

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.
- Some U.S. neo-Nazi groups have created a European presence. Atomwaffen Division and other U.S.-based groups have inspired European offshoots such as the Feuerkrieg Division. The Nationalist Social Club has established a following in countries such as Germany and Bulgaria.
- 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-

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>

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 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. League leader Matteo Salvini served as Italy’s interior minister from June 2018 until August 2019. In that role, he refused a migrant aid ship permission to dock in Italy and called for a national census to address “the Roma question.”⁵ The League received only 9 percent of the vote in Italy’s September 2022 parliamentary elections. Leading a political alliance that included the League, the right-wing populist Brothers for Italy (*Fratelli d’Italia* or FdI) party became the country’s largest political party.⁶ These parties also view the European Union as a harmful foreign influence that has undermined the sovereignty of their respective nations.⁷

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>; Gavin Jones and Giselda Vagnoni, “How Italy’s ‘Captain’ Salvini steered his ship onto the rocks,” Reuters, September 3, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-politics-salvini-insight/how-italys-captain-salvini-steered-his-ship-onto-the-rocks-idUSKCN1VPOHC>.

⁶ Lorenzo Tondo, “Italy: Salvini faces calls to quit as League chief after dismal election results,” *Guardian* (London), September 27, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/27/italy-salvini-faces-calls-to-quit-as-league-chief-after-dismal-election-results>; Mark Gilbert, “Italy’s new leader faces familiar problems, including fickle voters,” *Washington Post*, September 28, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/28/italy-meloni-fdi-election-rightwing/>.

⁷ “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>.

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 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 In July 2020, Twitter suspended several GI-linked accounts during a purge of more than 50 white supremacist accounts.¹² France banned GI in March 2021.¹³

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.”¹⁴ The conspiracy theory is Great Replacement Theory, which postulates that black and brown immigrants are reverse-colonizing the dominant European—i.e., white Christian—culture in Western countries. While versions of the Great Replacement are not new, French writer Renaud Camus popularized the conspiracy theory in his 2012 book, *Le Grand Remplacement* (“The Great Replacement”)¹⁵ and ethno-nationalist groups around the world have since embraced the idea.

The Great Replacement has influenced violent attacks such as the May 14, 2022, assault on a Buffalo, New York, supermarket that killed 10. A manifesto attributed to alleged shooter Payton Grendon warned of white genocide from cultural, racial, and ethnic replacement brought on by immigration and high fertility rates among migrants.¹⁶ Employing similar rhetoric, Brenton Tarrant, the white supremacist who killed 51 people at two New Zealand mosques on March 15,

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.

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 Anna Schechter, “Twitter suspends more than 50 white nationalist accounts,” *NBC News*, July 10, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/twitter-suspends-more-50-white-nationalist-accounts-n1233469>.

¹³ Kim Willsher, “France bans far-right ‘paramilitary’ group Génération Identitaire,” *Guardian* (London), March 3, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/mar/03/france-bans-far-right-paramilitary-group-generation-identitaire>.

¹⁴ “Frequently Asked Question,” *Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland*, accessed March 8, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/faqs/>.

¹⁵ *Great Replacement Theory*, *Counter Extremism Project*, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://www.counterextremism.com/content/great-replacement-theory>.

¹⁶ Payton Grendon, “You Wait For a Signal While Your People Wait For You,” accessed May 17, 2022.

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.”¹⁷ The New Zealand attack was a manifestation of the same Great Replacement conspiracy promoted by GI, 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ National 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.²⁰ The group, whose members believe that “Britain should be for British people,”²¹ reportedly operates training camps where recruits learn hand-to-hand combat in preparation for “white jihad.”²² Not only do these violent white supremacist groups employ similar strategies to some of the most prominent Islamic terror groups, but they are also

¹⁷ Brenton Tarrant, “The Great Replacement,” Internet Archive, accessed April 1, 2019; Blair Ensor and Sam Sherwood, “Australian pleads guilty over Christchurch mosque attacks,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 26, 2020, <https://www.smh.com.au/world/oceania/christchurch-mosque-attack-australian-pleads-guilty-to-murder-attempted-murder-and-terrorism-20200326-p54e28.html>.

¹⁸ *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://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>.

¹⁹ “National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook>.

²⁰ 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>.

²¹ 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.

²² “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.

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.

In addition to homegrown ethno-nationalist movements, Europe has also seen a rise of far-right networks affiliated with U.S. neo-Nazi groups. For example, U.S.-based Atomwaffen Division (AWD), now known as National Socialist Order,²³ has established a network in Germany.²⁴ Additionally, the Feuerkrieg Division was created as a European, neo-Nazi offshoot of AWD.²⁵ The U.S.-based Nationalist Social Club (NSC) has also been active in Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria.²⁶ Modern communication methods make it easy for these groups to expand their reach across international borders. Further, groups such as NSC have no formal hierarchy and allow chapters latitude to interpret their own guidelines around the core principle of white supremacy. This independence has made it easier for these groups to expand their membership without a need for official oversight or investment of resources.

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.²⁷ The party's manifesto declares forthrightly that "Islam does not belong to Germany."²⁸ In Germany's

²³ "National Socialist Order Announcement!," American Futurist, July 25, 2020.

²⁴ A. C. Thompson, Ali Winston, and Jake Hanrahan, "California Murder Suspect Said to Have Trained With Extremist Hate Group," ProPublica, January 26, 2018, <https://www.propublica.org/article/california-murder-suspect-atomwaffen-division-extremist-hate-group>; A.C. Thompson, Ali Winston, and Jake Hanrahan, "Inside Atomwaffen As It Celebrates a Member for Allegedly Killing a Gay Jewish College Student," ProPublica, last updated August 3, 2018, <https://www.propublica.org/article/atomwaffen-division-inside-white-hate-group>; Mack Lamoureux and Ben Makuch, "An American Neo-Nazi Group Has Dark Plans for Canada," Vice News, July 10, 2018, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/ev847a/an-american-neo-nazi-group-has-dark-plans-for-canada; Jake Hanrahan, Twitter post, June 2, 2018, 7:44 p.m., https://twitter.com/Jake_Hanrahan/status/1003059715293794304.

²⁵ "FEUERKRIEG DIVISION (FKD) PROSCRIBED AS TERRORIST GROUP," Counter Terrorism Policing, July 17, 2020, <https://www.counterterrorism.police.uk/fkd-proscribed/>.

²⁶ Russell Harris, "Neo-Nazi 'Slap-Tags' Found On Rail-Trail In Pepperell," *Groton Herald*, November 5, 2020, <http://www.grotonherald.com/news/neo-nazi-%E2%80%99slap-tags%E2%80%99-found-rail-trail-pepperell>;

"Online ISIS Supporters Celebrate Vienna Attack," European Centre for Counterterrorism, November 14, 2020, <https://en.europarabct.com/?p=47921>; Quentin Augusto, "New Far-Right Group 'NSC 131 Active in Germany,'" Belltower.news, September 18, 2020, <https://www.belltower.news/police-raids-in-hesse-new-far-right-group-nsc-131-active-in-germany-104581/>; "Online ISIS Supporters Celebrate Vienna Attack," European Centre for Counterterrorism, November 14, 2020, <https://en.europarabct.com/?p=47921>.

²⁷ "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.

²⁸ "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.

September 2017 parliamentary elections, AfD became the third largest political party in the German parliament.²⁹ In March 2021, Germany's domestic intelligence service placed the AfD under surveillance for suspicions of promoting extremism. A German court soon after suspended the surveillance program while AfD mounts a legal challenge.³⁰ On March 8, 2022, the Administrative Court of Cologne ruled there was sufficient evidence to allow the BfV to place the AfD under surveillance as the AfD was advocating an anti-constitutional ethnic concept. It marked the first time a post-war German political party represented in the federal parliament had been subjected to such a high level of scrutiny.³¹ In September 2021's parliamentary elections, AfD lost 11 seats from its 2017 gains, weakening its position in Germany's opposition.³²

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 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.³³ 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.³⁴ 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.³⁵

²⁹ 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>.

³⁰ "German court suspends surveillance of far-right AfD, for now," Deutsche Welle, March 5, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/german-court-suspends-surveillance-of-far-right-afd-for-now/a-56785125>.

³¹ Katrin Bennhold, "Germany Places Far-Right AfD Party Under Surveillance for Extremism," *New York Times*, March 3, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/world/europe/germany-afd-surveillance-extremism.html>; "Germany places entire far-right AfD under surveillance — reports," Deutsche Welle, March 3, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-places-entire-far-right-afd-under-surveillance-reports/a-56757489>; Elizabeth Schumacher, "Germany's far-right AfD can be put under surveillance," Deutsche Welle, March 8, 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-far-right-afd-can-be-put-under-surveillance/a-61058359>.

³² Ben Knight and Rina Goldenberg, "Germany's far-right populist AfD: No gains, small losses," Deutsche Welle, September 27, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-far-right-populist-afd-no-gains-small-losses/a-59330183>; Rafaela Dancygier, "Germany's far-right party lost seats in last week's election. Here's why.," *Washington Post*, October 5, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/10/05/germanys-far-right-party-lost-seats-last-weeks-election-heres-why/>.

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

³⁴ "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>.

³⁵ "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>.

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."³⁶ The manifesto further condemned the "ever-increasing number of Muslims in the country...as a danger to our state, our society, and our values."³⁷

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.³⁸ 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."³⁹ In a January 2017 address to an AfD youth group, senior AfD leader Björn Höcke condemned Germany's ongoing commemorations of the Holocaust and called for "a 180-degree reversal on the politics of remembrance."⁴⁰

Petry resigned from the party shortly after the September 2017 elections because of concerns over "how the AfD is likely to develop."⁴¹ 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.⁴² In June 2018, a poll in the *Bild am Sonntag* newspaper recorded a 16 percent approval for AfD, its highest rating ever in the

³⁶ "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.

³⁷ "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.

³⁸ "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.

³⁹ "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>.

⁴⁰ 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>.

⁴¹ 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>.

⁴² 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>.

newspaper's poll. The poll came as the governing coalition faced a crisis over immigration policies.⁴³

In March 2020, Germany's domestic intelligence agency labeled the AfD faction known as Flügel ("wing") as a threat to the country's democratic order. The agency, Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV), also announced that it would place Flügel under systematic surveillance, allowing the BfV to recruit informants, keep personal data on file, and monitor phone calls.⁴⁴ The head of AfD in the German state of Thuringia, Björn Höcke, led the extremist wing. Flügel commanded strong support in eastern Germany and had an estimated 7,000 members, representing approximately 20 percent of AfD's overall membership.⁴⁵ According to a BfV official, the increased scrutiny came as the faction was believed to be uniting far-right extremist groups, including neo-Nazis, and coordinating online.⁴⁶ On March 20, 2020, AfD's executive committee voted to dissolve Flügel by April 30, 2020, fearing the faction could bring increased scrutiny to the entire party.⁴⁷ In May, AfD co-chair Jörg Meuthen pressured AfD's central committee to annul the membership of Flügel leader Andreas Kalbitz. Meuthen faced rebuke from AfD members for calling for a division between the western and eastern factions in order to separate out the far right. In June 2020, Meuthen called for a "firewall" against far-right extremism in AfD.⁴⁸

In April 2020, AfD suspended parliamentary spokesman Christian Lueth after he described himself as a fascist. The party fired Lueth that September after he suggested earlier in the year that migrants to Germany could be shot or gassed.⁴⁹ In January 2021, Germany's Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) intelligence agency began debating whether to place AfD under surveillance for posing a threat to democracy.⁵⁰ On January 12, the BfV in Saxony-Anhalt approved a decision to place the regional branch of AfD under surveillance.⁵¹ The BfV conducted a two-year investigation on the AfD's activities in order to determine whether the party should be labeled a

⁴³ 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>.

⁴⁴ "Germany to spy on far-right AfD's Flügel faction," BBC News, March 12, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-51850840>.

⁴⁵ Katrin Bennhold, "Germany Places Part of Far-Right Party Under Surveillance," *New York Times*, March 12, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/world/europe/germany-afd.html>.

⁴⁶ "Germany to spy on far-right AfD's Flügel faction," BBC News, March 12, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-51850840>.

⁴⁷ "Germany's far-right AfD to dissolve extreme 'Wing' faction," Deutsche Welle, March 20, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-far-right-afd-to-dissolve-extreme-wing-faction/a-52864683>.

⁴⁸ "AfD seeks to show united front after weeks of bitter infighting," *The Local*, June 21, 2020, <https://www.thelocal.de/20200621/afd-seeks-to-show-united-front-after-weeks-of-bitter-infighting>.

⁴⁹ "German far-right party fires official over migrant comment," Associated Press, September 28, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/germany-archive-1c33ecfc1c79b70d298abc042be70ec7>.

⁵⁰ Agence France-Presse, "Germany's far-right AfD braces for surveillance," *France 24*, January 26, 2021, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20210126-germany-s-far-right-afd-braces-for-surveillance>.

⁵¹ Alex Berry, "German state puts regional AfD branch under surveillance — reports," Deutsche Welle, January 26, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/german-state-puts-regional-afd-branch-under-surveillance-reports/a-56342789>.

“suspected case” for its links to right-wing extremism.⁵² In February, an administrative court in Cologne ruled the BfV could investigate the AfD for extremism. On March 3, 2021, German media reported the BfV had placed the AfD under surveillance, allowing the organization to tap AfD members’ phones and other communications and monitor their movements. The BfV would neither confirm nor deny the reports, purportedly because of an AfD legal challenge. AfD members condemned the decision as purely political.⁵³ On March 5, a German court halted the surveillance program and said German authorities must first allow the AfD to conclude a legal challenge.⁵⁴ AfD continues to deny charges of extremism.⁵⁵

Following AfD’s performance in Germany’s September 2021 parliamentary elections—in which the party lost 2 percent from its 2017 tally—Meuthen stepped down from the party’s leadership in January 2022. In June 2022, AfD elected remaining co-chair Tino Chrupalla to lead the party. In his January departure, Meuthen warned of increasing extremism within the party and that AfD faced “total isolation” and moving “ever further toward the political edge.”⁵⁶ Meuthen further warned of instability in AfD’s “democratic foundation.”⁵⁷ On December 7, 2022, German police arrested 25 suspected far-right extremists allegedly plotting to attack the Bundestag. Among those arrested was Birgit Malsack-Winkemann, a judge and former AfD lawmaker. AfD leaders denied any knowledge of the plot and called for “a swift and comprehensive investigation.”⁵⁸

AfD saw a resurgence beginning in June 2023, when AfD candidate Robert Sesselmann won the election for district administrator in Sonneberg, in the state of Thuringia. The post is the equivalent of a mayor. Sesselmann won 52.8 percent of the vote, beating Christian Democrats incumbent Jurgen Köpper, who received 47.2 percent.⁵⁹ Further, a June 2023 poll showed increased support for AfD across Germany at 18 percent, on par

⁵² Agence France-Presse, “Germany’s far-right AfD braces for surveillance,” France 24, January 26, 2021, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20210126-germany-s-far-right-afd-braces-for-surveillance>.

⁵³ Katrin Bennhold, “Germany Places Far-Right AfD Party Under Surveillance for Extremism,” *New York Times*, March 3, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/world/europe/germany-afd-surveillance-extremism.html>; “Germany places entire far-right AfD under surveillance — reports,” Deutsche Welle, March 3, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-places-entire-far-right-afd-under-surveillance-reports/a-56757489>.

⁵⁴ “German court suspends surveillance of far-right AfD, for now,” Deutsche Welle, March 5, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/german-court-suspends-surveillance-of-far-right-afd-for-now/a-56785125>.

⁵⁵ Katrin Bennhold, “Germany Places Far-Right AfD Party Under Surveillance for Extremism,” *New York Times*, March 3, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/world/europe/germany-afd-surveillance-extremism.html>; “Germany places entire far-right AfD under surveillance — reports,” Deutsche Welle, March 3, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-places-entire-far-right-afd-under-surveillance-reports/a-56757489>.

⁵⁶ “German far-right elects new leaders after co-chair quits,” Associated Press, June 18, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/germany-government-and-politics-d5cdd06efd012103faea6427e228138d>.

⁵⁷ “Far-right AfD co-chair Jörg Meuthen quits party,” Deutsche Welle, January 28, 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-afd-co-chair-j%C3%B6rg-meuthen-quits-party-says-its-lurched-too-far-right/a-60589522>.

⁵⁸ Frank Jordans, “Suspected German coup plot spawns dozens of arrests,” Associated Press, December 7, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/europe-germany-constitutions-d7e67cfefbd1f33e2909f9c2fe1a3d3d>.

⁵⁹ Kate Connolly, “Far-right AfD wins local election in ‘watershed moment’ for German politics,” *Guardian* (London), June 26, 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/26/far-right-afd-wins-local-election-watershed-moment-german-politics>.

with the Social Democrats party of Chancellor Olaf Scholz.⁶⁰ In August 2023, AfD declared the European Union a “failed project” and called for it to be restructured as a “federation of European nations.”⁶¹ Looking toward European parliamentary elections in June 2024, AfD called for this new federation to focus on protecting external borders against migration, strategic autonomy in security policy, and preserving “different identities” in Europe.⁶²

- **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.⁶³ AfD is co-chaired by Tino Chrupalla and Alice Weidel, who is AfD’s parliamentary caucus leader.⁶⁴
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** Following Germany’s September 2021 parliamentary elections, AfD recorded gains in eastern Germany but overall won just over 10 percent of the nationwide vote, signifying a loss of 2 percent and 11 seats from the 2017 election.⁶⁵ As of March 2020, AfD reportedly had 35,000 members across Germany.⁶⁶ In Germany’s September 2017 parliamentary elections, AfD won 92 out of 631 seats to become Germany’s third-largest political party in parliament.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ AfD’s popularity has decreased in national polling during the

⁶⁰ “Centrist parties alarmed as poll shows growing support for German far right,” Associated Press, June 2, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/germany-politics-opinion-polls-afd-extremism-6ef03d74601e25027cca29f69b71e392>.

⁶¹ “German far-right says the EU is a ‘failed project’ as it prepares for European Parliament elections,” Associated Press, August 6, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/germany-far-right-alternative-afd-election-europe-2bb01a35f277e97ea48558a0e664da49>.

⁶² “German far-right says the EU is a ‘failed project’ as it prepares for European Parliament elections,” Associated Press, August 6, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/germany-far-right-alternative-afd-election-europe-2bb01a35f277e97ea48558a0e664da49>.

⁶³ “Profile: German right-wing AfD leader Frauke Petry,” BBC News, March 10, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35775513>.

⁶⁴ “German far-right elects new leaders after co-chair quits,” Associated Press, June 18, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/germany-government-and-politics-d5cdd06efd012103faea6427e228138d>; “Germany: AfD reelects Chrupalla, Weidel as leadership duo,” Deutsche Welle, June 18, 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-far-right-afd-reelects-tino-chrupalla-alice-weidel-as-party-co-leaders/a-62177005>.

⁶⁵ Ben Knight and Rina Goldenberg, “Germany’s far-right populist AfD: No gains, small losses,” Deutsche Welle, September 27, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-far-right-populist-afd-no-gains-small-losses/a-59330183>; Rafaela Dancygier, “Germany’s far-right party lost seats in last week’s election. Here’s why.,” *Washington Post*, October 5, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/10/05/germanys-far-right-party-lost-seats-last-weeks-election-heres-why/>.

⁶⁶ Bojan Pancevski, “Germany Labels Part of Nativist Opposition Party an Extreme-Right Group,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 12, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/germany-labels-part-of-nativist-opposition-party-an-extreme-right-group-11584038861>.

⁶⁷ 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>.

⁶⁸ 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>.

COVID-19 pandemic and as some members have publicly embraced extreme far-right positions beyond tough stances on immigration.⁶⁹ In six eastern German states, AfD's popularity fell from first to third place in October 2020.⁷⁰ However, a June 2023 poll showed a reported record high of support for AfD across Germany. The poll found AfD's support at 18 percent, on par with the Social Democrats party of Chancellor Olaf Scholz. According to news reports, though, about two-thirds of respondents who favored AfD in the poll did so out of protest over the other parties rather than ideological support for AfD.⁷¹ Also that month, Thomas Haldenwang, head of Germany's Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV), warned voters that far-right views and positions posed the biggest threat to German democracy and voters. He also noted parts of the AfD are influenced by Russian narratives and promote anti-immigrant and antisemitic hatred.⁷²

- **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. Its plans to restore German sovereignty and restrict Islam in Germany are outlined in its 2016 Manifesto for Germany.⁷³

The AfD maintains a social media presence on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram. As of April 13, 2021, AfD had 512,259 likes on Facebook, an increase from 501,726 likes on June 29, 2020.⁷⁴ By December 7, 2022, its Facebook likes had increased to 518,473.⁷⁵ As of August 14, 2023, AfD had 527,000 likes.⁷⁶ AfD had 168,700 Twitter followers as of April 13, 2021, increasing from 160,000 on June 29, 2020. The AfD's Twitter page posts in German while its Facebook page posts in German and English.⁷⁷ By

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/>.

⁶⁹ Philip Oltermann, "Germany's AfD thrown into turmoil by former neo-Nazi's expulsion," *Guardian* (London), May 18, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/18/germany-afd-thrown-into-turmoil-by-former-neo-nazi-expulsion-andreas-kalbitz>.

⁷⁰ "Alternative für Deutschland falls from first to third place in eastern German states," EuroNews, October 5, 2020, <https://www.euronews.com/2020/10/05/alternative-fur-deutschland-falls-from-first-to-third-place-in-eastern-german-states>.

⁷¹ "Centrist parties alarmed as poll shows growing support for German far right," Associated Press, June 2, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/germany-politics-opinion-polls-afd-extremism-6ef03d74601e25027cca29f69b71e392>.

⁷² "Germany's spy agency cautions against voting for far-right AfD," Al Jazeera, June 20, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/20/germanys-spy-agency-cautions-against-voting-for-far-right-afd>.

⁷³ "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.

⁷⁴ Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook account, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/>; Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/>.

⁷⁵ Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook account, accessed December 7, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/>.

⁷⁶ Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook account, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/>.

⁷⁷ Alternative für Deutschland, Twitter account, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://twitter.com/AfD>; Alternative für Deutschland, Twitter account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://twitter.com/AfD>.

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December 7, 2022, its Twitter followers had increased to 183,900 followers.⁷⁸ As of August 14, 2023, AfD's Twitter followers had increased to 210,900 followers.⁷⁹ AfD's YouTube channel had 101,000 subscribers on April 13, 2021, up from 82,200 subscribers on June 29, 2020, and 33,812 as of March 19, 2019. The channel hosted more than 542 videos that had drawn more than 21 million views.⁸⁰ By December 7, 2022, the channel had increased to 190,000 subscribers.⁸¹ As of August 14, 2023, the channel had 223,000 subscribers.⁸² AfD's Instagram account had 97,800 followers on April 13, 2021, up from more than 83,000 followers in June 2020.⁸³ As of December 7, 2022, the account had 128,000 followers.⁸⁴ By August 14, 2023, the account had 157,000 followers.⁸⁵

- **Violent Activities:** AfD is not linked to specific acts of violence.
- **Rhetoric:**
 - AfD chair Tino Chrupalla statement on a stabbing attack by a Turkish immigrant, December 6, 2022: "The wrong immigration policy affects all citizens of our country, it costs lives."⁸⁶
 - AfD Facebook post, December 1, 2022: "It is becoming increasingly clear how followers of Islam in German large cities are not only fighting for cultural superiority - but also winning this fight: In Cologne since October, the Muezzin is allowed to call for Friday prayer via loudspeakers. Especially now, in the Advent time, something like this not only seems deplorable, but also frightening to many.

"We, at the AfD, are unrestricted to freedom of faith, conscience and confession. And yet we say: Islam does not belong to Germany. Especially when he gets more and more space in public by particularly outspoken religious brethren and particularly misguided politicians. Freedom of religion does not mean repeatedly beating others around the ears of this belief by shouting everyday. Anyone who

⁷⁸ Alternative für Deutschland, Twitter account, December 7, 2022, <https://twitter.com/AfD>.

⁷⁹ Alternative für Deutschland, Twitter account, August 14, 2023, <https://twitter.com/AfD>.

⁸⁰ Alternative für Deutschland, YouTube account, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCq2rogaxLtQFrYG3X3KYNww/about>; Alternative für Deutschland, YouTube account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCq2rogaxLtQFrYG3X3KYNww/about>; Alternative für Deutschland, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCq2rogaxLtQFrYG3X3KYNww/about>.

⁸¹ Alternative für Deutschland, YouTube account, accessed December 7, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCq2rogaxLtQFrYG3X3KYNww/about>.

⁸² Alternative für Deutschland, YouTube account, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCq2rogaxLtQFrYG3X3KYNww/about>.

⁸³ Alternative für Deutschland, Instagram account, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/afd.bund/>; Alternative für Deutschland, Instagram account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/afd.bund/>.

⁸⁴ Alternative für Deutschland, Instagram account, accessed December 7, 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/afd.bund/>.

⁸⁵ Alternative für Deutschland, Instagram account, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.instagram.com/afd.bund/>.

⁸⁶ Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook post, December 6, 2022, 12:00 p.m., <https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02ctc6zgUUCWNGJka4iu8YPjXq2skN1VF11y1p7qvskAFCD8dL87jSaDuiJytkpRGAI>.

