

“Politics is being upended. How can we make sense of this age of rebellion? This book is essential reading not just for those seeking to understand the contemporary far right but for modern politics and online culture more generally.”

Jon Cruddas, *MP for Dagenham and Rainham, UK*

“Anyone who wants to be well-informed on rising levels of far-right extremism, populism and fascism in the Western world and beyond should read *The International Alt-Right*. This is a critical contribution by renowned experts on the face of fascism in the 21st century. And it is far more comprehensive than many other works about this movement, exploring areas that often receive little attention such as the manosphere or the role of this movement in Japan. I would highly advise those interested in rising extremism across the world to read this book.”

Heidi Beirich, *Intelligence Project Director for Southern Poverty Law Center, USA*

“With impressive patience, the authors guide the reader through the murky and complex world of the alt-right. In this timely and necessary analysis, they show that the alt-right, despite the new terminology of ‘incels’, ‘cucks’ or metapolitics, is firmly rooted in the ideas of fascism and the radical right, and they thus sound a warning which needs to be heard very broadly.”

Dan Stone, *Royal Holloway, University of London, UK*

“Anyone who wants to understand the truly global nature of the new far right should start right here. *The International Alt-Right* includes sharp observation of the movement’s current figureheads, groups and the connections between them, and at the same time digs deep into the conspiracy theories, pseudoscience and reactionary ideas that underpin their thought. The authors provide some of the clearest explorations of the identitarian and neoreactionary movements, and sections on the manosphere and links to Russia and India are both comprehensive and fascinating. This book is a hard-headed and timely look at a growing and often frightening international phenomenon.”

Mike Wendling, *author of Alt-Right: From 4chan to the White House*

“In the often loosely connected and sprawling world of extreme online politics, the new work, *The International Alt-Right: Fascism for the 21st Century?* provides a clear and detailed roadmap for understanding the many facets and manifestations of the contemporary alt-right movement. This book powerfully combines detailed research with an insightful theoretical analysis to create an interdisciplinary and intersectional discussion of these pressing political activities and

voices. The attention to gender, race, and global issues is particularly impressive and thorough. While theoretical in nature, this work is highly accessible for many types of readers, and can serve as an invaluable resource for classroom and academic use, as well as a guide for anyone committed to understanding and resisting present-day fascism.”

Christa Hodapp, *University of Massachusetts Lowell, USA*

# THE INTERNATIONAL ALT-RIGHT

The alt-right has been the most important new far-right grouping to appear in decades. Written by researchers from the anti-racist advocacy group HOPE not hate, this book provides a thorough, ground-breaking, and accessible overview of this dangerous new phenomenon. It explains where the alt-right came from, its history so far, what it believes, how it organises and operates, and its future trajectory.

The alt-right is a genuinely transnational movement and this book is unique in offering a truly international perspective, outlining the influence of European ideas and movements as well as the alt-right's development in, and attitude towards, countries as diverse as Japan, India, and Russia. It examines the ideological tributaries that coagulated to form the alt-right, such as white supremacy, the neo-reactionary blogosphere, the European New Right, the anti-feminist manosphere, the libertarian movement, and digital hate culture exemplified by offensive memes and trolling. The authors explore the alt-right's views on gender, sexuality and masculinity, antisemitism and the Holocaust, race and IQ, globalisation and culture as well as its use of violence. The alt-right is a thoroughly modern far-right movement that uses cutting edge technology and this book reveals how they use cryptocurrencies, encryption, hacking, "meme warfare", social media, and the dark web.

This will be essential reading for scholars and activists alike with an interest in race relations, fascism, extremism, and social movements.

**Patrik Hermansson** is a researcher at HOPE not hate and was responsible for the documentary, *Undercover in the Alt-Right* (2018).

**David Lawrence** is a researcher at HOPE not hate.

**Joe Mulhall** is a historian of fascism and senior researcher at HOPE not hate.

**Simon Murdoch** is a researcher at HOPE not hate.

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# THE INTERNATIONAL ALT-RIGHT

Fascism for the 21st Century?

