“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.
This new book series focuses upon fascist, far right and right-wing politics primarily within a historical context but also drawing on insights from other disciplinary perspectives. Its scope also includes radical-right populism, cultural manifestations of the far right and points of convergence and exchange with the mainstream and traditional right.

Titles include:

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Contemporary extreme-right politics
*Caterina Froio, Pietro Castelli Gattinara, Giorgia Bulli and Matteo Albanese*

**The International Alt-Right**
Fascism for the 21st Century?
*Patrik Hermansson, David Lawrence, Joe Mulhall and Simon Murdoch*

**Failed Führers**
A History of Britain’s Extreme Right
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For more information about this series, please visit: https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Studies-in-Fascism-and-the-Far-Right/book-series/FFR
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.”\(^1\) 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.”\(^2\) 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.”\(^3\) 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.” 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.\(^5\)

**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 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.\(^6\)

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.
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. 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.” 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. 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. The book deserves much credit for illuminating “the online culture wars that formed the political sensibilities of a generation,” as Nagle herself puts it. 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. 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*. 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.”
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. 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. Yet the book is overly Americentric, only briefly touching on the international element, and underexplores 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*. 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, 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.” 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,” and alt-lite vlogger Paul Joseph Watson talks much more about “the West” 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.

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**

Introduction

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8 Ronson, *The Elephant in the Room* (the Kindle viewer only offers locations and not page numbers).
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.
26 Paul Joseph Watson video. Republished as: 3ilm MI (2016), *the west is the best* [Online Video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AeVyL5pLZY [Accessed 4 November 2018].
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Introduction

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Chapter 1

6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
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11 Ibid., 74.
14 Ibid.
15 The Dissident Right website is now marked private. This quote was taken from an article originally at this address: https://dissidentright.com/2016/08/31/refusal-to-name-the-enemy-carl-schmitt-political-reality-conservatism-and-the-alt-right/
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18 Ibid., 53–68.
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20 Ibid., 32.
21 Ibid., 34.
23 George Ritzer, Globalization: A Basic Text (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 207. This also assumes cultures are clearly demarcated entities linked to specific geographic locations. As Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson describe, this is an “[…] assumed isomorphism of space, place, and culture […].” Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference,” Cultural Anthropology, 7:1 (1992), 7.
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33 Morgan, “Alt Right versus New Right.”
34 Bar-On, Where Have All the Fascists Gone?, 82.
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Tamir Bar-On, “Richard B. Spencer and the Alt-Right” in Mark Sedgwick (Ed.), Key Thinkers of the Radical Right, 232.


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Willinger, Generation Identity, 14–15.

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Ibid., 71.

Friberg, The Real Right Returns, 1.

Ibid., 15.

Ibid., ix.

Ibid., 15.

Daniel Friberg, Foreword to Anderson, Rising from the Ruins, xi.

Anderson, Rising from the Ruins, 304. “Strauss-Howe” refers to the Fourth Turning theory created by William Strauss and Neil Howe; they theorise that the history of a people moves in 80 to 100 year cycles called “saecula” and that is followed by an “ekpyrosis,” a cataclysmic event that destroys the old order and brings in a new one.

Anderson, Rising from the Ruins, 304.

Chapter 2


9 Ibid., 17.
11 Ibid.
13 This line of thought has been employed in the rhetoric of some in both the Alternative Right and its contemporary, the European “identitarian” movement, when communicating their anti-migrant and anti-refugee positions. In addition to making claims that European ethnocultural identity is under threat from being “replaced” by these groups, they are also often presented as pawns controlled by globalist elites who actively desire or simply do not care about this “replacement.” The German-based identitarian organisation, Alternative Help Association (AHA), launched in 2017, takes this a step further, and engages actively in efforts to prevent their movements into Europe through running local aid programmes in the countries of origin of migrants and refugees coming to Europe. Similar to this is the Italy-based Solidarité Identités, which claims to support groups “[...] struggling for their own survival, the safeguarding of their culture and the defense of their identity.” “Home,” Solidarité Identités. http://www.solid-onlus.org/. [Accessed 15 September 2018.]
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17 Faye, Why We Fight, 92.
19 Faye, Why We Fight, 153.
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35 Paul Joseph Watson, 2016, “Some Cultures Are Better Than Others” [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2jXrDwtrQ&feature=youtu.be&t=409

Chapter 3

12 Gould, “Curveball.”
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The Hajnal line is a border that runs from St Petersburg in Russia to Trieste in Italy and is said to dissect the continent into two distinct areas based on differing levels and times of marriage. See: https://hbdchick.wordpress.com/2014/03/10/big-summary-post-on-the-hajnal-line/


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Feldman, “Human Biodiversity.”

Ibid.


Raphael Schlembach, “Alain de Benoist’s anti-political philosophy beyond Left and Right: Non-emancipatory responses to globalisation and crisis,” Working Paper,
Chapter 4

3 For biographical information about Kevin MacDonald see: “Kevin MacDonald,” _Southern Poverty Law Center_. https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/kevin-macdonald
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
12 Ibid., 10–11.
13 Ibid., 11.
14 “Online Library,” _Daily Stormer_, HOPE not hate Online Archive.
16 “Online Library,” _Daily Stormer_, HOPE not hate Online Archive.
18 Sartre, _Anti-Semite and Jew_, 13.
19 Tweet by Mike Peinovich (aka Mike Enoch), quoted in: Patrik Hermansson, David Lawrence, Joe Mulhall, Simon Murdoch, David Williams, _Rewriting History: Lying, Denying and Revising the Holocaust_ (London: HOPE not hate, 2018), 18.
20 Ibid.
21 Tweet by Mike Peinovich (aka Mike Enoch), 12 April 2018, _HOPE not hate_ Online Archive.
Chapter 5

