

## ***Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)***

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**Name:** Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)

**Type of Organization:**

- Transnational
- violent
- political

**Ideologies and Affiliations:**

- Anti-gay
- anti-immigrant
- anti-Semitic
- anti-Zionist
- neo-Nazi
- pro-Hitler

**Place of Origin:**

Sweden

**Year of Origin:**

1997

**Founder(s):**

Klas Lund and other former VAM and National Youth members

**Places of Operation:**

Official chapters in Sweden, Finland, and Norway; notable support in Denmark and Iceland

**Overview**

*Also Known As:*

- *Nordiska motståndsrörelsen* (Nordic Resistance Movement, or NRM)<sup>1</sup>
- *Svenska motståndsrörelsen* (Swedish Resistance Movement, or NRM-Sweden)<sup>2</sup>
- *Suomen Vastarintaliike* (Finnish Resistance Movement, or NRM-Finland)<sup>3</sup>
- *Den norske motstandsbevegelsen* (Norwegian Resistance Movement, or NRM-Norway)<sup>4</sup>

*Executive Summary:*

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 has some registered members in Iceland, though the group has failed to establish formal branches in those countries.<sup>5</sup>

NRM-Sweden has grown more than one-third in size since 2015.

Formed by neo-Nazi nationalists in Sweden in 1997, the NRM seeks to merge all Nordic countries into a single, nationalist-socialist state, either by elections or through revolution. The group is openly racist, anti-immigrant, anti-Semitic, and pro-Hitler—and has carried out violence targeting gay people, ideological opponents and, more recently, Muslim refugees. Since the start of 2015, NRM's branch in Sweden (NRM-Sweden) has grown more than one-third in size by advocating against Sweden's open-door policy to Muslim asylum seekers. That chapter registered as a political party in July 2015, and

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and held its largest rally in September 2017—convening more than 600 demonstrators in the streets of Gothenburg.<sup>6</sup>

Many of the NRM's co-founders and early members came from the now-defunct White Aryan Resistance (*Vitt Ariskt Motstånd*, or VAM) and its offshoot National Youth (*Nationell Ungdom*). The VAM, a network of Swedish neo-Nazis formed in the early 1990s, was notorious for carrying out attacks against immigrants and gay people and for funding its violence through bank robberies. The group splintered into several white-power groups in or around 1995, among them National Youth, which would go on to serve as the NRM's youth movement.<sup>7</sup>

NRM [has] carried out attacks targeting gay people, Muslims asylum seekers, and [others]... using smoking flares, pepper spray, tear gas, knives, and guns.

At its founding in 1997, the NRM was known as the Swedish Resistance Movement (*Svenska motståndsrörelsen*)—though the group expanded from a Swedish-centered group to one spanning the Nordic region and adopted the name NRM after establishing Finnish and Norwegian chapters in 2008 and 2011, respectively.<sup>8</sup> Media outlets and government officials, however, at times refer to NRM-Sweden as the Swedish Resistance Movement; NRM-Norway as the Norwegian Resistance Movement; and NRM-Finland as the Finnish Resistance Movement.<sup>9</sup> The group itself identifies as the “Nordic Resistance Movement,” and may refer to its various chapters as the “Swedish branch of the Nordic Resistance Movement,” for example.<sup>10</sup>

NRM members have been responsible for the murder of at least three individuals—two in Sweden and one in Finland. Future NRM-Sweden co-founder Klas Lund was convicted in 1986 of killing anti-racist campaigner Ronny Landin who, according to authorities, had intervened to stop an assault on three immigrants by Lund and other neo-Nazis.<sup>11</sup> In 1999, three men connected to National Youth, NRM-Sweden's youth movement, shot to death trade unionist Björn Söderberg outside of his Stockholm apartment. According to reports, the shooting was revenge for a tip Söderberg had given a local newspaper regarding the identity of one of the NRM members.<sup>12</sup> More recently, in December 2016, key NRM-Finland member Jesse Torniainen was handed a two-year prison sentence for aggravated assault in connection to the murder of 28-year-old Finnish man Jimi Joonas Karttonen. According to reports, Torniainen and others had violently beaten Karttonen that September after the latter openly expressed disapproval of the group during one of its rallies. Karttonen died one week later from his wounds.<sup>13</sup> In November 2017, a Finnish district court banned the NRM and its affiliated chapters. An appeals court upheld the decision in September 2018, but the NRM has since sought permission to appeal its case to the Supreme Court and remains legal in Finland until all options for appeal are exhausted. A decision is expected for fall 2019.<sup>14</sup>

NRM-Sweden's co-founder was convicted of manslaughter.

NRM leaders and members have also carried out attacks targeting gay people, Muslims asylum seekers, and the group's ideological adversaries using smoking flares, pepper spray, tear gas, knives, and guns. Some of these attacks have been carried out by top NRM-Sweden leaders, including the chapter's current leader Simon Lindberg—who was previously convicted of threats and aiding and abetting assault—and its former spokesman Emil Hagberg, who was convicted on weapons and rioting charges related to a fight between NRM-Sweden members and anti-racist campaigners in the Stockholm suburb of Kärrtorp.<sup>15</sup> That fight occurred in December 2013 when demonstrators at an anti-racism march retaliated after NRM-Sweden members attacked their rally with smoking flares. The fighting moved into the nearby woods, according to reports. Four people were injured—including two who were stabbed—and 28 others were arrested.<sup>16</sup>

Since at least November 2016, NRM-Sweden members in the western city of Gothenburg have carried out three improvised explosive device (IED) attacks, according to Swedish authorities. The bombs—one of which failed to detonate—targeted a far-left café and two refugee lodging centers. The first incident occurred on November 11, 2016, when a bomb exploded at the Syndikaliskt Forum Kafe, though no one was hurt. NRM-Sweden member Viktor Melin was later arrested in relation to the bombing.<sup>17</sup> Then, on January 5, 2017, NRM-Sweden members detonated homemade bombs outside of a refugee lodging center, injuring one immigration officer.<sup>18</sup> Authorities later arrested three men in connection to

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that bombing, noting that the suspects “are or were in the past members of the Nordic Resistance Movement.”<sup>19</sup> On January 25, 2017, Swedish authorities discovered an IED—which had failed to detonate—outside of another refugee housing compound. Officials said that the incident was linked to the Syndikaliskt Forum Kafe and refugee center attacks.<sup>20</sup> In June 2017, Swedish prosecutors charged three men in connection to the far-left café and refugee lodging center attacks. A month later, a court in Goteborg sentenced Viktor Melin, who made all three bombs, to eight years and six months imprisonment for attempted murder and endangering others. Two other NRM members—Jimmy Jonasson and Anton Thulin—were sentenced to five years and 18 months in prison, respectively. They were acquitted of attempted murder.<sup>21</sup> Initial investigations revealed that two of the men had received military training in Russia before returning to Sweden to execute the bombings. But there is little publicly-available information regarding who provided training to the men.<sup>22</sup>

[NRM members are] strong in the streets, they dare to fight back the scum. Simon Lindberg, leader of NRM-Sweden

The attacks perpetrated by NRM members reflect a deeper, systematic allegiance to—and propagation of—the group’s extremist, violent ideology. According to reports, members receive martial arts training and are educated on how to respond if violence arises in the streets.<sup>23</sup> The group previously sold a knife inscribed with the maxim, “The struggle demands more than only words.”<sup>24</sup> While the group is not believed to currently produce or sell personalized weaponry, a former NRM member told the BBC in late 2014 that he was encouraged by the group’s members to carry a weapon on the streets.<sup>25</sup> Such an ethos has had a widespread effect on level of violence among the group’s members. In February 2017, the Norwegian government-owned broadcasting company NRK revealed that of the top 30 NRM-Norway leaders and supporters, 17 had been sentenced a total of 24 times in Norwegian courts in the past decade. According to NRK, six of those sentences involved severe acts of violence.<sup>26</sup> And in 2016, Swedish anti-racism organization Expo found that of 159 of NRM-Sweden’s most active members, 26 percent had been sentenced or prosecuted for violence- or weapons-related charges in 2015 alone.<sup>27</sup>

NRM-Sweden has carried out at least three IED attacks.

