁷ French authorities shut down the soup kitchens in February 2006, declaring that they intentionally discriminated against Muslims and Jews.²⁷⁸

In June 2010, Bloc Identitaire held a pork sausage party in Paris at the Arc de Triomphe. The event, which was originally planned to take place outside of a mosque, was moved after police banned the group from rallying outside of the mosque on grounds of maintaining public order. An estimated 7,000 people registered to attend through Facebook.²⁷⁹ In 2011, the group staged a “march of pigs” protest in French

²⁷³ Angela Giuffrida, “Deleting southern Italy from map ‘is race hate,’” *The Local*, July 31, 2014, <https://www.thelocal.it/20140731/woman-faces-trial-for-racism-against-southern-italians>.

²⁷⁴ “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires website, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

²⁷⁵ Associated Press, “French far-right group has message in menu,” *Boston.com*, December 10, 2011, http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2011/12/10/french_far_right_group_has_message_in_menu/.

²⁷⁶ Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/>; “Meet the IB, Europe’s version of America’s alt-right,” *Economist*, November 12, 2016, <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21709986-france-austria-identitarian-movement-gives-xenophobia-youthful-edge-meet-ib>; Haydn Rippon, “Occupy le mosque: France’s new radical nativism,” *The Conversation*, November 5, 2012, <https://theconversation.com/occupy-le-mosque-frances-new-radical-nativism-10368>.

²⁷⁷ “French crack down on ‘racist soup,’” *BBC News*, January 25, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4644766.stm>.

²⁷⁸ Kim Willsher, “France’s ‘racist’ soup kitchens shut down,” *Telegraph* (London), February 19, 2006, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/1510908/Frances-racist-soup-kitchens-shut-down.html>; “Pork soup handouts not racist - French judge,” *Guardian* (London), January 2, 2007, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jan/02/france>; Adam Jones, “Pig soup off menu for Paris homeless,” *Financial Times*, January 7, 2007, <https://www.ft.com/content/e1900504-9e81-11db-ac03-0000779e2340>.

²⁷⁹ Robert Marquand, “Facebook draws 7,000 to anti-Muslim pork sausage party in Paris,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 17, 2010, <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/0617/Facebook-draws-7-000-to-anti-Muslim-pork-sausage-party-in-Paris>.

neighborhoods with large Muslim populations. The Identitarians feasted on wine and pork, both of which are prohibited under Islamic dietary laws, claiming that such things would soon be illegal in France because of Muslim immigration.²⁸⁰

In 2007, Bloc Identitaire co-founder Philippe Vardon was fined and imprisoned for incitement to discrimination after the Identitarian Youth wing—which he led at the time—distributed pamphlets casting Muslim immigrants as rapists.²⁸¹

Though Bloc Identitaire became a political party in 2009, it considered the far-right National Front party a political ally and distanced itself from political races where it might challenge the National Front. In 2016, the group changed its name to Les Identitaires, alleging that it would act as a “centre of agitation and training” and a “launch pad of the main identity offensives.”²⁸² The group continues to publish propaganda and organize events.²⁸³

- **Base of Operations:** Nice, France²⁸⁴
- **Website:** <http://www.les-identitaires.com/>
- **Social Media:** [Facebook](#) (discontinued), [Twitter](#), [Twitter \(Philippe Vardon\)](#), [YouTube](#)
- **Leadership:** Fabrice Robert and Philippe Vardon founded Bloc Identitaire in 2003.²⁸⁵ Robert and Jean-David Cattin took over the leadership of Les Identitaires in 2016.²⁸⁶ Vardon reportedly led Les Identitaires as of April 2017.²⁸⁷
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** Les Identitaires has estimated its membership at around 4,000, but authorities doubt the veracity of the group’s numbers.²⁸⁸ Though French far-right political party National Front has denied ties to Les Identitaires, it has

²⁸⁰ Elaine Ganley, “French radicals get respect in Le Pen’s presidential race,” Associated Press, April 3, 2017, <https://apnews.com/bc2f5b9d6dea47838e7052d3a27a3729>; Associated Press, “French far-right group has message in menu,” Boston.com, December 10, 2011,

http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2011/12/10/french_far_right_group_has_message_in_menu/.

²⁸¹ “How to write history like an identitarian,” Southern Poverty Law Center, February 14, 2018,

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/02/14/how-write-history-identitarian>; Jon Henley, “France’s neo-Nazi breeding ground,” *Guardian* (London), July 20, 2002,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/jul/20/thefarright.france>; Philip Delves Broughton, “French neo-Nazi

group faces ban,” *Telegraph* (London), July 20, 2002,

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/1403056/French-neo-Nazi-group-faces-ban.html>.

²⁸² “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires website, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

²⁸³ “Articles,” Les Identitaires website, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/category/articles/>.

²⁸⁴ Les Identitaires, Facebook page, accessed March 15, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/lesidentitaires>.

²⁸⁵ “How to write history like an identitarian,” Southern Poverty Law Center, February 14, 2018,

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/02/14/how-write-history-identitarian>.

²⁸⁶ “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

²⁸⁷ Elaine Ganley, “French radicals get respect in Le Pen’s presidential race,” Associated Press, April 3, 2017,

<https://apnews.com/bc2f5b9d6dea47838e7052d3a27a3729>.

²⁸⁸ Associated Press, “French far-right group has message in menu,” Boston.com, December 10, 2011,

http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2011/12/10/french_far_right_group_has_message_in_menu/.