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wants to hear the Muezzin calling may move to an Islamic state - and not make our country, which has always been characterized by Christian-culturally.”⁸⁷

- AfD Facebook post, October 20, 2022: “The traffic light government continues to do everything possible to somehow attract migrants that they can squeeze into Germany. From now on, one thousand "particularly endangered people" will be brought here every month from Afghanistan. A year ago, we were talking about around 3000 ‘local people’, there are now 30,000 here - in addition to the 300,000 that have already come before.

“Only 40 percent of Afghans in Germany are currently looking for a job. In addition, besides Syrians, they make up the largest share of foreign groups in crimes: in 2021, according to criminal statistics, over 33,000 Afghans were considered criminals. But will not be deported. Because they could be haunted at home.

“Meanwhile, we also have an endangered group: people who still go to work and pay taxes. And those who look to the future with wrinkles under the traffic light government. Only with the AfD: Our country first!”⁸⁸

- AfD Facebook post, October 14, 2022: “+++ With the AfD there would be no Muezzin calls in Germany! +++

“That’s how cultural land goes: While the city of Cologne kicked the world-famous cathedral out of its city logo, since today the call to Muezzin is part of everyday life there. Thanks to a ‘model project’, Muslims are now regularly invited to prayer via loudspeakers - and Germans are immediately notified on this occasion who will set the tone here on the Rhine in the future. It’s an unprecedented nod to the spread of a religion where women are still treated as second class people and homosexuals are outnumbered. The acclaimed diversity society - in Cologne so far very pronounced - says on its own branch!

“With us from the AfD, such encroachment of public spaces by foreign cultures would not happen. Because neither the Muezzin call nor Islam belong to Germany. Freedom and self-determination belong to us! Let’s not let these achievements be eroded any further!”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook post, December 1, 2022, 4:00 a.m., <https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0TM29bLywtEhRjCaLVhTKENo3ZpgWhwj13cAbsXkVnn2eznZStu2mkVYNDsW3Ed7l>.

⁸⁸ Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook post, October 20, 2022, 3:14 a.m., <https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid0HEzvu4iQ6LLKfneTuwRmNiMoFS8k1E2Pxm8bH3VRvnsb7Rknr9ZWYXNLqtUCtxl>.

⁸⁹ Alternative für Deutschland, Facebook post, October 14, 2022, 8:25 a.m., [https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02ssosJUmdFbcRoHxvm3SJNDXZX4WubWYgxK3mitKHVeHRwM94WAmqhGmJ4M5ZVuiZI?_cft_\[0\]=AZX-oUGCKVSO78KA8nL0JTSopLUYuLIVRNrBIqQMhm3M6WFhmrNUI3h8xbKKxbeUIdhENRmtKrFjLeAdqIu09kM80RGOrAhr9rWOZ0X8oAE63EwfmD22fZmJMIMKearPwJt9tuNiNZhztXZmTM6VJLm77Q-elSgBMLbgb1GmScD6mMQgrDOPajW3rCJU7VEQXHY&_tn_=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/alternativefuerde/posts/pfbid02ssosJUmdFbcRoHxvm3SJNDXZX4WubWYgxK3mitKHVeHRwM94WAmqhGmJ4M5ZVuiZI?_cft_[0]=AZX-oUGCKVSO78KA8nL0JTSopLUYuLIVRNrBIqQMhm3M6WFhmrNUI3h8xbKKxbeUIdhENRmtKrFjLeAdqIu09kM80RGOrAhr9rWOZ0X8oAE63EwfmD22fZmJMIMKearPwJt9tuNiNZhztXZmTM6VJLm77Q-elSgBMLbgb1GmScD6mMQgrDOPajW3rCJU7VEQXHY&_tn_=%2CO%2CP-R).

- 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.”⁹⁰
- 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.⁹¹
- 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.”⁹²
- 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.”⁹³
- 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.”⁹⁴

Blood & Honour

Summary: Blood & Honour (B&H) is a neo-Nazi skinhead group that originated in England in 1987 from the skinhead music scene. The group promotes white-power ideology through the proliferation of music festivals and recordings.⁹⁵ B&H claims to be a “musical based resistance network” that acts as a “global confederacy of like-minded freedom fighters.”⁹⁶ British skinhead and singer Ian Stuart Donaldson founded the group with Nicky Crane in 1987 and named it after the motto of the Hitler Youth movement in Nazi Germany.⁹⁷ Blood and Honour was also the name of a song performed by Donaldson’s white-power band, Skrewdriver. According to B&H, the 1985 song became “an anthem then flagship for generations of people to come who were far sighted enough to see the abyss our people, culture and future faced if we continued on the road we were taking.”⁹⁸

⁹⁰ 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>.

⁹¹ “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>.

⁹² “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.

⁹³ “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.

⁹⁴ “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.

⁹⁵ “BLOOD & HONOUR,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed September 10, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/blood-honour>.

⁹⁶ Blood & Honour website, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/>.

⁹⁷ Rebecca Jones, “About Blood & Honour,” *Herald Democrat*, August 30, 2017, <https://www.heralddemocrat.com/news/20170830/about-blood--honour>.

⁹⁸ “B & H Introduction,” Blood & Honour website, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/b-h-history/history/>.

Donaldson died in a 1993 car crash, but B&H has continued to spread across Europe and into the United States. Crane died of an AIDS-related illness two months after Donaldson's death. B&H continues to hold annual music festivals to celebrate white power and memorialize Donaldson.⁹⁹ B&H has chapters across the world, including in the United Kingdom, Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Belgium, and Serbia. Authorities discovered B&H graffiti in Bosnia in February 2020.¹⁰⁰ B&H has been banned in several European countries, including Germany and Spain.¹⁰¹ In the United Kingdom, B&H members are forbidden from joining the police.¹⁰² B&H has also spread to Australia,¹⁰³ Canada,¹⁰⁴ and the United States.¹⁰⁵

B&H is closely associated with the violent neo-Nazi group Combat 18, which originated as an armed faction of B&H. Donaldson's death caused a rift in B&H between those committed to promoting white power through music and those who sought out more violent methods.¹⁰⁶ Combat 18 is still closely linked to B&H. When the Canadian government banned both groups in 2019, it labeled Combat 18 the "armed branch" of B&H.¹⁰⁷

- **Base of Operations:** B&H was originally founded in England but has since spread across Europe, Russia, Australia, and North America.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁹ Nermina Kuloglija, "Ultra-Right Groups Show Their Face in Bosnian Town," Balkan Insight, May 12, 2020, <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/05/12/ultra-right-groups-show-their-face-in-bosnian-town/>; Rebecca Jones, "About Blood & Honour," *Herald Democrat*, August 30, 2017, <https://www.heralddemocrat.com/news/20170830/about-blood--honour>; Brian Whelan, "Ian Stuart Donaldson and a legacy of hate," Channel 4 News, September 24, 2013, <https://www.channel4.com/news/ian-stuart-donaldson-a-legacy-of-hate>.

¹⁰⁰ "Neo-Nazi Blood & Honor banned in Russia," RAPSI, May 30, 2012, http://rapsinews.com/judicial_news/20120530/263294629.html; Nermina Kuloglija, "Ultra-Right Groups Show Their Face in Bosnian Town," Balkan Insight, May 12, 2020, <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/05/12/ultra-right-groups-show-their-face-in-bosnian-town/>.

¹⁰¹ "Germany bans neo-Nazi group," BBC News, September 14, 200, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/925009.stm>; "El Supremo ordena a la organización neonazi 'Blood and Honour' que se disuelva," Público, June 8, 2011, <https://www.publico.es/actualidad/supremo-ordena-organizacion-neonazi-blood.html>.

¹⁰² Nermina Kuloglija, "Ultra-Right Groups Show Their Face in Bosnian Town," Balkan Insight, May 12, 2020, <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/05/12/ultra-right-groups-show-their-face-in-bosnian-town/>.

¹⁰³ Alex White, "The pro-white gangs spreading race hate across Australia," *Herald-Sun* (Melbourne), October 7, 2014, <https://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/law-order/the-prowhite-gangs-spreading-race-hate-across-australia/news-story/7384aef1faabe901d9f6937756a76ea8>.

¹⁰⁴ Stewart Bell, "Neo-Nazi group Blood & Honour removed from Facebook after terrorist designation," Global News, June 27, 2019, <https://globalnews.ca/news/5439431/blood-honour-banned-from-facebook/>.

¹⁰⁵ Rebecca Jones, "About Blood & Honour," *Herald Democrat*, August 30, 2017, <https://www.heralddemocrat.com/news/20170830/about-blood--honour>.

¹⁰⁶ "Blood & Honour," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed September 17, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/blood-honour>.

¹⁰⁷ Mack Lamoureux, "Canada Adds Far-Right Groups to Terror Watch List for First Time," *Vice*, June 27, 2019, https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/8xz77k/canada-combat-18-blood-honour-far-right-groups-terror-watch-list.

¹⁰⁸ "Neo-Nazi Blood & Honor banned in Russia," RAPSI, May 30, 2012, http://rapsinews.com/judicial_news/20120530/263294629.html; Nermina Kuloglija, "Ultra-Right Groups Show Their Face in Bosnian Town," Balkan Insight, May 12, 2020, <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/05/12/ultra-right-groups-show-their-face-in-bosnian-town/>; Alex White, "The pro-white gangs spreading race hate across Australia,"

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- **Website:** [Blood & Honour Worldwide](#), [Blood & Honour Australia](#), [Blood & Honour Italy](#), [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 USA](#) (site discontinued), [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 Canada](#) (discontinued), [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 Poland](#) (discontinued)
- **Social Media Presence:** Facebook (banned), [VK](#)
- **Leadership:** Ian Stuart Donaldson and Nicky Crane co-founded B&H.¹⁰⁹ B&H chapters have no formal leadership.¹¹⁰
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** B&H has no formal membership.¹¹¹ B&H inspired the related Combat 18 neo-Nazi group, which acts as the violent faction of B&H.¹¹² Combat 18 largely drew its membership from white supremacists associated with B&H and the Chelsea Headhunters soccer hooligan gang.¹¹³

In June 2019, Canada designated B&H and Combat 18 as terrorist groups. It was the first time Canada designated far-right groups.¹¹⁴ Facebook banned B&H the following day. According to Canadian group Organization for the Prevention of Violence, B&H's presence in Canada reached 60 to 70 members between 2016 and 2017, but the group failed to expand beyond Alberta and its membership began to decline after 2017.¹¹⁵ Germany, Russia, and Spain have also banned B&H.¹¹⁶ In April 2021, U.S. Representative Elissa Slotkin called on the U.S. government to designate more than a

Herald-Sun (Melbourne), October 7, 2014, <https://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/law-order/the-prowhite-gangs-spreading-race-hate-across-australia/news-story/7384aef1faabe901d9f6937756a76ea8>; "B & H Worldwide Contacts," Blood & Honour, accessed September 17, 2020, <https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/b-h-worldwide-contacts/>.

¹⁰⁹ Brian Whelan, "Ian Stuart Donaldson and a legacy of hate," Channel 4 News, September 24, 2013, <https://www.channel4.com/news/ian-stuart-donaldson-a-legacy-of-hate>.

¹¹⁰ Blood & Honour Australia homepage, accessed September 18, 2020, <http://www.bloodandhonouraustralia.org/home.html>.

¹¹¹ Blood & Honour Australia homepage, accessed September 18, 2020, <http://www.bloodandhonouraustralia.org/home.html>.

¹¹² Nermina Kuloglija, "Ultra-Right Groups Show Their Face in Bosnian Town," Balkan Insight, May 12, 2020, <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/05/12/ultra-right-groups-show-their-face-in-bosnian-town/>; Rebecca Jones, "About Blood & Honour," *Herald Democrat*, August 30, 2017, <https://www.heralddemocrat.com/news/20170830/about-blood-honour>; Brian Whelan, "Ian Stuart Donaldson and a legacy of hate," Channel 4 News, September 24, 2013, <https://www.channel4.com/news/ian-stuart-donaldson-a-legacy-of-hate>.

¹¹³ 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>.

¹¹⁴ Stewart Bell, "Canada adds neo-Nazi groups Blood & Honour, Combat 18 to list of terror organizations," Global News, June 26, 2019, <https://globalnews.ca/news/5432851/canada-adds-neo-nazi-groups-blood-honour-and-combat-18-to-list-of-terror-organizations/>.

¹¹⁵ Stewart Bell, "Neo-Nazi group Blood & Honour removed from Facebook after terrorist designation," Global News, June 27, 2019, <https://globalnews.ca/news/5439431/blood-honour-banned-from-facebook/>.

¹¹⁶ "Germany bans neo-Nazi group," BBC News, September 14, 200, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/925009.stm>; "El Supremo ordena a la organización neonazi 'Blood and Honour' que se disuelva," Público, June 8, 2011, <https://www.publico.es/actualidad/supremo-ordena-organizacion-neonazi-blood.html>; "Neo-Nazi Blood & Honor banned in Russia," RAPSNews, May 30, 2012, http://rapsnews.com/judicial_news/20120530/263294629.html.

dozen foreign white supremacist groups as terrorist organizations, including B&H and Combat 18.¹¹⁷

- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** B&H holds music festivals and rallies throughout the year to spread its propaganda and attract new members.¹¹⁸ B&H promotes itself as “white rock & roll resistance” and also “rock against communism.”¹¹⁹ B&H also publishes an eponymous magazine¹²⁰ and several online radio programs through its 28 Radio network.¹²¹ B&H promotes the 14-word mantra: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”¹²²

Official B&H chapters use the group’s “Sign of the Brotherhood”: a grinning skull-and-crossbones imposed over red, white, and black diamond on top of a triskelion. The triskelion is an ancient symbol from pre-Christian Europe comprising three curved or jointed segments spiraling from a common center. The red in the diamond represents the “sacred blood” and those who have died defending it, while the black represents courage and the white represents the white ethnicity.¹²³ B&H commonly uses a banner with the words “Blood” and “Honour” separated by a triskelion. B&H propaganda may also reference the original German phrase, “*Blut und Ehre.*” B&H members frequently use the numerals 2 and 8 or 28 representing the alphanumeric equivalent of the letters B and H.¹²⁴

B&H maintains its own prisoner support network, the White Cross, to aid those who have been arrested, charged, and sentenced for crimes related to B&H. The support network is self-funded to ensure “no 28 prisoner is left behind or forgotten in their times of need.”¹²⁵

- **Violent Activities:** Combat 18 is the violent offshoot of B&H. While B&H is affiliated with acts of vandalism and espousing a racist ideology, Combat 18 is primarily responsible for violent activities associated with B&H, which itself focuses more on

¹¹⁷ Phil Stewart, “Biden administration pressed by lawmaker to label white supremacists overseas as terrorists,” Reuters, April 9, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-extremism-slotkin-idUSKBN2BW1KO/>.

¹¹⁸ Brian Whelan, “Ian Stuart Donaldson and a legacy of hate,” Channel 4 News, September 24, 2013, <https://www.channel4.com/news/ian-stuart-donaldson-a-legacy-of-hate>.

¹¹⁹ “B & H Banners,” Blood & Honour, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/banners/>.

¹²⁰ “B & H Magazines,” Blood & Honour, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/magazines/>.

¹²¹ “28 Radio,” Blood & Honour, accessed September 18, 2020, <http://28radio.net/>.

¹²² Blood & Honour Australia homepage, accessed September 18, 2020, <http://www.bloodandhonouraustralia.org/home.html>.

¹²³ “Sign of the Brotherhood,” Blood & Honour, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/b-h-history/sign-of-the-brotherhood/>.

¹²⁴ “Blood & Honour,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 11, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/blood-honour>.

¹²⁵ “B & H White Cross,” Blood & Honour, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/white-cross/>.

spreading neo-Nazi propaganda through music festivals.¹²⁶ Nonetheless, B&H members do arm themselves and promote violence.¹²⁷ When Russia banned the group in 2012, it linked B&H to several terrorist attacks.¹²⁸ In Australia, authorities have linked B&H to death threats against immigration supporters.¹²⁹ Canadian police have also linked B&H to multiple violent attacks.¹³⁰

- **Rhetoric:**

- B&H Australia homepage, undated: “We believe it is important for all Racially conscious people to become active participants in pro-White movements such as Blood & Honour. If you really believe in saving the White Race, get out and start interacting with those who share a similar goal. Individually we are weak, united we are strong!”¹³¹
- B&H homepage, undated: “Sadly our founder and leader Ian Stuart Donaldson was taken from us in 1993. But his legacy has remained and flourished, his dream of a movement run by and for skinheads, behind a musical front remains, and has grown into a confederation of like minded people, stronger than ever. A movement, offering people an alternative lifestyle to the drug infested, pro homosexual, race mixing scene fanatically pushed by today's powers to be, is giving hope to thousands around the world.”¹³²
- Ian Stuart Donaldson, B&H homepage, undated: “Eventually there will be a race war and we have to be strong enough in numbers to win it. I'll die to keep this country pure and if it means bloodshed at the end of the day, then let it be.”¹³³
- Ian Stuart Donaldson, B&H homepage, undated: “To achieve all of this we, and our European comrades, must above all have faith. Our enemies are strong, and presently we are relatively weak in numbers, but unbeatable in spirit. We must realize that we, and our enemies, are engaged in a struggle for the survival of the European races. If we fail we will be destroyed along with European civilization; and we must accept in our hearts, that if victory is eventually ours we must deal with our enemies in the most ruthless fashion. If we do not destroy their cancer at

¹²⁶ Darko Janjevic, “Reports: Banned neo-Nazi group 'Combat 18' active in Germany again,” Deutsche Welle, January 27, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/reports-banned-neo-nazi-group-combat-18-active-in-germany-again/a-37297774>.

¹²⁷ “El Supremo ordena a la organización neonazi ‘Blood and Honour’ que se disuelva,” Público, June 8, 2011, <https://www.publico.es/actualidad/supremo-ordena-organizacion-neonazi-blood.html>.

¹²⁸ Brian Whelan, “Ian Stuart Donaldson and a legacy of hate,” Channel 4 News, September 24, 2013, <https://www.channel4.com/news/ian-stuart-donaldson-a-legacy-of-hate>.

¹²⁹ Alex White, “The pro-white gangs spreading race hate across Australia,” *Herald-Sun* (Melbourne), October 7, 2014, <https://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/law-order/the-prowhite-gangs-spreading-race-hate-across-australia/news-story/7384aef1faabe901d9f6937756a76ea8>.

¹³⁰ Adrian Humphreys, “Violent racist gang expands into Edmonton,” National Post, April 18, 2012, <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/violent-racist-gang-expands-into-edmonton>.

¹³¹ Blood & Honour Australia homepage, accessed September 18, 2020, <http://www.bloodandhonouraustralia.org/home.html>.

¹³² Blood & Honour homepage, Internet Archive, accessed September 17, 2020, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130625201704/http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/home1.html>.

¹³³ “Blood & Honour,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed September 17, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/blood-honour>.

the root we will have to face up to its reincarnation at a later stage. We must have faith in this, our battle to the death.”¹³⁴

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).¹³⁵

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.”¹³⁶ 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.¹³⁷ Combat 18 encourages the creation of independent cells and lone-wolf terrorism under the slogan “whatever it takes!”¹³⁸ 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.¹³⁹

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

¹³⁴ “Blood & Honour,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed September 17, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/blood-honour>.

¹³⁵ 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>.

¹³⁶ “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.

¹³⁷ “Combat 18,” 28 Brotherhood, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://28brotherhood.com/combatt18> (site discontinued).

¹³⁸ “National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook> (site discontinued); Ben Knight, “Combat 18: The neo-Nazi network facing a ban in Germany,” *Deutsche Welle*, July 5, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/combatt18-the-neo-nazi-network-facing-a-ban-in-germany/a-49493000>; “Editorial,” *Combat 18*, accessed April 24, 2020, https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat18/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4_Q20647_R331396_D1942757.pdf.

¹³⁹ “Combat 18,” 28 Brotherhood, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://28brotherhood.com/combatt18> (site discontinued).

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Kingdom are barred from working in law enforcement or corrections facilities.¹⁴⁰ In the 1990s, Combat 18 members allegedly made ties with the loyalist paramilitary group Ulster Defence Association in Northern Ireland.¹⁴¹ 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.¹⁴²

- **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 Argentina¹⁴³
- **Website:** [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 USA](#) (site discontinued), [Combat 18 Florida](#), [Combat 18 France](#) (site discontinued), [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 Canada](#) (site discontinued), [Blood and Honour/Combat 18 Poland](#) (site discontinued), [Combat 18 Hungary](#), [Redwatch](#) (site discontinued), [Redwatch \(Poland\)](#), [ISD Records](#).¹⁴⁴
- **Social Media Presence:** [Facebook](#) (Combat 18 Australia) (discontinued), [VK](#) (suspended), [VK](#) (Ukraine)
- **Leadership:** Founded and originally led by Paul “Charlie” Sargent.¹⁴⁵ Today, Combat 18 describes itself as leaderless resistance organized in cells.¹⁴⁶
- **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

¹⁴⁰ 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>.

¹⁴¹ 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>.

¹⁴² “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>.

¹⁴³ “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>.

¹⁴⁴ 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>.

¹⁴⁵ 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>.

¹⁴⁶ “Combat 18,” 28 Brotherhood, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://28brotherhood.com/combat18> (site discontinued); Ben Knight, “Combat 18: The neo-Nazi network facing a ban in Germany,” Deutsche Welle, July 5, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/combat-18-the-neo-nazi-network-facing-a-ban-in-germany/a-49493000>.

difficult to estimate.¹⁴⁷ A Facebook page allegedly belonging to an Australian chapter of the group had 169 likes as of April 2, 2018, and 194 likes as of July 3, 2018.¹⁴⁸ By March 19, 2019, the page had 252 likes.¹⁴⁹ The page had been discontinued as of June 29, 2020. In 2016, the British organization Hope Not Hate approximated that Combat 18 had between 20 and 30 members in the United Kingdom.¹⁵⁰

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.¹⁵¹

Europol has warned that Combat 18 poses a threat across Europe.¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³ Germany banned Combat 18 in January 2020 after linking it to the June 2019 murder of German politician Walter Lübcke.¹⁵⁴ Combat 18 has reportedly established cells in seven out of

¹⁴⁷ "Combat 18," 28 Brotherhood, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://28brotherhood.com/combatt18> (site discontinued); Ben Knight, "Combat 18: The neo-Nazi network facing a ban in Germany," Deutsche Welle, July 5, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/combatt-18-the-neo-nazi-network-facing-a-ban-in-germany/a-49493000>.

¹⁴⁸ 318 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.

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

¹⁵⁰ 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>.

¹⁵¹ "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/combatt-18-terrormachine-shirt.html> (site discontinued); British People's Party, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://www.bpp.org.uk/newbadges.html> (site discontinued); "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-combatt-18-field-manual-book> (site discontinued); "Imperium Press Flags," Imperium Press Flags, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://www.aryanunity.com/> (site discontinued).

¹⁵² "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-combatt-18-neo-nazi-group/a-52116504>.

¹⁵³ 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>.

¹⁵⁴ "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-combatt-18-neo-nazi-group/a-52116504>.

Germany's 16 states since 2013.¹⁵⁵ In 2006, a Combat 18 cell in Dortmund smuggled firearms from Belgium and planned assaults on immigrants and politicians.¹⁵⁶ French President Emmanuel Macron announced in February 2019 that France would move to ban the group as well.¹⁵⁷ In 2016, former Combat 18 leader Nigel Bromage claimed that the group was attempting to persuade teachers to join in order to influence schoolchildren.¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹ Greek police raids against the group have recovered firearms, explosives, Molotov cocktails, narcotics, and edged and blunt weapons.¹⁶⁰ In June 2019, Canada designated Combat 18 and Blood & Honour as terrorist groups. It was the first time Canada designated far-right groups.¹⁶¹ In April 2021, U.S. Representative Elissa Slotkin called on the U.S. government to designate more than a dozen foreign white supremacist groups as terrorist organizations, including Combat 18 and Blood & Honour.¹⁶²

- **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.¹⁶³

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

¹⁵⁵ 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>.

¹⁵⁶ 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.

¹⁵⁷ "Germany bans Combat 18 as police raid neo-Nazi group," BBC News, January 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-51219274>.

¹⁵⁸ 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>.

¹⁵⁹ 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."

¹⁶⁰ 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>.

¹⁶¹ Stewart Bell, "Canada adds neo-Nazi groups Blood & Honour, Combat 18 to list of terror organizations," *Global News*, June 26, 2019, <https://globalnews.ca/news/5432851/canada-adds-neo-nazi-groups-blood-honour-and-combat-18-to-list-of-terror-organizations/>.

¹⁶² Phil Stewart, "Biden administration pressed by lawmaker to label white supremacists overseas as terrorists," *Reuters*, April 9, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-extremism-slotkin-idUSKBN2BW1KQ/>.

¹⁶³ 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.

that operated from 2011 to 2012 maintained a website to spread its message and recruit.¹⁶⁴

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."¹⁶⁵ The text is available online and through Internet retailers.¹⁶⁶

● **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.¹⁶⁷ Greek police claimed that the cell was planning a large bombing prior to the arrest of its members.¹⁶⁸
- 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.¹⁶⁹ Bradley Neil Trappitt was fined more than AU\$9,000, and Jacob Marshall Holt was sentenced to seven months in jail.¹⁷⁰ The police accused both men of belonging to Combat 18.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁴ 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>.