2 An ethical stance popular within libertarian circles that argues it is illegitimate to initiate physical force towards a person or their property.
3 AynRandHero, 2016, Milo Yiannopoulos Nails It about Cultural Libertarianism and the Rise of Trump [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gAozR_FDFb8 [Accessed 21 October 2018].
5 Kyle2796, 2017, Ron Paul - Conservatism and Foreign Policy (Introduction by Richard Spencer) [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gAozR_FDFb8 [Accessed 1 November 2017].
7 Ibid.
15 Paulina Borsok, Cyberselfish: a critical romp through the terribly libertarian culture of high tech (New York: PublicAffairs, 2000).
18 Ibid., 65.

21 Cantwell, “Why I Consider Myself Alt Right.”


24 Styxhenhammer666, “True Libertarianism Cannot Support Open Borders or Forced Diversity,” [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0WDRR3QYTrs [Accessed 10 November 2018].


27 Murray Rothbard, Egalitarianism as a Revolt against Nature, and Other Essays (Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2000).


32 Ibid.


34 Property and Freedom Society, Hans-Hermann Hoppe, Libertarianism and the “Alt-Right” (PFS 2017) [Online Video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TIcDCM4j7x8 [Accessed on 1 November 2018].


36 Howe, “Regarding the Insidious Libertarian-to-Alt-right Pipeline,” 68–69.


38 Ibid.


Chapter 6

6 J. Lester Feder and Pierre Buet, “They Wanted to Be a Better Class of White Nationalists. They Claimed This Man as Their Father,” Buzzfeed, 26 December 2017. https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/the-man-who-gave-white-nationalism-a-new-life
8 An indication of the disconnect between the alt-right’s embrace of identitarianism and the US media becoming aware of its central relationship to the alt-right, is evident from an statement to the press by Richard Spencer in 2015, in which he appears keen to show their connection early on as the alt-right began to receive more attention. Speaking to The Washington Post about the term “cuckservative” which became popular among the alt-right, he stated that the term “is a full-scale revolt, by Identitarians and what I’ve called the ‘alt Right,’ against the Republican Party and conservative movement.” David Weigel, “‘Cuckservative’ – the conservative insult of the month, explained,” The Washington Post, 29 July 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/07/29/cuckservative-the-conservative-insult-of-the-month-explained/
10 Specifically, activists in Malta and Scandinavia. Squatting Slav TV, 2017, Squatting Slav TV: The Death of Europe? (ft. Martin Sellner) [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZExTvMfM7v [Accessed 10 August 2018]
12 Ibid.
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.
14 CounterCurrentsTV, 2016, Counter-Currents Radio Interview with Nathan Damigo [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qV_k0dNQd4 [Accessed 11 August 2018]. Damigo also mentions in passing having been inspired by the British neo-Nazi organisation, National Action, who would be proscribed by the UK government in December 2016.
15 This mirrors the “I.B. Zones” – temporary stalls in public places – which GI activists in Austria and Germany have put up to discuss their politics with members of the public.
16 Guillaume Faye, Why We Fight: Manifesto of the European Resistance (Budapest: Arktos Media, 2011), 272. The book was translated into English by a founding partner of the AltRight Corporation, the publisher Arktos Media, in 2011.
17 Faye, *Why We Fight*, 272.
18 Amongst American identitarians, IE also followed European identitarians, particularly GI, at a policy level, for example by imitating the GI term “re-migration” to describe a programme which, in the US context, supports the movement of non-white, non-Western people living in the US to their “native homelands.” Brittany Pettibone, 2018, *Identity Evropa: An American Identitarian Movement* [Online video]. Available at: https://gloria.tv/video/HRt6f2hMcQcX3DTC94VdgddyT [Accessed 30 September 2018].
20 As IE described it, its logo “is that of an ancient European design, the Dragon’s Eye […] The triangle represents the threat that we as a people are facing. The ‘y’ inside represents the choice that we have to make between good and evil. It is a symbol of protection that will grant us succor against the ongoing evil that seeks to destroy truth.” Matt Pearce, “A Guide to Some of the Far-right Symbols Seen in Charlottesville,” *Los Angeles Times*, 14 August 2017. https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-far-right-symbols-20170814-story.html
23 Identity Evropa (@IdentityEvropa), 7 September 2017, https://twitter.com/IdentityEvropa/status/90575666217369601. GI have not publicly attempted to launch a US branch, though HOPE not hate revealed in March 2018 that a branch claimed to have been “officialized” in February 2018. See: Simon Murdoch, “Generation Identity: European Far-Right Group Launches in America,” *HOPE not hate*, 12 March 2018. https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2018/03/12/generation-identity-european-far-right-group-launches-america/. Separate evidence acquired by HOPE not hate in 2018 confirmed that GI had been thinking about ways to set up in the US but had failed to get anything off the ground.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.

“Identity Evropa,” Southern Poverty Law Center.

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

“Identity Evropa,” Southern Poverty Law Center.

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].

“IDENTITARNO GIBANJE V TUJINI,” Generacija Identite. https://generacija-identitetete.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. Remarkoning 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.

“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.

“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 [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

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 Freyziinger, Pierre Vial, Herve Ryssen, Kevin MacDonald, Peter Brimelow, Tom Sunic Alain Escada, Ricardo Duchesne, Jean-Claude Martinez, Fabrice Robert and many others.” “Le Harfang,”


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 Antaioos 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=aHnw7cZcxpc [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.