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reportedly looked to the group as an “idea box.”²⁸⁹ Les Identitaires leader Philippe Vardon is also a regional councilor for the National Front, and worked on the social media team of National Front leader Marine Le Pen’s presidential campaign in 2017.²⁹⁰

- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** As of July 2, 2018, the group’s YouTube page had only 198 subscribers and hosted five videos that had collectively received over 12,478 views. The group gained 27 subscribers between March 15, 2018, and July 2, 2018.²⁹¹ The group had more than 13,200 followers on Twitter as of July 3, 2018, representing a gain of more than 1,000 followers since March 15, 2018.²⁹² The group’s Facebook page had more than 58,000 followers as of March 15, 2018, but was shut down as of July 3, 2018.²⁹³

Les Identitaires requests donations through its website to fund its propaganda materials, meetings, training, and travel.²⁹⁴ The group also shares a “Boutique” webstore with its youth wing, Generation Identity. The online store sells shirts, flags, and stickers with slogans such as “On est chez nous” (“We are home”) and “Defend Europe.”²⁹⁵ The site also sells *Identitaires* magazine, a glossy magazine that reports on the activities of Les Identitaires and Generation Identity.²⁹⁶

- **Violent Activities:** Les Identitaires officially rejects violence, but its protests have at times devolved into violent confrontations with counter-protesters.
 - A 2011 protest in Lyon, France, turned violent and had to be broken up by police.²⁹⁷
 - In 2014, Vardon received a six-month prison sentence for a physical altercation with three Magrebian men. Vardon alleged that they started the fight, while they alleged that he attacked them with teargas after making racial slurs. All four received prison sentences.²⁹⁸

²⁸⁹ Associated Press, “French far-right group has message in menu,” Boston.com, December 10, 2011, http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2011/12/10/french_far_right_group_has_message_in_menu/.

²⁹⁰ Elaine Ganley, “French radicals get respect in Le Pen’s presidential race,” Associated Press, April 3, 2017, <https://apnews.com/bc2f5b9d6dea47838e7052d3a27a3729>; Nicolas Vinocur, “Marine Le Pen’s internet army,” *Politico*, February 12, 2017, <https://www.politico.eu/article/marine-le-pens-internet-army-far-right-trolls-social-media/>.

²⁹¹ Les Identitaires, YouTube channel, accessed March 15, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpXCfMn2gE_9zYrREWHmLcQ/featured; Les Identitaires, YouTube channel, accessed July 3, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpXCfMn2gE_9zYrREWHmLcQ/featured.

²⁹² Les Identitaires, Twitter page, accessed March 15, 2018, https://twitter.com/les_ids; Les Identitaires, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, https://twitter.com/les_ids.

²⁹³ Les Identitaires, Facebook page, accessed March 15, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/lesidentitaires>; Les Identitaires, Facebook page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/lesidentitaires>.

²⁹⁴ “Nous soutenir,” Les Identitaires website, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/donations/don/>.

²⁹⁵ Boutique Identitaire, accessed March 6, 2018, <http://www.boutique-identitaire.com/gb/>.

²⁹⁶ “Revues,” Boutique Identitaire, accessed March 15, 2018, <http://www.boutique-identitaire.com/fr/18-revues>.

²⁹⁷ Associated Press, “French far-right group has message in menu,” Boston.com, December 10, 2011, http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2011/12/10/french_far_right_group_has_message_in_menu/.

²⁹⁸ “L’élú FN Philippe Vardon condamné à six mois de prison ferme après une rixe,” *Nice Matin*, October 4, 2016, <http://www.nicematin.com/faits-divers/lelu-fn-philippe-varдон-condamne-a-six-mois-de-prison-ferme-apres-une-rixе-82541>; “How to write history like an identitarian,” Southern Poverty Law Center, February 14, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/02/14/how-write-history-identitarian>.

- **Rhetoric:**

- Les Identitaires statement on the October 1, 2017, stabbing attack in Marseille, France, October 2, 2017: “By its laxity and lack of rigor in the expulsion of illegal immigrants, the French state endangers its citizens ... While Islamic terrorists have declared war on Europe and especially France, such lightness is criminal!”²⁹⁹
- Les Identitaires statement on its name change, August 9, 2016: “Les Identitaires will be a centre of agitation and training. Being the only one able to deliver an identity label, it will be the launch pad of the main identity offensives.”³⁰⁰
- Bloc Identitaire member Jean-Christophe Oberlaender, December 2011: “The combat is urgent. We don’t have the choice.”³⁰¹
- Bloc Identitaire member Jean-Christophe Oberlaender, December 2011: “Today, it’s the Arabs. If it’s the Chinese tomorrow, I’ll combat the Chinese.”³⁰²

National Action

- **Summary:** National Action is a British far-right, neo-Nazi, white supremacist group that emerged in 2013.³⁰³ The group, which aims to enact its vision that “Britain should be for British people,”³⁰⁴ has held rallies and demonstrations at which supporters have declared that “Hitler was right” and warned against “the disease of international Jewry,” which will eventually end “in the chambers”—referring to Nazi gas chambers.³⁰⁵ During a 2014 demonstration in Liverpool, National Action members distributed pamphlets calling to “Cleanse Britain of parasites. The white man is on the march – white power.”³⁰⁶ The

²⁹⁹ “Le terroriste islamiste de Marseille était clandestin !,” Les Identitaires website, October 2, 2017, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2017/10/terroriste-islamiste-de-marseille-etait-clandestin/>.