¹⁶⁵ "National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook," *Combat 18*, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook>.

¹⁶⁶ "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, <https://www.blackmetalcultrecords.com/blogs/bmc-catalogue/upcoming-the-national-socialist-political-soldiers-handbook-combat-18-field-manual-book>.

¹⁶⁷ "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/>.

¹⁶⁸ "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>.

¹⁶⁹ 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>.

¹⁷⁰ "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>.

¹⁷¹ 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>.

- 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 Cojocarú, Jaromír Lukeš, Ivo Müller, and David Vaculík were charged with perpetrating the attack, which coincided with Adolf Hitler’s birthday.¹⁷² Vaculík was accused by the prosecution of being a member of Combat 18 and reportedly had a “C18” tattoo on his chest.¹⁷³ Lukeš, Müller, and Vaculík were each sentenced to 22 years in prison. Cojocarú was sentenced to 20 years.¹⁷⁴
 - 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.¹⁷⁵
 - In January 1997, three Danish Combat 18 members were arrested and found guilty of sending a letter bomb to British celebrity Sharron Davies.¹⁷⁶ 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.¹⁷⁷
 - 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.¹⁷⁸ 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.¹⁷⁹
- **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

¹⁷² “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>.

¹⁷³ “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>.

¹⁷⁴ “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>.

¹⁷⁵ Paul Harris, “Far Right Plot to Provoke Race Riots,” *Guardian* (London), June 3, 2001, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/jun/03/uk.race>.

¹⁷⁶ “Combat 18’s Hardline Racism,” BBC News, April 19, 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/323366.stm.

¹⁷⁷ 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>.

¹⁷⁸ 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>.

¹⁷⁹ 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>.

boat and don't come back/There is no black in the Union Jack/Loyalist C18 'whatever it takes.'"¹⁸⁰

- *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."¹⁸¹
- *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'"¹⁸²
- *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 can take our people by the reigns and lead us to victory, as the great Adolf Hitler did."¹⁸³
- 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."¹⁸⁴
- 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."¹⁸⁵

English Defence League (EDL)

- **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.¹⁸⁶ The EDL claims to stand

¹⁸⁰ 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>.

¹⁸¹ "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.

¹⁸² "Editorial," *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat18/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4_Q20647_R331396_D1942757.pdf.

¹⁸³ "The Aims of C18," *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat18/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4_Q20647_R331396_D1942757.pdf.

¹⁸⁴ "National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook," *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook> (site discontinued).

¹⁸⁵ "National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook," *Combat 18*, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/NationalSocialistPoliticalSoldiersHandbook> (site discontinued).

¹⁸⁶ "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>.

for English rights, democracy, and rule of law. Concurrently, the group believes it is a leader in “the struggle against global Islamification.”¹⁸⁷

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.”¹⁸⁸ The EDL believes that rape jihad is ingrained in Islamic religious texts and foundation.¹⁸⁹ 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.¹⁹⁰

The EDL was co-founded in Luton, England, in 2009 by Kevin Carroll and Stephen Christopher Yaxley-Lennon, a.k.a. Tommy Robinson.¹⁹¹ According to Robinson, the two men formed EDL in response to the threat of “militant Islam.”¹⁹² In 2011, EDL members joined vigilante patrols in southeast London and clashed with police.¹⁹³ 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.”¹⁹⁴ A 2013 poll found that 61 percent of Britons believed that groups like the EDL made terrorism more likely.¹⁹⁵

In October 2013, Robinson and Carroll quit the group, citing concerns of growing far-right extremism within the EDL.¹⁹⁶ 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.¹⁹⁷ Twitter permanently banned Robinson in March

¹⁸⁷ “About Us,” English Defence League, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/mission-statement/> (site discontinued).

¹⁸⁸ English Defence League, Tumblr post, April 22, 2018, https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/173186152694/we-stand-with-the-victims?is_related_post=1.

¹⁸⁹ English Defence League, Tumblr post, April 22, 2018, <https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/173186152694/we-stand-with-the-victims>.

¹⁹⁰ “About Us,” English Defence League, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/mission-statement/> (site discontinued).

¹⁹¹ “Ex-EDL leaders Tommy Robinson and Kevin Carroll cleared,” BBC News, October 16, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-24554284>.

¹⁹² 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/>.

¹⁹³ “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>.

¹⁹⁴ “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>.

¹⁹⁵ “Woolrich Reactions Poll,” *Survation*, May 24, 2013, <http://survation.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Woolwich-Full-Report.pdf>.

¹⁹⁶ “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>.

¹⁹⁷ “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

2018, reportedly because of violations of the company’s “hateful conduct” policy.¹⁹⁸ In May 2018, Robinson was sentenced to 13 months in prison for contempt of court after filming outside of a jury trial.¹⁹⁹ The following month, thousands of far-right supporters of Robinson marched through London.²⁰⁰

British counter-extremism group Hope Not Hate claims that the EDL has suffered a “lethargic and alcohol-fuelled almost comic collapse.”²⁰¹ Nonetheless, the group maintains its active social media presence and continues to stage demonstrations across the country. Robinson has continued to travel and speak around the United Kingdom and Ireland. In February 2023, Ireland’s Gardai police service noted it was maintaining a “watching brief” on Robinson during a visit to the country during anti-immigration protests.²⁰²

- **Base of Operations:** England
- **Website:** <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/> (discontinued)
- **Social Media:** [Facebook](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Bridlington/Scarborough\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Bristol\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Cannock Chase, Staffordshire\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Crewe and Nantwich\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Doncaster and Rotterham\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Essex\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Lancaster\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(London Division II\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Milton Keynes\)](#), [Facebook \(North East\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Northumberland\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(North West\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Preston\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Sunderland\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(West Midlands\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(Angels West Midlands\)](#) (suspended), [Facebook \(South Yorkshire\)](#) (suspended), [Twitter](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(Alan Spence\)](#) (suspended), [Tumblr](#) (suspended), [Tumblr](#), [Gab](#)
- **Leadership:** Alan Spence claims to be the EDL’s chairman.²⁰³
Membership Size and Relevance: The EDL does not maintain membership lists, but media reports suggested the group had approximately 30,000 members as of 2013.²⁰⁴ British NGO Hope Not Hate claimed in early 2018 that the EDL has collapsed, though

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/>.

¹⁹⁸ “Tommy Robinson banned from Twitter,” BBC News, March 28, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-43572168>.

¹⁹⁹ 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/>.

²⁰⁰ 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>.

²⁰¹ 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.

²⁰² Robin Schiller, “Gardaí keeping close eye on far-right activist Tommy Robinson after he’s seen meeting with convicted Dublin criminal,” *Independent* (Dublin), February 16, 2023, <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/gardai-keeping-close-eye-on-far-right-activist-tommy-robinson-after-hes-seen-meeting-with-convicted-dublin-criminal/42346250.html>.

²⁰³ Alan Spence, Twitter account, accessed June 22, 2018, https://twitter.com/Original_EDL (account suspended).

²⁰⁴ “EDL leader Tommy Robinson quits group,” BBC News, October 8, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-24442953>.

the EDL still maintains an active online presence and calendar of events.²⁰⁵ As of April 2021 the EDL's website had shut down, but the EDL maintained an online presence on various messaging services and media sites.

As of April 2020, the EDL maintained 17 regional chapters throughout England, according to the group's website. After Facebook suspended the EDL's accounts in April 2019, the group recommended members use its website forum to connect with each other while the EDL reorganized.²⁰⁶ The EDL's main Facebook page had 2,728 likes as of March 19, 2019.²⁰⁷

- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** The EDL maintained Facebook pages for each of its 17 regional chapters. Facebook suspended the EDL in April 2019.²⁰⁸ After Twitter suspended the EDL's account in 2017, the group created an account on Gab, a social network populated by far-right groups.²⁰⁹ As of April 13, 2021, the EDL had 1,000 followers on Gab.²¹⁰ The EDL's website also had a forum available to registered members.²¹¹ The EDL also asked for donations through PayPal. PayPal has since suspended the group's account.²¹² PayPal suspended Robinson in November 2018.²¹³ The EDL's website was offline as of April 2020. EDL members have created an online radio program on the website BlogTalkRadio. As of June 2020, the show had 286 followers and almost 1,000 episodes.²¹⁴ By April 13, 2021, the show had increased to only 292 followers and had 1,066 episodes.²¹⁵
- **Violent Activities:** The EDL claims to be committed to non-violence.²¹⁶ Nonetheless, its members have been involved in numerous violent clashes with police and other

²⁰⁵ 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/> (site discontinued).

²⁰⁶ "Join Us," English Defence League, accessed April 24, 2020, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/join-us/> (site discontinued).

²⁰⁷ English Defence League, Facebook page, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/englishdefenceleagueofficialmainpage/>.

²⁰⁸ Alex Hern, "Facebook bans far-right groups including BNP, EDL and Britain First," *Guardian* (London), April 18, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/apr/18/facebook-bans-far-right-groups-including-bnp-edl-and-britain-first>.

²⁰⁹ 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/> (site discontinued).

²¹⁰ EDLmedia, Gab account, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://gab.ai/EDLmedia>.

²¹¹ "Forum," English Defence League, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/forum/> (site discontinued).

²¹² EDLDonations, PayPal, accessed June 22, 2018, <https://www.paypal.me/EDLDonations> (site discontinued).

²¹³ Press Association, "PayPal bans Tommy Robinson from using service," *Guardian* (London), November 8, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/nov/08/paypal-bans-tommy-robinson-from-using-service>.

²¹⁴ "The English Defence League Show," BlogTalkRadio, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.blogtalkradio.com/the-english-defence-league-show>.

²¹⁵ "The English Defence League Show," BlogTalkRadio, accessed April 21, 2021, <https://www.blogtalkradio.com/the-english-defence-league-show>.

²¹⁶ "About Us," English Defence League, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/mission-statement/>.

protesters. The *Guardian* has produced footage of violent protesters at EDL demonstrations and the group's plans to elicit violent reactions.²¹⁷ 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.²¹⁸ Police allege that Osbourne radicalized within three to four weeks after reading propaganda by Robinson and other British far-right groups.²¹⁹
- On July 20, 2013, the EDL held a protest in Birmingham, England. Police charged 20 men with violent disorder.²²⁰ In 2015, a group of 50 EDL supporters were collectively sentenced to more than 75 years in prison for violent disorder.²²¹
- **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>”²²²
 - 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!!”²²³
 - 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.”²²⁴
 - 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

²¹⁷ 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>.

²¹⁸ 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>.

²¹⁹ 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>.

²²⁰ “Twenty men charged over EDL violence,” BBC News, February 21, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-birmingham-26288991>.

²²¹ “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>.

²²² EDLmedia, Gab post, June 23, 2018, <https://gab.ai/EDLmedia/posts/28078280>.

²²³ Alan Spence, Twitter post, May 9, 2018, 7:09 p.m., https://twitter.com/Original_EDL/status/994353715707564033.

²²⁴ English Defence League, Tumblr post, April 22, 2018, <https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/173186152694/we-stand-with-the-victims>.

made but we will not be satisfied until the misogyny, cruelty and terror of Islam are banished from this green and pleasant land.”²²⁵

- 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.”²²⁶
- 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.”²²⁷

Feuerkrieg Division

- **Summary:** Feuerkrieg Division (“Firewar Division” or FKD) was a European, neo-Nazi offshoot of the U.S.-based Atomwaffen Division.²²⁸ FKD was founded in 2018 and primarily existed online. Its members subscribed to an accelerationist philosophy that called for a race war to purge society of undesirables and eliminate existing political and social systems.²²⁹

In leaked chat transcripts, FKD members discussed plans for violent attacks and their hopes of a coming civil war. Members discussed how to build bombs and other methods of violent attack. In 2019, in retaliation for the arrest of one of its members in the United Kingdom, the group publicly released a list of police buildings and an image of a senior police officer with a gun to his head. FKD declared the officer to be a race traitor and called for attacks.²³⁰ As the COVID-19 pandemic took hold in the United States in February 2020, FKD members spoke of the need to spread the virus among Black and Jewish people.²³¹ In February 2020, the group Eugene Antifa labeled FKD “a pressure cooker for potential terrorists.”²³²

²²⁵ English Defence League, Tumblr post, April 22, 2018, <https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/173186152694/we-stand-with-the-victims>.

²²⁶ English Defence League, Tumblr post, March 31, 2018, <https://englishdefenceleague.tumblr.com/post/172447064559/the-dying-of-free-speech-in-the-uk>.

²²⁷ 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>.

²²⁸ “FEUERKRIEG DIVISION (FKD) PROSCRIBED AS TERRORIST GROUP,” Counter Terrorism Policing, July 17, 2020, <https://www.counterterrorism.police.uk/fkd-proscribed/>.

²²⁹ “FEUERKRIEG DIVISION (FKD) PROSCRIBED AS TERRORIST GROUP,” Counter Terrorism Policing, July 17, 2020, <https://www.counterterrorism.police.uk/fkd-proscribed/>.

²³⁰ Daniel De Simone, “Neo-Nazi group led by 13-year-old boy to be banned,” BBC News, July 13, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53392036>.

²³¹ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkreig-division-organizing-chats/>.

²³² “Feuerkrieg Division Exposed: International Neo-Nazi Terrorist Network,” Eugene Antifa, February 24, 2020, <https://eugeneantifa.noblogs.org/post/2020/02/24/feuerkrieg-division/>.

FKD claimed to officially disband in February 2020.²³³ In April 2020, Estonian police arrested a 13-year-old boy, identified only as “Commander,” who had allegedly created and led FKD.²³⁴ In leaked online chat transcripts, Commander spoke about targeting Jewish schools in Estonia and killing Jewish children.²³⁵ The United Kingdom proscribed the group as a terrorist organization in July 2020.²³⁶

Global authorities have continued to investigate and arrest FKD members. In April 2022, Danish authorities arrested a teenager on charges of joining FKD. At the age of 16 in May 2023, a Danish court sentenced the teenager to five-and-a-half years in prison for attempting to convince a classmate to join FKD and other acts of aiding the groups. The court found him not guilty of not guilty of joining the group with the intent to commit acts of terrorism.²³⁷ In January 2023, a court sentenced 20-year-old Luca Benincasa, the self-declared FKD U.K. cell leader, to nine years and three months in prison. Benincasa had pleaded guilty to terrorism offences and possession of indecent images of children, including some as young as 4 years old. Prosecutors called Benincasa a key recruiter for FKD.²³⁸ On March 21, 2023, U.S. authorities arrested Nicholas Welker in San Jose, California. Also known as “King of Wrath,” Welker was charged with conspiring to make threatening statements. The Justice Department named Welker as the one-time leader of FKD. According to the Justice Department, Welker “used threats of violence in an effort to stop a journalist from reporting on the white supremacist hate group that he led.”²³⁹

- **Base of Operations:** Global
- **Website:** N/A
- **Social Media:** N/A

²³³ Lizzie Dearden, “Why has Britain banned a neo-Nazi terrorist group that ‘no longer exists’?,” *Independent* (London), July 14, 2020, <https://www.independent.co.uk/independentpremium/news-analysis/feuerkrieg-division-terrorist-group-ban-neo-nazis-uk-a9618221.html>.

²³⁴ Michael Kunzelman and Jari Tanner, “He led a neo-Nazi group linked to bomb plots. He was 13,” *Associated Press*, April 11, 2020, <https://apnews.com/7067c03e1af0b157be7c15888cbe8c27>.

²³⁵ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” *Unicorn Riot*, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²³⁶ “FEUERKRIEG DIVISION (FKD) PROSCRIBED AS TERRORIST GROUP,” *Counter Terrorism Policing*, July 17, 2020, <https://www.counterterrorism.police.uk/fkd-proscribed/>.

²³⁷ Johannes Birkebaek, “Danish teen jailed for 5 and 1/2 years for aiding far-right group,” *Reuters*, May 11, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/danish-teen-jailed-5-12-years-aiding-far-right-group-2023-05-11/>.

²³⁸ “Neo-Nazi Luca Benincasa locked up for terror and child sex crimes,” *BBC News*, January 25, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-64404704>.

²³⁹ “California Man Charged with Conspiring to Make Death Threats Against Brooklyn-Based Journalist,” U.S. Department of Justice, March 21, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/california-man-charged-conspiring-make-death-threats-against-brooklyn-based-journalist>.

- **Leadership:** A 13-year-old boy in Estonia, identified only as “Commander,” created and led FKD until his arrest in April 2020.²⁴⁰ The U.S. Department of Justice named Nicholas Welker as the one-time leader of FKD following his March 2023 arrest in California.²⁴¹
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** FKD had between 30 and 80 members in more than 12 countries as of early 2020. FKD claimed to disband in February 2020.²⁴² The United Kingdom proscribed FKD as a terrorist group in July 2020.²⁴³ In April 2021, U.S. Representative Elissa Slotkin called on the U.S. government to designate more than a dozen foreign white supremacist groups as terrorist organizations, including FKD.²⁴⁴
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** FKD specifically targeted teenagers for recruitment and focused its recruitment on encrypted messaging apps.²⁴⁵ The group’s alleged leader, known as Commander, was revealed to be a 13-year-old boy in Estonia.²⁴⁶ Multiple FKD members have been revealed to be 14 to 16 years old. FKD members encouraged the recruitment of high school students for shootings and vandalism.²⁴⁷ FKD required recruits to post propaganda posters and send photos to the group’s leader.²⁴⁸

FKD glorified American neo-Nazi James Mason, author of the pro-Nazi anthology *Siege*.²⁴⁹

- **Violent Activities:**
 - In January 2020, FKD members discussed online plans to join with other groups in attacking Jewish institutions in Croatia.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁰ Michael Kunzelman and Jari Tanner, “He led a neo-Nazi group linked to bomb plots. He was 13,” Associated Press, April 11, 2020, <https://apnews.com/7067c03e1af0b157be7c15888cbe8c27>.

²⁴¹ “California Man Charged with Conspiring to Make Death Threats Against Brooklyn-Based Journalist,” U.S. Department of Justice, March 21, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/california-man-charged-conspiring-make-death-threats-against-brooklyn-based-journalist>.

²⁴² Michael Kunzelman and Jari Tanner, “He led a neo-Nazi group linked to bomb plots. He was 13,” Associated Press, April 11, 2020, <https://apnews.com/7067c03e1af0b157be7c15888cbe8c27>; Lizzie Dearden, “Why has Britain banned a neo-Nazi terrorist group that ‘no longer exists’?,” *Independent* (London), July 14, 2020, <https://www.independent.co.uk/independentpremium/news-analysis/feuerkrieg-division-terrorist-group-ban-neo-nazis-uk-a9618221.html>.

²⁴³ “FEUERKRIEG DIVISION (FKD) PROSCRIBED AS TERRORIST GROUP,” Counter Terrorism Policing, July 17, 2020, <https://www.counterterrorism.police.uk/fkd-proscribed/>.

²⁴⁴ Phil Stewart, “Biden administration pressed by lawmaker to label white supremacists overseas as terrorists,” Reuters, April 9, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-extremism-slotkin-idUSKBN2BW1KQ/>.

²⁴⁵ Daniel De Simone, “Neo-Nazi group led by 13-year-old boy to be banned,” BBC News, July 13, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53392036>.

²⁴⁶ Michael Kunzelman and Jari Tanner, “He led a neo-Nazi group linked to bomb plots. He was 13,” Associated Press, April 11, 2020, <https://apnews.com/7067c03e1af0b157be7c15888cbe8c27>.

²⁴⁷ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁴⁸ Daniel De Simone, “Neo-Nazi group led by 13-year-old boy to be banned,” BBC News, July 13, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53392036>.

²⁴⁹ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁵⁰ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

- In October 2019, an alleged FKD member in Lithuania left a bomb outside an office building in Vilnius. The bomb failed to explode, and police arrested the teenage suspect after finding bomb-making materials in his home.²⁵¹
- In September 2019, U.S. Army Private First-Class Jarrett William Smith provided information on explosives to an undercover FBI agent. Smith admitted in a plea agreement to disseminating instructions on building bombs. Smith told the agent he distributed explosives information “for the glory of his Satanist religion,” and sought to create societal chaos. Smith is reportedly involved with FKD at the time of his arrest. The group expressed “consternation” over Smith’s arrest on Telegram.²⁵²
- On August 8, 2019, the FBI-led Joint Terrorism Task Force arrested Connor Climo after finding bomb components in his Las Vegas residence. Between May 2019 and July 15, 2019, Climo communicated online with FKD members about setting fire to a Las Vegas synagogue, and making Molotov cocktails and improvised explosive devices. Climo pleaded guilty in February 2020 to possession of bomb-making materials and plotting to attack Jewish and LGBT targets.²⁵³
- **Rhetoric:**
 - “White_powerstroke,” leaked transcript of chat conversation, February 2020: “It will most likely only focus on major metro areas, so areas with lots of niggers and kikes. If you guys contract this virus, you had BETTER spread that shit to every kike in your country”²⁵⁴
 - “Garzon,” leaked transcript of chat conversation, February 2020: “Greater than a thousand Bowers. Just go around big ten college campuses pounding every sorority yenta. Do it for your race.”²⁵⁵
 - “Dillion,” leaked transcript of chat conversation, 2020: “Kill all the Asians and Jews. They are the biggest threat. Jews internal. Chinese external.”²⁵⁶
 - Jarrett William Smith, a.k.a. Anti-Kosmic, leaked transcript of chat conversation, September 2019: “Buy a bottle of [redacted] and some [redacted] for [redacted].”

²⁵¹ Daniel De Simone, “Neo-Nazi group led by 13-year-old boy to be banned,” BBC News, July 13, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53392036>; “Explosion in Vilnius was planned during daytime with people around – police rep,” *Baltic Times* (Riga), June 26, 2020, <https://www.baltictimes.com/explosion-in-vilnius-was-planned-during-daytime-with-people-around-police-rep/>.

²⁵² John Hanna, “‘Satanist’ Kansas soldier pleads guilty to bomb plot charges,” Associated Press, February 10, 2020, <https://apnews.com/87b9aa7caf100382d331d9a24a84b0bd>; Michael Kunzelman and Jari Tanner, “He led a neo-Nazi group linked to bomb plots. He was 13,” Associated Press, April 11, 2020, <https://apnews.com/7067c03e1af0b157be7c15888cbe8c27>.

²⁵³ “Las Vegas Man Pleads Guilty To Possession Of Bomb-Making Components,” U.S. Department of Justice, February 10, 2020, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-nv/pr/las-vegas-man-pleads-guilty-possession-bomb-making-components>.

²⁵⁴ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁵⁵ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁵⁶ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

Unscrew the lid of the bottle, and then insert [redacted]. Quickly screw the lid back on and either toss or roll it. It will blow in about 8-15 seconds like a grenade and it will leave behind a cloud of chlorine gas.”²⁵⁷

- “Commander,” leaked transcript of chat conversation, August 2019: “so if i survive i’ll probably go kill a few yid kids too lmao”²⁵⁸
- “Dylan D.,” leaked transcript of chat conversation, 2019: “Killing local police and federal authorities is seemingly pointless, much like cutting the head off a hydra. What we truly need to do is strike at the heart of the hydra and eliminate those who control them. Key figures, high level jews, policy makers, lobbyists and billionaire CEOs who hold massive sway over politicians via extortion, blackmail or bribery. High level or high value targets that wouldn’t have the kind of security that the federal government can supply.”²⁵⁹
- “Dylan D.,” leaked transcript of chat conversation, 2019: “And that will come in die time when the trials and tribunals begin after we have regained control of our nation. They will all hang for treason, if they survive the civil war. That is our job now. Prepare for war because it is coming.”²⁶⁰
- “Commander,” leaked transcript of chat conversation, undated: “The Order is quite similar to our organization too, you know that right?”²⁶¹

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.²⁶² 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.”²⁶³ GI believes that white Europeans are falling victim to “the Great Replacement”—“the process by which the indigenous European population is replaced

²⁵⁷ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁵⁸ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁵⁹ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁶⁰ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁶¹ “LEAKED: Neo-Nazi Terrorist ‘Feuerkrieg Division’ Organizing Chats,” Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2020/leaked-neo-nazi-terrorist-feuerkrieg-division-organizing-chats/>.

²⁶² “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>.

²⁶³ Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/> (site discontinued); “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>.

by non-European migrants.”²⁶⁴ GI seeks to stop what it views as the Islamization of Europe, stop globalization, and reverse the “Great Replacement.”²⁶⁵

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.²⁶⁶ GI claims it does not “provide a platform for any kind of national-socialist or fascist groups or views.”²⁶⁷ 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 GI’s tactics as a model.²⁶⁸ Austrian GI leader Martin Sellner has also professed the group’s dedication to non-violence,²⁶⁹ but GI has created militaristic training camps across Europe that feature combat training as well as anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant speakers.²⁷⁰

GI has staged numerous public protests, beginning with occupying the site of a future mosque in Poitiers, France, in October 2012.²⁷¹ 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.²⁷² 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

²⁶⁴ “Frequently Asked Question,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed March 8, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/faqs/>.

²⁶⁵ Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/> (site discontinued).

²⁶⁶ “Our Demands,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed March 7, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/demands/> (site discontinued).

²⁶⁷ Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/> (site discontinued).