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.


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.
60 Ibid.

For further discussion of this, see Chapter 2 “A Global Anti-Globalist Movement: The Alternative Right, Globalisation and ‘Globalism’” in this book.

Chapter 7

7 For further discussion of this movement, see Chapter 1 “The European Roots of Alt-Right Ideology” in this book.
8 Elisabeth Sandifer, Neoreaction as Basilisk: Essays on and around the Alt-Right (Charleston: CreateSpace, 2018), 26.
13 Moldbug’s intellectual trajectory was a rightward march. He shifted from the liberalism of his family, through the cultural libertarianism of Silicon Valley, in and out of mainstream American conservatism and radical libertarianism, and ultimately arrived at neoreaction.” Joshua Tait, “Mencius Moldbug and Neoreaction,” in: Mark Sedgwick (Ed.),

Ibid., 195.

Ibid., 192.

Ibid., 193.

Ibid.


Email to the author.


Through his blog, Yarvin’s addressal of race also came from the direction of attacking the supposed restraints and control of the Cathedral. As Joshua Tait highlights, Yarvin considers assumptions of “‘human neurological uniformity’ and antiracism” as “central pillars” of the universalist, egalitarian ethic the Cathedral promotes. Joshua Tait, “Mencius Moldbug and Neoreaction,” 194.

Email to the author.

Joshua Tait, “Mencius Moldbug and Neoreaction,” 196.

MacDougald, “The Darkness Before the Right.” Strangely, due to a contingent within the movement being keen believers in transhumanism, there can be a tension between those who believe in the preservation of their race via a neocameral ethnostate and those who want to move beyond the human race all together.


Specifically, a mixture of science fiction, cityscapes, nature, and classical European art. Post-Anathema also archived a series of posters found on the Radish Magazine site: http://post-anathema.tumblr.com/tagged/infographics. These included quotes from Julius Evola, Joseph de Maistre, and Thomas Carlyle below statements intended to highlight the NRx communities’ departure from assumptions of mainstream political opinion, for example: “Liberals want a big government, conservatives want a small government. Reactionaries want a functioning government whether not every fool has a vote.”


Robertson has also attributed his “red-pilling” (a term popular within the Alternative Right which refers to coming to see the “truth” of the Alternative Right’s claims) to the NRx vlogger Davis Aurini: Millennial Woes, 2014, Introduction: About Me (v3) [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1y-1vU2hXDc&t=1067s [Accessed 20 October 2018].


Ibid. In 2016, The Verge also reported that Thiel appeared to be due to give a seminar at the private education institute, The Berkeley Institute, on “Heterodox Science” which would discuss “fields of study that dissent from mainstream science,” including “biology and human nature; evolution and sexual differences; and economics and urban social policy.” After it was reported the seminar was removed from the site’s course listings. See: Melissa Batchelor Warnke, “Peter Thiel is almost definitely behind this mysterious ‘Heterodox Science’ course,” The Verge, 21 December 2016. https://www.theverge.com/2016/12/21/14025760/peter-thiel-heterodox-science-class-berkeley-institute

Specifically, it aligns very close to the “No Voice, Free Exit” concept at the heart of the NRx ideology. This is the idea of competition between (for many neoreactionaries, racially segregated) dictatorial poles of power, which reduces democracy (“No Voice”) whilst allowing individuals the liberty to pick from the “market” of competing states (“Free Exit”). As the “Dark Enlightenment” Reddit.com subforum for the NRx community describes in its “Common Ideas” section, they wish for “A system of No Voice-Free Exit in large hyper-federalist states or small independent city states.” See: https://www.reddit.com/r/DarkEnlightenment/


David O. Sacks and Peter A. Thiel, The Diversity Myth: Multiculturalism and Political Intolerance on Campus (Oakland: The Independence Institute, 1998), 113.


The Rubin Report, 2018, Peter Thiel on Trump, Gawker, and Leaving Silicon Valley (Full Interview) [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= h10KxgTdhnU [Accessed 5 October 2018].

Hans-Hermann Hoppe Speech delivered at the 12th annual meeting of the Property and Freedom Society in Bodrum, Turkey, on September 17, 2017. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TIcCdCM4j7x8


91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.


94 Ibid.


97 Scott Alexander, “2012 Survey Results,” LessWrong, 7 December 2012. https://www.lesswrong.com/posts/x9FNKTEt68Rz6wQ6P/2012-survey-results. The survey also notes that “These are the only ones that had more than ten people. Other responses notable for their unusualness were Monarchist (5 people), fascist (3 people, plus one who was up for fascism but only if he could be the leader).” For some qualification on how much support Yarvin had at the time, though, see: arborealhominid, “Why is Mencius Moldbug so popular on Less Wrong? [Answer: He’s not.].”

98 In addition, 5 (0.16%) identify as “Fascist,” 5 (0.16%) as “Monarchist”: “Quick statistics Survey 554193 ‘LessWrong Diaspora 2016 Survey’,” jdpressman.com.

99 A view somewhat shared by key figures in the movement, including Land, who in personal correspondence with the author suspected that the perception that NRx ideas had been an influence on Silicon Valley could be accounted for by “deeper cultural currents.”