*Patrik Hermansson, David Lawrence, Joe Mulhall  
and Simon Murdoch*

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# INTRODUCTION

In the wake of Charlottesville, with the world watching, President Trump gave his now infamous press conference in which he spoke of “very fine people, on both sides.”<sup>1</sup> Jabbing a finger at a reporter, he demanded they tell him what the so-called “alt-right” actually is; “You define it. Define it for me. Come on. Let’s go.”<sup>2</sup> Trump’s confusion here is perhaps unsurprising. In the last few years the alt-right has been painted as a radically new phenomenon and simultaneously derided as nothing more than a rebranding of traditional fascism. In the press and broadcast media, the term “alt-right” has been used to describe everything from hardcore nazis and Holocaust deniers through to mainstream Republicans in the US and right-wing populists in Europe. Even within the movement there remains debate over who is and who is not deserving of the moniker. Some vociferously reject the title yet comfortably fit within most definitions of it, while others have desperately claimed it yet do not.

In the minds of many, the link between Trump’s election and the alt-right has become indivisible, not least because of the fallacy that the latter was the driving force behind the former. Within the alt-right itself its members certainly believed they were making a profound difference; Jason Reza Jorjani, formerly a leading American alt-right figure, would describe the movement as “the North American vanguard [...] most responsible for the electoral victory of President Trump.”<sup>3</sup> The truth is that the alt-right’s explosion onto the international scene was as much a symptom of Trump’s election victory as a cause of it. Part of the confusion around the true influence of the Alternative Right is derived from the amorphous, baggy nature or complete absence of a definition for it. At present, the “alt-right” can be anything and thus is nothing. This is the primary issue that this book sets out to rectify by explaining how to define it, where it came from, what it believes, and how it operates.

## What is the International Alternative Right?

We define the International “Alternative Right” as an international set of groups and individuals, operating primarily online though with offline outlets, whose core belief is that “white identity” is under attack from pro-multicultural and liberal elites and so-called “social justice warriors” (SJWs) who allegedly use “political correctness” to undermine Western civilisation and the rights of white males. Put simply, the “Alternative Right” is a far right, anti-globalist grouping that offers a radical “alternative” to traditional/establishment conservatism. The eclectic and disparate nature of its constituent parts makes for large areas of disagreement yet, together, they are united around a core set of beliefs. All reject what they believe to be the left-wing, liberal democratic, cultural hegemony in Western society and the rights derived from it. They reject what leading alt-right figure Jared Taylor has called the “dangerous myth” of equality which, in practice, means opposition to, *inter alia*, the rights of women, LGBT+ persons and ethnic and religious minorities or, if not these rights, at the very least the movements themselves that seek to advance those rights, such as feminism. Tracing the birth of the International Alternative Right is no easy task. It is an amorphous and mainly online political movement composed of a vast array of blogs, vlogs, websites, and podcasts with only a few offline organisations of note. As such, the movement has no single leader or even a dominant organisation but, instead, resembles a many-headed hydra made up of a collection of figures and groups, none of which fully control the loose movement’s direction.

Due to the broadness of this definition it is necessary to subdivide the Alternative Right into two distinct branches: the “alt-right” and the “alt-lite.” While both reject left/liberal democratic hegemony, and the rights, freedoms and/or affiliated movements associated with it and both are concerned with the same set of issues – the left, globalisation, gender, the West, equality, and so on – they view these issues through fundamentally different lenses. While both are deeply critical of the conception of equality derived from the liberal consensus, the core concern of the alt-right is the threat it supposedly poses to the existence of white people, and so they advocate for the protection of their “race,” usually through the creation of white ethnostates. As such, race forms the basis of its worldview. As Richard Spencer, the alt-right figurehead, has claimed: “almost every issue, political issue, cultural issue, sports, everything, almost everything – is based in race.”<sup>4</sup> In contrast, the alt-lite perceives the liberal consensus as a threat to traditional Western culture and so is in favour of a Western chauvinist nationalism. Doubtless, both strands express an interest in the topic that forms the basis of the other’s worldview. The alt-lite bemoans notions such as “white guilt” and “white privilege,” while the alt-right frequently talks of pan-European civilisation and venerates classical Western culture. The difference comes down to the significance each places on these concepts. Gavin McInnes, a prominent figure in the alt-lite, sums this up when he states:

Both sides have in common Western Chauvinism, they’re not embarrassed about Whiteness [...], they don’t think diversity is the be all and end all, but [the alt-lite] cares about Western Chauvinism and ideas. [The alt-right] says

“whites have to be a part of this”, [the alt-lite] is inclusive and wants everyone to be friends as long as you accept the Western world as the best and refuse to apologise for creating the modern world.<sup>5</sup>

## A conglomerate movement

While the Alternative Right is a distinct far-right movement, it is not an aberration conjured into existence in the last decade, nor is it born of fundamentally novel far-right ideas. Rather its distinctiveness is derived from the fact that it is a conglomeration of existing political and social movements that when fused together, created something new and different. It is, at its core, a convergence of three broad groups: the European New Right and Identitarian movement, the American Alternative Right and Online Antagonistic Communities. Each of these movements has its own history, structures, groups, and ideas and can, and in some cases, does, continue to operate quite independently of the Alternative Right but when the three overlap and interact they produce what we call the Alternative Right. The European New Right (ENR) is, broadly speaking, a current of thought derived from the ideas of the French far-right philosopher Alain de Benoist and his GRECE movement (*Groupement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne*) [Research and Study Group for European Civilisation] that was founded in France in 1968, along with subsequent strains of thought/activism such as Guillaume Faye's Archeofuturism, Alexander Dugin's Eurasianism and the European Identitarian movement. The ENR movement sits comfortably within the far right and its ideas are best understood as a quest for the recovery of a mythical European identity. They fundamentally reject the ideals of the Enlightenment and of Christianity and fight back against “materialist” and modern ideologies from liberalism to socialism and, instead, posit a pan-European nationalism and a world of ethnically homogeneous communities.<sup>6</sup> Despite the explicit anti-Americanism of much of the ENR, in essence, the ideological core of the Alternative Right emerged when elements of ENR thought were merged with and adopted by the American far right. In its broadest sense this includes a multitude of radical or non-conservative right-wing and far-right traditions that offer an “alternative” to mainstream contemporary conservative Republicanism. This has included Nazi and white supremacist individuals and groups, anti-government militias, and elements of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).

However, the blend of ENR ideas with the American far right can only be considered the Alternative Right when it is also merged with what we call Online Antagonistic Communities. These we define as reactionary online communities built around various interests, but who all engage in exclusionary, antagonistic behaviour (be it through trolling, creating offensive symbolism or just espousing and voicing hatred and contempt). These are found on all sides of the political spectrum or can be non-political. However, when this behaviour is adopted by those within the Alternative Right their antagonism is directed at what they perceive as the left/liberal political and social hegemony.

## 4 Introduction

In addition to these three main constituents is a plethora of smaller movements, cultures, and communities, elements of which have contributed in varying degrees or have been partly subsumed into the Alternative Right. Though many of them exist beyond and separately from the Alternative Right as broader ideological movements, they maintain large areas of crossover in terms of ideas and cooperation. For this reason, these elements have also, for some, acted as gateways into the Alternative Right. The three most significant, the manosphere, the Neoreactionary, and the right-libertarian movements are all covered in detail in this book. In addition to these are numerous further movements whose ideas have been of interest to elements within the Alternative Right such as paleoconservatism, survivalism and even right-wing national anarchism.