³⁰⁰ “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires website, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

³⁰¹ Associated Press, “French far-right group has message in menu,” Boston.com, December 10, 2011, http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2011/12/10/french_far_right_group_has_message_in_menu/.

³⁰² Associated Press, “French far-right group has message in menu,” Boston.com, December 10, 2011, http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2011/12/10/french_far_right_group_has_message_in_menu/.

³⁰³ Tom Porter, “New UK Far-Right Group National Action Led By Student and Former Double-Glazing Salesman,” International Business Times, June 8, 2014, <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/new-uk-far-right-group-national-action-led-by-student-former-double-glazing-salesman-1451795>; Matt Quinton, “‘THERE WILL BE VIOLENCE’ Vile ‘New Hitler Youth’ threaten gun violence and Jewish genocide as they recruit impressionable supporters online,” *Sun* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2377346/vile-new-hitler-youth-threaten-gun-violence-and-jewish-genocide-as-they-recruit-impressionable-supporters-online/>.

³⁰⁴ Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” Huffington Post, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

³⁰⁵ Jessica Elgot, “Neo-Nazi group National Action banned by UK home secretary,” *Guardian* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/12/neo-nazi-group-national-action-banned-by-uk-home-secretary>; Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” Huffington Post, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

³⁰⁶ Tom Porter, “New UK Far-Right Group National Action Led By Student and Former Double-Glazing Salesman,” International Business Times, June 8, 2014, <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/new-uk-far-right-group-national-action-led-by-student-former-double-glazing-salesman-1451795>.

British government designated National Action as a terrorist group in 2016, marking the first time that membership of a far-right group had been prohibited in the United Kingdom since World War II.³⁰⁷

National Action praised the June 2016 murder of Member of Parliament Jo Cox by the far-right ultra-nationalist Thomas Mair. National Action members reportedly adopted the extremist language that Mair used during his trial, calling for “death to traitors, freedom for Britain.” The phrase appeared on National Action’s website before the site was removed.³⁰⁸

British police reportedly arrested 22 members of National Action throughout 2016.³⁰⁹ That December, then-U.K. Home Secretary Amber Rudd banned National Action, officially classifying the group as a terrorist organization and outlawing membership and support of the group. Rudd declared National Action to be “a racist, antisemitic and homophobic organization which stirs up hatred, glorifies violence and promotes a vile ideology...It has absolutely no place in a Britain that works for everyone.”³¹⁰ Despite the proscription, National Action has not disbanded. In January 2018, British police arrested six suspected National Action members. According to whistleblower Robbie Mullen during the suspects’ June 2018 trial, the group has maintained its organizational structure and continued to meet without the official label of National Action. He further described combat training camps where members learned hand-to-hand fighting.³¹¹ Mullen described plans to kill a Labour Party parliamentarian and preparation for a so-called “white jihad.”³¹²

- **Base of Operations:** United Kingdom
- **Website:** <http://nationalaction.info/> (decommissioned)

³⁰⁷ Jessica Elgot, “Neo-Nazi group National Action banned by UK home secretary,” *Guardian* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/12/neo-nazi-group-national-action-banned-by-uk-home-secretary>.

³⁰⁸ Richard Vernalls, “National Action: Alleged neo-nazi group member had 'get banged' image of murdered MP Jo Cox,” *Independent* (London), March 15, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/national-action-soldiers-neonazi-terrorism-jo-cox-white-vehvilainen-barrett-court-a8256646.html>.

³⁰⁹ Sophie Jamieson and Victoria Ward, “Three men including two soldiers charged with being members of banned neo-Nazi group National Action,” *Telegraph* (London), September 11, 2017, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/11/three-men-charged-members-banned-neo-nazi-group-national-action/>.

³¹⁰ Jessica Elgot, “Neo-Nazi group National Action banned by UK home secretary,” *Guardian* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/12/neo-nazi-group-national-action-banned-by-uk-home-secretary>.

³¹¹ Charlie Bayliss, “National Action ‘members attended terror-style training camps to learn judo, kickboxing and street fighting martial arts for upcoming race war,’” *Daily Mail* (London), June 13, 2018, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5840925/National-Action-members-attended-terror-style-training-camps-learn-MMA.html>.

³¹² “Banned neo-Nazi group National Action ‘kept meeting,’” BBC News, June 14, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-44489796>.

- **Social Media:** National Action previously used Facebook, Twitter, and VK, but its accounts have since been shut down.³¹³
- **Leadership:** Benjamin Raymond was revealed as National Action’s leader and Alex Davies as the group’s co-leader in 2014.³¹⁴ During the 2018 trial of alleged National Action member Jack Renshaw, former member Robbie Mullen testified that Christopher Lythgoe led the group and organized combat training.³¹⁵
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** The membership size is not determined.
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** National Action initially targeted students, particularly between the ages of 16 and 25. The group was “a general reaction to the malaise in the current scene of the British right,” according to one of its members.³¹⁶ An insider told the British *Sun* newspaper that meetings would attract about 30 “youngsters,” many of whom weren’t even old enough to drive or go to bars.³¹⁷ In June 2016, National Action held a Miss Hitler contest to raise awareness of female white supremacists. The identity of the Scottish woman who won the contest was concealed, but when asked by National Action’s website whom she’d like to kill, she responded that she would put German Chancellor Angela Merkel “in one of her camps and let her pet refugees do the rest.”³¹⁸