100 Allum Bokhari and Milo Yiannopoulos, “An Establishment Conservative’s Guide to the Alt-Right,” Breitbart News Network, 29 March 2016. https://www.breitbart.com/tech/2016/03/29/an-establishment-conservatives-guide-to-the-alt-right/. Tait draws attention to Paulina Borsook’s analysis of how libertarianism enters quite naturally into tech culture. It is a “rational, rule-bound, and solvable” world, wherein “software and hardware are the dominant metaphors for society” (thinking that “dovetails with the ironclad assumptions about human and market behavior of the Austrian School of Economics”); its common work ethic “accords with libertarianism’s concentration on efficiency and ‘solving’ government”; it venerates science, allowing for the treatment of “human biology as deterministic,” confirming to “mechanistic assumptions about humanity.” Nonetheless, Tait notes that these tech libertarians “are not nostalgic for a mythical past.” This would jar more with NRx if it weren’t for the fact that it is also a culture in which, precisely because a futuristic-orientation is central, interest in science fiction abounds. Given this is a genre which, as Tate notes, has been used “to explore libertarian concepts and imagine possible alternative regimes,” an interest in historical forms of governance could enter, as they did for Yarvin. Moreover, as the web itself offered some technoutopians in the 1990s a vision of a future, stateless society, the stage was set even more perhaps for a movement like NRx to emerge. On closer inspection, it should be no surprise that quite aside from his own reading of libertarian theory, a technoliberal worldview “saturates” his writing. Joshua Tait, “Mencius Moldbug and Neoreaction,” 190.

Chapter 8

3 For more on the European New Right, the alt-right and metapolitics see Chapter 1 “The European Roots of Alt-Right Ideology.”
4 Guillaume Faye, Why We Fight: Manifesto of the European Resistance (United Kingdom: Arktos Media Ltd., 2011), 193.
6 Ibid.
8 Ibid.

10 For more on antisemitism in the Alternative Right, see Chapter 4 “The Alternative Right, Antisemitism and the Holocaust.”


18 For an informative article on vaporwave and the development of fashwave with a focus on the utilisation of classical artwork in the genre, see: Jip Lemmens, “Putting the ‘Neon’ in ‘Neo-Nazi’: The Aesthetic of Fashwave,” Eidolon Classics Journal, 19 October 2017. https://eidolon.pub/putting-the-neon-in-neo-nazi-4cea7c471a66

19 Anglin, “Decision Time for the Alt-Right: Which Way White Man?”


22 Bullock and Kerry, “Trumpwave and Fashwave Are Just the Latest Disturbing Examples of the Far-Right Appropriating Electronic Music.”


26 Anglin, “Decision Time for the Alt-Right: Which Way White Man?”


28 Richard Spencer (@RichardBSpencer), 29 May 2016, 6:02PM. https://twitter.com/RichardBSpencer/status/737092092300660737


37 MDE Never Dies, 2015, Sam Hyde Migrant Crisis stand up routine Sept 29th, 2015 [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5oWcqUwDAU [Accessed 27 July 2018].

38 Conti, “The Alt-Right Is a Subculture without a Culture.”

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.


43 Ibid.

44 Hatewatch Staff, “McInnes, Molyneux, and 4chan: Investigating pathways to the alt-right.”

45 Johnson, “Why I Write.”


54 For more information on the manosphere and its relationship to the alt-right, see Chapter 12 “From Anger to Ideology: A History of the Manosphere.”

55 Angela Nagle, Kill All Normies: Online Culture Wars from 4chan and Tumblr to Trump and the Alt-Right (Croydon: Zero Books, 2017), 21.


57 Neiwert, Alt-America, 2.61.


Chapter 9


2 Ibid., 10.

3 There is scholarly consensus that a distinctive trolling subculture emerged during the mid-to-late 2000s, with a major catalyst being “the ascendancy of 4chan, originally conceived in 2003 as a content overflow site for a particularly NSFW [‘Not Safe For Work’ — i.e. inappropriate and often shocking] Something Awful subforum called ‘Anime Death Tentacle Rape Whorehouse,’” as Whitney Phillips describes in *This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things: Mapping the Relationship between Online Trolling and Mainstream Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), 18. Its founder, fifteen-year-old Christopher “moot” Poole, was a regular contributor. Ibid. Likewise, as Phillips notes, “a great deal of overlap existed between proto- and early trolling spaces, particularly on the so-called shock sites of the late 1990s and early 2000s, including Rotten (1996), Hard OCP (Hardware Overclockers Comparison Page) (1997), Totse (1997), Stile Project (1999), Something Awful (1999), Gen May (2002), and finally 4chan (2003).” Phillips, *This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things*, 25.

4 4chan’s key inspiration, the Japanese “2channel” site, experienced the same issues of extreme content. As Lisa Katamaya reported in 2008, “2channel is becoming increasingly controversial. There have been stalking incidents and suicide pacts supposedly planned through the site.” Lisa Katamaya, “Meet Hiroyuki Nishimura, the Bad Boy of the Japanese Internet,” *WIRED*, 19 May 2008. https://www.wired.com/2008/05/mf-hiroyuki/


On 4chan, a long-running disagreement between trolls centred around those who engaged in principled online campaigns (referred to by their fellow troll critics as “moralfags”) and those who were not consciously driven by a political conviction but rather by a focus solely on crude humour (referred to as “lulzlags”).

Phillips, This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things, 132.

Poole stated that it had become like the white nationalist forum, www.stormfront.org, “ages ago.” The “/r9k/” subforum – added on 19 February 2008 – was also removed at this time, in part because it had become focused on “misogyny, and self-loathing.” Christopher Poole, “Why were /r9k/ and /new/ removed?,” content.4chan.org, 17 January 2011. https://www.webcitation.org/6159jR9pC?url=http://content.4chan.org/tmp/r9knew.txt. It was reinstated on 10 November 2011 and became a hub for the extreme misogynist “Incels” community. It has been described as “famous for its stories of social awkwardness and nostalgia […] as well as discussion of abnormal social behaviour. It[s] [users] hold anger and disdain over males with active social and sexual lives.” “r9k,” Know Your Meme. https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/sites/r9k. [Accessed 21 August 2018].