### International and distinct

The two years following Trump's election have unsurprisingly seen an avalanche of books and articles on the alt-right and Donald Trump. One of the first out of the blocks was Jon Ronson with a short Kindle book, *The Elephant in the Room: A Journey into the Trump Campaign and the "Alt-Right"*, published in 2016.<sup>7</sup> In it he defines the alt-right as "a loose collection of internet conspiracy theorists and nationalists and some racists" and explains how "Trump delighted them, or derived inspiration from them."<sup>8</sup> While an amusing read that sheds some light onto the influential conspiracy theorist Alex Jones, the short book does not offer much of an insight into the alt-right as a movement. Then in 2017 came *Ctrl-Alt-Delete*, a small collection of essays including the especially useful "An Anti-fascist Report on the Alternative Right" by Matthew N. Lyons and a handy Glossary and Research Guide, offering short entries for some of the main alt-right individuals, organisations, factions, and events.<sup>9</sup> The first major book to tackle the movement properly was Angela Nagle's interesting yet controversial *Kill All Normies: Online culture wars from 4chan and Tumblr to Trump and the alt-right* in June 2017.<sup>10</sup> The book deserves much credit for illuminating "the online culture wars that formed the political sensibilities of a generation," as Nagle herself puts it.<sup>11</sup> Yet, while the book offers an interesting critique of certain unhelpful developments within progressive movements, especially online, she over-emphasises the role that left-wing online behaviour has played as a driver of the rise of the alt-right and, despite the merits of her critique, offers sometimes insufficiently nuanced stances on identity politics and political correctness.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the book that best grasps the alt-right, as we define it, is Mike Wendling's *Alt-Right: From 4chan to the White House*.<sup>13</sup> While falling into the historically decontextualised trap of describing the alt-right as "in some ways unlike any other political force of modern times" he offers an engaging and informative overview of the movement that correctly understands it as "an oppositional force with no real organizational structure," a "creature of the internet, where many of its members, even some of the most prominent, are anonymous" and a "movement with several factions which shrink or swell according to the political breeze and the task at hand."<sup>14</sup>

In addition to these are a whole host of books that, while marketed as about the “alt-right,” are actually better understood as explorations of the contemporary American right wing rather than explicitly about the international far-right movement explored in this book; though of course there is extensive crossover. The best of these is David Neiwert’s adroit and engaging *Alt-America: The Rise of the Radical Right in the Age of Trump* which shows how the phenomenon of Trump actually has deep roots in the history of the American far right, most notably the anti-government militia movement which he covers in depth.<sup>15</sup> George Hawley’s *Making Sense of the Alt-Right* is also well worth a read, and despite failing to offer a distinct definition of the alt-right, he covers the development of the movement, as we understand it, in interesting and informed detail.<sup>16</sup> Yet the book is overly Americentric, only briefly touching on the international element, and under-explores the role of gender and sexuality within the Alternative Right. Another thoroughly illuminating read is *Everything You Love Will Burn: Inside the Rebirth of White Nationalism in America*.<sup>17</sup> Vegas Tenold’s immersive journey through the American extreme far right explores the “rebirth of white nationalism.” While not a core focus of the book, he sees the “alt-right” as a renaming rather than a distinct or new movement,<sup>18</sup> a position that is understandable as he spends time with the KKK, the National Socialist Movement, and the Traditionalist Workers Party.

In addition to the quickly growing canon of works directly exploring the alt-right is a much more expansive collection of related literature that deals with specific and connected phenomena, much of which is used throughout this book. Some, such as the thoroughly useful *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right*, edited by Mark Sedgwick, surface throughout this book as its collection of articles offers interesting and important biographical and ideological insights into a number of the leading alt-right figures explored here.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the recent book *The Identitarians: The Movement against Globalism and Islam in Europe* by José Pedro Zúquete provided valuable insights into a concurrent and affiliated movement which we explore in some depth throughout the book.<sup>20</sup> We also draw heavily on the work of historians when tracing the philosophical roots of the contemporary alt-right, with the work of scholars such as Tamir Bar-on and Roger Eatwell proving invaluable for exploring the role of European New Right thought, which we argue is an important part of the alt-right’s ideology.<sup>21</sup> As we place significant emphasis on the centrality of misogyny and anti-feminism to the alt-right, we also draw on a number of recent studies that specifically deal with these issues. These include Michael Kimmel’s *Angry White Men*, which, while only focusing on America, offers a useful framework for understanding the anger and sense of loss at the core of much organised anti-women politics.<sup>22</sup> Christa Hodapp’s book *Men’s Rights, Gender, and Social Media*, offers an especially useful overview of the contemporary men’s rights movement with a theoretical analysis informed by philosophy and rooted in a firm grasp of how the movement has been shaped by the online world.<sup>23</sup> In addition to these are a huge range of works that inform single, specific chapters, be that Anton Shekhovtsov’s *Russia and the Western Far Right* for our chapter examining “Russia and the Alternative Right,” the work of Naoto Higuchi in that looking at Japan and the movement, Nicholas

Goodrick-Clarke's *Black Sun* in our "Myth, mysticism, India and the alt-right" chapter or Whitney Phillips' *This is Why We Can't Have Nice Things* in our chapter examining "Online antagonistic communities."<sup>24</sup> While our book is first and foremost the result of primary research, our adoption of such a holistic and broad approach to our exploration of the alt-right necessitated a reliance upon a rich and diverse range of secondary literature.