Despite its ties to violence, NRM-Sweden officially registered as a political party in July 2015.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> There is little publicly-available information on NRM-Sweden’s political party, which is registered by the Swedish government as “*Nordiska motståndsrörelsen*”—the same name used for the larger NRM-Sweden movement. Mainstream media previously believed that NRM-Sweden would not make political gains, but rather lend most of its efforts to extra-parliamentary activities, such as violence, intimidation, and crime.<sup>30</sup> However, NRM-Sweden participated in Sweden’s September 2018 general elections and received a total of 2,106 votes (or 0.03 percent). This meant that the group did not pass the 4 percent threshold to enter into parliament.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Doctrine:***

The NRM subscribes to a nationalist socialist, or neo-Nazi, ideology. To that end, the group is avowedly anti-Semitic, anti-gay, anti-immigrant, pro-white, and pro-Hitler. 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.”<sup>32</sup> 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.”<sup>33</sup>

“We are National Socialists [Nazis]. Our main aim is the protection of Sweden’s [white] people and culture. - Emil Hagberg, NRM spokesman

### ***Neo-Nazi***

The NRM has openly expressed support for Nazi Germany. As the group said in its 2015 party platform “Our Path”:

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“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....”<sup>34</sup>

NRM members are believed to have used techniques practiced by the Nazis during World War II. A former NRM-Sweden member using the pseudonym “Johan” told the BBC in late 2014 that he left the group when he realized that his fellow members were “measuring skulls...to decide who was Aryan and who wasn’t.”<sup>35</sup> In January 2018, a Swedish court convicted NRM leader Simon Lindberg of “contempt for groups based on their race, skin color, national or ethnic origin by shouting ‘Sieg Heil’ while raising his right arm upwards” during a November 2016 rally. The court initially recommended one month in prison but reduced the sentence to an 800 krona (\$98) fine because the NRM had a legal permit for the rally.<sup>36</sup>

### ***Anti-Semitic***

NRM members believe that Jews are racist as they consider themselves the “chosen people.” According to the NRM’s party platform, these Jews lead the “global Zionist elite,” which seeks “not only to promote the state of Israel, but also to contribute to long-term instability in all nations who may pose a threat to their power structure.”<sup>37</sup> In addition, the NRM believes that Sweden’s media is “Jewish owned.”<sup>38</sup> According to the dissident former leader of NRM-Finland, Esa Holappa, NRM members who share nonconforming views are often branded as “Jews” or “Zionists” in order to silence and delegitimize them.<sup>39</sup>

The NRM’s official website, Nordfront.se, features a section dedicated to what the NRM perceives as the dangers of Judaism and Zionism. Articles in this section, titled “The Jewish Question,” include: “The EU is Taking Further Censorship Measures to Protect Jewish Power;” “Israel Undermines the American Electoral System,” and “Jewish Feminist Celebrates the Extinction of White Men.” Through the articles, the NRM seeks to propagate anti-Semitic messaging and draw supporters to its cause.<sup>40</sup>

NRM has carried out IED attacks against Muslim asylum seekers.

### ***Anti-Immigrant and Pro-White***

The NRM is vehemently opposed to foreign immigration to the Nordic states. The group believes that the arrival of “foreign races” in Nordic nations has resulted in the “physical displacement and genocide” of the Nordic people, who have a “unique gene pool.”<sup>41</sup> In its 2015 party platform, the NRM writes that it seeks to not only “stop mass immigration,” but to repatriate ethnically non-Nordic people. If granted power, the NRM says it will: 1) “Introduce a complete halt of all non-Nordic immigration;” 2) “Establish a government institution that will efficiently and with the aid of modern genetic profiling, racially assess [sic] all people who have acquired citizenship after 1975 and their descendants;” 3) “Promptly begin retuning the majority of racial foreigners situated within the borders of the Nordic region.”<sup>42</sup>

According to Swedish authorities, NRM-Sweden members carried out two IED attacks against Muslim asylum seekers in January 2017 in the Swedish city of Gothenburg. In the first attack, on January 2017, suspected NRM-Sweden members detonated homemade bombs outside of a refugee lodging center, injuring one immigration officer.<sup>43</sup> Authorities later arrested three men in connection to that bombing, noting that the suspects “are or were in the past members of the Nordic Resistance Movement.”<sup>44</sup> Then, on January 25, 2017, Swedish authorities discovered an IED—which had failed to detonate—outside of another refugee housing compound. Officials believe that both incidents were linked to a third bombing at a far-left café in Gothenburg in November 2016.<sup>45</sup>

“[We would] outlaw the homosexual lobby and other propaganda targeted at natural family unit [and] ban flagrant homosexuality in the public realm.” - NRM

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### *Anti-Gay*

The NRM is openly anti-gay. Its members believe that gay people are “perverts” aiming to destroy the concept of the nuclear family.<sup>46</sup> According to its 2015 party platform, the group seeks to ban gay marriage and “promote and elevate the natural family ideal between a man and a woman.” In addition, the group seeks to “outlaw the homosexual lobby and other propaganda targeted at natural family unit,” as well as “ban flagrant homosexuality in the public realm.”<sup>47</sup>

The NRM often refers to the normalization of homosexuality as the “homolobby,” which it defines as “Jewish cultural Marxism...forces directly and indirectly leading to the philosophical ideas and ideals of the gay community in society.” According to a page on the group’s website, “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.”<sup>48</sup>

NRM members have carried out attacks on gay people, with numerous such attacks by the group’s members recorded in Sweden throughout 2005. In 2012, a member of NRM-Finland attacked Helsinki city counselor Dan Koivulaakso with pepper spray at a gay-rights event in the Finnish city of Oulu, and in 2013, members of NRM-Finland used tear gas and pepper spray to attack participants in the Helsinki Gay Pride Parade.<sup>49</sup>

### *Organizational Structure:*

One NRM rally in September 2017 drew 600 demonstrators.

The NRM is believed to comprise between 250 to 300 core members spread throughout Sweden, Norway, and Finland—though the group may attract many more sympathizers.<sup>50</sup> In September 2017, NRM-Sweden alone drew more than 600 demonstrators in its largest rally to date.<sup>51</sup> According to an August 2018 estimate by the Finnish-owned media outlet Yle, NRM-Finland is comprised of approximately 120 fully-fledged members.<sup>52</sup> The Norwegian-owned NRK media company reported in February 2017 that that country’s branch contains “a dozen” core activists.<sup>53</sup>

In a June 2016 interview on NRM-Finland’s radio station Riimuradio, NRM-Sweden leader Simon Lindberg revealed that NRM-Sweden is comprised of six distinct “nests,” or areas of operation, throughout Sweden. According to Lindberg, “in every nest, you then have [NRM] activist groups. So one nest could be many activist groups.” Lindberg noted that “nests” may not be utilized by NRM-Finland, implying that NRM’s chapters may not share identical organizational structures.<sup>54</sup>