Archives of the r/altright subforum also suggest it was created by the owners of AlternativeRight.com. “/r/alright,” Reddit. https://web.archive.org/web/20100307212807/http://www.reddit.com:80/r/alright [Accessed 22 August 2018].

Some 4chan users speculated in 2013 that Stormfront’s efforts had started earlier too, and that Stormfront users had possibly contributed to the /pol/ predecessor subforum “/new/” also. See: “/q/ 4chan Discussion” 4chan Data. http://4chandata.org/q/Stormfront–4chan-Specifically-pol–a374189 [Accessed 22 August 2018].


Zaid Jilani, “Gamergate’s Fickle Hero: The Dark Opportunism of Breitbart’s Milo Yiannopoulos,” Salon, 28 October 2014. https://www.salon.com/2014/10/28/gamergate-s-fickle-hero-the_dark_opportunism_of_breitbarts_milo_yiannopoulos/. Gamergate had lasting knock-on effects on the trolling subculture from which it partially emerged too. After Poole stated that planning of Gamergate-related campaigns would be censored from 4chan, many users migrated to the openly extreme far-right 8chan forum, where a dedicated subforum for the topic was established. Christopher Poole,


Alice Marwick and Rebecca Lewis, Media Manipulation & Disinformation Online (New York: Data & Society Research Institute, 2017), 38.


For further discussion see Chapter 1 “The European Roots of Alt-Right Ideology” in this book.

Phillips, This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things, 67. Interestingly, like the ENR’s adoption of a left-wing thinker’s concept, Phillips notes that détournement is “most closely associated with the Situationist International and the Letterist International, radical Marxist collectives founded in the 1950s.” Ibid., 68.


As Phillips notes: “Our raced, classed, and gendered bodies are encoded in our online behaviour, even when we’re pretending to be something above or beyond or below what we really are IRL (in real life).” Phillips, This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things, 41.


Ibid., 98. Unfortunately, the authors of the study do not specify the exact figure.


Ibid.

Ibid.


As Beran describes this identity, it is about “embracing your loserdom, owning it. […] it is what all the millions of forum-goers of 4chan met to commune about. It is, in other words, a value system, one reveling in deplorableness and being pridefully dispossessed.”

Concurrently […] [trolling] provide[d] both entertainment and a basic feeling of connection between participants.” Phillips, This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things, 33. Furthermore, “The mask of trolling thus establishes a clear insider/outsider distinction. More important, it necessitates an affective reorientation to content.” Ibid., 35.


Vice News, 2016, “We memed alt-right into existence”: Richard Spencer Extended Interview [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aN8w7lUMc1o [Accessed 24 September 2018].

Phillips, This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things, 10.

Some in the Alternative Right did, of course, intend to express these positions when employing these symbols, but importantly the primary intention was often to provoke media coverage of what were otherwise innocuous symbols so as to ridicule the media for supposedly whipping up a needless moral panic.

Similarly, after a man was heard shouting “Pepe!” after Clinton’s first public mention of the alt-right in a speech on 25 August 2016, 4chan posts revealed he had been encouraged to do so by 4chan users during the speech. “Anon Heckles Hillary’s Pepe Rally,” Imgur. https://imgur.com/gallery/cC90P#AFaFAkl [Accessed 24 September 2018].


Wilson, “Hiding in Plain Sight: How the ‘Alt-Right’ is Weaponizing Irony to Spread Fascism.”

Phillips, This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things, 124.

Ibid., 125. Phillips notes that this feature of the trolling subculture is so ingrained that a text describing these rhetorical methods, The Art of Controversy (also translated as The Art of Being Right), by influential German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer is regarded by some in this subculture “as a blueprint for modern trolling” and adds that it “was recommended to [her] by one of [her] troll [interviewees].” Ibid., 124.

The Alternative Right’s trolling-inflected focus on treating discussions as a vehicle for entertainment – in this case debates in which one person “beats” the other akin to a competition – is emphasised by the fact that, as Holt highlights, these videos are effective revenue streams and recruitment platforms. Jared Holt, “Welcome To YouTube ‘Bloodsports,’ The Alt-Right’s Newest Recruiting Tool,” Right Wing Watch, 31 January 2018. http://www.rightwingwatch.org/post/welcome-to-youtube-bloodsports-the-alt-rights-newest-recruiting-tool/

Phillips, This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things, 126.

Ibid., 124.
59 Ibid., 70.
60 Phillips, *This Is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things*, 79.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.

Chapter 10

7 Tweet by Pax Dickinson, 7 June 2017, HOPE not hate Online Archive.
18 NewsBlip, 2018, *Andrew Torba of Gab.ai Visits Alex Jones* [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=anXYG7V8t0Q [Accessed 3 October 2018].
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8 See Chapter 9 “The Role of the Troll: Online Antagonistic Communities and the Alternative Right” in this book. Also: Whitney Phillips, This is Why We Can’t Have Nice Things: Mapping the Relationship between Online Trolling and Mainstream Culture (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015).
14 Rebecca Lewis, Alternative Influence (New York: Data & Society Research Institute, 2018).
16 Emiliano Treré, “Digital Activism to Algorithmic Resistance.”
17 Rebecca Lewis, Alternative Influence, 25.
19 Ben Schreckinger, “Chat Logs Show how 4chan Users Created #GamerGate Controversy,” As  

20 Torill Elvira Mortensen, “Anger, Fear, and Games: The Long Event of #GamerGate,” Games  

21 Leesha McKenny, “Joshua Ryne Goldberg Has Plead Guilty to Attempting to Enlist a  

cdn.discordapp.com/attachments/33769621681356800/353709666204909569/Anleitung_ 
Brandkonten.pdf [Accessed 14 September 2018].