In March 2018, British Member of Parliament Yvette Cooper accused YouTube of complicity for failing to remove a video of a National Action rally from 2016. Cooper flagged the video at least seven times with no action taken by YouTube.³¹⁹

- **Violent Activities:** National Action has not been linked to specific violent attacks. Nonetheless, the group’s rhetoric threatens violence to initiate its belief that “Britain

³¹³ Matt Quinton, “‘THERE WILL BE VIOLENCE’ Vile ‘New Hitler Youth’ threaten gun violence and Jewish genocide as they recruit impressionable supporters online,” *Sun* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2377346/vile-new-hitler-youth-threaten-gun-violence-and-jewish-genocide-as-they-recruit-impressionable-supporters-online/>.

³¹⁴ Tom Porter, “New UK Far-Right Group National Action Led By Student and Former Double-Glazing Salesman,” *International Business Times*, June 8, 2014, <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/new-uk-far-right-group-national-action-led-by-student-former-double-glazing-salesman-1451795>.

³¹⁵ Charlie Bayliss, “National Action ‘members attended terror-style training camps to learn judo, kickboxing and street fighting martial arts for upcoming race war,’” *Daily Mail* (London), June 13, 2018, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5840925/National-Action-members-attended-terror-style-training-camps-learn-MMA.html>.

³¹⁶ Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” *Huffington Post*, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

³¹⁷ Matt Quinton, “‘THERE WILL BE VIOLENCE’ Vile ‘New Hitler Youth’ threaten gun violence and Jewish genocide as they recruit impressionable supporters online,” *Sun* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2377346/vile-new-hitler-youth-threaten-gun-violence-and-jewish-genocide-as-they-recruit-impressionable-supporters-online/>.

³¹⁸ Rachael Pells, “Scottish woman named ‘Miss Hitler 2016’ in neo-Nazi beauty pageant,” *Independent* (London), June 30, 2016, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/scottish-woman-named-miss-hitler-2016-neo-nazi-beauty-pageant-a7112216.html>.

³¹⁹ “YouTube attacked over Neo-Nazi National Action video,” *BBC News*, March 7, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-43319975>.

should be for British people,”³²⁰ and some of its members allegedly attend military-style training camps in preparation for violence, where judo, kickboxing, and street fighting are reportedly taught.³²¹ During his 2018 trial, alleged National Action member Jack Renshaw admitted to buying a knife in order to kill Labour MP Rosie Cooper.³²²

- **Rhetoric:**

- Miss Hitler contest winner statement on National Action’s website, June 2016: “Eventually the Jewish propaganda became too obvious to ignore and so I became involved with NA.”³²³
- Spokesman Jack Renshaw speaking at a far-right rally, 2016: “These invaders, these parasites, they’re not just going to roll over and let us remove them from our country. They will put up a fight and we need the killer instinct.”³²⁴
- National Action member Benjamin Raymond in an undated 2014 blog post: “There are non-whites and Jews in my country who all need to be exterminated. As a teenager, Mein Kampf changed my life. I am not ashamed to say I love Hitler.”³²⁵
- Unidentified National Action member to Huffington Post answering a question about immigrants, 2014: “It’s not as if we don’t have a problem with them being here because ideally we’d want to send them all back. But our vitriol is not for them, it’s for the people who brought them here in the first place. Britain should be for British people.”³²⁶
- Unidentified National Action member to Huffington Post, 2014: “It’s far easier to assimilate a white person than a black person. With coloured people we’d say big no to them coming over. But with [white people] we’d be a bit more lenient.”³²⁷

³²⁰ Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” Huffington Post, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

³²¹ Charlie Bayliss, “National Action ‘members attended terror-style training camps to learn judo, kickboxing and street fighting martial arts for upcoming race war,’” *Daily Mail* (London), June 13, 2018, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5840925/National-Action-members-attended-terror-style-training-camps-learn-MMA.html>.

³²² “Man pleads guilty over plot to murder MP Rosie Cooper,” Sky News, June 12, 2018, <https://news.sky.com/story/man-pleads-guilty-over-plot-to-murder-mp-rosie-cooper-11402412>.

³²³ Rachael Pells, “Scottish woman named ‘Miss Hitler 2016’ in neo-Nazi beauty pageant,” *Independent* (London), June 30, 2016, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/scottish-woman-named-miss-hitler-2016-neo-nazi-beauty-pageant-a7112216.html>.

³²⁴ Matt Quinton, “‘THERE WILL BE VIOLENCE’ Vile ‘New Hitler Youth’ threaten gun violence and Jewish genocide as they recruit impressionable supporters online,” *Sun* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2377346/vile-new-hitler-youth-threaten-gun-violence-and-jewish-genocide-as-they-recruit-impressionable-supporters-online/>.

³²⁵ Tom Porter, “New UK Far-Right Group National Action Led By Student and Former Double-Glazing Salesman,” *International Business Times*, June 8, 2014, <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/new-uk-far-right-group-national-action-led-by-student-former-double-glazing-salesman-1451795>.