According to one far-right European group, the NRM offers four distinct levels of membership. In the first level of membership, members donate to the group but do not partake in organizational activities. In the second level, members are expected to donate money as well as participate in the group’s activities. In the third level of membership, members donate a larger amount of money than the previous two groups, and are required to pass a physical fitness test and receive martial arts training. In the highest level of membership, the most committed members swear an oath of allegiance to the group and its mission. These top members also carry out the responsibilities (donations and martial arts training) required of the lower member groups.<sup>55</sup>

Finnish authorities have taken measures to try and ban NRM-Finland. In response, the group developed several contingency measures should the ban be successful, according to an investigation conducted by the Finnish Broadcasting Company Yle in December 2018. The group created a new nationalist political party in spring 2018, called *Kansan Yhtenäisyys* (roughly translated as Nation United), and sought to collect enough pledges of support to achieve official political party status. NRM-Finland leader Antti Niemi also founded the charity organization *Suomalaisapu* (Finnish Aid) in order to attract new members and voters. Additionally, NRM-Finland increased its recruitment efforts, proving that the group has remained resilient according to the Finnish interior ministry. The group also sought closer cooperation with the nationalist street patrol group Soldiers of Odin. Members of both groups have participated in each other’s activities. Moreover, NRM-Finland member Jesse Torniainen established an office in Estonia, and the group moved the organization’s website outside Finland.<sup>56</sup>

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In January 2019, NRM-Sweden published the group's objectives for the upcoming five years on its website. These include offering regular lectures open to the public, setting up additional official local headquarters, and tripling the numbers of active members. NRM-Sweden also expressed interest in expanding into local radio and media services, achieve parliamentary representation, and establish a cooperative relationship with other like-minded organizations around the world.<sup>57</sup>

### ***Financing:***

The NRM notes in its party platform document "Our Path" that all the funding it receives comes from "member donations and sympathetic individuals and organizations."<sup>58</sup> The group openly solicits donations on its various affiliated websites, noting that the "organization receives no state funding," and asking potential donors to "consider [a donation as] an investment in a brighter future."<sup>59</sup>

### ***Recruitment:***

In or around 2003, NRM's then-leader Klas Lund wrote in the group's magazine *Nationellt Motstånd* that the organization did not seek to recruit "as many [individuals] as possible," but rather to build "an inner core of fanatic activists who can increasingly bring the national message out to the masses."<sup>60</sup> This outlook may have changed in recent years, as the group now attempts to bring as many people as possible under its umbrella. An official NRM manual released in August 2016 states that the information within it is directed "not only to activists in the [NRM], but rather to all who can actively associate with the organization regardless of the level of engagement."<sup>61</sup>

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 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. The NRM has held numerous anti-immigration rallies, and has hung signs throughout Sweden, Finland, and Norway reading "Refugees Are Not Welcome."<sup>62</sup> The NRM also produces manuals, stickers, leaflets, and flyers, which it distributes at rallies, on the streets, and in mailboxes.<sup>63</sup>

NRM-Sweden leader Simon Lindberg said in mid-2016 that the group had "recruited a lot of new members" since the start of the refugee crisis. However, Lindberg attributed much of this new recruitment to the group's sturdy base. According to Lindberg, it would be "very unfair to only give the refugee crisis credibility for our growth, because we have worked hard for many[,] many years and gained a lot of experience during our struggle. Without having a solid ground...we wouldn't have recruited a single person, no matter how many immigrants come flooding in over our borders."<sup>64</sup>

In December 2018, NRM-Norway continued its "Winter Aid" tradition of handing out gift packages to the white-Norwegian destitute population in Oslo in order to gain further popularity and support. Packages included traditional Yuletide pork ribs, coffee, mulled wine, warm clothes, clean underwear, and cosmetics. Items were either donated by local supporters or newly purchased.<sup>65</sup>

### ***Training:***

NRM members are trained in martial arts. Some have received foreign military training.

The NRM is reported to train members in martial arts, and members are taught how to respond if violence arises in the streets.<sup>66</sup> The NRM openly advertises physical training sessions on its website, noting that the group "climbs mountains, arranges self-defense courses...and excursions in forest and land."<sup>67</sup>

In June 2017, Swedish prosecutors charged three NRM-Sweden members in connection to bombings targeting a far-left café and two refugee lodging centers in November 2016 and January 2017. According to prosecutors, two of the NRM-



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Sweden members had received military training in Russia just before returning to Sweden to carry out the attacks. There is little publicly-available information regarding who exactly provided training to these individuals.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "SVENSKA MOTSTÅNDSRÖRELSEN," Expo Skola, last modified March 2016, [http://skola.expo.se/svenska-motstandsrorelsen\\_110.html](http://skola.expo.se/svenska-motstandsrorelsen_110.html) [1].

<sup>2</sup> "Right-Wing Extremism in Europe," Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2014, 28, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/10957.pdf> [2].

<sup>3</sup> "Right-Wing Extremism in Europe," Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2014, 28, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/10957.pdf> [2].

<sup>4</sup> "Right-Wing Extremism in Europe," Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2014, 28, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/10957.pdf> [2].

<sup>5</sup> Øyvind Strømme, "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/> [3];

"Our Path: New Politics for a New Time," Nordic Resistance Movement, 2015,

<https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf> [4];

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/> [5].

<sup>6</sup> "Registrerade partibeteckningar," Valmyndigheten, accessed May 26, 2017,

[http://www.val.se/det\\_svenska\\_valsystemet/partier/lista\\_registrerade\\_partibeteckningar/kontaktuppgifter.html](http://www.val.se/det_svenska_valsystemet/partier/lista_registrerade_partibeteckningar/kontaktuppgifter.html) [6]; "Our Path: New Politics for a

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9, 2016, [http://expo.se/2016/sa-valdsamma-ar-nazisterna-i-nordiska-motstandsrorelsen\\_7198.html](http://expo.se/2016/sa-valdsamma-ar-nazisterna-i-nordiska-motstandsrorelsen_7198.html) [8]; Heba Habib, "Neo-Nazi rally in Sweden leads

to injuries, arrests," *Washington Post*, September 30, 2017,

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/neo-nazi-rally-in-sweden-leads-in-clashes-between-police-and-counterprotesters/2017/09/30/711bb76e-a5ff-1e7-b573-8ec86cfe1ed\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.5c576842f067](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/neo-nazi-rally-in-sweden-leads-in-clashes-between-police-and-counterprotesters/2017/09/30/711bb76e-a5ff-1e7-b573-8ec86cfe1ed_story.html?utm_term=.5c576842f067) [9].

<sup>7</sup> Stieg Larsson, "A Study on Racially Motivated Crime and Violence in Sweden," The Expo Foundation, September 2002, 34,

[http://expo.se/www/download/final\\_sweden\\_racialviolence\\_raxen3.pdf](http://expo.se/www/download/final_sweden_racialviolence_raxen3.pdf) [10].

<sup>8</sup> Øyvind Strømme, "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/> [3].

<sup>9</sup> For clarity and consistency, this report will use "NRM" to describe the larger organization, and "NRM-Sweden," "NRM-Finland," and "NRM-Norway" when referring to country-specific branches.

<sup>10</sup> "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](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/repentant_nazi_what_i_was_doing_was_crazy/8881468) [11];

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"Welcome to the English section of Nordfront," Nordfront, accessed June 2, 2017, <https://www.nordfront.se/english> [14].

<sup>11</sup> 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> [15];

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<sup>12</sup> Øyvind Strømme, "New report: Neo-Nazis in the North," Hate Speech International, March 24, 2017,

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"Omfattande bevis mot nazisterna," *Aftenbladet*, February 11, 2000, <http://www.aftenbladet.se/nyheter/0002/11/nazmord.html> [17].