23 Anonymous, “/cfg/ <MEME, PSYOP & SUBVERSION>,” 4plebs, 10 July 2016. http(s://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/80519343/


26 Alice Marwick and Rebecca Lewis, Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online (New  
York: Data & Society Research Institute, 2017), 39.

27 Ben Schreckinger, “‘Real News’ Joins the White House Briefing Room,” Politico  


29 Cristina Laila, “SWEDENISTAN – McDonald’s in Sweden Sends Out Mailers in Arabic  

30 Andrew Anglin, “Sweden: McDonald’s Sends Out Ads in Arabic,” Daily Stormer, 1 May  

31 Sputnik International, “Swedish McDonald’s Learns to Speak Arabic Due to Popular  

Chapter 12

1 For discussion of the wider understanding of gender and sexuality in the Alternative  
Right, see Chapter 14 “Sexuality and the Alternative Right” in this book.

2 Alice E. Marwick & Robyn Caplan “Drinking Male Tears: Language, the Manosphere,  

3 “Male Supremacy,” Southern Poverty Law Centre. https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/male-supremacy. Alice Marwick and Rebecca Lewis note that, “While dating advice broadly understood can help shy, awkward, or frustrated young men gain confidence in social interactions, the PUA community distorts this by dehumanizing women and granting all sexual agency to men.” Alice Marwick and Rebecca Lewis, Media Manipulation & Disinformation Online (New York: Data & Society Research Institute, 2017), 15.

goole.com/forum/#!original/alt.seduction.fast/yyBw440L5s/9baQPPbejR8] [Accessed 3 September 2018].

5 Roosh V, 2017, How the Manosphere Crushed Feminism [Online Video]. Available at: http(s://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-WgAn6GFU0E [Accessed 3 September 2018].

6 Ibid.
Marwick and Caplan have demonstrated how key tropes in the manosphere, including an anti-feminist interpretation of the concept of “misandry,” emerged early on in such groups and served a role in building the sphere’s sense of community. Alice E. Marwick and Robyn Caplan, “Drinking Male Tears: Language, the Manosphere, and Networked Harassment,” *Feminist Media Studies*, 18:4 (2018), 543–559.

As Marwick and Caplan describe it, the men’s rights movement today is “defined as much against feminism as it is for men’s rights.” Ibid., 546.


Ibid.


“Lookism” refers to discrimination on the basis of someone’s appearance. As Allie Conti wrote for *VICE* regarding the forum, its users “obsess over the idea of the ‘perfect face’ in hopes of figuring out how they might reconstruct their own, however recklessly, so as to attract mates. A popular section of the site contains rate-me threads, where Incels post selfies so anonymous commenters can make recommendations on how they can ‘looksmax’ – or get more attractive. Tips range from seemingly sane advice on a new hairstyle to admonishments to get expensive and brutal surgeries [...]” Allie Conti, “Learn to Decode the Secret Language of the Incel Subculture,” *VICE*, 26 June 2018. https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/7xmaze/learn-to-decode-the-secret-language-of-the-incel-subculture


21 Specifically, Chris Harper-Mercer in Oregon, USA in October 2015, Nikolas Cruz in Florida, USA in February 2018 and Alek Minassian in Toronto, Canada in April 2018. Rodger is generally credited with being the first high-profile attack explicitly linked to the extreme misogynist element of the incel community, though other similar attacks have been tied to the manosphere more broadly. These include George Sodini, who engaged in a mass-shooting of a women’s aerobics class in Pittsburgh, USA in August 2009 and was later revealed to have been interested in the Pick-Up Artist community and to have expressed his misogynist intentions online. See: Edecio Martinez, “Gym Killer Was Devoted Follower of Dating Guru,” CBS News, 10 August 2009. https://www.cbsnews.com/news/gym-killer-was-devoted-follower-of-dating-guru/; Sean D. Hamill, “Blog Details Shooter’s Frustration,” The New York Times, 5 August 2009. https://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/06/us/06shoot.html

22 Paul Elam, “If You See Jezebel in the Road, Run the Bitch Down,” A Voice for Men, 22 October 2010. https://www.avoicformen.com/mens-rights/domestic-violence-industry/if-you-see-jezebel-in-the-road-run-the-bitch-down/. AVFM has claimed the article was intended as “satire of the Juvenalian variety.”

23 It is important to note that MRA groups – and the manosphere moreover – can be found across the globe, including, for example, the Indian MRA organisation, “Save India Family Foundation,” who have attended events organised by J4MB and AVFM.

24 Helen Nianias, “‘Feminists Hate Men’: Meet Mike Buchanan, the Leader of Britain’s new Justice for Men and Boys Party,” The Independent, 14 January 2015. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/feminists-hate-men-meet-mike-buchanan-the-leader-of-britains-new-justice-for-men-and-boys-party-9977357.html. J4MB are electorally as marginal as they come, and in practice function as a pressure group carrying out small demonstrations to little attention, and only occasionally are engaged with by the media. More effective has been the party’s ability to act as the central organisers of UK anti-feminist activity, and as a liaison to anti-feminists abroad. J4MB co-organised the 2018 (London), 2017 (Gold Coast, Australia), and 2016 (London) International Conferences on Men’s Issues (ICMI), the key international meetup for anti-feminist activists, alongside anti-feminist groups in the US, India, Australia, and elsewhere (the first was organised by A Voice For Men and held in Detroit in 2014).