²⁶⁸ “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](https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21709986-france-austria-identitarian-movement-gives-xenophobia-youthful-edge-meet-ib;);

²⁶⁹ 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/>.

²⁷⁰ 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>.

²⁷¹ “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>.

²⁷² “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>.

“migrant invasion.”²⁷³ In October 2017, GI’s British chapter unrolled a giant banner over London’s Westminster Bridge reading “Defend London: Stop Islamisation.”²⁷⁴

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.²⁷⁵ 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.”²⁷⁶ GI claimed that it received \$100,000 in donations to pay for the charter.²⁷⁷ However, the ship experienced mechanical issues and the GI crew had to be rescued by a ship belonging to the German refugee aid organization Sea Eye.²⁷⁸ Human rights advocates accuse GI activists of delaying necessary humanitarian rescues with such tactics.²⁷⁹

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.”²⁸⁰ The following month, British authorities again denied Sellner entry into the country to attend a GI “European Reunion” conference.²⁸¹ Twitter suspended multiple GI accounts in July 2020, including Sellner’s.²⁸²

²⁷³ 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>.

²⁷⁴ 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>.

²⁷⁵ 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://defend europe.net/the-mission_fr/ (site discontinued).

²⁷⁶ “The successes of Defend Europe,” YouTube video, 3:05, posted by “Defend Europe,” August 23, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpsDDtOC-yc>.

²⁷⁷ 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>.

²⁷⁸ 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>.

²⁷⁹ 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>.

²⁸⁰ 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>.

²⁸¹ 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>.

²⁸² Anna Schechter, “Twitter suspends more than 50 white nationalist accounts,” NBC News, July 10, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/twitter-suspends-more-50-white-nationalist-accounts-n1233469>.

Though GI does not specifically promote violence, French authorities have prosecuted individual GI members for violent rhetoric and investigated the group for promoting hatred. In December 2020, French authorities convicted three GI members of incitement to terrorism, incitement to religious hatred, and assault after they were filmed discussing their wishes to attack Arabs and then assaulting a 13-year-old Muslim girl.²⁸³ Soon after, French authorities began investigating GI on suspicion of incitement of racial hatred. On February 11, 2021, the French Interior Ministry sent a letter to GI accusing it of “openly hateful rhetoric.”²⁸⁴ French Interior Minister Gerald Darmanin followed up on the letter with plans to ban GI within the coming weeks. French law allows the Council of Ministers to ban organizations by decree if they incite discrimination, hatred, or violence against a person or a group of people because of ethnicity, nationality, or religion, or if they justify or encourage such discrimination, hatred, or violence. The Interior Ministry cited France’s security code forbidding “combat or private militia groups” and groups that “provoke discrimination, hate or (racial) violence.”²⁸⁵ Approximately 200 people rallied in Paris on February 20 to protest the ban.²⁸⁶ The ban went into effect on March 3, 2021, after approval from France’s Council of Ministers. GI’s leaders intend to launch a legal fight against the dissolution.²⁸⁷ In April 2021, U.S. Representative Elissa Slotkin called on the U.S. government to designate more than a dozen foreign white supremacist groups as terrorist organizations, including GI.²⁸⁸

- **Base of Operations:** Founded in France; maintains chapters in the United Kingdom and Ireland, Germany, Austria, and Flanders, Belgium²⁸⁹
- **Website:** <https://www.generation-identity.co/> (site discontinued), [Generation Identity UK & Ireland](#) (site discontinued), [Génération Identitaire \(France\)](#), [Identitäre Bewegung \(Germany\)](#), [Identitäre Bewegung Österreich \(Austria\)](#) (site discontinued), [Generatie Identiteit \(Flanders\)](#) (site discontinued)

²⁸³ “Far-right activists convicted following Al Jazeera investigation,” Al Jazeera, December 15, 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/12/15/far-right-activists-convicted-following-al-jazeera-investigation>.

²⁸⁴ “Generation Identity: France begins shutting down far-right group,” Al Jazeera, February 22, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/2/22/france-shuts-down-far-right-group-after-of-al-jazee-investigation>.

²⁸⁵ “France: Protesters oppose move to disband anti-migrant group,” Associated Press, February 20, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/europe-lyon-european-mass-migration-crisis-paris-france-3e1b9c8119c8ee86cfac973c427b605a>; Bethany Dawson, “France seeking to ban far-right, anti-migrant group,” *Independent* (London), February 14, 2021, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/generation-identity-ban-france-far-right-b1802162.html>.

²⁸⁶ “France: Protesters oppose move to disband anti-migrant group,” Associated Press, February 20, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/europe-lyon-european-mass-migration-crisis-paris-france-3e1b9c8119c8ee86cfac973c427b605a>.

²⁸⁷ Kim Willsher, “France bans far-right ‘paramilitary’ group Génération Identitaire,” *Guardian* (London), March 3, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/mar/03/france-bans-far-right-paramilitary-group-generation-identitaire>.

²⁸⁸ Phil Stewart, “Biden administration pressed by lawmaker to label white supremacists overseas as terrorists,” Reuters, April 9, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-extremism-slotkin-idUSKBN2BW1KQ/>.

²⁸⁹ Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/> (site discontinued); “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>.

COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

- **Social Media:** [BitChute \(UK and Ireland\)](#), [Facebook \(Italy\)](#) (discontinued), [Instagram \(Italy\)](#) (discontinued), [Google+ \(Italy\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Austria\)](#) (discontinued), [Facebook \(Flanders\)](#) (discontinued), [Instagram \(Flanders\)](#) (discontinued), [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 \(Bewegung Österreich\)](#) (discontinued), [Twitter \(Flanders\)](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(Italy\)](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(London\)](#) (discontinued), [Twitter \(Manchester\)](#) (discontinued), [Twitter \(Paris\)](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(Saxony\)](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(UK & Ireland\)](#) (suspended), [YouTube \(Italy\)](#), [Twitter \(Martin Sellner\)](#) (suspended), [YouTube \(UK & Ireland\)](#) (suspended), [YouTube \(Martin Sellner\)](#) (suspended), [YouTube \(Defend Europe\)](#)
- **Leadership:** Clément Gandelin is president of GI's chapter in France.²⁹⁰ Martin Sellner and Martin Lichtmesz lead GI's Austrian chapter. Sellner is also the main leader of Defend Europe.²⁹¹ Lorenzo Fiato leads GI's Italian chapter.²⁹²
- **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 2016.²⁹³ GI allegedly had approximately 800 adherents in France as of February 2021.²⁹⁴

Martin Sellner maintained more than 39,900 Twitter followers and 144,000 YouTube subscribers as of June 29, 2020.²⁹⁵ Both platforms subsequently suspended Sellner. The Italian GI chapter maintained 3,172 Twitter followers and 1,290 YouTube subscribers as of June 29, 2020.²⁹⁶ Twitter suspended the account, but the YouTube account remained active and had approximately the same number of subscribers as of April 13, 2021, though it had only nine videos and had not been updated in a year.²⁹⁷ As of August 14,

²⁹⁰ Kim Willsher, "France bans far-right 'paramilitary' group Génération Identitaire," *Guardian* (London), March 3, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/mar/03/france-bans-far-right-paramilitary-group-generation-identitaire>.

²⁹¹ 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>.

²⁹² 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>.

²⁹³ "Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires," Les Identitaires, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

²⁹⁴ "France to ban far-right group Generation Identity," France 24, February 17, 2021, <https://www.france24.com/en/france/20210217-france-to-ban-far-right-group-generation-identity>.

²⁹⁵ Martin Sellner, Twitter account, accessed June 29, 2020, https://twitter.com/Martin_Sellner; Martin Sellner, YouTube account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCZ8uFo1RKSGEg-od3Yu10Pw>.

²⁹⁶ Generazione Identitaria, Twitter account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://twitter.com/GenerazioneID>; Generazione Identitaria, YouTube account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/user/GenerazioneID>.

²⁹⁷ Generazione Identitaria, YouTube account, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/user/GenerazioneID>.

2023, the YouTube account had been discontinued.²⁹⁸ The Flanders chapter had 246 Twitter followers as of June 29, 2020.²⁹⁹ The Saxony chapter had 1,541 Twitter followers as of June 29, 2020.³⁰⁰ Both accounts were subsequently suspended. The Defend Europe YouTube page had 5,227 subscribers as of June 29, 2020,³⁰¹ and decreased slightly to 5,110 as of April 13, 2021.³⁰² As of August 14, 2023, the Defend Europe YouTube page had 4,810 subscribers and 26 videos. It had not uploaded a video since 2018.³⁰³

- **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.”³⁰⁴ 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.³⁰⁵

On April 14, 2018, GI hosted its “European Reunion” conference in England, which reportedly drew attendees from across Europe.³⁰⁶ GI livestreamed the conference on Facebook, drawing more than 2,000 views.³⁰⁷ 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.³⁰⁸

²⁹⁸ Generazione Identitaria, YouTube account, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/user/GenerazioneID>.

²⁹⁹ Generatie Identiteit, Twitter account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://twitter.com/GIdentiteit>.

³⁰⁰ Identitäre Sachsen, Twitter account, accessed June 29, 2020, https://twitter.com/ib_sachsen.

³⁰¹ Defend Europe, YouTube account, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCwQL6Mcu34L9zHZzQ1PkyiA>.

³⁰² Defend Europe, YouTube account, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCwQL6Mcu34L9zHZzQ1PkyiA>.

³⁰³ Defend Europe, YouTube account, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCwQL6Mcu34L9zHZzQ1PkyiA>.

³⁰⁴ “GISG,” Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, accessed April 16, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/over-40-support-group> (site discontinued).

³⁰⁵ 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/> (site discontinued); “Revues,” Boutique Identitaire, accessed March 15, 2018, <http://www.boutique-identitaire.com/fr/18-revues>.

³⁰⁶ European Reunion London Conference, Facebook event, accessed March 6, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/events/212531269295634/>.

³⁰⁷ 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/> (site discontinued).

³⁰⁸ 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>.

GI relies on its social media presence to recruit and fundraise. The Defend Europe YouTube channel includes financial appeals for future protests.³⁰⁹ 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.”³¹⁰

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.³¹¹ Sellner’s YouTube page had 25,311 subscribers and hosted more than 140 videos as of July 3, 2018.³¹² Both Sellner’s Twitter and YouTube accounts were suspended in July 2020.³¹³

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.³¹⁴ 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. GI UK & Ireland’s website was offline as of April 2020 and the group had migrated to a BitChute account.³¹⁵ Twitter also suspended Sellner’s account and multiple other GI accounts as part of a purge of more than 50 white nationalist accounts in July 2020.³¹⁶

- **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.³¹⁷ Some of GI’s protests have also directly threatened others. For example, in October 2016, GI members in Montpellier, France, built a fake wall over

³⁰⁹ “The successes of Defend Europe,” YouTube video, 3:05, posted by “Defend Europe,” August 23, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpsDDtOC-yc>.

³¹⁰ “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>.

³¹¹ “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>.

³¹² “Martin Sellner GI” YouTube channel, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UChAfRiWP0vFCrQbLRfuCA-A>.

³¹³ “Martin Sellner GI” YouTube channel, accessed July 14, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UChAfRiWP0vFCrQbLRfuCA-A>; Martin Sellner, Twitter account, accessed July 14, 2020, https://twitter.com/Martin_Sellner.

³¹⁴ 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/>.

³¹⁵ Generation Identity UK & Ireland, BitChute account, accessed April 27, 2020, <https://www.bitchute.com/channel/gbOO2MeCZ0Ep/>.

³¹⁶ Generation Identity Paris, Twitter account, accessed July 14, 2020, https://twitter.com/GeneID_Paris; Generation Identity Saxony, Twitter account, accessed July 14, 2020, https://twitter.com/ib_sachsen; Generation Identity Italy, Twitter account, accessed July 14, 2020, <https://twitter.com/GenerazioneID>; Anna Schechter, “Twitter suspends more than 50 white nationalist accounts,” NBC News, July 10, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/twitter-suspends-more-50-white-nationalist-accounts-n1233469>.

³¹⁷ 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>.

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.”³¹⁸

- **Rhetoric:**

- Martin Sellner YouTube video, January 19, 2017: “‘Diversity’ is a false idol. Immigration and multiculturalism are dogmas you are not allowed to question.”³¹⁹
- 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!”³²⁰
- GI public statement on a protest in Calais, France, March 2016: “The only worthwhile ‘relocation’ of migrants is back to their country of origin.”³²¹
- 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.”³²²

Golden Dawn

Summary: Golden Dawn is a neo-Nazi party that rose from a marginal role in Greek politics to become the third-largest political force in Greece in 2014. Golden Dawn party members have been involved in hundreds of acts of violence against immigrants and leftists across Greece.³²³ Golden Dawn openly advocates national socialism, racism, and antisemitism, and has adorned its publications and rallies with images of Adolf Hitler, the Third Reich, Rudolf Hess, the Waffen SS, and the swastika.³²⁴ In 1987, Golden Dawn leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos wrote in the party magazine, “We are the faithful soldiers of the National Socialist idea and nothing else.”³²⁵ In

³¹⁸ 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>.

³¹⁹ “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.

³²⁰ 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>.

³²¹ 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>.

³²² 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>.

³²³ 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/>.

³²⁴ 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>.

³²⁵ 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>.

October 2020, a Greek court labeled Golden Dawn a criminal organization and sent several of its leaders to prison.³²⁶

Golden Dawn campaigned on a strongly anti-immigration platform. The party blamed the “millions of illegal immigrants” and leftist political parties for what it deemed “the dissolution of the Greek society.”³²⁷ Golden Dawn sought “a Greece that belongs to the Greeks.”³²⁸ In a 2012 interview, two Golden Dawn parliamentarians demanded that only people with “Greek blood” should be allowed to participate in elections.³²⁹

In recent years, Golden Dawn has sought to soften its image in order to appeal to a wider spectrum of voters. When Golden Dawn organized public events, it rejected the neo-Nazi label and generally preferred to present itself as a “nationalist” and “patriotic” organization.³³⁰ Golden Dawn leaders have claimed that prior Golden Dawn references to the Nazi Party were “youthful indiscretions.”³³¹ 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.³³² In January 2015, Golden Dawn won 17 seats in Greece’s parliamentary elections to become the country’s third largest party.³³³ Golden Dawn failed to secure the minimum 3 percent threshold in Greece’s July 2019 parliamentary elections.³³⁴

Nonetheless, Golden Dawn members continued 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.³³⁵ One ex-member of Golden

³²⁶ Tim Hume, “Greece’s Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn Party Have Been Ruled a Criminal Organisation,” Vice News, October 7, 2020, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/n7wax7/greece-neo-nazi-golden-dawn-party-criminal-organisation>; Niki Kitsantonis, “Court Sentences Leaders of Greece’s Golden Dawn to Prison,” *New York Times*, last updated April 27, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/14/world/europe/greece-golden-dawn-sentencing.html>.

³²⁷ “Information,” Golden Dawn, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/information> (site discontinued).

³²⁸ “Information,” Golden Dawn, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/information> (site discontinued).

³²⁹ 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>.

³³⁰ 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>.

³³¹ 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/>.

³³² 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>.

³³³ 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>.

³³⁴ “Greece elections: Centre-right regains power under Kyriakos Mitsotakis,” BBC News, July 8, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-48902766>.

³³⁵ “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>.

Dawn has claimed that the party discussed plots to overthrow the Greek government using “tanks.”³³⁶ 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 suspended sentence in 2018.³³⁷ In 2013, Greek police arrested Golden Dawn leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos and other senior party members on charges of running an illegal organization.³³⁸ In October 2020, Michaloliakos and the others were found guilty of being part of a criminal organization that ordered or encouraged violence. Michaloliakos was sentenced to 13 years in prison. Other leaders received sentences ranging from five to 13 years. Golden Dawn member Giorgos Roupakias received a life sentence plus 10 years for the 2013 murder of anti-fascist Greek rapper Pavlos Fyssas, a.k.a. Killah P.³³⁹ In total, the court convicted 50 people—including 18 former Golden Dawn politicians—for membership in a criminal organization.³⁴⁰ Deputy leader Christos Pappas remains the only Golden Dawn leader still at large.³⁴¹ While the verdict did not formally ban the organization, Golden Dawn’s failure to meet the 3 percent threshold in Greece’s 2019 parliamentary elections and the subsequent October 2020 shut down of the group’s local offices effectively rendered Golden Dawn defunct.³⁴² In June 2020, former Golden Dawn member and spokesman Ilias Kasidiaris formed “Greeks for the Fatherland,” a.k.a. the Hellenes party. In a video posted on YouTube, Kasidiaris claimed the new party was a movement for the “national preservation and revival of Hellenism.”³⁴³ The party

³³⁶ 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/>.

³³⁷ “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>.

³³⁸ 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>.

³³⁹ Bill Chappell and Joanna Kakiss, “Golden Dawn: Leader Of Greek Neo-Nazi Party Sentenced To 13 Years In Prison,” NPR, October 14, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/10/14/923605755/golden-dawn-leader-of-greek-neo-nazi-party-sentenced-to-13-years-in-prison>.

³⁴⁰ Niki Kitsantonis, “Court Sentences Leaders of Greece’s Golden Dawn to Prison,” *New York Times*, last updated April 27, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/14/world/europe/greece-golden-dawn-sentencing.html>.

³⁴¹ Anthee Carassava, “Greek Neo-Nazi Ioannis Lagos Extradited to Serve Stiff Sentence,” Voice of America, May 16, 2021, <https://www.voanews.com/europe/greek-neo-nazi-ioannis-lagos-extradited-serve-stiff-sentence>; “Ex-Golden Dawn member extradited to Greece to start jail term,” Reuters, May 15, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ex-golden-dawn-member-extradited-greece-start-jail-term-2021-05-15/>.

³⁴² Niki Kitsantonis and Iliana Magra, “Golden Dawn Found Guilty of Running Criminal Organization in Greece,” *New York Times*, October 7, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/07/world/europe/golden-dawn-guilty-verdict-greece.html>; Tim Hume, “Greece’s Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn Party Have Been Ruled a Criminal Organisation,” *Vice News*, October 7, 2020, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/n7wax7/greece-neo-nazi-golden-dawn-party-criminal-organisation>; Kerin Hope, “Golden Dawn leaders guilty of running criminal organization,” *Financial Times*, October 7, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/1de7511a-8cb3-48ca-a57c-89d8d626d06e>.

³⁴³ Vasiliki Tasgkroni, “In Greece, a new far right movement is taking the stage,” Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right, August 27, 2020, <https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2020/08/27/in-greece-a-new-far-right-movement-is-taking-the-stage/>; Ηλίας Κασιδιάρης, “ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ για την Πατρίδα”: Το κόμμα του Ηλία Κασιδιάρη!,” YouTube, June 4, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoyA4ttvhw&ab_channel=%CE%97%CE%BB%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82%CE%9A%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%AC%CF%81%CE%B7%CF%82

maintained many of the same platforms endorsed by Golden Dawn, particularly the focus on ending illegal immigration. By August 2021, the group was reported to have over 20,000 registered members.³⁴⁴ In May 2023, Greece's supreme court ruled the Hellenes party was clearly the "successor" to Golden Dawn and banned the party from participating in the country's June 2023 parliamentary elections.³⁴⁵

- **Base of Operations:** Greece
- **Website:** <http://xryshaygh.com/gr/> (suspended), <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en> (suspended), <https://xaameriki.wordpress.com/> (suspended)
- **Social Media:** [YouTube](#), [YouTube \(Golden Dawn New York\)](#)
- **Leadership:** Party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos founded Golden Dawn in 1985.³⁴⁶
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** In January 2015, Golden Dawn won 17 seats in Greece's parliamentary elections, becoming the country's third largest party.³⁴⁷ Golden Dawn failed to secure the minimum 3 percent threshold in Greece's July 2019 parliamentary elections.³⁴⁸
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** Golden Dawn employed a range of strategies to recruit members, including grassroots mobilization. It attracted widespread appeal, boasting thousands of members and attendants at Golden Dawn rallies.³⁴⁹ Golden Dawn also worked to appeal to Greek expatriates living in Australia, Canada, and the United States.³⁵⁰ The group also recruited 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."³⁵¹ Golden Dawn's Greek website outlined a list of beliefs for its members, focusing on National Socialism.³⁵²

³⁴⁴ Vasiliki Tasgkroni, "In Greece, a new far right movement is taking the stage," Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right, August 27, 2020, <https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2020/08/27/in-greece-a-new-far-right-movement-is-taking-the-stage/>; [Ηλίας Κασιδιάρης](#), "'ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ για την Πατρίδα': Το κόμμα του Ηλία Κασιδιάρη!," YouTube, June 4, 2020,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoyA4ttvhw&ab_channel=%CE%97%CE%BB%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82%CE%9A%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%AC%CF%81%CE%B7%CF%82

³⁴⁵ Helena Smith, "Greek supreme court upholds ban on far-right party 'to protect democracy,'" *Guardian* (London), May 4, 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/may/04/greek-far-right-party-hellenes-ban-protect-democracy-golden-dawn>.

³⁴⁶ 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>.

³⁴⁷ 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>.

³⁴⁸ "Greece elections: Centre-right regains power under Kyriakos Mitsotakis," BBC News, July 8, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-48902766>.

³⁴⁹ 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>.

³⁵⁰ 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>.

³⁵¹ "About," Golden Dawn New York, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://xaameriki.wordpress.com/about> (site discontinued).

³⁵² "Information," Golden Dawn, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/information> (site discontinued).

Within Greece, Golden Dawn was heavily focused on recruiting from Greek's youth population. Golden Dawn had a youth club, Galazia Stratia (Blue Army). The group used bribes, such as cell phones, to recruit younger members.³⁵³ The group also used gyms, athletic clubs, and martial arts clubs as grounds for recruiting youths. It actively recruited at high schools, and even stands accused of launching an indoctrination course called "National Awakening," aimed at children ages 6-10.³⁵⁴ 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."³⁵⁵

As of June 29, 2020, Golden Dawn's YouTube page had 19,700 subscribers, an increase of more than 3,300 subscribers since July 3, 2018. The account also hosted more than 600 videos and had received more than 14 million views since October 2012.³⁵⁶ The YouTube page had 20,000 subscribers as of April 13, 2021.³⁵⁷ The account remained online and active as of August 14, 2023, despite Golden Dawn's collapse. Its subscribers had increased slightly to 20,400. New videos had been posted to the account in 2023.³⁵⁸ In contrast, Golden Dawn New York's YouTube page hosted only seven videos and had only 614 subscribers as of June 29, 2020, decreasing from 663 on March 19, 2019.³⁵⁹ The page's subscribers decreased to 592 by April 13, 2021.³⁶⁰ As of August 14, 2023, the account had decreased to 566 subscribers. New videos had not been posted since 2014.³⁶¹ Golden Dawn's Twitter account had been suspended as of June 24, 2018.³⁶²

- **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-

³⁵³ Lefteris Bidelas and Maria Psara, "Stuff Greek Fascists Like," Vice, March 22, 2014, <http://www.vice.com/read/golden-dawn-political-immunity-lift-greece>.

³⁵⁴ 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>.

³⁵⁵ 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>.

³⁵⁶ Golden Dawn, YouTube page, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/user/xryshayghcom/featured>.

³⁵⁷ Golden Dawn, YouTube page, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/user/xryshayghcom/featured>.

³⁵⁸ Golden Dawn, YouTube page, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/user/xryshayghcom/featured>.

³⁵⁹ GoldenDawnDivisionNY, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/user/GoldenDawnDivisionNY/feed>

³⁶⁰ GoldenDawnDivisionNY, YouTube account, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/user/GoldenDawnDivisionNY/feed>.

³⁶¹ GoldenDawnDivisionNY, YouTube account, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/user/GoldenDawnDivisionNY/feed>.

³⁶² Golden Dawn, Twitter account, accessed June 24, 2018, <https://twitter.com/#!/xryshaygh>; Golden Dawn homepage, accessed June 24, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en> (site discontinued).

member of Golden Dawn, were preparing “to overthrow the Greek government.”³⁶³ Evidence from the prosecutors showed Golden Dawn members in military clothing wielding knives, swords, handguns, rifles, and even a bazooka.³⁶⁴ According to the ex-member of Golden Dawn, “They kept telling us that we’ll break into the parliament with tanks.”³⁶⁵ The trial concluded in October 2015 with the conviction of all accused, who received sentences ranging from five years to life in prison.³⁶⁶

- On August 24, 2014, Golden Dawn members attacked a gay couple in Athens, seriously injuring one of them.³⁶⁷
- On September 17, 2013, leftist musician Pavlos Fyssas, a.k.a. Killa P, was stabbed to death near the port of Athens. Police later arrested the attacker, Giorgos Roupakias, who claimed to be a member of Golden Dawn. Police also arrested senior members of Golden Dawn’s leadership, including party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos. Roupakias received a life sentence plus 10 years in 2020.³⁶⁸
- 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.³⁶⁹
- 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 2018.³⁷⁰

³⁶³ “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/>.

³⁶⁴ 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/>.

³⁶⁵ 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/>.

³⁶⁶ Bill Chappell and Joanna Kakiss, “Golden Dawn: Leader Of Greek Neo-Nazi Party Sentenced To 13 Years In Prison,” NPR, October 14, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/10/14/923605755/golden-dawn-leader-of-greek-neo-nazi-party-sentenced-to-13-years-in-prison>.