There are a number of commonalities across much of the published work that deals specifically with the alt-right, chief among which is that they are, understandably so, overly Americentric. By contrast this book takes a more holistic and consciously international approach, arguing that while the role of America is central, the movement is better understood as an international phenomenon. For that reason, this book outlines the European roots of alt-right ideology, the increasing influence of European Identitarianism in America, explores the influence of Hindu mysticism, the commonalities with contemporary Japanese far-right movements and the Alternative Right's relationship with Russia. However, in addition to arguing that it is an international movement we also argue that, in its purest form, the Alternative Right's outlook is transnational in nature. By that we mean core activists conceptualise their struggle beyond the borders of their nation-state; with the alt-right concerned with a transnational white "nation" and the alt-lite a transnational mythical West or Occident. That said, like numerous other transnational far-right movements there remains a tension between this and more traditional nation-state nationalism. While Richard Spencer has said, he is "ambivalent about America,"<sup>25</sup> and alt-lite vlogger Paul Joseph Watson talks much more about "the West"<sup>26</sup> than Britain or the States, the mobilising factors for Alternative Right activists often remain national or even hyperlocal. This, of course, is not a signifier of novelty with numerous prior transnational far-right movements operating similarly, be that Colin Jordan's World Union of National Socialists in the 1960s or the post-9/11 anti-Muslim Counter-Jihad Movement to name just two.<sup>27</sup>

Another misconception this book sets out to correct is that the Alternative Right is either brand new and completely novel or nothing more than a cynical rebranding exercise for the traditional far right. As is often the case, the truth is somewhere in the middle. While this movement is indeed replete with individuals and organisations whose far-right activism long predates the adoption of the term alt-right, such as Jared Taylor and Greg Johnson, and while we accept that many have indeed adopted it in an attempt to launder their image, we argue that the Alternative Right, while an amorphous conglomerate of disparate and sometimes even contradictory beliefs, can, and should, be understood as a distinct, modern international far-right movement. This requires using the term "alt-right" in a narrower sense than many do at present and rejecting its use as a catch-all term for any modern far-right activist or individual. For if the term can include anyone then it has little taxonomic value and is reduced to little beyond an insult or a rebrand depending on one's perspective. There are a number of individuals in this book who either did, or still do, self-define as alt-right, such as Andrew Anglin, who many would argue are simply neo-nazis. However, our definition doesn't make the

two categories mutually exclusive. While it is true that not everyone in the alt-right is a nazi, and not every nazi is part of the alt-right, it is also true that some are. Anglin for example is part of the alt-right, partly because he self-identifies as such, but more importantly because the nature of his nazi activism, the means by which he does politics, the method by which he propagates his ideology, are all alt-right in nature. Like the alt-right more generally, his ideas lack novelty, but his activism does not.

In addition, having attended academic symposiums on the topic, it became evident to us that there is a huge need for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the Alternative Right. At present, there seems to be a gap between those approaching this from the perspective of far-right and fascism research and those approaching it from a communications or digital perspective. The former sometimes fail to grasp the importance of the online spaces that have shaped the nature of the alt-right while the latter have a tendency to de-historicise and over-accentuate the novelty of the movement. We have sought to overcome this by including a broad range of articles covering the movement's history, its ideological roots and tributary movements but also explicitly addressing its means of online operation with articles on the role of trolling culture and alternative online spaces specifically used by the Alternative Right. Truncated and simplified versions of some of these chapters have been published online by the UK anti-fascist organisation HOPE not hate and via its U.S. based newsletter Ctrl Alt-Right Delete or as part of its 2017 report *The International Alternative Right: From Charlottesville to the White House*. However, all of this work has been updated and expanded and numerous brand new chapters added, meaning the majority of this book is completely new. Finally, all four authors of this book work for the British anti-fascist research organisation HOPE not hate and thus have spent time undercover inside different elements of the Alternative Right. Be it the tragic events at Charlottesville, the announcement of the creation of the AltRight Corporation in Stockholm, major National Policy Institute conferences in Washington DC or international manosphere and alt-right conferences in the UK, we have witnessed them first-hand, giving us a unique insight into the internal mechanisms of this movement, not possible from open source research alone.