³²⁶ Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” Huffington Post, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

³²⁷ Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” Huffington Post, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

- National Action website, 2014: “Educated readers will agree that there is no legitimate reason to not be a racist or an anti-Semite in 2014.”³²⁸
- National Action website, 2014: “Weakness on the Jewish question is simply unforgivable, ignorance is inexcusable, the Jew has a name and it glares you in the face when discussing any world problems.”³²⁹

Nordic Resistance Movement

- **Summary:** Formed by neo-Nazi nationalists in Sweden in 1997, the Nordic Resistance Movement (Nordiska motståndsrörelsen, or NRM) is a transnational, neo-Nazi organization with official chapters operating in Sweden, Finland, and Norway. The NRM also draws support from neo-Nazis in Denmark and Iceland, though the group has failed to establish formal branches in those countries.³³⁰ A 2017 report by European anti-racism organization Expo named NRM as the primary force responsible for a rise in neo-Nazi activity in Sweden in 2016.³³¹

The NRM subscribes to a nationalist socialist, or neo-Nazi, ideology that is avowedly anti-Semitic, anti-gay, anti-immigrant, pro-white, and pro-Hitler. The NRM has held numerous anti-immigration rallies, and has hung signs throughout Sweden, Finland, and Norway reading “Refugees Are Not Welcome.”³³² In its 2015 party platform “Our Path,” the NRM warns that the Nordic states—as well as the entire Western world—are controlled by the “global Zionist elite.”³³³ The NRM thus seeks to “regain power” from that elite and unite the Nordic states into a “Nordic Nation” able to “assert itself militarily, economically and culturally.”³³⁴

³²⁸ Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” Huffington Post, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

³²⁹ Lucy Sherriff, “Meet New Neo-Nazi Group National Action Which Just Wants To ‘Piss People Off,’” Huffington Post, June 3, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/03/06/new-neo-nazi-group-national-action_n_4910260.html?guccounter=1.

³³⁰ Øyvind Strømmen, “New report: Neo-Nazis in the North,” Hate Speech International, March 24, 2017, <https://www.hate-speech.org/new-report-neo-nazis-in-the-north/>; “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Frihetskamp, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>; Bradford Hanson, “An Interview With Simon Lindberg, Leader of the Nordic Resistance Movement,” National Vanguard, June 7, 2016, <http://nationalvanguard.org/2016/06/an-interview-with-simon-lindberg-leader-of-the-nordic-resistance-movement/>.

³³¹ Lee Roden, “2016 saw a surge in neo-Nazi activity in Sweden: here's why,” The Local (Stockholm), May 5, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170505/2016-saw-a-surge-in-neo-nazi-activity-in-sweden-heres-why>.

³³² Haakon Forwald, “– Et seiersår for Den nordiske motstandsbevegelsen!,” Frihetskamp, January 8, 2017, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/et-seiersar-for-den-nordiske-motstandsbevegelsen/>; “Så våldsamma är nazisterna i Nordiska motståndsrörelsen,” Expo Idag, December 9, 2016, http://expo.se/2016/sa-valdsamma-ar-nazisterna-i-nordiska-motstandsrorelsen_7198.html; David Charter and Isaac Bowers, “Neo-Nazis on the march in Sweden,” *Times* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/world/dcnazi-3dwxnps2g>.

³³³ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Frihetskamp, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.

³³⁴ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Frihetskamp, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.

NRM members reportedly receive martial arts training and are educated on how to respond if fighting arises in the streets.³³⁵ In addition, the group previously sold a knife inscribed with the maxim “The struggle demands more than only words.”³³⁶ In a 2016 interview, NRM-Sweden leader Simon Lindberg said that he joined the group because its members are “strong in the streets, they dare to fight back the scum.”³³⁷ However, Swedish prosecutors believe that three NRM-Sweden members—charged in June 2017 in connection to three bombings on a far-left café and two refugee centers in November 2016 and January 2017—were “dissatisfied” that NRM leadership had not wanted to use violence “to the same extent” as the three men. Prosecutors believe that two of those men had received military training in Russia before returning to Sweden to carry out the bombings, though it is unclear from whom they received training.³³⁸

NRM-Sweden officially registered as a political party in July 2015 under the name “Nordiska motståndsrörelsen”—the same name used for the larger NRM-Sweden movement. The group was inspired to enter politics after one of its key members, Pär Öberg, was elected in 2014 as a write-in candidate for the Sweden Democrats party in the Ludvika municipality’s local elections.³³⁹ However, NRM-Sweden is not believed to have made political gains, and the movement is reported to lend most of its efforts to extra-parliamentary activities, such as violence, intimidation, and crime.³⁴⁰ Finland banned the NRM in November 2017, but the group has continued to stage demonstrations there while appealing the decision.³⁴¹

- **Base of Operations:** Sweden, Finland, and Norway³⁴²

³³⁵ David Charter and Isaak Bowers, “Neo-Nazis on the march in Sweden,” *Times* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/world/dcnazi-3dwxnps2g>; Øyvind Strømmen, “New report: Neo-Nazis in the North,” Hate Speech International, March 24, 2017, <https://www.hate-speech.org/new-report-neo-nazis-in-the-north/>.

³³⁶ David Charter and Isaak Bowers, “Neo-Nazis on the march in Sweden,” *Times* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/world/dcnazi-3dwxnps2g>.

³³⁷ Bradford Hanson, “An Interview With Simon Lindberg, Leader of the Nordic Resistance Movement,” *National Vanguard*, June 7, 2016, <http://nationalvanguard.org/2016/06/an-interview-with-simon-lindberg-leader-of-the-nordic-resistance-movement/>.