³⁶⁷ “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>.

³⁶⁸ 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>; Bill Chappell and Joanna Kakiss, “Golden Dawn: Leader Of Greek Neo-Nazi Party Sentenced To 13 Years In Prison,” NPR, October 14, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/10/14/923605755/golden-dawn-leader-of-greek-neo-nazi-party-sentenced-to-13-years-in-prison>.

³⁶⁹ “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>.

³⁷⁰ “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>.

- On November 1, 2012, around 150 people, including an unidentified number of high-ranking members of Golden Dawn, attacked immigrants and damaged immigrant shops.³⁷¹
- 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.³⁷²
- 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.³⁷³
- **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.”³⁷⁴
 - Ilias Panagiotaros, April 2014: “[Hitler is a] great personality, like Stalin.”³⁷⁵
 - 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....”³⁷⁶
 - 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.”³⁷⁷
 - 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

³⁷¹ 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>.

³⁷² “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>.

³⁷³ “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>.

³⁷⁴ “Information,” Golden Dawn, accessed June 26, 2018, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/en/information> (site discontinued).

³⁷⁵ 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>.

³⁷⁶ 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>.

³⁷⁷ 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>.

battle means, they will see what struggle means, they will see what bayonets sharpened every night mean.”³⁷⁸

- Nikolaos Michaloliakos, 1987: “We are the faithful soldiers of the National Socialist idea and nothing else.”³⁷⁹

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.³⁸⁰ Jobbik describes itself as a “principled, conservative and radically patriotic Christian party” whose “fundamental purpose” is the protection of “Hungarian values and interests.”³⁸¹ Jobbik rejects “the dead-end Western European multiculturalism” and has pledged to “defend our cultural identity developed over our history.”³⁸² Since 2016, Jobbik has sought to dispel its far-right image while disavowing its antisemitic past.³⁸³

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 any seats in the 2002 election.³⁸⁴ Jobbik was officially founded in October 2003 as a political party.³⁸⁵ 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

³⁷⁸ 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>.

³⁷⁹ 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>.

³⁸⁰ “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>.

³⁸¹ Jobbik, Facebook, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/JobbikEnglish?sk=info>.

³⁸² “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.

³⁸³ “Party leadership - Jakab Péter and Márton Gyöngyösi,” Jobbik, February 7, 2020, https://www.jobbik.com/party_leadership_party_chairman; Shaun Walker, “Does electing a leader with Jewish roots prove Jobbik has changed?,” *Guardian* (London), February 12, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/12/electing-leader-jewish-roots-jobbik-changed-hungary-shift>; Marton Dunai, “Hungarian far-right leader rejects anti-Semitism charge,” Reuters, April 13, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-farright/hungarian-far-right-leader-rejects-anti-semitism-charge-idUSKBN0N41NY20150413>.

³⁸⁴ 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.

³⁸⁵ 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> (site discontinued).

seats. This marked a 1 percent decrease in votes for Jobbik from the 2014 election but an increase of three additional seats.³⁸⁶ Jobbik remains in the opposition in the Hungarian government.³⁸⁷

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.³⁸⁸ 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.”³⁸⁹

Since 2016, Jobbik has attempted to soften its antisemitic and racist image. Then-former chairman Gabor Vona sought to shift the party to the mainstream rightwing and shed Jobbik’s far-right image.³⁹⁰ In December 2016, Jobbik released Chanukah greetings to Hungary’s Jewish population, which he called an effort to reconcile Hungary’s Jews and Christians. Nonetheless, representatives of Hungary’s Jewish community rejected the outreach and called on Jobbik to instead make gestures like these at the political forums where Jobbik has spread its antisemitic rhetoric. A Jobbik chapter in the Budapest suburb of Vecses also rejected the outreach in a Facebook post claiming the organization would not support anybody who made such moves.³⁹¹ The outreach was part of a strategy under Vona to move Jobbik closer to the mainstream and present a viable challenge in the 2018 elections. Vona called Jobbik’s ideological rebranding a shift to “modern conservatism” that would reach out “both to former leftist and former rightist voters.”³⁹² Vona compared Jobbik’s former antisemitic and racist language to a rebellious teenage who matures and realizes the world is not as black and white as once thought.³⁹³

Jobbik received 20 percent of the vote in Hungary’s 2018 parliamentary elections. Despite Vona’s overtures, some party members continued to rally around the party’s traditional racist ideology. After the elections, former Jobbik vice-president László

³⁸⁶ “Tájékoztató adatok a választáson megjelentek számáról és arányáról,” National Election Office, April 8, 2018, <http://valasztas.hu/dyn/pv18/szavossz/hu/napind.html> (site discontinued).

³⁸⁷ “Opposition Criticizes Gov’t Approach to Pandemic,” Hungary Today, February 16, 2021, <https://hungarytoday.hu/hungary-opposition-parties-government-parliament/>.

³⁸⁸ “Bănescu 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.

³⁸⁹ “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.

³⁹⁰ Marton Dunai, “Hungarian far-right leader rejects anti-Semitism charge,” Reuters, April 13, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-farright/hungarian-far-right-leader-rejects-anti-semitism-charge-idUSKBN0N41NY20150413>.

³⁹¹ Marton Dunai, “Hungary’s Jobbik gets double rebuff for Hannukah greetings to Jews,” Reuters, December 30, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-hungary-jobbik-hannukah-idUSKBN14J1A9>.

³⁹² Marton Dunai, “Hungary’s Jobbik ditches far-right past to challenge Orban in 2018,” Reuters, January 11, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jobbik-idUSKBN14V1PW>.

³⁹³ Marton Dunai, “Hungary’s Jobbik ditches far-right past to challenge Orban in 2018,” Reuters, January 11, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jobbik-idUSKBN14V1PW>.

Toroczkai accused Jobbik of betraying the national cause. He and some other members broke away to form a new far-right party called Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (“Our Homeland Movement”). In 2019, Our Homeland formed a uniformed “self-defense” group called National Legion, which leaders said was modeled on the Hungarian Guard.³⁹⁴

In January 2020, Jobbik elected Péter Jakab as its new president. Jakab has openly spoken of his family’s Jewish roots and how his great-grandfather died in the Auschwitz concentration camp. Under Jakab’s leadership, Jobbik claims to no longer be a far-right party and that ideological shift is irreversible.³⁹⁵ Some far-right members of Jobbik have since resigned, calling Jakab’s policies “morally unacceptable and fatal.”³⁹⁶ Jakab resigned in June 2022 following allegations of sexual assault and criticism of his willingness to join a governing coalition with leftwing parties.³⁹⁷ On July 2, 2022, Jobbik elected Márton Gyöngyösi as its president. Gyöngyösi had previously served as Jobbik’s executive vice president. He promised to transform Jobbik into a pro-Europe party.³⁹⁸ In August 2022, Jakab announced he was leaving Jobbik but would continue to sit in parliament as an independent. According to a Facebook post by Jakab, Gyöngyösi had given him an ultimatum to either embrace Jobbik’s far-right ideology or leave the party.³⁹⁹ On September 28, 2022, the Curia, Hungary’s supreme court, sentenced former Jobbik European parliamentarian Béla Kovács to five years in prison for espionage on behalf of Russia. According to the charges against him, Kovács passed information to Russian intelligence services between 2012 and 2014 to undermine EU institutions and favor Russian interests. The Curia found him guilty of espionage against the institutions of the European Union, budget fraud, and forgery of private documents. Kovács was banned from public office for 10 years. He was sentenced in absentia as he lives in Moscow.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁴ “Hungary far-right party forms uniformed ‘self-defense’ group,” Associated Press, May 14, 2019, <https://apnews.com/article/10a18cdf7ae1453b90fe5692914112cd>.

³⁹⁵ “Party leadership - Jakab Péter and Márton Gyöngyösi,” Jobbik, February 7, 2020, https://www.jobbik.com/party_leadership_party_chairman; Shaun Walker, “Does electing a leader with Jewish roots prove Jobbik has changed?,” *Guardian* (London), February 12, 2020,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/12/electing-leader-jewish-roots-jobbik-changed-hungary-shift>; Marton Dunai, “Hungarian far-right leader rejects anti-Semitism charge,” Reuters, April 13, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-farright/hungarian-far-right-leader-rejects-anti-semitism-charge-idUSKBN0N41NY20150413>.

³⁹⁶ Ábrahám Vass, “Jobbik MP Bencsik Quits Party after Disagreement with New President,” Hungary Today, February 20, 2020, <https://hungarytoday.hu/jobbik-mp-bencsik-quits-party-disagreement-jakab/>; “Former Jobbik MP Bencsik Starts New Political Movement,” Hungary Today, December 4, 2020, <https://hungarytoday.hu/former-jobbik-mp-bencsik-new-party/>.

³⁹⁷ Dániel Deme, “Scandal-hit Member of Hungarian Pre-election Opposition Coalition Péter Jakab Resigns,” Hungary Today, June 9, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/scandal-hit-member-of-hungarian-pre-election-opposition-coalition-peter-jakab-resigns/>.

³⁹⁸ Péter Cseresnyés, “Following Internal Clashes Nationalist Jobbik Elects New Leader,” Hungary Today, July 4, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/following-internal-clashes-nationalist-jobbik-elects-new-leader/>.

³⁹⁹ “Former leader leaves opposition party to fight against Orbán,” Daily News Hungary, August 12, 2022, <https://dailynewshungary.com/former-leader-leaves-opposition-party-to-fight-against-orban/>.

⁴⁰⁰ “Former Jobbik MEP Sentenced for Espionage for Russia,” Hungary Today, September 28, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/former-jobbik-mep-sentenced-for-espionage-for-russia/>.

- **Base of Operations:** Hungary
- **Website:** <https://www.jobbik.com/>, <https://www.jobbik.hu/>
- **Social Media:** [Facebook](#) (site discontinued), [Twitter](#)
- **Leadership:** Gabor Vona resigned as party chair in April 2018 after Jobbik’s defeat in Hungary’s parliamentary elections that month.⁴⁰¹ Tamás Sneider served as Jobbik’s president, and Márton Gyöngyösi as its executive vice president and parliamentary faction leader.⁴⁰² In January 2020, Jobbik revised its leadership structure. Parliamentary faction leader Péter Jakab assumed the presidency of Jobbik, while Gyöngyösi continued to serve as executive vice president and a member of the European Parliament.⁴⁰³ Jakab resigned in June 2022.⁴⁰⁴ Jobbik elected Gyöngyösi as its president on July 2, 2022.⁴⁰⁵
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.⁴⁰⁶ In 2014, Jobbik received 14.7 percent of the votes in European Parliament elections, which gave it three seats.⁴⁰⁷
- **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.⁴⁰⁸

A Hungarian court ruled in January 2014 that Jobbik may be referred to as “neo-Nazi” in Hungary because of its rhetoric.⁴⁰⁹ 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

⁴⁰¹ “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>.

⁴⁰² “Party leadership - Tamás Sneider and Marton Gyöngyösi,” Jobbik, May 6, 2018, https://www.jobbik.com/party_leadership_-_g%C3%A1bor_vona_party_chairman.

⁴⁰³ “Party leadership - Jakab Péter and Márton Gyöngyösi,” Jobbik, February 7, 2020, https://www.jobbik.com/party_leadership_party_chairman.

⁴⁰⁴ Dániel Deme, “Scandal-hit Member of Hungarian Pre-election Opposition Coalition Péter Jakab Resigns,” Hungary Today, June 9, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/scandal-hit-member-of-hungarian-pre-election-opposition-coalition-peter-jakab-resigns/>.

⁴⁰⁵ Péter Cseresnyés, “Following Internal Clashes Nationalist Jobbik Elects New Leader,” Hungary Today, July 4, 2022, <https://hungarytoday.hu/following-internal-clashes-nationalist-jobbik-elects-new-leader/>.

⁴⁰⁶ “Tájékoztató adatok a választáson megjelentek számáról és arányáról,” National Election Office, April 8, 2018, <http://valasztas.hu/dyn/pv18/szavossz/hu/napind.html> (site discontinued).

⁴⁰⁷ “Hungary’s right-wing dominates EU polls,” EUBusiness, May 25, 2014, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/vote-hungary.w8q>.

⁴⁰⁸ “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.

⁴⁰⁹ “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>.

buy whole Hungary.” Jobbik’s blatant use of the Nazi “Arrow Cross” suggests Jobbik’s pride in Hungary’s Nazi past.⁴¹⁰

Jobbik maintains a social media presence. As of June 29, 2020, the group’s Twitter account had 8,050 followers, a decrease from the 8,787 followers it had on July 3, 2018.⁴¹¹ Jobbik’s Facebook account had 5,310 followers as of July 3, 2018.⁴¹² Jobbik’s Facebook account has since been shut down. Jobbik’s Twitter account had 7,554 followers as of July 25, 2022.⁴¹³ As of August 14, 2023, the account decreased slightly to 7,370 followers.⁴¹⁴ Jobbik President Márton Gyöngyösi’s Twitter account had 1,247 followers as of July 25, 2022.⁴¹⁵ By August 14, 2023, it had increased slightly to 1,376 followers.⁴¹⁶

- **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.⁴¹⁷ 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.”⁴¹⁸ Hungary’s Metropolitan Court of Appeal disbanded the Hungarian Guard in 2009 for intimidation of Hungary’s Roma community.⁴¹⁹ However, the group has since formed several successor organizations, including the New Hungarian Guard.⁴²⁰
 - 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 2011.⁴²¹
 - 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

⁴¹⁰ “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.

⁴¹¹ Jobbik, Twitter page, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://twitter.com/JobbikMM>; Jobbik, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://twitter.com/JobbikMM>.

⁴¹² Jobbik, Facebook page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/pg/JobbikEnglish/about/>.

⁴¹³ Jobbik, Twitter page, accessed July 25, 2022, <https://twitter.com/JobbikMM>.

⁴¹⁴ Jobbik, Twitter page, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://twitter.com/JobbikMM>.

⁴¹⁵ Márton Gyöngyösi, Twitter page, accessed July 25, 2022, <https://twitter.com/GyongyosiMarton>.

⁴¹⁶ Márton Gyöngyösi, Twitter page, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://twitter.com/GyongyosiMarton>.

⁴¹⁷ 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>.

⁴¹⁸ “Hungary - International Religious Freedom Report 2008,” U.S. Department of State, 2008, <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2008/108450.htm>.

⁴¹⁹ 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/>.

⁴²⁰ 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.

⁴²¹ 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.

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.⁴²²

- **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.”⁴²³
- 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.”⁴²⁴
- 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.”⁴²⁵

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.”⁴²⁶ Its leader, Matteo Salvini, views Italian culture and way of life as “under attack” and “at risk” due to mass immigration.⁴²⁷ Ahead of Italy’s 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.⁴²⁸ The League received 17 percent of the vote in March 2018 parliamentary elections, and

⁴²² Anton Maegerle, “Braunes Killerkommando,” Blick nach Rechts, August 7, 2013,

<http://www.bnr.de/artikel/hintergrund/braunes-killerkommando>.

⁴²³ “Anti-Jewish Rally in Hungary Capital,” BBC News, May 4, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22413301>.

⁴²⁴ “Anti-Jewish Rally in Hungary Capital,” BBC News, May 4, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22413301>.

⁴²⁵ “Eine Tragödie für Europa als Ganzes,” Zurzeit.at, May 16, 2011, <http://archive.today/RbEHD#selection-425.0-425.37>.

⁴²⁶ 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>.

⁴²⁷ 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>.

⁴²⁸ 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>.

Salvini became Italy's interior minister.⁴²⁹ Marine Le Pen, leader of France's far-right National Front political party, called the League's victory "the reawakening of the peoples."⁴³⁰ In February 2021, the League joined Italy's national unity government.⁴³¹ The League received only 9 percent of the vote in Italy's September 2022 parliamentary elections, prompting calls for Salvini's resignation.⁴³²

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.⁴³³ Bossi began to blame southern Italians for northern Italy's economic hardships, regularly demeaning them as lazy parasites living off of hardworking northerners.⁴³⁴ 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."⁴³⁵

Salvini joined the League's youth wing as a teenager.⁴³⁶ He took over the party's leadership from Bossi in 2013.⁴³⁷ 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."⁴³⁸ In May 2015 regional

⁴²⁹ 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>.

⁴³⁰ 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>.

⁴³¹ Crispian Balmer, "Italy's Draghi takes office, faces daunting challenges," Reuters, February 13, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-politics-idUSKBN2AD0B0>.

⁴³² Lorenzo Tondo, "Italy: Salvini faces calls to quit as League chief after dismal election results," *Guardian* (London), September 27, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/27/italy-salvini-faces-calls-to-quit-as-league-chief-after-dismal-election-results>.

⁴³³ "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>.

⁴³⁴ 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/>.

⁴³⁵ 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>.

⁴³⁶ 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>.

⁴³⁷ 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>.

⁴³⁸ 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.”⁴³⁹

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,”⁴⁴⁰ labeling it a “crime against humanity.”⁴⁴¹ 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.”⁴⁴² In 2009, Salvini called for “Milanese-only” train cars following reports of an increased immigrant population in Milan.⁴⁴³ 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.⁴⁴⁴

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.⁴⁴⁵ 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....”⁴⁴⁶

Salvini attempted to collapse the Italian government in August 2019 by pulling his party from the ruling coalition. He had hoped to become prime minister himself in new elections. Instead, Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte pulled together a new coalition without the League. Salvini continues to serve in Italy’s parliament.⁴⁴⁷ Salvini and the League both saw their national poll numbers fall during the COVID-19 pandemic. In early June 2020, Salvini’s approval rating hovered around 30 percent while only 26

⁴³⁹ 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/>.

⁴⁴⁰ 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>.

⁴⁴¹ 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>.

⁴⁴² 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>.

⁴⁴³ 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>.

⁴⁴⁴ Rosie Scammell, “‘Immigrants should be burned’: Italian politician,” *The Local*, September 22, 2014, <https://www.thelocal.it/20140922/immigrants-should-be-burned-italian-politician>.

⁴⁴⁵ 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>.

⁴⁴⁶ “Italy’s Matteo Salvini shuts ports to migrant rescue ship,” BBC News, June 11, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44432056>.

⁴⁴⁷ Gavin Jones and Giselda Vagnoni, “How Italy’s ‘Captain’ Salvini steered his ship onto the rocks,” Reuters, September 3, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-politics-salvini-insight/how-italys-captain-salvini-steered-his-ship-onto-the-rocks-idUSKCN1VP0HC>.

percent of Italians said they would vote for the League, decreasing from its 34 percent polling in Europe's 2019 elections. Nonetheless, the League remained the single most popular party in Italy at the time.⁴⁴⁸

Italian Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte resigned in January 2021 after losing his majority in the senate.⁴⁴⁹ The following month, the League joined a unity government under newly installed Prime Minister Mario Draghi.⁴⁵⁰ Senior League member Giancarlo Giorgetti was named Italy's economic development minister. The Euroskeptic League joined the government despite Draghi's government despite its opposition. Draghi, a former president of the European Central Bank, has told the League the euro and integration in the European Union are non-negotiable. Salvini has instead claimed "only death is irreversible."⁴⁵¹ Following new Italian parliamentary elections on September 25, 2022, the League received only 9 percent of the vote. Nonetheless, it remained in a right-wing coalition led by the Brothers of Italy (*Fratelli d'Italia* or FdI) party, which became Italy's largest party with 44 percent of the vote. The League's poor showing prompted calls from senior members for Salvini's resignation, which he has refused.⁴⁵² After 35 years in parliament, League founder Bossi lost his re-election bid, though the League has contested his loss.⁴⁵³

Salvini has faced legal charges related to decisions he made while serving as interior minister to block 147 migrants from disembarking from a rescue ship in July 2019. In May 2021, a judge in Sicily dismissed kidnapping charges against Salvini. Nonetheless, a judge in Palermo ordered Salvini stand trial.⁴⁵⁴ Salvini went on trial in Italy in October 2021 on kidnapping charges. The migrants were allowed to disembark after six days after

⁴⁴⁸ EURACTIV.com and Agence France-Presse, "Virus puts brakes on Salvini's far-right message in Italy," EURACTIV.com, June 9, 2020, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/elections/news/virus-puts-brakes-on-salvinis-far-right-message-in-italy/>.

⁴⁴⁹ "Italian Prime Minister Resigns," Voice of America, January 26, 2021, <https://www.voanews.com/europe/italian-prime-minister-resigns>.

⁴⁵⁰ Crispian Balmer, "Italy's Draghi takes office, faces daunting challenges," Reuters, February 13, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-politics-idUSKBN2AD0B0>.

⁴⁵¹ Hannah Roberts, "Italy's Draghi to League: Learn to love the euro," *Politico*, February 17, 2021, <https://www.politico.eu/article/mario-draghi-to-league-learn-to-love-the-euro-eu/>.

⁴⁵² Lorenzo Tondo, "Italy: Salvini faces calls to quit as League chief after dismal election results," *Guardian* (London), September 27, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/27/italy-salvini-faces-calls-to-quit-as-league-chief-after-dismal-election-results>; Mark Gilbert, "Italy's new leader faces familiar problems, including fickle voters," *Washington Post*, September 28, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/28/italy-meloni-fdi-election-rightwing/>.

⁴⁵³ "Bossi not elected after 35 years in parliament," ANSA, September 27, 2022, https://www.ansa.it/english/news/politics/2022/09/27/bossi-not-elected-after-35-years-in-parliament_361b9e54-45de-4be9-8e46-4dbe13c6b5f3.html; "Bossi was in fact elected says Calderoli," ANSA, September 28, 2022, https://www.ansa.it/english/news/politics/2022/09/28/bossi-was-in-fact-elected-says-calderoli_2eab2751-cde6-4090-bba9-1b207e111914.html.

⁴⁵⁴ "Italian judge drops refugee 'kidnapping' case against Salvini," Al Jazeera, May 14, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/14/italy-judge-rules-against-salvini-trial-over-kidnapping-charge>.

an order from the prosecutor's office. Salvini claimed his "closed ports" policy was to protect Italy.⁴⁵⁵ Salvini's trial is ongoing.⁴⁵⁶

- **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 2013.⁴⁵⁷
- **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 and served in that role until August 2019.⁴⁵⁸

On July 20, 2022, Italian Prime Minister Mario Draghi resigned after the League and center-right party Forza Italia refused to support him in a confidence vote.⁴⁵⁹ In Italy's September 25, 2022, elections, the League received only 9 percent of the vote while the FdI became the country's largest party with 44 percent. Nonetheless, the League maintained a position within FdI's right-wing coalition.⁴⁶⁰

- **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.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁵ Agence France-Presse, "Italy's former interior minister Salvini stands trial on migrant kidnapping charges," France 24, October 23, 2021, <https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20211023-italy-s-former-interior-minister-salvini-stands-trial-on-migrant-kidnapping-charges>.

⁴⁵⁶ Agence France-Presse, "Italy's far-right Meloni begins tricky government talks," France 24, September 27, 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220927-italy-s-far-right-meloni-begins-tricky-government-talks>.

⁴⁵⁷ 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>.

⁴⁵⁸ 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>; Gavin Jones and Giselda Vagnoni, "How Italy's 'Captain' Salvini steered his ship onto the rocks," Reuters, September 3, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-politics-salvini-insight/how-italys-captain-salvini-steered-his-ship-onto-the-rocks-idUSKCN1VPOHC>.

⁴⁵⁹ Paul Kirby, "Italian PM Mario Draghi resigns after week of turmoil," BBC News, July 22, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-62249050>.

⁴⁶⁰ Lorenzo Tondo, "Italy: Salvini faces calls to quit as League chief after dismal election results," *Guardian* (London), September 27, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/27/italy-salvini-faces-calls-to-quit-as-league-chief-after-dismal-election-results>; Mark Gilbert, "Italy's new leader faces familiar problems, including fickle voters," *Washington Post*, September 28, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/28/italy-meloni-fdi-election-rightwing/>.

⁴⁶¹ 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/>.

COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

Both the League and Salvini maintain active social media accounts. As of June 29, 2020, Salvini's Twitter account had more than 1,300,000 followers, representing an increase of approximately 500,000 since July 2018.⁴⁶² By September 30, 2022, following the League's poor showing in that month's parliamentary elections, Salvini's Twitter followers had grown to 1,400,000.⁴⁶³ By August 14, 2023, Salvini's Twitter followers had increased to 1,500,000.⁴⁶⁴ Salvini's Facebook account had 4,266,811 likes as of June 29, 2020, almost doubling from 2,794,237 likes as of July 3, 2018.⁴⁶⁵ By April 13, 2021, it had 4,508,725 likes.⁴⁶⁶ By July 25, 2022, days after the League refused to support a confidence vote in Prime Minister Mario Draghi, spurring new elections, Salvini's Facebook page had five million followers.⁴⁶⁷ As of September 30, 2022, it maintained its 5,000,000 followers.⁴⁶⁸ As of August 14, 2023, Salvini's Facebook account remained at 5,000,000.⁴⁶⁹

The League's Facebook account had 741,475 likes as of June 29, 2020, compared with 437,731 likes as of July 3, 2018.⁴⁷⁰ By April 13, 2021, it had 803,626 likes.⁴⁷¹ As of July 25, 2022, the League's Facebook page had 1.1 million followers.⁴⁷² As of September 30, 2022, following Italian elections, the League's Facebook page had grown to 1.2 million followers.⁴⁷³ By August 14, 2023, the page remained at 1.2 million.⁴⁷⁴

- **Violent Activities:** The League is not directly tied to any violent activities.
- **Rhetoric:**
 - Matteo Salvini, July 2022: "On September 25, Italians can finally choose a change: security, courage and border control will be back."⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁶² Matteo Salvini, Twitter page, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi>; Matteo Salvini, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi>.