<sup>13</sup> Sylvia Bjon, "Misshandlad man dog efter våld på nazidemonstration," HBL, September 17, 2016,

<https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/slagen-av-nazister-mitt-i-helsingfors-offret-dog-av-sina-skador/> [18];

"Neo-Nazi group member gets 2-year prison sentence for Helsinki Railway Station attack," *Yle Uutiset*, December 30, 2016,

[http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/neo-nazi\\_group\\_member\\_gets\\_2-year\\_prison\\_sentence\\_for\\_helsinki\\_railway\\_station\\_attack/9379918](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/neo-nazi_group_member_gets_2-year_prison_sentence_for_helsinki_railway_station_attack/9379918) [19].

<sup>14</sup> "Ban on neo-Nazi group upheld by Turku appeal court," *Yle Uutiset*, September 29, 2018,

[https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ban\\_on\\_neo-nazi\\_group\\_upheld\\_by\\_turku\\_appeal\\_court/10429858](https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ban_on_neo-nazi_group_upheld_by_turku_appeal_court/10429858) [20].

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## *Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)*

### Key Leaders



**Simon Lindberg**  
Leader of NRM-Sweden



**Emil Hagberg**  
Member of NRM-Sweden's national leadership, Swedish representative in the Nordic Council, employee for Radio Nordfront and TV-project Studio Nordfront



**Fredrik Vejdeland**  
Member of NRM-Sweden's national leadership, editor of NRM-Sweden's website (2012-2017), head of NRM-Sweden's radio initiatives



**Pär Öberg**  
Member of NRM-Sweden's national leadership, head of NRM-Sweden's parliamentary branch, spokesman



**Haakon Forwald**  
Leader of NRM-Norway, Norwegian representative in the Nordic Council, editor-in-chief of Motstandsbevegelsen.org



**Tommy Olsen**  
Deputy leader of NRM-Norway



**Otto Rutanen**  
Leader of NRM-Finland, leader of the Helsinki branch, Finnish representative in the Nordic Council



**Antti Niemi**  
Leader of NRM-Finland, chairman of the Finnish Council, head of Finnish Aid, Finnish representative in the Nordic Council

## *Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)*

### History:

- **January 14, 2019:**NRM-Sweden publishes an article on their website that details eight concrete objectives for the upcoming five years.  
The group's goals include the opening of additional local headquarters, increased membership, and parliamentary representation. Source: "Vart är Nordiska motståndsrörelsen i Sverige om fem år? Åtta konkreta målsättningar," Nordfront, January 14, 2019, <https://www.nordfront.se/vart-ar-nordiska-motstandsrörelsen-i-sverige-om-fem-ar-atta-konkreta-malsattningar.smr> [42].
- **December 27, 2018:**NRM-Norway continues its "Winter Aid" tradition of giving out gift packages to the white-Norwegian destitute population in Oslo in order to gain further popularity and support.  
Source: Bradford Hanson, "Norway: Nordic Resistance Movement Helps Needy Whites in Oslo," National Vanguard, December 27, 2018, <https://nationalvanguard.org/2018/12/norway-nordic-resistance-movement-helps-needy-whites-in-oslo/> [45].
- **September 28, 2018:**Finland's Turku Appeal Court upholds the November 2017 decision by the Pirkanmaa District Court to ban the NRM and its regional chapters, including the affiliated Finnish group Pohjoinen Perinne or Nordic Tradition group.  
The court rules that the NRM has embraced violence and is thus not protected under the law. Nonetheless, the ban is not enforceable until all avenues of appeal are exhausted. Source: "Ban on neo-Nazi group upheld by Turku appeal court," Yle Uutiset, September 29, 2018, [https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ban\\_on\\_neo-nazi\\_group\\_upheld\\_by\\_turku\\_appeal\\_court/10429858](https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ban_on_neo-nazi_group_upheld_by_turku_appeal_court/10429858) [20].
- **September 9, 2018:**NRM participates in Sweden's general elections and receives a total of 2.106 votes (equivalent to 0.03 percent).  
However, the group fails to pass the 4 percent threshold to enter into parliament. Source: "Elections to the Riksdag - Votes," Valmyndigheten, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://data.val.se/val/val2018/slutresultat/R/rike/index.html> [33].
- **August 11, 2018:**Police arrest a member of NRM-Sweden suspected of planning to murder two journalists.  
Authorities find a home-made shotgun and ammunition in the suspect's possession, as well as silencers and a contraption designed to fire the concealed weapon from inside a bag. Source: "Swedish Nazi arrested for planned murder of journalists," The Local, August 11, 2018, <https://www.thelocal.se/20180811/swedish-nazi-arrested-for-planned-murder-of-journalists> [46].
- **July 6, 2018:**NRM-Sweden holds meetings and demonstrations at Almedalen Week (also referred to as Politician's Week), the biggest political event in Sweden, attempting to be more visible in the build-up to the Swedish election.  
Swedish authorities have come under sharp criticism for allowing the party to participate. Sources: "Swedish neo-Nazi Party Attends Biggest Political Event in Sweden," Haaretz, July 6, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/swedish-neo-nazi-party-attends-biggest-political-event-in-sweden-1.6244771> [47]; "Neo-Nazi disturbances at Almedalen could 'change the nature' of Swedish political staple," Local (Stockholm), July 6, 2018, <https://www.thelocal.se/20180706/neo-nazi-disturbances-at-almedalen-could-change-the-nature-of-swedish-political-staple> [48].
- **January 2, 2018:**A Swedish court convicts NRM leader Simon Lindberg of "contempt for groups based on their race, skin color, national or ethnic origin by shouting 'Sieg Heil' while raising his right arm upwards" during a November 2016 rally.  
The court sentences Lindberg to an 800 krona (\$98) fine. Source: Agence France-Presse, "Sweden convicts neo-Nazi leader of inciting hatred at rally," Times of Israel, January 2, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/sweden-convicts-neo-nazi-leader-of-inciting-hatred-at-rally/> [34].
- **November 2017:**Finland's Pirkanmaa District Court bans the NRM, calling it a violent group that encouraged others to commit violent acts.  
According to the court, the NRM "flagrantly violated the principles of good practice." The NRM marches in a Finland independence day parade the following month. On January 30, 2018, the NRM files an appeal. Sources: "Finnish court bans Neo-Nazi movement," Yle, November 30, 2017, [https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/finnish\\_court\\_bans\\_neo-nazi\\_movement/9956449](https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/finnish_court_bans_neo-nazi_movement/9956449) [49]; "Ban on neo-Nazi group upheld by Turku appeal court," Yle Uutiset, September 29, 2018, [https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ban\\_on\\_neo-nazi\\_group\\_upheld\\_by\\_turku\\_appeal\\_court/10429858](https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ban_on_neo-nazi_group_upheld_by_turku_appeal_court/10429858) [20]; "Outlawed neo-Nazi group seeks appeal of ban," Yle Uutiset, February 1, 2018, [https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/outlawed\\_neo-nazi\\_group\\_seeks\\_appeal\\_of\\_ban/10002472](https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/outlawed_neo-nazi_group_seeks_appeal_of_ban/10002472) [50].
- **July 7, 2017:**A court in Goteborg sentences Viktor Melin, who assembled all three bombs, to eight years and six months imprisonment for attempted murder and endangering.  
Two other NRM members—Jimmy Jonasson and Anton Thulin—are sentenced to five years in prison for providing the materials for the explosives, and 18 months in prison for placing the bombs at the target locations, respectively. Two of the three men had received military training in Russia directly before the attacks—though it is unclear which elements in Russia provided the training. Sources: "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/> [29]; "Two men charged over refugee home blast 'received military training in Russia,'" 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> [30]; "Trio locked up over Gothenburg bomb attacks," Local (Stockholm), July 7, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170707/trio-locked-up-over-gothenburg-bomb-attacks-sweden-neo-nazi> [51]; Jan M. Olsen, Associated Press, "Swedish right-wing extremists guilty of bomb attacks on migrants," USA Today, July 7, 2017, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/07/07/swedish-right-wing-extremists-guilty/458311001/> [28].
- **June 9, 2017:**A Swedish court charges three NRM-Sweden members in connection to the attacks targeting a far-left café and two refugee lodging centers on November 11, 2016, January 5, 2017, and January 25, 2017, respectively.  
Sources: "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/> [29]; "Two men charged over refugee home blast 'received military training in Russia,'" 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> [30]; "Trio locked up over Gothenburg bomb attacks," Local (Stockholm), July 7, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170707/trio-locked-up-over-gothenburg-bomb-attacks-sweden-neo-nazi> [51].
- **March 2017:**Finland's National Police Board appeals to the District Court in the Finnish region of Pirkanmaa to ban