## Notes

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- 3 Red Ice TV, 2017, *Jason Reza Jorjani – Failure of Democracy – Identitarian Ideas IX* [Online video]. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lvp8NZOauYw> [Accessed 02 March 2017].
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- 5 Rebel Media, *Gavin McInnes: What is the Alt-Right?*, [Online Video]. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UQCZ9izaCa4> [Accessed 8 November 2018].
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- 8 Ronson, *The Elephant in the Room* (the Kindle viewer only offers locations and not page numbers).
- 9 Matthew N. Lyons, It’s Going Down, K. Kersplebedeb, Bromma, *Ctrl-Alt-Delete* (Montreal: Kersplebedeb Publishing, 2017).
- 10 Angela Nagle, *Kill All Normies: Online Culture Wars from 4chan and Tumblr to Trump and the Alt-Right* (Winchester: Zero Books, 2017).
- 11 Nagle, *Kill All Normies*, 9.
- 12 This is best typified by Chapter Five: “From Tumblr to the Campus Wars: Creating Scarcity in an Online Economy of Virtue.” Nagle, *Kill All Normies*, 68–85.
- 13 Mike Wendling, *Alt Right: From 4 Chan to the White House* (London: Pluto Press, 2018).
- 14 Wendling, *Alt Right*, 5.
- 15 David Neiwert, *Alt-America: The Rise of the Radical Right in the Age of Trump* (London: Verso, 2017).
- 16 George Hawley, *Making Sense of the Alt-Right* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).
- 17 Vegas Tenold, *Everything You Love Will Burn: Inside the Rebirth of White Nationalism in America* (New York: Nation Books, 2018).
- 18 Tenold, *Everything You Love Will Burn*, 162.
- 19 Mark Sedgwick, *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right: Behind the New Threat to Liberal Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- 20 José Pedro Zúquete, *The Identitarians: The Movement against Globalism and Islam in Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).
- 21 Tamir Bar-On, *Where Have All the Fascists Gone?*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007); Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (London: Pimlico, 2003).
- 22 Michael Kimmel, *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era* (New York: National Books, 2017).
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- 24 Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2002); Naoto Higuchi, “The Radical Right in Japan”, *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, 685 in: Jens Rydgren, (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Whitney Phillips, *This is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things: Mapping the Relationship between Online Trolling and Mainstream Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015); Anton Shekhovtsov, *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir* (New York: Routledge, 2018).
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# NOTES