⁴⁶³ Matteo Salvini, Twitter page, accessed September 30, 2022, <https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi>.

⁴⁶⁴ Matteo Salvini, Twitter page, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi>.

⁴⁶⁵ Matteo Salvini, Facebook page, accessed June 29, 2020,

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.

⁴⁶⁶ Matteo Salvini, Facebook page, accessed April 13, 2021,

https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/?hc_ref=ARQa5hN9uCM3E1MwascHBwREunWb2h3TxL46EqewppxMYY2E-kOJ1CQaPwDcYvOOVdE.

⁴⁶⁷ Matteo Salvini, Facebook page, accessed July 25, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/>.

⁴⁶⁸ Matteo Salvini, Facebook page, accessed September 30, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/>.

⁴⁶⁹ Matteo Salvini, Facebook page, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/>.

⁴⁷⁰ Lega, Facebook page, accessed June 29, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/>; Lega, Facebook page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/>.

⁴⁷¹ Lega, Facebook page, accessed April 13, 2021, <https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/>.

⁴⁷² Lega, Facebook page, accessed July 25, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/>.

⁴⁷³ Lega, Facebook page, accessed September 30, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/>.

⁴⁷⁴ Lega, Facebook page, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/>.

⁴⁷⁵ Tim Stickings, "Italy's far right seizes on migrant surge in election battle," *National* (Abu Dhabi), July 25, 2022, <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/europe/2022/07/25/italys-far-right-seizes-on-migrant-surge-in-election-battle/>.

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- Matteo Salvini, tweet, June 2018: “Italy has stopped bowing its head to obey, this time there are those who say NO.”⁴⁷⁶
- Matteo Salvini in a televised interview, June 18, 2018: “Unfortunately we will have to keep the Italian Roma because we can’t expel them.”⁴⁷⁷
- Matteo Salvini, undated: “We are under attack. Our culture, society, traditions and way of life are at risk.”⁴⁷⁸
- Former League councilor Donatella Galli, 2012: “To me, southerners are like the Jews were to Hitler, and should be placed in ovens.”⁴⁷⁹

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.”⁴⁸⁰ 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.⁴⁸¹ Les Identitaires’ youth wing, Generation Identity, has spread to five other European regions outside of France.⁴⁸²

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

⁴⁷⁶ “Italy’s Matteo Salvini shuts ports to migrant rescue ship,” BBC News, June 11, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44432056>.

⁴⁷⁷ “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>.

⁴⁷⁸ 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>.

⁴⁷⁹ 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>.

⁴⁸⁰ “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires website, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

⁴⁸¹ 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/.

⁴⁸² Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland homepage, accessed March 5, 2018, <https://www.generation-identity.org.uk/> (site discontinued); “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>.

Muslims and Jews.⁴⁸³ French authorities shut down the soup kitchens in February 2006, declaring that they intentionally discriminated against Muslims and Jews.⁴⁸⁴

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.⁴⁸⁵ In 2011, the group staged a “march of pigs” protest in French 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.⁴⁸⁶

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.⁴⁸⁷

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.”⁴⁸⁸ The group continues to publish propaganda and organize events.

- **Base of Operations:** Nice, France⁴⁸⁹
- **Website:** <http://www.les-identitaires.com/> (defunct), <https://les-identitaires.fr/>

⁴⁸³ “French crack down on ‘racist soup,’” BBC News, January 25, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4644766.stm>.

⁴⁸⁴ 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>.

⁴⁸⁵ 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>.

⁴⁸⁶ 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/.

⁴⁸⁷ “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>.

⁴⁸⁸ “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires website, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

⁴⁸⁹ Les Identitaires, Facebook page, accessed March 15, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/lesidentitaires>.

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- **Social Media:** [Facebook](#) (discontinued), [Twitter](#), [Twitter \(Philippe Vardon\)](#), [YouTube](#)
- **Leadership:** Fabrice Robert and Philippe Vardon founded Bloc Identitaire in 2003.⁴⁹⁰ Robert and Jean-David Cattin took over the leadership of Les Identitaires in 2016.⁴⁹¹ Vardon reportedly led Les Identitaires as of April 2017.⁴⁹²
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** Les Identitaires has estimated its membership at around 4,000, but authorities doubt the veracity of the group’s numbers.⁴⁹³ Though French far-right political party National Front has denied ties to Les Identitaires, it has reportedly looked to the group as an “idea box.”⁴⁹⁴ 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 2017.⁴⁹⁵
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** As of June 29, 2020, the group’s YouTube page had 356 subscribers and five videos that had collectively been viewed 15,704 times, compared with 198 subscribers and five videos that had collectively received over 12,478 views as of July 3, 2018.⁴⁹⁶ By April 13, 2021, the group’s YouTube page had grown to 874 subscribers.⁴⁹⁷ By September 30, 2022, the page had shrunk slightly to 834 subscribers.⁴⁹⁸ By August 14, 2023, the account had decreased to 819 subscribers. It had not uploaded a new video since 2021.⁴⁹⁹ The group had 13,800 followers on Twitter as of June 29, 2020, representing a small increase of only 600 since July 3, 2018.⁵⁰⁰ By April 13, 2021, the account’s followers had decreased slightly to 13,700.⁵⁰¹ As of August 14, 2023, the account had 12,900 followers. As of that date, the account had made only one

⁴⁹⁰ “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>.

⁴⁹¹ “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

⁴⁹² Elaine Ganley, “French radicals get respect in Le Pen’s presidential race,” Associated Press, April 3, 2017, <https://apnews.com/bc2f5b9d6dea47838e7052d3a27a3729>.

⁴⁹³ 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/.

⁴⁹⁴ 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/.

⁴⁹⁵ 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/>.

⁴⁹⁶ Les Identitaires, YouTube channel, accessed June 29, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpXCfMn2gE_9zYrREWHmLcQ/featured; Les Identitaires, YouTube channel, accessed July 3, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpXCfMn2gE_9zYrREWHmLcQ/featured.

⁴⁹⁷ Les Identitaires, YouTube channel, accessed April 13, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpXCfMn2gE_9zYrREWHmLcQ/featured.

⁴⁹⁸ Les Identitaires, YouTube channel, accessed September 30, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpXCfMn2gE_9zYrREWHmLcQ/featured.

⁴⁹⁹ Les Identitaires, YouTube channel, accessed August 14, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpXCfMn2gE_9zYrREWHmLcQ/featured.

⁵⁰⁰ Les Identitaires, Twitter page, accessed June 29, 2020, https://twitter.com/les_ids; Les Identitaires, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, https://twitter.com/les_ids.

⁵⁰¹ Les Identitaires, Twitter page, accessed April 13, 2021, https://twitter.com/les_ids.

post in 2023.⁵⁰² The group’s Facebook page had more than 58,000 followers as of March 15, 2018, but was shut down as of July 3, 2018.⁵⁰³

Les Identitaires requests donations through its website to fund its propaganda materials, meetings, training, and travel.⁵⁰⁴ 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.”⁵⁰⁵ The site also sells *Identitaires* magazine, a glossy magazine that reports on the activities of Les Identitaires and Generation Identity.⁵⁰⁶ The website had been shut down as of September 30, 2022, and replaced with a new site.⁵⁰⁷

- **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.⁵⁰⁸
 - 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.⁵⁰⁹
- **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!”⁵¹⁰
 - 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.”⁵¹¹

⁵⁰² Les Identitaires, Twitter page, accessed August 14, 2023, https://twitter.com/les_ids.

⁵⁰³ 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>.

⁵⁰⁴ “Nous soutenir,” Les Identitaires website, accessed April 28, 2020, <https://www.les-identitaires.com/soutenir-les-identitaires/>.

⁵⁰⁵ Boutique Identitaire, accessed March 6, 2018, <http://www.boutique-identitaire.com/gb/>.

⁵⁰⁶ “Revues,” Boutique Identitaire, accessed March 15, 2018, <http://www.boutique-identitaire.com/fr/18-revues>.

⁵⁰⁷ Les Identitaires, homepage, accessed September 30, 2022, <https://les-identitaires.fr/>.

⁵⁰⁸ 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/.

⁵⁰⁹ “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>.

⁵¹⁰ “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/>.

⁵¹¹ “Bloc Identitaire becomes Les identitaires,” Les Identitaires website, August 9, 2016, <http://www.les-identitaires.com/2016/08/bloc-identitaire-becomes-identitaires/>.

- Bloc Identitaire member Jean-Christophe Oberlaender, December 2011: “The combat is urgent. We don’t have the choice.”⁵¹²
- Bloc Identitaire member Jean-Christophe Oberlaender, December 2011: “Today, it’s the Arabs. If it’s the Chinese tomorrow, I’ll combat the Chinese.”⁵¹³

National Action

- **Summary:** National Action is a British far-right, neo-Nazi, white supremacist group that emerged in 2013.⁵¹⁴ The group, which aims to enact its vision that “Britain should be for British people,”⁵¹⁵ 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.⁵¹⁶ 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.”⁵¹⁷ The 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.⁵¹⁸

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

⁵¹² 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/.

⁵¹³ 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/.

⁵¹⁴ 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/>.

⁵¹⁵ 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.

⁵¹⁶ 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.

⁵¹⁷ 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>.

⁵¹⁸ 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>.

for Britain.” The phrase appeared on National Action’s website before the site was removed.⁵¹⁹

British police reportedly arrested 22 members of National Action throughout 2016.⁵²⁰ 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.”⁵²¹ 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.⁵²² Mullen described plans to kill a Labour Party parliamentarian and preparation for a so-called “white jihad.”⁵²³ In February 2020, the United Kingdom banned System Resistance Network as an alias of National Action.⁵²⁴ In April 2021, U.S. Representative Elissa Slotkin called on the U.S. government to designate more than a dozen foreign white supremacist groups as terrorist organizations, including National Action.⁵²⁵

- **Base of Operations:** United Kingdom
- **Website:** <http://nationalaction.info/> (decommissioned)
- **Social Media:** National Action previously used Facebook, Twitter, and VK, but its accounts have since been shut down.⁵²⁶

⁵¹⁹ 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>.

⁵²⁰ 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/>.

⁵²¹ 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>.

⁵²² 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>.

⁵²³ “Banned neo-Nazi group National Action ‘kept meeting,’” BBC News, June 14, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-44489796>.

⁵²⁴ “Extremist neo-Nazi group to be banned under terror laws,” BBC News, February 24, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-51618248>.

⁵²⁵ Phil Stewart, “Biden administration pressed by lawmaker to label white supremacists overseas as terrorists,” Reuters, April 9, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-extremism-slotkin-idUSKBN2BW1KQ/>.

⁵²⁶ 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/>.

- **Leadership:** Benjamin Raymond was revealed as National Action’s leader and Alex Davies as the group’s co-leader in 2014.⁵²⁷ 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.⁵²⁸
- **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.⁵²⁹ 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.⁵³⁰ 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.”⁵³¹

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.⁵³²

- **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 should be for British people,”⁵³³ and some of its members allegedly attend military-style training camps in preparation for violence, where judo, kickboxing, and street fighting

⁵²⁷ 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>.

⁵²⁸ 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>.

⁵²⁹ 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.

⁵³⁰ 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/>.

⁵³¹ 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>.

⁵³² “YouTube attacked over Neo-Nazi National Action video,” *BBC News*, March 7, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-43319975>.

⁵³³ 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.

are reportedly taught.⁵³⁴ During his 2018 trial, alleged National Action member Jack Renshaw admitted to buying a knife in order to kill Labour MP Rosie Cooper.⁵³⁵

- **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.”⁵³⁶
- 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.”⁵³⁷
- 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.”⁵³⁸
- 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.”⁵³⁹
- 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.”⁵⁴⁰
- 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.”⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁴ 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>.

⁵³⁵ “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>.

⁵³⁶ 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>.

⁵³⁷ 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/>.

⁵³⁸ 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>.

⁵³⁹ 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.

⁵⁴⁰ 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.

⁵⁴¹ 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: “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.”⁵⁴²

Nationalist Social Club (NSC-131)

- **Summary:** The Nationalist Social Club (NSC-131) is a white supremacist network based in the northeastern United States, which has also had a presence in Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria.⁵⁴³ In 2020, a German member identified only as Paolo claimed NSC was in the beginning stages and trying to build up its network.⁵⁴⁴ NSC was founded in December 2019 in Massachusetts and comprises small independent cells.⁵⁴⁵ NSC members believe they are in a state of war against non-Aryans, particularly Jews.⁵⁴⁶ NSC’s alleged goal is to create an underground resistance network against its ideological enemies.⁵⁴⁷ To this end, NSC members train in physical combat and firearms.⁵⁴⁸ NSC views itself as a protector of white people.⁵⁴⁹

NSC chapters act independently of each other and share a loose network affiliation. The group has no central hierarchy. Each chapter acts under its own guidance and rules.⁵⁵⁰ The NSC maintains this informal structure to avoid infiltration. Chapter autonomy also allows each chapter to address individual regional needs and develop its own tactics.⁵⁵¹ Known NSC tactics include antagonizing social-justice protesters, vandalism, and posting

⁵⁴² 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.

⁵⁴³ Associated Press, “Police line the barricades separating ‘Super Happy Fun America’ demonstration, group of protestors,” *Boston 25 News*, June 28, 2020, <https://www.boston25news.com/news/pro-police-rally-counterprotesters-face-off-boston/DYLLASKQ3FB4VBZUEX4UHE5SC4/>; Russell Harris, “Neo-Nazi ‘Slap-Tags’ Found On Rail-Trail In Pepperell,” *Groton Herald*, November 5, 2020, <http://www.grotonherald.com/news/neo-nazi-%E2%80%98slap-tags%E2%80%99-found-rail-trail-pepperell>; “Online ISIS Supporters Celebrate Vienna Attack,” *European Centre for Counterterrorism*, November 14, 2020, <https://en.europarabct.com/?p=47921>; Quentin Augusto, “New Far-Right Group ‘NSC 131 Active in Germany,’” *Belltower.news*, September 18, 2020, <https://www.belltower.news/police-raids-in-hesse-new-far-right-group-nsc-131-active-in-germany-104581/>; “Online ISIS Supporters Celebrate Vienna Attack,” *European Centre for Counterterrorism*, November 14, 2020, <https://en.europarabct.com/?p=47921>.

⁵⁴⁴ Quentin Augusto, “New Far-Right Group ‘NSC 131 Active in Germany,’” *Belltower.news*, September 18, 2020, <https://www.belltower.news/police-raids-in-hesse-new-far-right-group-nsc-131-active-in-germany-104581/>.

⁵⁴⁵ Russell Harris, “Neo-Nazi ‘Slap-Tags’ Found On Rail-Trail In Pepperell,” *Groton Herald*, November 5, 2020, <http://www.grotonherald.com/news/neo-nazi-%E2%80%98slap-tags%E2%80%99-found-rail-trail-pepperell>.

⁵⁴⁶ NSC, Telegram channel, August 31, 2020.

⁵⁴⁷ Russell Harris, “Neo-Nazi ‘Slap-Tags’ Found On Rail-Trail In Pepperell,” *Groton Herald*, November 5, 2020, <http://www.grotonherald.com/news/neo-nazi-%E2%80%98slap-tags%E2%80%99-found-rail-trail-pepperell>.

⁵⁴⁸ “Online ISIS Supporters Celebrate Vienna Attack,” *European Centre for Counterterrorism*, November 14, 2020, <https://en.europarabct.com/?p=47921>.

⁵⁴⁹ Quentin Augusto, “New Far-Right Group ‘NSC 131 Active in Germany,’” *Belltower.news*, September 18, 2020, <https://www.belltower.news/police-raids-in-hesse-new-far-right-group-nsc-131-active-in-germany-104581/>.

⁵⁵⁰ NSC New England, Telegram channel, August 24, 2020.

⁵⁵¹ NSC, Telegram channel, August 27, 2020.

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stickers and other propaganda.⁵⁵² NSC members have joined right-wing and pro-police rallies where they have displayed Nazi flags and symbols, as well as engaged in physical altercations.⁵⁵³ In December 2020, NSC New England announced it was ending communication with all other NSC chapters to focus on the New England region. The announcement confirmed all other NSC chapters would continue autonomously.⁵⁵⁴ In March 2021, NSC's original New England chapter announced only it and other clubs within the New England area of the United States were legitimate.⁵⁵⁵

- **Base of Operations:** NSC was founded in eastern Massachusetts in the United States and has chapters in at least 16 states in that country. NSC has also been active in Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria.⁵⁵⁶ In March 2021, however, NSC's original New England chapter announced only it and other clubs within the New England area of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont were legitimate.⁵⁵⁷
- **Website:** Not determined.
- **Social Media Presence:** Instagram, Telegram, Twitter
- **Leadership:** NSC operates as a leaderless, decentralized organization. Chris Hood is the NSC's alleged founder and leader.⁵⁵⁸ An individual identified only as "Paulo" founded the German chapter of NSC.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵² Associated Press, "Police line the barricades separating 'Super Happy Fun America' demonstration, group of protestors," Boston 25 News, June 28, 2020, <https://www.boston25news.com/news/pro-police-rally-counterprotesters-face-off-boston/DYLLASKQ3FB4VBZUEX4UHE5SC4/>; "Protests against racial inequality sweep across America," Reuters, July 5, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/news/picture/protests-against-racial-inequality-sweep-idUSRTS3GIC4>; Steph Solis, "Nazi symbol spotted at Massachusetts State House pro-police rally draws scrutiny," MassLive, June 28, 2020, <https://www.masslive.com/politics/2020/06/nazi-symbol-spotted-at-massachusetts-state-house-pro-police-rally-draws-scrutiny.html>.

⁵⁵³ Associated Press, "Police line the barricades separating 'Super Happy Fun America' demonstration, group of protestors," Boston 25 News, June 28, 2020, <https://www.boston25news.com/news/pro-police-rally-counterprotesters-face-off-boston/DYLLASKQ3FB4VBZUEX4UHE5SC4/>; "Protests against racial inequality sweep across America," Reuters, July 5, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/news/picture/protests-against-racial-inequality-sweep-idUSRTS3GIC4>; Steph Solis, "Nazi symbol spotted at Massachusetts State House pro-police rally draws scrutiny," MassLive, June 28, 2020, <https://www.masslive.com/politics/2020/06/nazi-symbol-spotted-at-massachusetts-state-house-pro-police-rally-draws-scrutiny.html>.

⁵⁵⁴ NSC, Telegram channel, December 29, 2020.

⁵⁵⁵ NSC New England, Telegram channel, March 22, 2021.

⁵⁵⁶ Russell Harris, "Neo-Nazi 'Slap-Tags' Found On Rail-Trail In Pepperell," *Groton Herald*, November 5, 2020, <http://www.grotonherald.com/news/neo-nazi-%E2%80%98slap-tags%E2%80%99-found-rail-trail-pepperell>; "Online ISIS Supporters Celebrate Vienna Attack," European Centre for Counterterrorism, November 14, 2020, <https://en.euoparabct.com/?p=47921>; Quentin Augusto, "New Far-Right Group 'NSC 131 Active in Germany,'" Belltower.news, September 18, 2020, <https://www.belltower.news/police-raids-in-hesse-new-far-right-group-nsc-131-active-in-germany-104581/>; "Online ISIS Supporters Celebrate Vienna Attack," European Centre for Counterterrorism, November 14, 2020, <https://en.euoparabct.com/?p=47921>.

⁵⁵⁷ NSC New England, Telegram channel, March 22, 2021.

⁵⁵⁸ Dave Copeland, "MA Hate Group Founder No Longer Lives In Malden: Police Chief," Patch, January 8, 2021, <https://patch.com/massachusetts/malden/ma-hate-group-founder-no-longer-lives-malden-police-chief>.

⁵⁵⁹ Quentin Augusto, "New Far-Right Group 'NSC 131 Active in Germany,'" Belltower.news, September 18, 2020, <https://www.belltower.news/police-raids-in-hesse-new-far-right-group-nsc-131-active-in-germany-104581/>.

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- **Membership Size and Relevance:** NSC-131’s exact membership size is unknown but reportedly large. Some NSC members also belong or previously belonged to other U.S.-centered hate groups, as well as transnational groups such as The Base.⁵⁶⁰
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** Clad in black t-shirts emblazoned with “Nationalist Social Club,” NSC-131 members have been photographed at right-wing and pro-police rallies, though they promote their own anti-police ideology. Men wearing NSC shirts have also counter-protested liberal causes such as Black Lives Matter.⁵⁶¹ Members have pasted NSC stickers and other propaganda materials on public and private property.⁵⁶²

NSC’s logo replaces the “S” in its initials with an SS lightning bolt. NSC’s propaganda also includes the number 131 and at times refers to the group as NSC-131 or 131 Crew. The number correlates to the letters ACA for anti-communist action.⁵⁶³

NSC is active on multiple social media channels, such as Twitter, Telegram, and Instagram. CEP has identified at least three NSC Twitter accounts that have since been suspended. NSC’s Telegram channels provide a contact person who refers potential recruits to their closest NSC chapter. Each chapter has its own objectives upon which it judges potential members.⁵⁶⁴ NSC specifically targets white males for recruitment.⁵⁶⁵

- **Violent Activities:** NSC-131 members have stockpiled weapons and undergone physical training for future confrontations.⁵⁶⁶ In September 2020, German police raided multiple homes, including that of an NSC member, and seized “weapons and Nazi paraphernalia.”⁵⁶⁷
- **Rhetoric:**

⁵⁶⁰ Russell Harris, “Neo-Nazi ‘Slap-Tags’ Found On Rail-Trail In Pepperell,” *Groton Herald*, November 5, 2020, <http://www.grotonherald.com/news/neo-nazi-%E2%80%98slap-tags%E2%80%99-found-rail-trail-pepperell>.

⁵⁶¹ Associated Press, “Police line the barricades separating ‘Super Happy Fun America’ demonstration, group of protestors,” *Boston 25 News*, June 28, 2020, <https://www.boston25news.com/news/pro-police-rally-counterprotesters-face-off-boston/DYLLASKO3FB4VBZUEX4UHE5SC4/>; “Protests against racial inequality sweep across America,” *Reuters*, July 5, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/news/picture/protests-against-racial-inequality-sweep-idUSRTS3GIC4>; Keiko Hiromi, “PHOTO RECAP: WHITE NATIONALISTS BACK THE BLUE IN BOSTON,” *DigBoston*, June 30, 2020, <https://digboston.com/photo-recap-white-nationalists-back-the-blue-in-boston/>.

⁵⁶² Russell Harris, “Neo-Nazi ‘Slap-Tags’ Found On Rail-Trail In Pepperell,” *Groton Herald*, November 5, 2020, <http://www.grotonherald.com/news/neo-nazi-%E2%80%98slap-tags%E2%80%99-found-rail-trail-pepperell>.

⁵⁶³ Russell Harris, “Neo-Nazi ‘Slap-Tags’ Found On Rail-Trail In Pepperell,” *Groton Herald*, November 5, 2020, <http://www.grotonherald.com/news/neo-nazi-%E2%80%98slap-tags%E2%80%99-found-rail-trail-pepperell>.

⁵⁶⁴ NSC New England, Telegram channel, August 24, 2020.

⁵⁶⁵ NSC, Telegram channel, August 24, 2020.

⁵⁶⁶ Quentin Augusto, “New Far-Right Group ‘NSC 131 Active in Germany,’” *Belltower.news*, September 18, 2020, <https://www.belltower.news/police-raids-in-hesse-new-far-right-group-nsc-131-active-in-germany-104581/>.

⁵⁶⁷ “Hessische Polizei stellt Waffen und NS-Devotionalien sicher,” *Hessian Ministry of the Interior and for Sport*, September 17, 2020, <https://innen.hessen.de/presse/pressemitteilung/hessische-polizei-stellt-waffen-und-ns-devotionalien-sicher>.

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- Telegram, January 5, 2021: “NSC New England is in Washington DC to ensure white safety. We are not here to support Donald Trump. Contact us if you’d like to get involved!”⁵⁶⁸
- Telegram, August 31, 2020: “Our folk are in a state of war with a hostile (((system))), and now is the time to put our differences aside and face our common enemy as a unified front.”⁵⁶⁹
- Telegram, August 27, 2020: “There is no one size fits all solution to the problems that face our people. Every nation, every community, every street may require a multitude of different tactics to revert it into a favorable environment for our posterity. The clubs of NSC recognize this, and that’s why each club is granted the autonomy to address its regions issues whichever way is most efficient, all while retaining the tangible support from the other clubs worldwide.”⁵⁷⁰
- Telegram, August 24, 2020: “Start or join a club - the option is yours. Either way, 131 will support you if you are a white male of the nationalist worldview & dedicated to action. Always anonymous, always autonomous.”⁵⁷¹
- Telegram, August 24, 2020: Each club is able to sculpt its image and set its objectives to the community/region it serves to be most effective, as its local affiliates know said community/region best. This allows us to organize our people against our collective enemies WORLDWIDE - there is nowhere in the white world an NSC can’t be established.”⁵⁷²
- NSC member in Germany identified as Paulo, Telegram, undated: “We are only at the beginning and are in the process of building up to find people and network.”⁵⁷³

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.⁵⁷⁴ A 2017 report by European anti-racism

⁵⁶⁸ NSC, Telegram channel, January 5, 2021.