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and dissolve NRM-Finland, describing the group as “violent and openly racist.”

Source: “Police move to shut down neo-Nazi Finnish Resistance Movement,” Yle Uutiset, March 2, 2017, [http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/police\\_move\\_to\\_shut\\_down\\_neo-nazi\\_finnish\\_resistance\\_movement/9488899](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/police_move_to_shut_down_neo-nazi_finnish_resistance_movement/9488899).

- **February 1, 2017 - February 10, 2017:** Swedish authorities arrest three men suspected of connection to the January 5 bombing of a refugee lodging center in Gothenburg.  
Authorities note that the men “are or were in the past members of the Nordic Resistance Movement.” Source: Agence France-Presse, “Swedish neo-Nazis held over Gothenburg refugee centre blast,” *Local* (Stockholm), February 3, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170203/swedish-neo-nazis-held-over-gothenburg-refugee-centre-blast>.
- **January 25, 2017:** Swedish authorities discover an IED—which had failed to detonate—outside of a Gothenburg compound housing refugees.  
Authorities believe the incident is 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. Source: Agence France-Presse, “Swedish neo-Nazis held over Gothenburg refugee centre blast,” *Local* (Stockholm), February 3, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170203/swedish-neo-nazis-held-over-gothenburg-refugee-centre-blast>.
- **January 5, 2017:** Individuals allegedly associated with NRM-Sweden detonate homemade bombs outside of a refugee lodging center in Gothenburg, injuring an immigration officer.  
Source: Agence France-Presse, “Swedish neo-Nazis held over Gothenburg refugee centre blast,” *Local* (Stockholm), February 3, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.se/20170203/swedish-neo-nazis-held-over-gothenburg-refugee-centre-blast>.
- **December 2016:** The head of the Finnish Security Intelligence Service, Kari Harju, urges the government to ban NRM-Finland.  
Source: “Security boss: Neo-Nazi group should be banned,” Yle, December 9, 2016, [http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/security\\_boss\\_neo-nazi\\_group\\_should\\_be\\_banned/9343026](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/security_boss_neo-nazi_group_should_be_banned/9343026).
- **November 12, 2016:** Violence breaks out between NRM-Sweden members and anti-fascist demonstrators at an NRM march in Stockholm celebrating the election of U.S. President Donald Trump.  
Five people are arrested and two are injured. According to sources at the march, the NRM had announced that Trump’s victory was a sign that a “world revolution was beginning.” Lucy Pasha-Robinson, “Swedish neo-Nazis stage biggest ever march in wake of Donald Trump victory,” *Independent* (London), November 13, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/donald-trump-win-swedish-neo-nazis-stage-biggest-march-celebrate-a7414676.html>.
- **November 11, 2016:** A bomb explodes at the Syndikaliskt Forum Kafe in Gothenburg, Sweden.  
No one is injured. NRM-Sweden member Viktor Melin is arrested in January 2017 in connection to the blast. Sources: “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/>.
- **September 10, 2016:** At a rally held by NRM-Finland, several of the group’s members violently beat Jimi Joonas Karttonen, a 28-year-old passerby who openly expresses disapproval of the group.  
Karttonen dies a week later from his wounds. Key NRM-Finland member Jesse Torniainen is convicted of aggravated assault in connection to Karttonen’s murder and sentenced to two years in prison in December 2016. Sources: Sylvia Bjön, “Misshandlad man dog efter våld på nazidemonstration,” HBL, September 17, 2016, <https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/slagen-av-nazister-mitt-i-helsingfors-offret-dog-av-sina-skador/>; “Neo-Nazi group member gets 2-year prison sentence for Helsinki Railway Station attack,” Yle Uutiset, December 30, 2016, [http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/neo-nazi\\_group\\_member\\_gets\\_2-year\\_prison\\_sentence\\_for\\_helsinki\\_railway\\_station\\_attack/9379918](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/neo-nazi_group_member_gets_2-year_prison_sentence_for_helsinki_railway_station_attack/9379918).
- **January 15, 2016 - January 31, 2016:** NRM-Sweden releases an official statement praising an attack on refugee children by a mob of Swedish nationalists in Stockholm’s central train station.  
NRM-Sweden state: “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.” Source: 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>.
- **September 2015:** Simon Lindberg replaces Klas Lund as the leader of NRM-Sweden.  
Source: 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/>.
- **July 9, 2015:** NRM-Sweden officially registers as a political party.  
Source: “Registrerade partibeteckningar,” Valmyndigheten, accessed May 26, 2017, [http://www.val.se/det\\_svenska\\_valsystemet/partier/lista\\_registrerade\\_partibeteckningar/kontaktuppgifter.html](http://www.val.se/det_svenska_valsystemet/partier/lista_registrerade_partibeteckningar/kontaktuppgifter.html).
- **2014:** NRM-Sweden announces its intention to form a political party.  
The group is reportedly inspired by its key member Pär Öberg, who is elected as a write-in candidate for the far-right Sweden Democrats political party in the local elections for the Ludvika municipality. Source: “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/>.
- **December 17, 2013:** At least 30 NRM-Sweden members carrying smoking flares attack participants of a peaceful, anti-racism demonstration in the Stockholm suburb of Kärntorp.  
Some demonstrators retaliate, and the fight “move[s]” into the nearby woods, according to Vice News. Four people are injured—including two who are stabbed—and 28 are arrested. In June 2014, a Swedish court sentences four NRM-Sweden members, including spokesman Emil Hagberg, to between six and eight months in prison for instigating the December riots. Source: 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/](https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/watching-swedish-neo-nazis-fighting-in-the-woods/); “Kärntorp clashes: Four neo-Nazis jailed,” *Local* (Stockholm), June 5, 2014, <https://www.thelocal.se/20140605/karntorp-clashes-four-neo-nazis-jailed/>; “De leder den svenska naziströrelsen,” *Expressen* (Stockholm), February 9, 2015, <http://www.expressen.se/nyheter/de-leder-den-svenska-naziströrelsen-1/>; “Nazi group attacks peaceful rally: two stabbed,” Radio Sweden,



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December 15, 2013, <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=5734086>.