27 “Misogyny: The Sites,” Intelligence Report, 1 March 2012. https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2012/misogyny-sites. It is worth noting too that Forney’s then-moniker was a character from a 1932 novel written by the antisemitic French writer Louis-Ferdinand Céline and, as the Southern Poverty Law Centre’s Intelligence Report notes, at the time of writing the blog advertised the racist 1920s text, The Revolt Against Civilization by Lothrop Stoddard.


29 Ibid.


38 Ibid.


43 Ibid.

44 Moreover, many in the manosphere – albeit often in a hyperbolic and grandiose tone – predicted that the anti-feminist sentiment driving the manosphere would increasingly affect mainstream politics, irrespective of the manosphere’s unity. A blog post published on 1 January 2010 that proved influential within the manosphere, entitled “The Misandry Bubble,” declared that: “The Western World has quietly become a civilization that has tainted the interaction between men and women […] where male nature is vilified but female nature is celebrated. This […] is a recipe for a rapid civilization decline and displacement, the costs of which will ultimately be borne by a subsequent generation of innocent women, rather than men, as soon as 2020.” Imran Khan, “The


Paul Elam, 2018, 20 July 2018: Paul Elam – “The Men’s Movement: Personal and Political” (ICMI18) [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KWK0Lx9X7x4. In a likely allusion to the raft of Alternative Right vloggers who advocate a return to traditional gender roles for men, Elam also warned viewers during this talk of anti-feminists who are not also MRAs. Whilst MRAs tend to defend much of traditional masculinity, they believe women and feminists seek to maintain traditional male roles—such as being “breadwinners” or “protectors”—for their own gain.


Ibid. Valizadeh’s interviewee also notes that a thread started on Valizadeh’s site’s forum is the top search result on Google if you search for “Donald Trump thread.” This is true at the time of writing.

Ibid.


Ibid., 10. Interestingly, perhaps as a hangover from its origins, Hodddap highlights that “This position is very similar to problematic assertions made by feminists in the second wave, carrying over in some degree to certain forms of current feminism. […] Such moves alienated many women from feminism, and it seems to have the same effect on the MRM [Men’s Rights Movement], given its generally white, straight, middle class makeup. The old mistakes repeat themselves over and over–privileged positions become the ‘human position.’” Christa Hodapp, *Men’s Rights, Gender, and Social Media* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 10.
Chapter 13

1. For more information on the manosphere, see Chapter 12 “From Anger to Ideology: A History of the Manosphere.”


8. NPI / Radix, 2015, Who Are We? [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mRPhEwELo [Accessed 15 July 2018].


15. SBS Dateline, 2018, Defending Gender part 1 – Proud Boys [Online video]. Accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i7f4b1oi6BKM [Accessed 19 August 2018].


23 This is explored further in Chapter 14 “Sexuality and the Alternative Right.” The phenomenon of “homohysteria” is outlined in Eric Anderson, “The Rise and Fall of Western Homohysteria,” *Journal of Feminist Scholarship*, 1 (2011), 80–94.


27 Gavin McInnes in: Christopher Mathias, “Pro-Trump Gang Seen in Footage Assaulting Anti-Fascist Protestors in Manhattan,” *The Huffington Post*, 13 October 2018. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/prod-boys-new-york-assault-gavin-mcinnes_us_5bc20d60e4b0dbd9ed55a96ee


31 Nagle, *Kill All Normies*, 108.


33 Anglin, “Reestablishing Masculinity: The Prequel.”


44 Friberg, *The Real Right Returns*, 60.
45 Lauren Southern, 2017, *Return of the Traditional Woman – Cal Poly SLO* [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HFW0z0YSTR4 [Accessed 20 July 2017].

46 Lauren Southern, 2017, *Why I'm Not Married* [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-UKPpmQlys&t=34s [Accessed 11 May 2018].


50 Young, “The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State.”


52 Paul Joseph Watson, 2016, *The Rape of Europe* [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KUPusE_k0&t=2s [Accessed 16 July 2017].


54 HOPE not hate online archive.


56 Ibid.


60 Millennial Woes, 2016, *Finding a Traditional Wife (Part 1) [O.S.]* [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LchLM0zkhe0&t=1s [Accessed 3 April 2018].


63 HOPE not hate online archive.


66 “Mini Flyer – How to Invite Women to WhiteDate,” *WhiteDate*. https://www.whitedate.net/miniflyer/


Chapter 14

1 Several points made in this chapter were originally published on the HOPE not hate website in an article entitled “Gay Men and the Alternative Right: An Overview” on 8 April 2018, written by Clay Bodnar. These points are repeated here with his permission.


10 Paul Joseph Watson, 2016, Dear Gays: The Left Betrayed You for Islam [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PlqXgXwzkPg [Accessed 14 September 2018].
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16 Milo Yiannopoulos, Dangerous (USA: Dangerous Books, 2017), 152.
22 Yiannopoulos, Dangerous, 143.
23 Ibid., 151.
24 Nichols, “Understanding Homonationalism.”
25 RWW Blog, 2018, RWW News: Gavin McInnes and Alex Jones Complain about “Sexless, Depressed, Old, Chubby Dikes” [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iLy7qkMic0E [Accessed 23 September 2018].
28 Yiannopoulos, Dangerous, 152.
29 MILO, 2016, Milo Yiannopoulos Tells Lesbian She Doesn’t Exist [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eSt62K70o0E [Accessed 28 September 2018].
32 Rebel Media, Lauren Southern Becomes a Man [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gGpZSefYvwM [Accessed 20 September 2018].
35 Ibid.
36 Minkowitz, “How the Alt-Right Is Using Sex and Camp to Attract Gay Men to Fascism.”
40 O’Connor, “The Philosophical Fascists of the Gay Alt-Right.”
52 Severs, “The ‘obnoxious mobilised minority’.”
Chapter 15


4 For further discussion of these, see Chapter 9 “The Role of the Troll: Online Antagonistic Communities and the Alternative Right” in this book.