⁵⁶⁹ NSC, Telegram channel, August 31, 2020.

⁵⁷⁰ NSC, Telegram channel, August 27, 2020.

⁵⁷¹ NSC, Telegram channel, August 24, 2020.

⁵⁷² NSC New England, Telegram channel, August 24, 2020.

⁵⁷³ Quentin Augusto, “New Far-Right Group ‘NSC 131 Active in Germany,’” Belltower.news, September 18, 2020, <https://www.belltower.news/police-raids-in-hesse-new-far-right-group-nsc-131-active-in-germany-104581/>.

⁵⁷⁴ 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/>.

organization Expo named NRM as the primary force responsible for a rise in neo-Nazi activity in Sweden in 2016.⁵⁷⁵

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.”⁵⁷⁶ 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.”⁵⁷⁷ 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.”⁵⁷⁸

NRM members reportedly receive martial arts training and are educated on how to respond if fighting arises in the streets.⁵⁷⁹ In addition, the group previously sold a knife inscribed with the maxim “The struggle demands more than only words.”⁵⁸⁰ 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.”⁵⁸¹ 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.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁵ 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>.

⁵⁷⁶ 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/dcnazi-3dwxnps2g>.

⁵⁷⁷ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” *Frihetskamp*, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.

⁵⁷⁸ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” *Frihetskamp*, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.

⁵⁷⁹ 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/>.

⁵⁸⁰ 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>.

⁵⁸¹ 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/>.

⁵⁸² 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>.

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.⁵⁸³ 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.⁵⁸⁴ Finland banned the NRM in November 2017, but the group has continued to stage demonstrations there while appealing the decision.⁵⁸⁵

In September 2020, the Finnish Supreme Court ordered the shutdown of the NRM to preserve the general good of society. According to the court, the group repeatedly violated the law and acted against accepted moral codes such as human rights and equality.⁵⁸⁶ NRM members have continued to distribute the group’s propaganda and vandalize Jewish cemeteries.⁵⁸⁷ In April 2021, U.S. Representative Elissa Slotkin called on the U.S. government to designate more than a dozen foreign white supremacist groups as terrorist organizations, including the NRM.⁵⁸⁸ In September 2022, Icelandic police arrested four men suspected of targeting “various institutions of society” and “citizens of the state.”⁵⁸⁹ Police seized semi-automatic weapons, including 3D-printed ones, at nine locations around the country. They also recovered “thousands” of rounds of ammunition. Police said they were investigating links to Nordic extremist groups. Media reports suggested NRM could be one of the groups involved.⁵⁹⁰ In February 2023, Lindberg

⁵⁸³ “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/>.

⁵⁸⁴ 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>.

⁵⁸⁵ “Neo-Nazis Protest Outside Helsinki School,” News Now, April 25, 2018, <http://newsnowfinland.fi/domestic/neo-nazis-protest-outside-helsinki-school>.

⁵⁸⁶ Pekka Vantinen, “HELSINKI – Neo-Nazi group banned,” Euractiv, September 22, 2020, www.euractiv.com/section/all/short_news/helsinki-neo-nazi-group-banned/.

⁵⁸⁷ “Public leafleting and speech in Nyköping,” Nordic Resistance Movement, March 26, 2021, <https://nordicresistancemovement.org/public-leafleting-and-speech-in-nykoping/>; “Nationwide action against anti-White UN day,” Nordic Resistance Movement, March 31, 2021, <https://nordicresistancemovement.org/nationwide-action-against-anti-white-un-day/>; “Jewish cemetery in Denmark vandalized over Passover with red paint, hanged dolls,” Jewish News Syndicate, April 5, 2021, <https://www.jns.org/jewish-cemetery-in-denmark-vandalized-over-passover-with-red-paint-hanged-dolls/>; “Pesach – Another Jewish bloodbath celebration,” Nordic Resistance Movement, April 10, 2021, <https://nordicresistancemovement.org/pesach-another-jewish-bloodbath-celebration/>.

⁵⁸⁸ Phil Stewart, “Biden administration pressed by lawmaker to label white supremacists overseas as terrorists,” Reuters, April 9, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-extremism-slotkin-idUSKBN2BW1KQ/>.

⁵⁸⁹ Daniel Boffey and agencies, “Icelandic police arrest four people over alleged terror attack plans,” *Guardian* (London), September 22, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/22/icelandic-police-arrest-four-people-over-alleged-terror-attack-plans>.

⁵⁹⁰ Daniel Boffey and agencies, “Icelandic police arrest four people over alleged terror attack plans,” *Guardian* (London), September 22, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/22/icelandic-police-arrest-four-people-over-alleged-terror-attack-plans>.

attended and spoke at a conference in Madrid, Spain, held by neo-Nazi group Devenir Europeo.⁵⁹¹

- **Base of Operations:** Sweden, Finland, and Norway⁵⁹²
- **Website:** <http://www.nordiska-motstandsrorelsen.se/>; <https://www.frihetskamp.net/>
- **Social Media:** [Twitter](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(Frihetskamp Media\)](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(Simon Lindberg\)](#) (suspended), [Vimeo \(Frihetskamp Media\)](#) (suspended), [VK](#), [VK \(Frihetskamp Media\)](#), [YouTube](#) (suspended), [YouTube \(Frihetskamp Media\)](#) (suspended)
- **Leadership:** Simon Lindberg is the leader of NRM-Sweden.⁵⁹³ Emil Hagberg is the spokesman of NRM-Sweden.⁵⁹⁴ Haakon Forwald is the leader of NRM-Norway.⁵⁹⁵ Tommy Olsen is the deputy leader of NRM-Norway.⁵⁹⁶ Otto Rutanen is the leader of NRM-Finland.⁵⁹⁷ Antti Niemi is the deputy leader of NRM-Finland.⁵⁹⁸
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** As of 2017, the NRM was believed to comprise between 250 to 300 core members spread throughout Sweden, Norway, and Finland.⁵⁹⁹ As of July 2023, the group reportedly had approximately 300 members across Europe.⁶⁰⁰ The group may attract many more sympathizers as well. In November 2016, NRM-Sweden alone drew a total of 600 demonstrators in its largest rally to date.⁶⁰¹ According to a May 2015 estimate by the Finnish-owned media outlet Yle, NRM-Finland is

⁵⁹¹ “Nordic Resistance Movement visits Devenir Europeo in Madrid,” Nordic Resistance Movement, February 13, 2023, <https://nordicresistancemovement.org/nordic-resistance-movement-visits-devenir-europeo-in-madrid/>.

⁵⁹² 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, June 7, 2016, <http://nationalvanguard.org/2016/06/an-interview-with-simon-lindberg-leader-of-the-nordic-resistance-movement/>.

⁵⁹³ “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>.

⁵⁹⁴ 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/>.

⁵⁹⁵ Ståle Hansen, “Nå marsjerer de i gatene igjen,” NRK, February 27, 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/xl/na-marsjerer-de-i-gatene-igjen-1.13394305>; “Haakon Forwald,” Frihetskamp, accessed May 26, 2017, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/author/haakon/>.

⁵⁹⁶ Ståle Hansen, “Nå marsjerer de i gatene igjen,” NRK, February 27, 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/xl/na-marsjerer-de-i-gatene-igjen-1.13394305>.

⁵⁹⁷ Marko Hiettiko, “Miehet, jotka johtavat natsiliikettä,” Yle, May 15, 2016, <https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2016/05/15/miehet-jotka-johtavat-natsiliiketta>.

⁵⁹⁸ Marko Hiettiko, “Miehet, jotka johtavat natsiliikettä,” Yle, May 15, 2016, <https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2016/05/15/miehet-jotka-johtavat-natsiliiketta>.

⁵⁹⁹ 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/>.

⁶⁰⁰ Graham Keeley, “Spanish neo-Nazis meet to celebrate Hitler as far-right parties ‘normalise extremism,’” iNews, July 1, 2023, <https://inews.co.uk/news/world/spain-neo-nazis-meeting-hitler-supporters-far-right-parties-extremism-2447969>.

⁶⁰¹ 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>.

comprised of approximately 60 to 70 core members.⁶⁰² The Norwegian-owned NRK media company reported in February 2017 that each country's branch contains "a dozen" core activists.⁶⁰³

NRM's YouTube page had 11,444 subscribers as of March 19, 2019.⁶⁰⁴ Frihetskamp Media's YouTube page had 685 subscribers as of the same date.⁶⁰⁵ Both accounts have since been deleted.

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.⁶⁰⁶ The NRM also produces manuals, stickers, leaflets, and flyers, which it distributes at rallies, on the streets, and in mailboxes.⁶⁰⁷

The NRM has noted that all of its funding comes from "member donations and sympathetic individuals and organizations."⁶⁰⁸ The NRM specifically requests donations through Frihetskamp, the news website owned and operated by the group's Norwegian branch.⁶⁰⁹

NRM's Twitter account had approximately 13,700 followers as of July 3, 2018.⁶¹⁰ 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

⁶⁰² "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/>.

⁶⁰³ Ståle Hansen, "Nå marsjerer de i gatene igjen," NRK, February 27, 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/xl/na-marsjerer-de-i-gatene-igjen-1.13394305>.

⁶⁰⁴ Nordiska motståndsrörelsen, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/user/MotstandsMedia>.

⁶⁰⁵ Frihetskamp Media, YouTube account, accessed March 19, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCJ5uD8c4600b38XGuVQoN9Q>.

⁶⁰⁶ 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/dcnazi-3dwxnps2g>.

⁶⁰⁷ "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/>.

⁶⁰⁸ "Our Path: New Politics for a New Time," Frihetskamp, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.

⁶⁰⁹ "Information in English," Frihetskamp, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/information-in-english/>.

⁶¹⁰ Nordfront, Twitter page, accessed July 3, 2018, <https://twitter.com/nordfront>.

than 104,000 views.⁶¹¹ 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.⁶¹² NRM's YouTube and Twitter accounts have since been deleted. NRM-Norway's news website Frihetskamp claims that it receives at least 60,000 unique visitors each month.⁶¹³ The site also claims it "dares to challenge the old, often Jewish owned and/or controlled, mass media empires."⁶¹⁴

- **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 European NGO Expo found that a quarter of NRM's members had been convicted of violent crime.⁶¹⁵
 - 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.⁶¹⁶ In June 2017, Swedish prosecutors charged three unnamed NRM-Sweden members in connection to the far-left café and refugee center bombings.⁶¹⁷
 - 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.⁶¹⁸
 - 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.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹¹ 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>.

⁶¹² Nordiska motståndsrörelsen, YouTube page, accessed July 3, 2018,

<https://www.youtube.com/user/MotstandsMedia/featured>.

⁶¹³ "Information in English," Frihetskamp, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/information-in-english/>.

⁶¹⁴ "Information in English," Frihetskamp, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/information-in-english/>.

⁶¹⁵ 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>.

⁶¹⁶ 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>.

⁶¹⁷ "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>.

⁶¹⁸ 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>.

⁶¹⁹ "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/>.

- 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.⁶²⁰
- 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.⁶²¹
- **Rhetoric:**
 - NRM, Telegram, May 1, 2021: “The message for the Nordic Resistance Movement’s May Day activism: ‘White workers built this country – White workers can take this country back!’”⁶²²
 - NRM website editorial staff, April 10, 2021: “Via economic speculation, cunning and unscrupulousness, the Jews ‘bought’ themselves into the land of Egypt and lived there in wealth and comfort like parasites. When the ruling Pharaoh died and a new Pharaoh came to power, he saw how the Jews indulged in the luxury of Egypt without working, he saw how the Jews’ power had grown, and he saw that these Jews were internationally minded and ‘friends’ with Egypt’s enemies, and thus a great danger. The Pharaoh then put the Jews to work for the nation and for their daily bread, like everyone else, and for this the Jews wanted revenge. Possibly the first Bolshevik uprising was brewing, and the Jews now blamed their hard life on the landowners, industrialists and bourgeois – and, as is the case in Jewish/Bolshevik revolutions, the Jews persuaded the lower strata of society, the mob, to revolt against their own flesh and blood in a struggle for ‘The Chosen People’, who had created their problems in the first place. (Workers of the world, unite!)
...
“The Jewish festival of Pesach in modern times – which this year is celebrated from Saturday, 27 March to Sunday, 4 April – involves animal cruelty in the form of the bloody ritual slaughter of a lamb on Pesach night, as well as baking the traditional matzah-bread, which was historically made with human blood.”⁶²³

⁶²⁰ 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>.

⁶²¹ “Nazistdemonstration urartade i Piteå,” Svenska Dagbladet, June 30, 2010,

<http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nazistdemonstrationurartade-i-pitea/> (site discontinued).

⁶²² Nordic Resistance Movement, Telegram channel, May 1, 2021.

⁶²³ “Pesach – Another Jewish bloodbath celebration,” Nordic Resistance Movement, April 10, 2021, <https://nordicresistancemovement.org/pesach-another-jewish-bloodbath-celebration/>.

COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

- NRM website editorial staff, March 31, 2021: “The Nordic Resistance Movement is the combat battalion of free White people, and the only political organisation in Denmark that fights mass immigration from a natural worldview.

“Therefore, the Resistance Movement’s activists from all over the country were in action in the days leading up to the globalist lackeys’ demonstrations in Aarhus, Odense and Copenhagen. In all three locations, posters were put up, and banners were hung by the cities’ access roads and in other selected places, including the UN building in Copenhagen.

“White race-conscious National Socialists hear the globalist lackeys’ desire for diversity, and remind everyone that a racially mixed population is anything but diverse.

“Free White National Socialists hear the globalist lackeys’ demands for political correctness and uniformity, and reply that racial equality is a falsehood.

“Proud White National Socialists hear the globalist lackeys’ anti-White slogans and urge every Aryan to love his own people.”⁶²⁴

- Simon Lindberg, January 11, 2021: “The Nordic Resistance Movement’s vision of a free and united National Socialist Nordic Nation is diametrically opposed to their Cultural Marxist destruction of all natural values and the enslavement of humanity. Our diligent work over more than two decades, in combination with the fact that we have stood firm and never budged an inch – despite repression and adversity – has given us an organisational structure that few other nationalist groups in the world even come close to.
“All in all, this means we are viewed as a huge threat to the power of those who rule today. They see a potential for growth in us that gives them the chills. They understand the enormous appeal of National Socialism and know that our work breaks down their barriers of lies and brainwashing and makes the people increasingly receptive to us. They know the same thing as I do – that in time we have a very good chance of winning, and naturally they will do everything they can to prevent it. One stage in this process is to ban us, and one step in succeeding in that aim is to first lobby for a ban.”⁶²⁵
- 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.”⁶²⁶

⁶²⁴ “Nationwide action against anti-White UN day,” Nordic Resistance Movement, March 31, 2021, <https://nordicresistancemovement.org/nationwide-action-against-anti-white-un-day/>.

⁶²⁵ Simon Lindberg, “The Nordics’ most dangerous man speaks,” Nordic Resistance Movement, January 11, 2021, <https://nordicresistancemovement.org/the-nordics-most-dangerous-man-speaks/>.

⁶²⁶ Redaksjonen, “Knus homolobbyen!,” Nordic Resistance Movement, June 6, 2017, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/alt-du-trenger-a-vite-om-demonstrasjonen-i-fredrikstad/>.

- 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.”⁶²⁷
- 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.”⁶²⁸
- 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.”⁶²⁹
- 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.”⁶³⁰
- 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....”⁶³¹

Order of Nine Angles

- **Summary:**

The Order of Nine Angles (ONA or O9A) is U.K.-based Nazi, Satanist occult group founded in the 1970s. The group reveres Adolf Hitler and imbues Nazi symbology with mystical meaning.⁶³² ONA heralds Nazi Germany as the pinnacle of societal development

⁶²⁷ Redaksjonen, “Aktivisthåndboken er lansert og tilgjengelig for salg!,” Frihetskamp, August 26, 2016, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/aktivisthandboken-er-lansert-og-tilgjengelig-for-salg/>.

⁶²⁸ 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>.

⁶²⁹ 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/>.

⁶³⁰ 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>.

⁶³¹ “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Frihetskamp, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf>.

⁶³² Daniel De Simone, “Order of Nine Angles: What is this obscure Nazi Satanist group?,” BBC News, June 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-53141759>.

and deifies Adolf Hitler. The U.S. Department of Justice has noted ONA's "Satanic, anarchist, neo-fascist, neo-Nazi, and anti-Semitic beliefs."⁶³³ ONA has affiliated groups in the United States, Australia, and Europe.⁶³⁴

ONA is an accelerationist group that seeks the "breakdown and the downfall of existing societies" and their replacement with "new tribal societies."⁶³⁵ It believes society has become corrupted by Judeo-Christian beliefs.⁶³⁶ ONA thus believes society must be destroyed and replaced with a new fascist order based on social Darwinism and Satanism, a Satanic Empire. The group views modern societal norms and morality as signs of decay.⁶³⁷

ONA promotes what it calls an esoteric philosophy focused on the hidden, inner nature of beings rather than the outer nature.⁶³⁸ ONA intends to use its "Dark Tradition" to create a "new, more evolved, human species" centered on this new tribalistic society.⁶³⁹ Unlike other neo-Nazi groups, ONA also supports violent jihadist terrorism, in line with its accelerationist philosophy to support the destruction of the current world order. In addition to its veneration of Hitler, the group has praised Osama bin Laden.⁶⁴⁰ Some of its texts also employ Islamic terminology, though the group is firmly Satanist.⁶⁴¹

ONA encourages its member to infiltrate military and Christian organizations to subvert them from within. Among the activities ONA promotes are pedophilia and sexual crimes, which the group views as methods of undermining society.⁶⁴² ONA members have been involved in several violent terrorist plots. In 2019, for example, a 16-year-old British boy from Durham, England, became the youngest individual in the country to be convicted of planning a terror attack. The boy was reportedly partially influenced by ONA.⁶⁴³ In June 2020, American authorities arrested U.S. soldier Ethan Melzer, who was planning an

⁶³³ "United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a 'Etil Reggad,' Defendant," U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 7, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

⁶³⁴ Nick Lowles, "Order of Nine Angles," Hope Not Hate, February 16, 2019, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/02/16/state-of-hate-2019-order-of-nine-angles/>.

⁶³⁵ "Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01," Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶³⁶ "United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a 'Etil Reggad,' Defendant," U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 7, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

⁶³⁷ Daniel De Simone, "Order of Nine Angles: What is this obscure Nazi Satanist group?," BBC News, June 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-53141759>.

⁶³⁸ "The Esoteric Philosophy Of The Order Of The Nine Angles – An Introduction," Order of the Nine Angles, accessed June 25, 2020.

⁶³⁹ "Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01," Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶⁴⁰ "United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a 'Etil Reggad,' Defendant," U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 7, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

⁶⁴¹ *The Rape Anthology* (The Chaos Press, 2019), 198.

⁶⁴² Daniel De Simone, "Order of Nine Angles: What is this obscure Nazi Satanist group?," BBC News, June 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-53141759>.

⁶⁴³ Daniel De Simone, "Order of Nine Angles: What is this obscure Nazi Satanist group?," BBC News, June 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-53141759>; Daniel De Simone, "Durham teen neo-Nazi became 'living dead,'" BBC News, November 22, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-tyne-50397477>.

attack on his own unit stationed in Italy. Melzer had been communicating online with members of ONA.⁶⁴⁴ After Melzer's arrest, the National Counterterrorism Center, the FBI, and the Department of Homeland Security drafted a report on the dangers presented by ONA, "a largely decentralized group that advocates a violent extremist interpretation of Satanism" and has "influenced" some racially or ethnically motivated violent extremists.⁶⁴⁵ In June 2022, Melzer pleaded guilty to charges of attempting to murder U.S. service members, providing and attempting to provide material support to terrorists, and illegally transmitting national defense information.⁶⁴⁶

ONA founder David Myatt is a former member of Combat 18 and a former leader of Britain's neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM). Myatt reportedly influenced NSM member David Copeland, who set off multiple nail bombs around London in the spring of 1999, killing three people and injuring 139 in the hope of starting a race war.⁶⁴⁷ In 2006, Myatt converted to an extreme form of Islam and supported killing Muslim apostates. He claimed that the far right was incapable of bringing out societal revolution and Islam was the answer.⁶⁴⁸

ONA's influence can be seen in neo-Nazi groups such as the U.S.-based group Atomwaffen Division and its U.K.-based offshoot Sonnenkrieg Division.⁶⁴⁹ Other far-right groups condemned AWD as a cult front for ONA. In January 2018, a former AWD member wrote online that the group had been infiltrated by Satanists. According to leaked chat transcripts, several AWD members resigned as of March 2018 because of the growing occult fixation, while others embraced the satanic imagery.⁶⁵⁰ ONA founder Myatt wrote the book *Hostia: Secret Teachings of the Order of Nine Angles*, which

⁶⁴⁴ Alan Feuer, "U.S. Army Soldier Charged in Neo-Nazi Plot to Attack Fellow Troops," *New York Times*, June 22, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/22/nyregion/ethan-melzer-neo-nazi-attack.html?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=1307907; Pete Williams, Jonathan Dienst, and Courtney Kube, "Army soldier charged with giving classified info to neo-Nazi group," NBC News, June 22, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/military/army-soldier-charged-giving-classified-info-neo-nazi-group-n1231766>.

⁶⁴⁵ Jana Winter, "U.S. intelligence agencies are increasingly focused on domestic extremists. Their latest target: Satanists," Yahoo News, December 19, 2020, <https://sports.yahoo.com/us-intelligence-agencies-are-increasingly-focused-on-domestic-extremists-their-latest-target-satanists-100036317.html>.

⁶⁴⁶ "U.S. Army Soldier Pleads Guilty To Attempting To Murder Fellow Service Members In Deadly Ambush," U.S. Department of Justice, June 24, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/us-army-soldier-pleads-guilty-attempting-murder-fellow-service-members-deadly-ambush>.

⁶⁴⁷ Sarah Lee, "London nail bombings remembered 20 years on," BBC News, April 30, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-47216594>; Andrew Buncombe and Terri Judd, "'Hate-filled' nail bomber is jailed for life," *Independent* (Dublin), July 1, 2000, <https://www.independent.ie/world-news/hate-filled-bomber-gets-six-life-sentences-26112880.html>.

⁶⁴⁸ Nicola Woolcock and Dominic Kennedy, "What the neo Nazi fanatic did next: switched to Islam," *Times* (London), April 24, 2006, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/what-the-neo-nazi-fanatic-did-next-switched-to-islam-qv3ph5k0jv8>.

⁶⁴⁹ Daniel De Simone, "Order of Nine Angles: What is this obscure Nazi Satanist group?," BBC News, June 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-53141759>.

⁶⁵⁰ Kelly Weill, "Satanism Drama Is Tearing Apart the Murderous Neo-Nazi Group Atomwaffen," *Daily Beast*, March 21, 2018, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/satanism-drama-is-tearing-apart-the-murderous-neo-nazi-group-atomwaffen>.

details ONA’s beliefs and was available through AWD’s website. AWD officially disbanded in March 2020.⁶⁵¹ An AWD successor organization, National Socialist Order (NSO) emerged in July 2020.⁶⁵² A September 7, 2022, announcement on the American Futurist website accused “bad actors” of taking over NSO on behalf of ONA and promoting “Satanism and Child Rape.”⁶⁵³ According to the American Futurist, these bad actors attempted to remove NSO co-founder Ryan Arthur because of his opposition to Satanism. The American Futurist declared the NSO to be “dead.”⁶⁵⁴

In 2019, U.K. authorities separately arrested four teenagers who cited accelerationism and Satanism as their influences.⁶⁵⁵ In March 2020, some British lawmakers began calling for ONA to be banned.⁶⁵⁶ Those calls gained further traction three months later following the arrest of an ONA-linked U.S. soldier who was planning to attack his own military unit.⁶⁵⁷ According to British Labour parliamentarian Yvette Cooper, ONA’s “combination of Nazi-Satanism, extreme violence and sexual abuse makes it particularly troubling and action needs to be taken to prevent them grooming and radicalizing other people.”⁶⁵⁸ In April 2021, U.S. Representative Elissa Slotkin called on the U.S. government to designate more than a dozen foreign white supremacist groups as terrorist organizations, including ONA.⁶⁵⁹ In March 2023, a U.S. court sentenced former soldier Ethan Melzer to 45 years in prison for sharing location and layout information about a sensitive U.S. military installation with ONA. According to the prosecution, Melzer sought “to orchestrate a murderous ambush on his own unit by unlawfully revealing its location, strength, and armaments to a neo-Nazi, anarchist, white supremacist group.”⁶⁶⁰ Administrators of the U.S.-based white supremacist website American Futurist blamed ONA infiltration for the collapse of Atomwaffen Division successor group National Socialist Order. A September 2022 website post claimed “bad actors” had taken over the organization on behalf of ONA, promoting “Satanism and Child Rape.”⁶⁶¹ According to the American Futurist, these bad actors attempted to remove NSO co-founder Ryan

⁶⁵¹ Universal Order, accessed July 25, 2019, <https://siegekultur.info/> (site discontinued); Ben Makuch, “Audio Recording Claims Neo-Nazi Terror Group Is Disbanding,” Vice, March 14, 2020, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/qjdnam/audio-recording-claims-neo-nazi-terror-group-is-disbanding.