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## Chapter 5

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## Chapter 6

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- 13 Patrick Casey (@PatrickCaseyUSA). 8 March 2019, <https://twitter.com/PatrickCaseyUSA/status/1104243067278843904>. There is ambiguity over the extent to which AIM is not simply a rebranding of IE though its leader has claimed it is not a rebrand.
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- 28 The Eagle Staff, “‘No More Wars for Israel’ Flyers Posted on School of International Service Building,” *The Eagle Online*, 27 February 2018. <http://www.theeagleonline.com/article/2018/02/no-more-wars-for-israel-flyers-posted-on-school-of-international-service-building>. According to the SPLC, following Kline’s resignation from IE he “began to work more closely with Spencer on [...] Operation Homeland.” “Identity Evropa,” *Southern Poverty Law Center*. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/identity-evropa> [Accessed 13 August 2018]. A likely barrier to the development of OH has been the lawsuits facing Spencer and Identity Evropa after the Unite the Right rally. Brad Kutner, “Civil Lawsuit against Charlottesville Rally Organizers Can Move Forward,” *Courthouse News Service*, 10 July 2018. <https://www.courthousenews.com/civil-lawsuit-against-charlottesville-rally-organizers-can-move-forward/>
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- 34 In a divergence from GI, however, IE increasingly promoted its members' involvement in electoral politics and establishment Republican organisations. This includes the aforementioned Allsup, who was elected as a Precinct Committee Officer for Whitman County, in the Washington Republican party. Kelly Weill, "Charlottesville Hate Marcher Elected by Republican Party," *The Daily Beast*, 5 June 2018. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/charlottesville-hate-marcher-elected-by-republican-party>. Casey told NBC news in October 2018 that he is on a mission "To take over the GOP as much as possible." Anna Schecter, "White Nationalist Leader is Plotting to 'Take Over the GOP,'" *NBC News*, 17 October 2018. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/immigration/white-nationalist-leader-plotting-take-over-gop-n920826>
- 35 "Identity Evropa," *Southern Poverty Law Center*.
- 36 European identitarians have tended, instead, to focus on altering conceptions about colonial guilt, by referring to "ethnomasochism," a term derived from the European New Right which suggests Europeans engage in needless and unjustified self-loathing directed at their ethnicity. Equally, where GI have rejected accusations of antisemitism, IE are public in their rejection of Jewish people, with their site's application form previously asking applicants whether they are of "European, non-Semitic heritage." "Apply," Identity Evropa. <https://archive.is/yPo6S> [Accessed 13 August 2018].
- 37 "IDENTITARNO GIBANJE V TUJINI," *Generacija Identite*. <https://generacija-identite.si/identitarno-gibanje-v-tujini/>. Indeed, the Canadian branch exemplifies the way in which identitarianism has become an "open-source ideology," as Zúquete describes it. Remarking on the various identitarian activist groups within Europe, he notes how they "share many grammars and repertoires of contestation" in part because the web "has enabled the copying and pasting everywhere of many of the identitarians' ideas, practices, even logos and graphics, sometimes giving rise to copycat movements." It has led, he argues, to a "source of international franchise of social political activism – show[ing] the primary role of the internet in the diffusion of consolidation of the identitarian movement." José Pedro Zúquete, *The Identitarians: The Movement against Globalism and Islam in Europe* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018), 367–368.
- 38 "Home," *ID Canada*. <https://www.id-canada.ca/> [Accessed 13 August 2018]. Despite this statement, its Facebook page was founded in September 2012, which suggests Canadian identitarians may have set up their own branch of GI at this point but were not recognised by the European branches until 2014. This process of autonomous branch forming has occurred in Europe too.
- 39 "Home," *ID Canada*. <https://www.id-canada.ca/> [Accessed 13 August 2018]. In May 2018 they declared that the "national leadership team of ID Canada traveled over 3,000 km across Canada's Atlantic provinces to meet with [...] affiliate chapters on the east coast" and stated these "Affiliate Chapters" had become "Official Chapters of ID Canada." *ID Canada*, Facebook Status Update, 29 May 2018, available at: [https://www.facebook.com/OfficialIDCanada/posts/2065297333757732?\\_tn\\_\\_=-R](https://www.facebook.com/OfficialIDCanada/posts/2065297333757732?_tn__=-R) [Accessed 13 August 2018]. During 2018, ID Canada have also come out in support of Canadian white nationalist and former Rebel Media presenter Faith Goldy, who at the time was running as a mayoral candidate in Toronto. *ID Canada (@ID\_Canada)*. 31 July 2018, [https://twitter.com/ID\\_Canada/status/1024348823555059713](https://twitter.com/ID_Canada/status/1024348823555059713)
- 40 Notably, the magazine of FQS, *Le Harfang*, has featured both North American and European alt-right and identitarian figures. As they state, "Québec being favorably located at the crossroads of Europe and the United States, we are the only publication to have published collaborators as varied as Jared Taylor, Oscar Freylinger, Pierre Vial, Herve Ryssen, Kevin MacDonald, Peter Brimelow, Tom Sunic Alain Escada, Ricardo Duchesne, Jean-Claude Martinez, Fabrice Robert and many others." "Le Harfang,"