- **November 10, 2013:** Approximately 80 NRM-Sweden members march through Stockholm in support of the Greek neo-Nazi political party Golden Dawn.  
Two counter-demonstrators are injured. The march comes a month after Greek authorities arrest more than 20 Golden Dawn members in a government crackdown. Source: "Injuries at 'disgusting' neo-Nazi rally," *Local* (Stockholm), November 10, 2013, <https://www.thelocal.se/20131110/injuries-at-disgusting-neo-nazi-rally>; "20 members of neo-Nazi party arrested in Greece," RNZ, September 29, 2013, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/world/223130/20-members-of-neo-nazi-party-arrested-in-greece>.
- **2013:** Members of NRM-Finland use tear gas and pepper spray to attack participants in the Helsinki Gay Pride Parade.  
Source: 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/>.
- **2012 - 2013:** A member of NRM-Finland attacks Helsinki city counselor Dan Koivulaakso with pepper spray at a gay rights event in the Finnish city of Oulu.  
The following year, the same NRM member stabs a guard outside of the library in the central town of Jyväskylä. In January 2015, a Finnish court sentences the perpetrator to a year and a half in prison. Sources: 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/>; "Suspended sentence for leader of far-right library attack," *Yle Uutiset*, January 14, 2015, [http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/suspended\\_sentence\\_for\\_leader\\_of\\_far-right\\_library\\_attack/7737938](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/suspended_sentence_for_leader_of_far-right_library_attack/7737938).
- **2011:** The NRM branch in Norway, *Den norske motstandsbevegelsen* (NRM-Norway), is formed.  
Source: 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/>.
- **July 2010:** NRM-Sweden members are arrested after attacking guards during an NRM demonstration at a music festival in the Swedish city of Piteå.  
One of the suspects is in possession of a knife. Source: "Nazistdemonstration urartade i Piteå," *Svenska Dagbladet*, June 30, 2010, <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nazistdemonstrationurartade-i-pitea>.
- **June 2008 - December 2008:** Five NRM-Sweden members in the western city of Gothenburg attack a 17-year-old supporter of the Conservative party as he sits on a bench.  
The perpetrators are arrested and charged with "abuse," according to Swedish media. Sources: "Nazister åtalas för misshandel," *Expressen* (Stockholm), June 20, 2009, <http://www.expressen.se/gt/nazister-atalas-for-misshandel/>; 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/>; "Nazister åtalas för misshandel," *Expressen*, June 20, 2009, <http://www.expressen.se/gt/nazister-atalas-for-misshandel/>.
- **2008:** The NRM branch in Finland, *Suomen Vastarintaliike* (NRM-Finland), is formed.  
Sources: 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/>; "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](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/>.
- **September 1, 2007:** A member of NRM-Sweden stabs a supporter of the communist group Anti-Fascist Faction in central Stockholm.  
NRM member Niklas Frost is sentenced to five years imprisonment for attempted murder related to the incident, though NRM members claim that Frost was wrongly imprisoned. Source: 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/>.
- **2005:** NRM members are connected to multiple attacks on gay people in Sweden.  
Source: 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/>.
- **November 24, 2003:** Swedish security forces arrest NRM founder and leader, Klas Lund, after raiding his home in Västergötland.  
Security forces discover firearms at his residence. Source: "Nazistledare gripen för vapenbrott," *Dagens Nyheter*, November 25, 2003, <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/nazistledare-gripen-for-vapenbrott/>.
- **October 12, 1999:** Björn Söderberg, a trade unionist, is shot to death outside of his Stockholm apartment.  
The three men later convicted of the murder are connected to NRM-Sweden's youth movement, National Youth. Sources: 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/>; "Omfattande bevis mot nazisterna," *Aftenbladet*, February 11, 2000, <http://www.aftenbladet.se/nyheter/0002/11/nazmord.html>.
- **1997:** The NRM is formed in Sweden. Known as the Swedish Resistance Movement at its founding, many of its founders and core members come from the VAM and National Youth, which becomes the group's youth movement.  
The National Youth is dissolved in 2006 after it merges with NRM-Sweden. Source: "Right-Wing Extremism in Europe," Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2014, 28, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/10957.pdf>.
- **1990 - 1993:** NRM's forerunner, the Swedish neo-Nazi network White Aryan Resistance (*Vitt Ariskt Motstånd*, or VAM), operates in various cities throughout the country.  
Its members target immigrants and homosexuals and carry out bank robberies to fund their violence. The VAM splits into several white-power groups in the mid-1990s, among them the National Youth (*Nationell Ungdom*). Source: Stieg Larsson, "A Study on Racially Motivated Crime and Violence in Sweden," Expo Foundation, September 2002, 34, [http://expo.se/www/download/final\\_sweden\\_racialviolence\\_raxen3.pdf](http://expo.se/www/download/final_sweden_racialviolence_raxen3.pdf).
- **1986:** Future NRM founder Klas Lund is convicted of manslaughter.  
According to Swedish authorities, earlier that year, Lund murdered anti-racist campaigner Ronny Landin who had intervened to stop an assault on three immigrants by Lund and other neo-Nazis. Sources: Nick Fagge, "Neo-Nazis thugs warn of a 'year of violence' following attacks on child



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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>; "Fångelse för Klas Lund," *Expo Idag*, May 13, 2004, [http://expo.se/2004/fangelse-for-klas-lund\\_1074.html](http://expo.se/2004/fangelse-for-klas-lund_1074.html).

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### **Violent history:**

NRM leaders and members have carried out attacks against gay people, Muslims asylum seekers, and the group's ideological adversaries—using smoking flares, pepper spray, tear gas, knives, and guns. Since the 1980s, NRM members have killed at least three people: anti-racist campaigner Ronny Landin, trade unionist Björn Söderberg, and passerby Jimi Joonas Karttonen, who were beaten or shot to death in 1986, 1999, and 2016, respectively.

NRM members have killed at least three people.

NRM members are reported to receive martial arts training and are educated on how to respond if fighting arises in the streets.<sup>69</sup> In addition, the group previously sold a knife inscribed with the maxim “The struggle demands more than only words.”<sup>70</sup> In a 2016 interview with NRM-Sweden leader Simon Lindberg, Lindberg said that he joined the group because its members are “strong in the streets, they dare to fight back the scum.”<sup>71</sup> However, Swedish prosecutors believe that three NRM-Sweden members—sentenced in July 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.<sup>72</sup>

- **1986:** Future NRM founder Klas Lund is convicted of manslaughter. According to Swedish authorities, earlier that year, Lund murdered anti-racist campaigner Ronny Landin who had intervened to stop an assault on three immigrants by Lund and other neo-Nazis.<sup>73</sup>
- **October 12, 1999:** Björn Söderberg, a trade unionist, is shot to death outside of his Stockholm apartment. The three men later convicted of the murder are connected to NRM-Sweden's youth movement, National Youth.<sup>74</sup>
- **2005:** NRM members are connected to multiple attacks on homosexuals in Sweden.<sup>75</sup>
- **September 1, 2007:** A member of NRM-Sweden stabs a supporter of the communist group Anti-Fascist Faction in central Stockholm. NRM member Niklas Frost is sentenced to five years imprisonment for attempted murder related to the incident, though NRM members claim that Frost is wrongly imprisoned.<sup>76</sup>
- **Mid-Late 2008:** Five NRM-Sweden members in the western city of Gothenburg attack a 17-year-old supporter of the Conservative party as he sits on a bench. The perpetrators are arrested and charged with “abuse,” according to Swedish media.<sup>77</sup>
- **July 2010:** NRM-Sweden members are arrested after attacking guards during an NRM demonstration at a music festival in the Swedish city of Piteå. One of the suspects is in possession of a knife.<sup>78</sup>
- **2012-2013:** A member of NRM-Finland attacks Helsinki city counselor Dan Koivulaakso with pepper spray at a gay rights event in the Finnish city of Oulu. The following year, the same NRM member stabs a guard outside of the library in the central town of Jyväskylä. In January 2015, a Finnish court sentences the perpetrator to a year and a half in prison.<sup>79</sup>
- **2013:** Members of NRM-Finland use tear gas and pepper spray to attack participants in the Helsinki Gay Pride Parade.<sup>80</sup>
- **November 10, 2013:** Approximately 80 NRM-Sweden members march through Stockholm in support of the Greek neo-Nazi political party Golden Dawn. Two counter-demonstrators are injured. The march comes a month after Greek authorities arrest more than 20 Golden Dawn members in a government crackdown.<sup>81</sup>
- **December 17, 2013:** At least 30 NRM-Sweden members carrying smoking flares attack participants of a peaceful, anti-racism demonstration in the Stockholm suburb of Kärrtorp. Some demonstrators retaliate, and the fight “move[s]” into the nearby woods, according to Vice News. Four people are injured—including two who are stabbed—and 28 are arrested. In June 2014, a Swedish court sentences four NRM-Sweden members, including spokesman Emil Hagberg, to between six and eight months in prison for instigating the December riots.<sup>82</sup>