³³⁸ Associated Press, “Sweden charges right-wing extremists over bomb attacks,” *USA Today*, June 9, 2017, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/06/09/sweden-charges-bomb-attacks/102662582/>; “Two men charged over refugee home blast ‘received military training in Russia,’” *The Local* (Stockholm), June 9, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170609/gothenburg-sweden-two-men-charged-over-refugee-home-bomb-attack-received-military-training-in-russia>.

³³⁹ “Nazister bildar parti,” *Expo Idag*, October 2, 2014, http://expo.se/2014/nazister-bildar-parti_6663.html; Øyvind Strømmen, “New report: Neo-Nazis in the North,” Hate Speech International, March 24, 2017, <https://www.hate-speech.org/new-report-neo-nazis-in-the-north/>.

³⁴⁰ Nick Fagge, “Neo-Nazis thugs warn of a ‘year of violence’ following attacks on child migrants at train station in Sweden,” *Daily Mail* (London), February 3, 2016, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3426413/Neo-Nazis-warn-year-violence-following-attacks-child-migrants-train-station-Sweden.html>.

³⁴¹ “Neo-Nazis Protest Outside Helsinki School,” *News Now*, April 25, 2018, <http://newsnowfinland.fi/domestic/neo-nazis-protest-outside-helsinki-school>.

³⁴² Øyvind Strømmen, “New report: Neo-Nazis in the North,” Hate Speech International, March 24, 2017, <https://www.hate-speech.org/new-report-neo-nazis-in-the-north/>; “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” *Frihetskamp Media*, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>; Bradford Hanson, “An Interview With Simon Lindberg, Leader of the Nordic Resistance Movement,” *National Vanguard*,

COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

- **Website:** <http://www.nordiska-motstandsrorelsen.se/>; <https://www.frihetskamp.net/>
- **Social Media:** [Twitter](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(Frihetskamp Media\)](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(Simon Lindberg\)](#) (suspended), [Vimeo \(Frihetskamp Media\)](#), [VK](#), [VK \(Frihetskamp Media\)](#), [YouTube](#), [YouTube \(Frihetskamp Media\)](#)
- **Leadership:** Simon Lindberg is the leader of NRM-Sweden.³⁴³ Emil Hagberg is the spokesman of NRM-Sweden.³⁴⁴ Haakon Forwald is the leader of NRM-Norway.³⁴⁵ Tommy Olsen is the deputy leader of NRM-Norway.³⁴⁶ Otto Rutanen is the leader of NRM-Finland.³⁴⁷ Antti Niemi is the deputy leader of NRM-Finland.³⁴⁸
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** The NRM is believed to comprise between 250 to 300 core members spread throughout Sweden, Norway, and Finland—though the group may attract many more sympathizers.³⁴⁹ In November 2016, NRM-Sweden alone drew a total of 600 demonstrators in its largest rally to date.³⁵⁰ According to a May 2015 estimate by the Finnish-owned media outlet Yle, NRM-Finland is comprised of approximately 60 to 70 core members.³⁵¹ The Norwegian-owned NRK media company reported in February 2017 that each country’s branch contains “a dozen” core activists.³⁵²

NRM’s YouTube page had 11,444 subscribers as of March 19, 2019.³⁵³ Frihetskamp Media’s YouTube page had 685 subscribers as of the same date.³⁵⁴

June 7, 2016, <http://nationalvanguard.org/2016/06/an-interview-with-simon-lindberg-leader-of-the-nordic-resistance-movement/>.

³⁴³ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Nordic Resistance Movement, 2015, 9, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.

³⁴⁴ Øyvind Strømmen, “New report: Neo-Nazis in the North,” Hate Speech International, March 24, 2017, <https://www.hate-speech.org/new-report-neo-nazis-in-the-north/>.

³⁴⁵ Ståle Hansen, “Nå marsjerer de i gatene igjen,” NRK, February 27, 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/xl/namarsjerer-de-i-gatene-igjen-1.13394305>; “Haakon Forwald,” Frihetskamp, accessed May 26, 2017, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/author/haakon/>.

³⁴⁶ Ståle Hansen, “Nå marsjerer de i gatene igjen,” NRK, February 27, 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/xl/namarsjerer-de-i-gatene-igjen-1.13394305>.

³⁴⁷ Marko Hiettiko, “Miehet, jotka johtavat natsiliikettä,” Yle, May 15, 2016, <https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2016/05/15/miehet-jotka-johtavat-natsiliiketta>.

³⁴⁸ Marko Hiettiko, “Miehet, jotka johtavat natsiliikettä,” Yle, May 15, 2016, <https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2016/05/15/miehet-jotka-johtavat-natsiliiketta>.

³⁴⁹ Øyvind Strømmen, “New report: Neo-Nazis in the North,” Hate Speech International, March 24, 2017, <https://www.hate-speech.org/new-report-neo-nazis-in-the-north/>.

³⁵⁰ David Charter and Isaak Bowers, “Neo-Nazis on the march in Sweden,” *Times* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/world/dcnazi-3dwxnps2g>.

³⁵¹ “Repentant Nazi: ‘What I was doing was crazy,’” Yle Uutiset, May 15, 2016, http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/repentant_nazi_what_i_was_doing_was_crazy/8881468; Fanny Malinen, “The Failure of the State And The Rise Of Fascism,” Novara Media, December 11, 2016, <http://novaramedia.com/2016/12/11/the-failure-of-the-state-and-the-rise-of-fascism/>.