5 Lisa Katayama, “Meet Hiroyuki Nishimura, the Bad Boy of the Japanese Internet,” WIRED, 19 May 2008. https://www.wired.com/2008/05/mf-hiroyuki/?currentPage=all. Coming full circle, Nishimura bought 4chan from Poole in September 2015, with multiple statements from Nishimura appearing to some of its users to be dog-whistles to the Alternative Right. In reply to a question on 4chan asking “What do you think Western Civilization will be like in 25 years?”, he said “maybe we’ll not use the word. more Spanish speaking people in US, more Muslim will stay in EU. there will be no ‘Western.’” “AN HIRO Q&A DISCUSSION THREAD (Part 4),” 4chan. https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/52311067/#52318012 [Accessed 4 September 2018]. Likewise, after reports that the forum site Reddit was censoring the Alternative Right, 4chan’s Twitter account tweeted that there would be “‘No censorship on 4chan.’ 4chan regards Freedom of speech as important.” 4chan (@4chan) 25 November 2016, https://twitter.com/4chan/status/802257259338207232. 4ch.net has similarly fallen into related forum hands, after it was acquired by US-born and Philippines-based Jim Watkins in 2014 (who had previously hosted the site on his servers and is also the owner of the extreme far-right forum, “8chan”) in disputed circumstances from Nishimura. Akky Akimoto, “Who Holds the Deeds to Gossip Bulletin Board 2channel?” Japan Times, 20 March 2014. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2014/03/20/digital/who-holds-the-deeds-to-gossip-bulletin-board-2channel/#.W9NjlY7Yq3A. The site came under the ownership of Loki Technology Inc. in 2017.

6 As WIRED reported at the time: “2channel is becoming increasingly controversial. There have been stalking incidents and suicide pacts supposedly planned through the site.” Lisa Katayama, “Meet Hiroyuki Nishimura, the Bad Boy of the Japanese Internet,” WIRED, 19 May 2008. https://www.wired.com/2008/05/mf-hiroyuki/?currentPage=all


14 Ibid.


16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., 682–684.

18 Ibid., 695.

19 Higuchi, Japan’s Ultra-Right (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2016), 8–9.

20 Ibid., 7.

21 Ibid., 7.

22 Higuchi, “The Radical Right in Japan,” 695.


42 Ibid.


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31 Ibid., 85.
42 Alexander Dugin, Osnovy geopolitiki: geopoliticheskoe budushee Rossii (Moscow: Arktogea, 1997).
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Antonis Klapis, *An Unholy Alliance: The European Far Right and Putin’s Russia* (Brussels: Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, 2017), 44.
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9 Ibid., 90.

10 Ibid., 91.

11 Ibid., 91.

12 Bal Ghangadhar Tilak quoted in: Goodrick-Clarke, Black Sun, 91.

13 Ibid., 59.


15 Ibid., 58.


17 The influence of the European New Right on the alt-right is explored in Chapter 1 “The European Roots of Alt-Right Ideology.”


25 Schaeffer, ‘Alt-Reich’.


29 Survive the Jive, 2018, A Passage to India: From Aryans to Empire [Online video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6WxtDribi7I [Accessed 6 July 2018].


34 Johnson, “Theory & Practice.”
36 Goodrick-Clarke, Black Sun, 56–57.
37 Godwin, Arktos, 21.
38 Goodrick-Clarke, Black Sun, 56–57.
40 Evola, Revolt against the Modern World, 89.
44 Ibid., 181.
45 Smith, “The Alt-Right Apocalypse.”
47 Schaeffer, “Alt-Reich.”
48 Smith, “The Alt-Right Apocalypse.”
53 Sedgwick, Against the Modern World, 222.
54 Ibid., 225.
57 Alexander Dugin, “If You are in Favor of Global Liberal Hegemony, You are the Enemy: Interview with Alexander Dugin in New Delhi, India, 19 February 2012,” Eurasian Mission: An Introduction to Neo-Eurasianism (United Kingdom: Arktos Media Ltd., 2014), 175.
58 Green, Devil’s Bargain, 206.
59 Ibid., 207.


69 Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 91.

70 Ibid., 91–92.

71 Ibid., 92.


73 Smith, “Writings of French Hindu who Worshipped Hitler as an Avatar of Vishnu Are Inspiring the US Alt-right.”


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76 Ibid., 180–181.

77 Ibid., 188.


79 Margaronis, *Savitri Devi*.


81 Savitri Devi, *The Lightning and the Sun* (USA: Samisdat Publishers Ltd, no date provided), 34.

82 Schaeffer, “Alt-Reich.”


85 Andrew Aurenheimer (AKA weev), post on KiwiFarms.net, 7 October 2017. https://kiwifarms.net/threads/i-am-weev-ama.35025/page-4


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Conclusion

9 “The most censored publication in history” is the Daily Stormer’s website subheader.
10 Anglin, “Decision Time for the Alt-Right: Which Way, White Man?”
15 Ibid.