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- **2014:** Norwegian police reportedly seize a stockpile of weapons at the house of an NRM-Norway supporter.<sup>83</sup>
- **Late January 2016:** NRM-Sweden releases an official statement praising an attack on refugee children by a mob of Swedish nationalists in Stockholm's central train station. NRM-Sweden state: "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."<sup>84</sup>
- **September 10, 2016:** At a rally held by NRM-Finland, several of the group's members violently beat Jimi Joonas Karttonen, a 28-year-old passerby who openly expresses disapproval of the group. Karttonen dies a week later from his wounds. Key NRM-Finland member Jesse Torniainen is convicted of aggravated assault in connection to Karttonen's murder and sentenced to two years in prison in December 2016.<sup>85</sup>
- **November 11, 2016:** A bomb explodes at the Syndikaliskt Forum Kafe in Gothenburg, Sweden. No one is injured.<sup>86</sup> NRM-Sweden member Viktor Melin is arrested in January 2017 in connection to the blast.<sup>87</sup>
- **November 12, 2016:** Violence breaks out between NRM-Sweden members and anti-fascist demonstrators at an NRM march in Stockholm celebrating the election of U.S. President Donald Trump. Five people are arrested and two are injured. According to sources at the march, the NRM had announced that Trump's victory was a sign that a "world revolution was beginning."<sup>88</sup>
- **January 5, 2017:** Individuals allegedly associated with NRM-Sweden detonate homemade bombs outside of a refugee lodging center in Gothenburg, injuring an immigration officer.<sup>89</sup>
- **January 25, 2017:** Swedish authorities discover an IED—which had failed to detonate—outside of a Gothenburg compound housing refugees. Authorities believe the incident is 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.<sup>90</sup> In June 2017, Swedish prosecutors charge three NRM-Sweden members in connection to the far-left café and refugee center bombings. Prosecutors say that two of the men had received military training in Russia before returning to Sweden to carry out the attacks.<sup>91</sup>
- **September 30, 2017:** During a far-right demonstration in Gothenburg, clashes break out between police and NRM supporters when marchers attempt to deviate from the court-ordered route that prohibited to pass by a local synagogue during Yom Kippur. Police arrest at least 50 people.<sup>92</sup>
- **April 19, 2018:** NRM-Sweden members throw fireworks at the U.S. Embassy in Stockholm during a protest against the bombing of Syria. One NRM member is arrested.<sup>93</sup>
- **July 5, 2018:** NRM-Sweden members assault two pro-Israel activists from the Israel-Sweden Friendship Association at the Gotland festival in Sweden.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> 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> [7]; Øyvind Strømme, "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/> [3].

<sup>70</sup> 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> [7].

<sup>71</sup> 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/> [5].

<sup>72</sup> "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/> [29]; "Two men charged over refugee home blast 'received military training in Russia,'" *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> [30].

<sup>73</sup> 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> [15]; "Fängelse för Klas Lund," Expo Idag, May 13, 2004, [http://expo.se/2004/fangelse-for-klas-lund\\_1074.html](http://expo.se/2004/fangelse-for-klas-lund_1074.html) [16].

<sup>74</sup> Øyvind Strømme, "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/> [3];

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- <sup>74</sup> "Omfattande bevis mot nazisterna," Aftenbladet, February 11, 2000, <http://www.aftenbladet.se/nyheter/0002/11/nazmord.html> [17].
- <sup>75</sup> Øyvind Strømme, "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/> [3].
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## *Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)*

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### **Designations:**

Some Finnish officials—including members of the National Police Board and Kari Harju, the head of the Finnish Security Intelligence Service—have urged their government to ban NRM-Finland, though Helsinki has not taken this step.<sup>95</sup> Finland’s Pirkanmaa District Court banned the NRM in November 2017 and Finland’s Turku Appeal Court upheld the decision in September 2018. Nonetheless, the group can continue to legally operate until all avenues of appeal have been exhausted.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> “Security boss: Neo-Nazi group should be banned,” Yle, December 9, 2016, [http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/security\\_boss\\_neo-nazi\\_group\\_should\\_be\\_banned/9343026](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/security_boss_neo-nazi_group_should_be_banned/9343026) [61]; “Police move to shut down neo-Nazi Finnish Resistance Movement,” Yle Uutiset, March 2, 2017, [http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/police\\_move\\_to\\_shut\\_down\\_neo-nazi\\_finnish\\_resistance\\_movement/9488899](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/police_move_to_shut_down_neo-nazi_finnish_resistance_movement/9488899) [62].

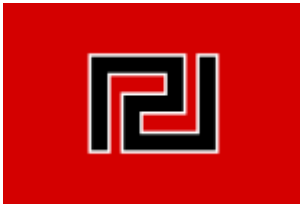
<sup>96</sup> “Finnish court bans Neo-Nazi movement,” Yle Uutiset, November 30, 2017, [https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/finnish\\_court\\_bans\\_neo-nazi\\_movement/9956449](https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/finnish_court_bans_neo-nazi_movement/9956449) [49]; “Ban on neo-Nazi group upheld by Turku appeal court,” Yle Uutiset, September 29, 2018, [https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ban\\_on\\_neo-nazi\\_group\\_upheld\\_by\\_turku\\_appeal\\_court/10429858](https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ban_on_neo-nazi_group_upheld_by_turku_appeal_court/10429858) [20].

## ***Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)***

### **Associations:**

#### **Ties to Extremist Entities:**

NRM's chapters in Finland and Norway are reported to communicate and cooperate with NRM-Sweden on common strategy and goals. According to the Finnish Security Intelligence Service's communications chief, NRM-Finland works closely with NRM-Sweden to promote the concept of white supremacy and a unified Nordic nation.<sup>97</sup> The Norwegian-owned media outlet NRK has also said there is "close cooperation" between the Norwegian and Swedish branches.<sup>98</sup> There may also be significant cooperation between members of NRM-Finland and NRM-Norway. According to Finland's national broadcasting company Yle, "[all NRM members] keep in touch with each other, travel to meetings and participate in each other's actions and activities."<sup>99</sup> NRM also maintains ties with other neo-Nazi, ultranationalist groups outside of the Nordic states, most notably Golden Dawn in Greece, NPD in Germany, and the Russian Imperial Movement in Russia.<sup>100</sup>



[Golden Dawn](#) [63]