- Fédération des Québécois de souche. <http://quebecoisdesouche.info/le-harfang/> [Accessed 3 March 2019].
- 41 The Canadian anti-racist organisation, The Canadian Ethnocultural Council, for example, was created in 1980. “About,” The Canadian Ethnocultural Council. <https://www.ethnocultural.ca/> [Accessed 13 August 2018].
  - 42 Andy J. Semotiuk, “Multiculturalism – The Distinguishing Factor that Makes Canada Great,” *Forbes*, 18 October 2017.
  - 43 For example, in France, the Traboule restaurant in Lyon, the Citadelle bar in Lille, and the Agoge gym in Lyon, in Germany the Kontrakultur centre in Halle, and Verlag Antaios publisher and Institut für Staatspolitik think-tank in Steigra, and in Austria the AK Nautilus media organisation in Lieboch.
  - 44 Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 297. Interestingly, Identity Evropa had tended to focus less on regional, ethnic or national identities within Europe, something that GI have long emphasised alongside their national and pan-European identity. However, in October 2018 IE announced a new project along these lines called the “American Identity Showcase,” which would “demonstrate the true cultural diversity of White Americans.” *Identitarian Action | EP 21: American Identity Showcase* [Online video]. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aHnw7cZcxcpc> [Accessed 1 October 2018]. This approach may also develop further if additional, regionally-focused American identitarian movements emerge to compete with AIM, as exemplified by “Identity Acadia” (IA), a “Franco-Louisiana Identitarian organization with a focus on Cajun identity.” Abdul Aziz, “The Secret, All-White Committee Advising New Orleans’ Black Woman Mayor on the Fate of Confederate Statues,” *Splinter*, 22 May 2018. The IA website was registered in January 2018. See: <https://www.whois.com/whois/identityacadia.com>
  - 45 Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 314.
  - 46 3ndscape, “Identitarians – Who Are They?,” 3ndscape.com. <https://web.archive.org/web/20170629213246/http://3ndscape.com/blog/2017/06/17/identitarians-not-radicals-europe-lost-common-sense/> [Accessed 25 March 2019].
  - 47 Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 307.
  - 48 N.B. Though many identitarians oppose Christian universalist, egalitarian ethics, much of European Christian heritage is also frequently celebrated within the identitarian movement. *Ibid.*, 219–220.
  - 49 For further discussion of this, see Chapter 1 “The European Roots of Alt-Right Ideology” in this book.
  - 50 Moreover, some European identitarians view certain American nationalist movements which preceded the alt-right, including Southern secessionist nationalists, as outside the America synonymous with the West and globalism. Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 166–167.
  - 51 *Ibid.*, 253.
  - 52 For further discussion of this, see Chapter 2 “A Global Anti-Globalist Movement: The Alternative Right, Globalisation and ‘Globalism’” in this book.
  - 53 Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 365. Cf. Roger Brubakers, “Between Nationalism and Civilization: the European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40:8 (2017), 1191–1226.
  - 54 See: Markus Willinger, *A Europe of Nations* (Budapest: Arktos Media, 2014).
  - 55 Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 163.
  - 56 Of course, there are further geopolitical possibilities in which European identitarianism moves further away from North America. As Zúquete has highlighted, there are European identitarian sympathisers with the Russia-partnered “Eurasianist” or “Euro-siberian” movements. *Ibid.*, 241–248 (as well as a Russian branch of GI that has been active since at least November 2017. See: <https://vk.com/identarist> [Accessed 25 March 2019]). There is also, as Zúquete has noted, the “Mare Nostrum” (“Our Sea”) concept of a geopolitical pole of Mediterranean civilisation, propounded particularly by the identitarian-sympathising, Italian neo-fascist organisation, CasaPound. Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 218. Likewise, it is worth remembering that many in the US and Canadian alt-right have not doubled-down on an identitarian brand in place of the fragmentation

of the alt-right, and instead appear to have sought alternative partnerships with the European far right which are less closely tied to the identitarian movement. Most notably, Greg Johnson of the US publishers Counter-Currents, which was long associated with the alt-right, has increasingly interacted with the Ukrainian, neo-nazi-linked Azov group, who have advocated the concept of “Intermarium,” a bloc of central and eastern European countries, a move which has been well-received. Cf. Oleksiy Kuzmenko, “‘Defend the White Race’: American Extremists Being Co-Opted by Ukraine’s Far-Right,” *Bellingcat*, 15 February 2019.

57 Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 318.

58 Ibid.

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## Chapter 7

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## Chapter 8

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## Chapter 9

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- 47 Phillips, *This Is Why We Can't Have Nice Things*, 10.
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## Chapter 12

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## Chapter 13

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## Chapter 14

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## Conclusion

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