³⁵² Ståle Hansen, “Nå marsjerer de i gatene igjen,” NRK, February 27, 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/xl/namarsjerer-de-i-gatene-igjen-1.13394305>.

³⁵³ Nordiska motståndsrörelsen, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/user/MotstandsMedia>.

³⁵⁴ Frihetskamp Media, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCJ5uD8c4600b38XGuVQoN9Q>.

Recruitment and Propaganda: In recent years, the NRM has capitalized on the influx of refugees from the Middle East and North Africa in an attempt to spread fear, recruit, and further its agenda. According to the anti-racism organization Expo, NRM-Sweden has grown more than one-third in size since the beginning of 2015 by advocating against Sweden’s open-door policy to Muslim asylum seekers through anti-immigration rallies and signs throughout Sweden, Finland, and Norway.³⁵⁵ The NRM also produces manuals, stickers, leaflets, and flyers, which it distributes at rallies, on the streets, and in mailboxes.³⁵⁶

The NRM has noted that all of its funding comes from “member donations and sympathetic individuals and organizations.”³⁵⁷ The NRM specifically requests donations through Frihetskamp, the news website owned and operated by the group’s Norwegian branch.³⁵⁸

NRM’s Twitter account had approximately 13,700 followers as of July 3, 2018.³⁵⁹ Frihetskamp Media’s Twitter account had 729 followers, and its YouTube account had 651 subscribers and hosted more than 40 videos, which had collectively received more than 104,000 views.³⁶⁰ NRM’s YouTube account had more than 11,600 subscribers and hosted more than 400 videos, which had collectively received more than 6.4 million views. Between June 24, 2018, and July 3, 2018, NRM’s YouTube account gained 600 subscribers.³⁶¹ NRM-Norway’s news website Frihetskamp claims that it receives at least 60,000 unique visitors each month.³⁶² The site also claims it “dares to challenge the old, often Jewish owned and/or controlled, mass media empires.”³⁶³

- **Violent Activities:** NRM leaders and members have carried out numerous attacks against gay people, Muslim asylum seekers, and the group’s ideological adversaries. In 2017, the

³⁵⁵ Haakon Forwald, “– Et seiersår for Den nordiske motstandsbevegelsen!,” Frihetskamp, January 8, 2017, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/et-seiersar-for-den-nordiske-motstandsbevegelsen/>; “Så våldsamma är nazisterna i Nordiska motståndsrörelsen,” Expo Idag, December 9, 2016, http://expo.se/2016/sa-valdsamma-ar-nazisterna-i-nordiska-motstandsrorelsen_7198.html; David Charter and Isaak Bowers, “Neo-Nazis on the march in Sweden,” *Times* (London), December 12, 2016, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/world/dnazi-3dwxnps2g>.

³⁵⁶ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Frihetskamp, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>; Haakon Forwald, “– Et seiersår for Den nordiske motstandsbevegelsen!,” Frihetskamp, January 8, 2017, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/et-seiersar-for-den-nordiske-motstandsbevegelsen/>.

³⁵⁷ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Frihetskamp, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.

³⁵⁸ “Information in English,” Frihetskamp, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/information-in-english/>.

³⁵⁹ Nordfront, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://twitter.com/nordfront>.

³⁶⁰ Frihetskamp Media, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://twitter.com/FrihetskampNet>; Frihetskamp Media, YouTube page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCJ5uD8c4600b38XGuVQoN9Q/feed>.

³⁶¹ Nordiska motståndsrörelsen, YouTube page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/user/MotstandsMedia/featured>.

³⁶² “Information in English,” Frihetskamp, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/information-in-english/>.

³⁶³ “Information in English,” Frihetskamp, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/information-in-english/>.

European NGO Expo found that a quarter of NRM’s members had been convicted of violent crime.³⁶⁴

- On January 25, 2017, Swedish authorities discovered an IED—which had failed to detonate—outside of a Gothenberg compound housing refugees. Authorities believed the incident was linked to the November 11, 2016, bombing at the Syndikaliskt Forum Kafe as well as the January 5, 2017, bombing of the refugee lodging center.³⁶⁵ In June 2017, Swedish prosecutors charged three unnamed NRM-Sweden members in connection to the far-left café and refugee center bombings.³⁶⁶
- On January 5, 2017, individuals allegedly associated with NRM-Sweden detonated homemade bombs outside of a refugee lodging center in Gothenberg, injuring an immigration officer.³⁶⁷
- On November 11, 2016, individuals allegedly associated with NRM-Sweden detonated a bomb at the Syndikaliskt Forum Kafe in Gothenberg, though no one was injured or killed in the attack.³⁶⁸
- On December 17, 2013, at least 30 NRM-Sweden members carrying smoking flares attacked participants of a peaceful, anti-racism demonstration in the Stockholm suburb of Kärrtorp. Four people were injured in the ensuing clashes, which also resulted in the arrests of 28. In June 2014, a Swedish court sentenced four NRM-Sweden members, including spokesman Emil Hagberg, to between six and eight months in prison for instigating the December riots.³⁶⁹
- In July 2010, police arrested several NRM-Sweden members after they attacked guards during an NRM demonstration at a music festival in the Swedish city of Piteå.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁴ Lee Roden, “2016 saw a surge in neo-Nazi activity in Sweden: here's why,” The Local (Stockholm), May 5, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170505/2016-saw-a-surge-in-neo-nazi-activity-in-sweden-heres-why>.