The NRM ideologically supports [Golden Dawn](#) [63], the Greek neo-Nazi political party that has grown to become the third most powerful party in that country. The NRM has publicly signaled its support for Golden Dawn since at least September 2013, when Greek authorities arrested more than 20 Golden Dawn members in a government crackdown. The following month, the NRM released an open letter to the Greek ambassadors stationed in Nordic nations. The letter referred to the Greek government as a "proxy government for the Zionist plutocrats," and warned that the arrest of Golden Dawn members "is a heinous act by a dictatorial regime and constitutes a dire threat to the freedom of the Greek people."<sup>101</sup> In early November 2013, approximately 80 NRM-Sweden members marched through Stockholm toward the Greek embassy in support of the arrested Golden Dawn members.<sup>102</sup> More recently, in July 2016, Golden Dawn released an interview with NRM-Sweden leader Simon Lindberg on one of its YouTube pages.<sup>103</sup>



[National Democratic Party of Germany \(NPD\)](#) [64]

Members of the NRM have reportedly attended conferences hosted by the [National Democratic Party](#) [64] (NPD), a far-right German political party that advocates racist, anti-Semitic, and revisionist views.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>97</sup> "Security agency: Finnish Resistance Movement well monitored, has little support," Yle Uutiset, August 1, 2015, [http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/security\\_agency\\_finnish\\_resistance\\_movement\\_well\\_monitored\\_has\\_little\\_support/8197771](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/security_agency_finnish_resistance_movement_well_monitored_has_little_support/8197771) [65].

<sup>98</sup> 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> [13].

<sup>99</sup> "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](http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/repentant_nazi_what_i_was_doing_was_crazy/8881468) [11].

<sup>100</sup> 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/> [3]; Andrew Higgins, "Intent on Unsettling E.U., Russia Taps Foot Soldiers From the Fringe," *New York Times*, December 24, 2016, [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/24/world/europe/intent-on-unsettling-eu-russia-taps-foot-soldiers-from-the-fringe.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/24/world/europe/intent-on-unsettling-eu-russia-taps-foot-soldiers-from-the-fringe.html?_r=0) [66].

<sup>101</sup> "To the people of Greece and the Greek ambassadors in Stockholm, Oslo, Helsinki and Copenhagen," Nordic Resistance Movement, October 4, 2013, <https://www.nordfront.se/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Greeceembassyletter.pdf> [67].

<sup>102</sup> "Injuries at 'disgusting' neo-Nazi rally," *Local* (Stockholm), November 10, 2013, <https://www.thelocal.se/20131110/injuries-at-disgusting-neo-nazi-rally> [55]; "20 members of neo-Nazi party arrested in Greece," RNZ, September 29, 2013, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/world/223130/20-members-of-neo-nazi-party-arrested-in-greece> [56].



## ***Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)***

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<sup>103</sup> “Nordic Resistance Movement Interview by Golden Dawn New York Division,” YouTube video, posted by Golden Dawn Dubs & Subs, July 22, 2016, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrZS\\_AtSG38](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrZS_AtSG38) [68].

<sup>104</sup> 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/> [3].

*Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)*

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**Media Coverage:**

## *Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)*

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### **Rhetoric:**



[69]

[\*NRM Website, June 2017\*](#) [69]

"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."<sup>105</sup>



[70]

[\*NRM Manual, August 2016\*](#) [70]

"It is a battle of life and death, with the race's survival as an effort. It's time to take courage and move the sword out of the stone. The destiny is here and now! Do right- fear nothing!"<sup>106</sup>



[71]

[\*NRM Manual, August 2016\*](#) [71]

"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."<sup>107</sup>



[72]

[\*NRM Manual, August 2016\*](#) [72]

"The rapidly growing non-European population, which is within the borders of the Nordic region, will, in combination with race blend and low Nordic birth rates, effectively provide for the safe and secure death of the Nordic breed if something is not done."<sup>108</sup>



[73]

[\*Emil Hagberg, Spokesman of NRM-Sweden, February 2016\*](#) [73]

*In an interview with London's Daily Mail:*

"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."<sup>109</sup>



[74]

[\*Official NRM-Sweden Statement, January 2016\*](#) [74]

*Referencing a mob of Swedish nationalists who attacked asylum seekers in Stockholm's central train station:*

"[This mob attack] cleaned up criminal immigrants from North Africa that are housed in the area around the Central Station. These criminal immigrants have robbed and molested Swedes for a long time. Police have clearly shown that they lack the means to stave off their rampage, and we now see no other alternative than to ourselves hand out the punishments they deserve."<sup>110</sup>



[75]

[\*Simon Lindberg, Leader of NRM-Sweden, 2016\*](#) [75]

*On why he joined the NRM:*

"[NRM members are] strong in the streets, they dare to fight back the scum."<sup>111</sup>

## ***Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)***

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[\*NRM Party Platform, 2015\*](#) [76]

[76]

"[We would] outlaw the homosexual lobby and other propaganda targeted at natural family unit [and] ban flagrant homosexuality in the public realm."<sup>112</sup>



[\*NRM Party Platform, 2015\*](#) [77]

[77]

"From our point of view, National Socialism [Nazism], 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...."<sup>113</sup>



[\*Emil Hagberg, Spokesman of NRM-Sweden, Date Not Determined\*](#) [78]

[78]

"We would close Sweden's borders immediately and repatriate all the immigrants. We would arrest the politicians and public figures who have lied to us about immigration and charge them with treason."<sup>114</sup>



[\*NRM-Norway's "Activist Guide," Date Not Determined\*](#) [79]

[79]

"The Nordics and the Nordic race are in imminent danger. Through the use of their power positions and their influence, traitors, big finance and enemy media have for many years made sure that the gates to the Nordics are wide open, thus enabling the ongoing, racially alien invasion of our lands."<sup>115</sup>



[\*NRM Article, Date Not Determined\*](#) [80]

[80]

"One cannot argue that there is anything, anything at all, that would justify you not joining the fight. 'What the boss or friends say' — so what? If you risk getting a stone in the head when we take back the streets — so what? When we are about to lose everything, then there is no risk too great."<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Redaksjonen, "Alt du trenger å vite om demonstrasjonen i Fredrikstad!," Frihetskamp, June 6, 2017, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/alt-du-trenger-a-vite-om-demonstrasjonen-i-fredrikstad/> [37].

<sup>106</sup> Redaksjonen, "Aktivisthåndboken er lansert og tilgjengelig for salg!," Frihetskamp, August 26, 2016, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/aktivisthandboken-er-lansert-og-tilgjengelig-for-salg/> [43].

<sup>107</sup> Redaksjonen, "Aktivisthåndboken er lansert og tilgjengelig for salg!," Frihetskamp, August 26, 2016, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/aktivisthandboken-er-lansert-og-tilgjengelig-for-salg/> [43].

<sup>108</sup> Redaksjonen, "Aktivisthåndboken er lansert og tilgjengelig for salg!," Frihetskamp, August 26, 2016, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/aktivisthandboken-er-lansert-og-tilgjengelig-for-salg/> [43].

<sup>109</sup> 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> [15].

<sup>110</sup> 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> [57].

<sup>111</sup> 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/> [5].

## ***Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM)***

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<sup>112</sup> “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Nordic Resistance Movement, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf> [4].

<sup>113</sup> “Our Path: New Politics for a New Time,” Nordic Resistance Movement, 2015, <https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Our-Path.pdf> [4].

<sup>114</sup> 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> [15].

<sup>115</sup> Øyvind Strømme, “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/> [3].

<sup>116</sup> Rosemary Pennington, “Sweden: Nordic Resistance Movement Gaining in Strength,” *National Vanguard*, May 9, 2016, <http://nationalvanguard.org/2016/05/sweden-nordic-resistance-movement-gaining-in-strength/> [81].