⁶⁵² “National Socialist Order Announcement!,” American Futurist, July 25, 2020.

⁶⁵³ “Breaking Ties with the NSO,” American Futurist, September 7, 2022.

⁶⁵⁴ “Breaking Ties with the NSO,” American Futurist, September 7, 2022.

⁶⁵⁵ Daniel De Simone, “Durham teen neo-Nazi became ‘living dead,’” BBC News, November 22, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-tyne-50397477>.

⁶⁵⁶ Daniel De Simone, “UK Nazi Satanist group should be outlawed, campaigners urge,” BBC News, March 2, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-51682760>.

⁶⁵⁷ Pete Williams, Jonathan Dienst, and Courtney Kube, “Army soldier charged with giving classified info to neo-Nazi group,” NBC News, June 22, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/military/army-soldier-charged-giving-classified-info-neo-nazi-group-n1231766>.

⁶⁵⁸ Daniel De Simone, “UK Nazi Satanist group should be outlawed, campaigners urge,” BBC News, March 2, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-51682760>.

⁶⁵⁹ Phil Stewart, “Biden administration pressed by lawmaker to label white supremacists overseas as terrorists,” Reuters, April 9, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-extremism-slotkin-idUSKBN2BW1KQ/>.

⁶⁶⁰ Dennis Romero, “Former U.S. soldier gets 45 years for helping neo-Nazi group in plot to kill troops,” NBC News, March 3, 2023, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/former-us-soldier-gets-45-years-helping-neo-nazi-group-plot-kill-troop-rcna73374>.

⁶⁶¹ “Breaking Ties with the NSO,” American Futurist, September 7, 2022.

Arthur because of his opposition to Satanism. The American Futurist declared the NSO to be “dead.”⁶⁶²

- **Base of Operations:** United Kingdom
- **Website:** <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/>
- **Social Media:** Not determined.
- **Leadership:** David Myatt, a.k.a. Anton Long and Abdul-Aziz ibn Myatt, is the founder of ONA.⁶⁶³ ONA claims Anton Long may or may not have been multiple people.⁶⁶⁴ Richard Moul, a.k.a. Christos Beast, is said to have taken over the group’s leadership in the 1990s, resigned in 2001, and returned to ONA in 2008.⁶⁶⁵ Moul disputes that he was ever a leader and claims he now rejects the group’s ideology.⁶⁶⁶ Myatt claims to have left ONA but still maintains a relationship with the organization.⁶⁶⁷ ONA’s central administration now appears to rotate.⁶⁶⁸
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** ONA does not maintain public membership rolls. It organizes into interconnected chapters while the central administration appears to rotate. ONA has been linked to or inspired multiple terror plots.⁶⁶⁹ ONA requires its recruits to self-initiate through violent and physically challenging acts.⁶⁷⁰
- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** ONA does not welcome recruits who seek out the organization. Instead, it claims that membership is earned through “a life-long commitment to personal, esoteric, and Aeonic change/development/evolution.”⁶⁷¹ ONA seeks recruits who share “similar, sinister, subversive interests, aims, and life-styles, together with the desire to co-operate when it is beneficial to them and the pursuit of our shared aims.”⁶⁷² ONA offers two methods to join: a guided and an unguided way. The

⁶⁶² “Breaking Ties with the NSO,” American Futurist, September 7, 2022.

⁶⁶³ “Atomwaffen Division,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/atomwaffen-division-awd>; Pierre Vaux, “Marine Le Pen's Closest Advisor Comes Out of the Shadows In Donetsk,” Daily Beast, last updated April 14, 2017, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/marine-le-pens-closest-advisor-comes-out-of-the-shadows-in-donetsk>.

⁶⁶⁴ “Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶⁶⁵ Nick Lowles, “Order of Nine Angles,” Hope Not Hate, February 16, 2019, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/02/16/state-of-hate-2019-order-of-nine-angles/>.

⁶⁶⁶ “Resolution Statement – 06622-20 Moul v Sunday Mail,” Independent Press Standards Organisation, accessed January 8, 2021, <https://www.ipso.co.uk/rulings-and-resolution-statements/ruling/?id=06622-20>.

⁶⁶⁷ Nick Lowles, “Order of Nine Angles,” Hope Not Hate, February 16, 2019, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/02/16/state-of-hate-2019-order-of-nine-angles/>.

⁶⁶⁸ Linda Givetash, “U.S. soldier's alleged connection to satanic Nazi extremist group renews calls to ban it,” NBC News, June 26, 2020, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/u-s-soldier-s-alleged-connection-satanic-nazi-extremist-group-n1231851?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=1314154.

⁶⁶⁹ Linda Givetash, “U.S. soldier's alleged connection to satanic Nazi extremist group renews calls to ban it,” NBC News, June 26, 2020, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/u-s-soldier-s-alleged-connection-satanic-nazi-extremist-group-n1231851?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=1314154.

⁶⁷⁰ “United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a ‘Etil Reggad,’ Defendant,” U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 8, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

⁶⁷¹ “Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶⁷² “United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a ‘Etil Reggad,’ Defendant,” U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 6, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

unguided way asks potential recruits to immerse themselves in ONA texts and start living their lives according to ONA philosophies. The guided method is to seek out an ONA member and follow his guidance and training.⁶⁷³

ONA divides society into two groups, esoteric and mundane. Esoteric refers to the occult and those practicing it, primarily followers of ONA. Mundane refers to everybody else “who do not associate with our sinister tribes, our traditional nexions, or who do not share our sinister ethos, or our sinister way of life.”⁶⁷⁴ ONA literature is replete with references to “esoteric” and “sinister,” words ONA uses as primary descriptions of its philosophies. ONA seeks to create “sinister Adepts” who practice the “sinister dialectic” in order to create its new societies.⁶⁷⁵ ONA considers the word sinister as a replacement for satanic. While ONA is a satanic organization, it believes the word itself has been coopted by others who do not follow what ONA considers traditional Satanism. They thus use the word sinister to represent their form of what they consider traditional Satanism.⁶⁷⁶

ONA members, including founder David Myatt, have written numerous books and articles about ONA’s beliefs. However, the group has since shifted to focus its propaganda online through Telegram, Instagram, and other platforms.⁶⁷⁷ ONA-related channels on these platforms include Rapewaffen Division Channel and Order of the 9 Rapes Chat.⁶⁷⁸ U.S. Army Private Ethan Melzer allegedly communicated with ONA members through the Rapewaffen Division Channel to plan an attack on U.S. soldiers.⁶⁷⁹ An “authorized” ONA blog on WordPress called Lapis Philosophicus has collected ONA written materials from 1985 through 2012. Lapis Philosophicus translates to the jewel of the alchemist, which a sorcerer or sorceress needs to use the Dark Arts to discover.⁶⁸⁰

ONA literature promotes subversive activities such as human sacrifice and the rape of women and children. ONA refers to human sacrifice as culling, which ONA claims is

⁶⁷³ “Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶⁷⁴ “Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶⁷⁵ “Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶⁷⁶ “Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶⁷⁷ Linda Givetash, “U.S. soldier’s alleged connection to satanic Nazi extremist group renews calls to ban it,” NBC News, June 26, 2020, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/u-s-soldier-s-alleged-connection-satanic-nazi-extremist-group-n1231851?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=1314154.

⁶⁷⁸ “United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a ‘Etil Reggad,’ Defendant,” U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 8, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

⁶⁷⁹ “United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a ‘Etil Reggad,’ Defendant,” U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 9, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

⁶⁸⁰ “About This Blog,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 25, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/>.

necessary and distinguishes ONA members from the mundane.⁶⁸¹ One piece of propaganda the group produced is called *The Rape Anthology*, a collection of ONA writings praising Hitler, Satan, and rape, while employing Islamic terminology and demonizing Jews and minorities. Some of the essays suggest that rape is necessary for the ascension of the *Urbemensch* (German for “superman”) and all should strive for “spiritual arousal from violent sexual rape.”⁶⁸² Another claims Allah created HIV/AIDS to allow the “phallic warrior to permanently leave his mark on the world.”⁶⁸³

- **Violent Activities:**

- In October 2018, a 16-year-old British boy from Durham, England, declared himself an accelerationist and began searching for targets for a terror attack. The boy was reportedly partially influenced by ONA. The boy initially followed the white supremacist group National Action, which was outlawed in 2016. Police arrested the boy in March 2019. Later that year, he became the youngest individual in the country to be convicted of planning a terror attack.⁶⁸⁴
- In May 2020, American authorities broke up a plot by U.S. soldier Ethan Melzer, who was planning an attack on his own unit while it was stationed in Italy. Melzer began communicating online with members of ONA and the affiliated Rapewaffen Division in April and provided details on his unit’s movements and planned redeployment to Turkey. Authorities discovered the plot in May and took Melzer into custody. He confessed on May 30 and was arrested in June. Melzer reportedly joined ONA in 2019, a year after enlisting in the U.S. Army. In June 2022, Melzer pleaded guilty to charges of attempting to murder U.S. service members, providing and attempting to provide material support to terrorists, and illegally transmitting national defense information.⁶⁸⁵

- **Rhetoric:**

- David Myatt, 2006: “There will not be an uprising, a revolution, in any Western nation, by nationalists, racial nationalists, or National Socialists — because these people lack the desire, the motivation, the ethos, to do this and because they do not have the support of even a large minority of their own folk. If these

⁶⁸¹ “Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

⁶⁸² *The Rape Anthology* (The Chaos Press, 2019), 199.

⁶⁸³ *The Rape Anthology* (The Chaos Press, 2019), 198.

⁶⁸⁴ Daniel De Simone, “Order of Nine Angles: What is this obscure Nazi Satanist group?,” BBC News, June 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-53141759>; Daniel De Simone, “Durham teen neo-Nazi became ‘living dead,’” BBC News, November 22, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-tyne-50397477>.

⁶⁸⁵ Alan Feuer, “U.S. Army Soldier Charged in Neo-Nazi Plot to Attack Fellow Troops,” *New York Times*, June 22, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/22/nyregion/ethan-melzer-neo-nazi-attack.html?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=1307907_; Pete Williams, Jonathan Dienst, and Courtney Kube, “Army soldier charged with giving classified info to neo-Nazi group,” NBC News, June 22, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/military/army-soldier-charged-giving-classified-info-neo-nazi-group-n1231766>; “United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a ‘Etil Reggad,’ Defendant,” U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 9, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>; “U.S. Army Soldier Pleads Guilty To Attempting To Murder Fellow Service Members In Deadly Ambush,” U.S. Department of Justice, June 24, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/us-army-soldier-pleads-guilty-attempting-murder-fellow-service-members-deadly-ambush>.

nationalists, or some of them, desire to aid us, to help us . . . they can do the right thing, the honourable thing, and convert, revert, to Islam — accepting the superiority of Islam over and above each and every way of the West.”⁶⁸⁶

- David Myatt, 2005: “From the get-go the ONA have propagated holocaust revisionism, have praised Hitler, have encouraged members to join NS groups, with one of their core principles being, to quote Professor Monette, ‘the Way of Defiance of and Practical Opposition to Magian Abstractions’. This principle refers to the ONA’s opposition to what it perceives as illegitimate Magian (western Judaeo-Christian) control of global culture and economics.”⁶⁸⁷
- David Myatt, 2005: “Magian is ONA code for ZOG [Zionist Occupation Government – a phrase to describe the Jewish control of the state that became widely adopted by nazis in the 1980s and 90s].”⁶⁸⁸
- David Myatt, undated: Myatt has tried to “create some things which can disrupt our societies and which can lead to the creation of strong, really dangerous, ruthless individuals.”⁶⁸⁹
- ONA Frequently Asked Questions, undated: “Three of the primary aims of the ONA are:

“(1) to use our Dark Tradition to create sinister Adepts and, over a long period of causal Time, aid and enhance and create that new, more evolved, human species of which genuine Sinister Adepts may be considered to be the phenotype;

“(2) to use the sinister dialectic (and thus Aeonic Magick and genuine Sinister Arts) to aid and enhance and make possible entirely new types of societies for human beings, with these new societies being based on new tribes and a tribal way of living where the only law is that of our kindred honour;

“(3) to aid, encourage, and bring about – by practical and esoteric means (such as Dark Sorcery) – the breakdown and the downfall of existing societies, and thus to replace the tyranny of nations and States – and their impersonal governments – by our new tribal societies.”⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁶ Nicola Woolcock and Dominic Kennedy, “What the neo Nazi fanatic did next: switched to Islam,” *Times* (London), April 24, 2006, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/what-the-neo-nazi-fanatic-did-next-switched-to-islam-qv3ph5k0jv8>.

⁶⁸⁷ Nick Lowles, “Order of Nine Angles,” Hope Not Hate, February 16, 2019, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/02/16/state-of-hate-2019-order-of-nine-angles/>.

⁶⁸⁸ Nick Lowles, “Order of Nine Angles,” Hope Not Hate, February 16, 2019, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/02/16/state-of-hate-2019-order-of-nine-angles/>.

⁶⁸⁹ Nick Lowles, “A Nazi-satanist cult is fuelling far-right groups – overlooked by the UK authorities,” *New Statesman* (London), March 4, 2020, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2020/03/nazi-satanist-cult-fuelling-far-right-terrorist-groups-overlooked-uk-authorities-order-nine-angles>.

⁶⁹⁰ “Frequently Asked Questions About The Order of Nine Angles – Version 4.01,” Lapis Philosophicus, accessed June 24, 2020, <https://lapisphilosophicus.wordpress.com/about-2/ona-faq/>.

- ONA propaganda, undated: Nazi Germany is a “practical expression of Satanic spirit . . . a burst of Luciferian light – of zest and power – in an otherwise Nazarene, pacified, and boring world.”⁶⁹¹
- ONA text *The Mass Heresy*, undated: “Adolf Hitler was sent by our gods to guide us to greatness
We believe in the inequality of races and in the right of the Aryan to live according to the law of the folk
We acknowledge that the story of the Jewish ‘[H]olocaust’ is a lie to keep our race in chains and express our desire to see the truth revealed
We believe in justice for our oppressed comrades and seek an end to the world-wide persecution of NationalSocialists[.]”⁶⁹²
- ONA text *The Rape Anthology*, undated: “Listen thus, Judeowhite children of Israel – to free yourself from your yoke of ‘morality’ and ‘decency’, and to redeem your sins in the eyes of Shaytaan, you must become the spear that tears through virgin hymen, you must become the phallic warrior, you must experience spiritual arousal from violent sexual rape.”⁶⁹³

Sonnenkrieg Division

- **Summary:**

Sonnenkrieg Division (SKD) is the British chapter of the U.S.-based Atomwaffen Division (AWD). AWD was a neo-Nazi organization that sought the creation of a National Socialist government through a violent “white revolution,” and believed in the inevitability of a race war.⁶⁹⁴

SKD follows a neo-Nazi ideology promoted by James Mason, a former American Nazi Party member and a follower of cult leader Charles Manson.⁶⁹⁵ During the 1980s, Mason wrote a series of pro-Manson and pro-Nazi newsletters that he called *Siege* and later

⁶⁹¹ “United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a ‘Etil Reggad,’ Defendant,” U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 7, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

⁶⁹² “United States of America v. Ethan Phelan Melzer, a/k/a ‘Etil Reggad,’ Defendant,” U.S. Department of Justice, June 4, 2020, 7, <https://www.justice.gov/file/1287701/download>.

⁶⁹³ *The Rape Anthology* (The Chaos Press, 2019), 199.

⁶⁹⁴ Matt Lebovic, “Inside ‘Atomwaffen,’ where Blaze Bernstein’s alleged killer trained for race war,” Times of Israel, January 29, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/inside-atomwaffen-where-blaze-bernsteins-alleged-killer-trained-for-race-war/>; A.C. Thompson, Ali Winston, and Jake Hanrahan, “Inside Atomwaffen As It Celebrates a Member for Allegedly Killing a Gay Jewish College Student,” ProPublica, last updated August 3, 2018, <https://www.propublica.org/article/atomwaffen-division-inside-white-hate-group>; “SIEGE! THE LEFT-RIGHT SPECTRUM - ATOMWAFFEN DIVISION SPECIAL,” Bitchute video, 4:01, posted August 29, 2017, <https://www.bitchute.com/video/eFLaKY5ePJxO/>; “#RESISTRACIALECLIPSE - ATOMWAFFEN DIVISION,” Bitchute video, 2:01, posted September 14, 2017, <https://www.bitchute.com/video/pwgBtaUkUGn4/>.

⁶⁹⁵ Matt Lebovic, “Inside ‘Atomwaffen,’ where Blaze Bernstein’s alleged killer trained for race war,” Times of Israel, January 29, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/inside-atomwaffen-where-blaze-bernsteins-alleged-killer-trained-for-race-war/>.

compiled into a book of the same name.⁶⁹⁶ Users on the now-defunct fascist web forum IronMarch formed AWD after discovering *Siege*. They based AWD's ideology on Mason's ideas of autonomous terror cells fighting a guerilla war against "the system."⁶⁹⁷

SKD formed in 2018 as a British offshoot of AWD.⁶⁹⁸ Private messages exchanged online by SKD group members in 2018 labeled the United Kingdom's Prince Harry a "race traitor" for marrying a mixed-race woman and called for him to be shot.⁶⁹⁹ In other private online messages, alleged leader Andrew Dymock called for police officers to be raped and killed.⁷⁰⁰ Group members have also called for white women who date non-white men to be hanged.⁷⁰¹

Dymock was arrested in December 2018 on terror offenses. Both Dymock and SKD member Oskar Dunn-Koczorowski formerly belonged to System Resistance Network (SRN), an alias of the banned British white supremacist group National Action.⁷⁰² In June 2019, Dunn-Koczorowski and Michal Szewczuk were imprisoned for terror offenses.⁷⁰³ During Dymock's trial in the spring of 2021, prosecutors alleged his involvement with both SKD and SRN. According to the prosecution, Dymock ran SRN's website and Twitter account while a student at Aberystwyth University between 2017 and 2018. Dymock allegedly used the platforms to call Jewish people a "cancer" and call for their eradication.⁷⁰⁴ Dymock was convicted of five charges of encouraging terrorism, two of fundraising for terrorism, four counts of disseminating terrorist publications, possessing a terrorist document, stirring up racial hatred and hatred based on sexual orientation, and possessing racially inflammatory material. He was sentenced in July 2021 to seven years in prison to be followed by three years of probation.⁷⁰⁵

⁶⁹⁶ A.C. Thompson, Ali Winston, and Jake Hanrahan, "Inside Atomwaffen As It Celebrates a Member for Allegedly Killing a Gay Jewish College Student," ProPublica, last updated August 3, 2018, <https://www.propublica.org/article/atomwaffen-division-inside-white-hate-group>.

⁶⁹⁷ "Worldview," Universal Order, accessed August 16, 2018, <http://siegeculture.biz/worldview/> (site discontinued).

⁶⁹⁸ Jamie Grierson, "UK to ban neo-Nazi Sonnenkrieg Division as a terrorist group," *Guardian* (London), February 24, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/24/uk-ban-neo-nazi-sonnenkrieg-division-terrorist-group>.

⁶⁹⁹ Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, "British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot," BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>; "Extremist neo-Nazi group to be banned under terror laws," BBC News, February 24, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-51618248>.

⁷⁰⁰ Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, "British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot," BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.

⁷⁰¹ Richard Ford, "Terror ban for Sonnenkrieg Division neo-Nazis who branded Prince Harry a race traitor," *The Times* (London), February 24, 2020, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/terror-ban-for-sonnenkrieg-division-neo-nazis-who-branded-prince-harry-a-race-traitor-09zf313tb>.

⁷⁰² Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, "British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot," BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>; "Extremist neo-Nazi group to be banned under terror laws," BBC News, February 24, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-51618248>.

⁷⁰³ Press Association, "Teenager who called Prince Harry a 'race traitor' sentenced," *Guardian* (London), June 18, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jun/18/michal-szewczuk-sentenced-prince-harry-online-post-far-right>.

⁷⁰⁴ "Andrew Dymock: Student 'called for extermination of Jews,'" BBC News, May 8, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-somerset-57022269>.

⁷⁰⁵ "Neo-Nazi Andrew Dymock jailed for terror and hate crimes," BBC News, July 21, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-somerset-57920928>.

In 2015, members of the far-right IronMarch online forum formed the neo-Nazi group Atomwaffen Division (AWD). AWD was linked to multiple murders around the United States as well as racist, homophobic, and antisemitic protests. On January 2, 2018, AWD member Sam Woodward allegedly murdered gay, Jewish college student Blaze Bernstein, an act AWD celebrated.⁷⁰⁶ In 2015, AWD members republished *Siege* and began to popularize it online through the creation of an online subculture called Siege Culture, an umbrella brand publicized across social media, podcasts, and chatrooms dedicated to Mason's book.⁷⁰⁷ AWD disbanded in March 2020.⁷⁰⁸ That July, a group of former AWD leaders announced the reorganization of AWD into the National Socialist Order (NSO). NSO leaders claimed they learned from the mistakes of AWD, pointing to a lack of ideological cohesion. The NSO leaders further claimed they had built the NSO with a new leadership dedicated to creating an "Aryan, National Socialist world by any means necessary."⁷⁰⁹ In September 2022, the American Futurist website declared the NSO to be dead. Its announcement accused "bad actors" of taking over the organization on behalf of ONA and promoting "Satanism and Child Rape."⁷¹⁰

- **Base of Operations:** United Kingdom
- **Website:** N/A
- **Social Media:** Gab (defunct)
- **Leadership:** Andrew Dymock was the reported leader of SKD.⁷¹¹
- **Membership Size and Relevance:** The group reportedly had 10 to 15 members in Europe as of 2018.⁷¹² The United Kingdom banned SKD in February 2020.⁷¹³ Australia banned SKD in March 2021.⁷¹⁴ In April 2021, U.S. Representative Elissa Slotkin called on the U.S. government to designate more than a dozen foreign white supremacist groups as terrorist organizations, including SKD.⁷¹⁵

⁷⁰⁶ A.C. Thompson, Ali Winston, and Jake Hanrahan, "Inside Atomwaffen As It Celebrates a Member for Allegedly Killing a Gay Jewish College Student," ProPublica, last updated August 3, 2018, <https://www.propublica.org/article/atomwaffen-division-inside-white-hate-group>.

⁷⁰⁷ James Mason, *Siege* (IronMarch.org, 2015), 398, 437.

⁷⁰⁸ Ben Makuch, "Audio Recording Claims Neo-Nazi Terror Group Is Disbanding," Vice, March 14, 2020, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/qjdnam/audio-recording-claims-neo-nazi-terror-group-is-disbanding.

⁷⁰⁹ "National Socialist Order Announcement!," American Futurist, July 25, 2020.

⁷¹⁰ "Breaking Ties with the NSO," American Futurist, September 7, 2022.

⁷¹¹ Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, "British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot," BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.

⁷¹² Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, "British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot," BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.

⁷¹³ "Extremist neo-Nazi group to be banned under terror laws," BBC News, February 24, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-51618248>.

⁷¹⁴ "Australia lists neo-Nazi Sonnenkrieg Division as terrorists," Associated Press, March 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/asia-pacific-australia-laws-6cb1d1ef48c9f9195bbb22b7f4c4256e>.

⁷¹⁵ Phil Stewart, "Biden administration pressed by lawmaker to label white supremacists overseas as terrorists," Reuters, April 9, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-extremism-slotkin-idUSKBN2BW1KQ/>.

- **Recruitment and Propaganda:** SKD members initially communicated through an online gaming forum. The group has posted violent images on social media praising Norwegian terrorist Anders Breivik and calling for violence.⁷¹⁶

Like AWD, SKD is inspired by *Siege*, the anthology of violent pro-Nazi and pro-Charles Manson essays written by American neo-Nazi James Mason in the 1980s and first published as a single volume in 1992.⁷¹⁷ Dymock has called SKD “full on Universal Order,” referring to Mason’s pro-Nazi and pro-Manson ideology.⁷¹⁸ Dymock has compared SKD to AWD but noted SKD has fewer guns.⁷¹⁹

- **Violent Activities:** SKD has not claimed credit for specific violent activities, but members have been linked to calls for violence.⁷²⁰
- **Rhetoric:**
 - Andrew Dymock, undated: SKD is like “atomwaffen with less guns.”⁷²¹
 - Andrew Dymock, undated: “kill all police officers.”⁷²²

⁷¹⁶ Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, “British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot,” BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.

⁷¹⁷ “Guide to the James N. Mason Collection – Papers of James N. Mason,” Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, accessed December 19, 2018, <http://etext.ku.edu/view?docId=ksrlead/ksrl.kc.masonjames.xml>.

⁷¹⁸ Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, “British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot,” BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.

⁷¹⁹ Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, “British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot,” BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.

⁷²⁰ Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, “British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot,” BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.

⁷²¹ Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, “British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot,” BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.

⁷²² Daniel Sandford and Daniel De Simone, “British Neo-Nazis suggest Prince Harry should be shot,” BBC News, December 5, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-46460442>.