³⁶⁵ Agence France-Presse, “Swedish neo-Nazis held over Gothenburg refugee centre blast,” The Local (Stockholm), February 3, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170203/swedish-neo-nazis-held-over-gothenburg-refugee-centre-blast>.

³⁶⁶ “Sweden charges right-wing extremists over bomb attacks,” Associated Press, June 9, 2017, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/06/09/sweden-charges-bomb-attacks/102662582/>; “Two men charged over refugee home blast ‘received military training in Russia,’” The Local (Stockholm), June 9, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170609/gothenburg-sweden-two-men-charged-over-refugee-home-bomb-attack-received-military-training-in-russia>.

³⁶⁷ Agence France-Presse, “Swedish neo-Nazis held over Gothenburg refugee centre blast,” The Local (Stockholm), February 3, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170203/swedish-neo-nazis-held-over-gothenburg-refugee-centre-blast>.

³⁶⁸ “Neo-Nazi held over Gothenburg bomb,” Radio Sweden, January 20, 2017, <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=6612911>; “Ledande nazist häktad för sprängattentat,” *Expressen* (Stockholm), January 20, 2017, <http://www.expressen.se/gt/ledande-nazist-haktad-for-sprangattentat/>.

³⁶⁹ Hampus Anderson, “Swedish Neo-Nazis Had a Fight in the Woods,” *Vice*, December 17, 2013, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/watching-swedish-neo-nazis-fighting-in-the-woods; “Kärrtorp clashes: Four neo-Nazis jailed,” The Local (Stockholm), June 5, 2014, <https://www.thelocal.se/20140605/karrtorp-clashes-four-neo-nazis-jailed>; “De leder den svenska nazist rörelsen,” *Expressen* (Stockholm), February 9, 2015, <http://www.expressen.se/nyheter/de-leder-den-svenska-nazist-rorelsen-1/>; “Nazi group attacks peaceful rally: two stabbed,” Radio Sweden, December 15, 2013, <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=5734086>.

³⁷⁰ “Nazistdemonstration urartade i Piteå,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, June 30, 2010, <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nazistdemonstrationurartade-i-pitea/>.

- **Rhetoric:**

- NRM Website, June 2017: “The homolobby promotes popular enemy decadence and anti-culture, which helps to undermine and dissolve the natural structures of society. Thus, the very premise of a further existence for our people.”³⁷¹
- NRM Manual, August 2016: “The [NRM] has gone to battle against the enemies of the Nordic region, and continuously fights for the freedom and survival of the Nordic people - in a future free and united nation-socialist Nordic region.”³⁷²
- NRM-Sweden spokesman Emil Hagberg in an interview with London’s *Daily Mail*, February 2016: “We are National Socialists [Nazis]. Our main aim is the protection of Sweden’s [white] people and culture. We don’t want our [white] people to disappear from the earth. People come to us because they see the streets are full of Somalis and Syrians and they are starting to listen to us because we have been warning of the dangers of immigration for years.”³⁷³
- NRM-Sweden leader Simon Lindberg in an interview with *National Vanguard*, June 2016: “[NRM members are] strong in the streets, they dare to fight back the scum.”³⁷⁴
- NRM-Sweden official statement praising an attack on refugee children by a mob of Swedish nationalists in Stockholm’s central train station, January 2016: “Police have clearly shown that they lack the means to stave off [the refugees’] rampage, and we now see no other alternative than to ourselves hand out the punishments they deserve.”³⁷⁵
- Party platform, 2015: “From our point of view, National Socialism [Nazism], [as] proven during the short time it held power in Germany, has been the only form of government that has significantly threatened the destructive forces [i.e. Zionism] that rule the world. From 1945 until today, these same destructive forces have continually conducted political genocide against the Nordic and ethnic peoples of Europe. They recognize National Socialism as the chief enemy of their worldview, because it delivers a strategy of survival for our race....”³⁷⁶

³⁷¹ Redaksjonen, “Alt du trenger å vite om demonstrasjonen i Fredrikstad!,” Nordic Resistance Movement, June 6, 2017, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/alt-du-trenger-a-vite-om-demonstrasjonen-i-fredrikstad/>.

³⁷² Redaksjonen, “Aktivisthåndboken er lansert og tilgjengelig for salg!,” Frihetskamp, August 26, 2016, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/aktivisthandboken-er-lansert-og-tilgjengelig-for-salg/>.

³⁷³ Nick Fagge, “Neo-Nazis thugs warn of a 'year of violence' following attacks on child migrants at train station in Sweden,” *Daily Mail* (London), February 3, 2016, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3426413/Neo-Nazis-warn-year-violence-following-attacks-child-migrants-train-station-Sweden.html>.

³⁷⁴ Bradford Hanson, “An Interview With Simon Lindberg, Leader of the Nordic Resistance Movement,” *National Vanguard*, June 7, 2016, <http://nationalvanguard.org/2016/06/an-interview-with-simon-lindberg-leader-of-the-nordic-resistance-movement/>.

³⁷⁵ Samuel Osborne, “‘Hundreds’ of masked men beat refugee children in Stockholm,” *Independent* (London), January 30, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/hundreds-of-masked-men-beat-refugee-children-in-stockholm-a6843451.html>.

³⁷⁶ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” *Frihetskamp*, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.